

Overcoming poverty in Laut Tribe households through gender relations on Lipan Island, Riau Islands Province

Mengatasi kemiskinan dalam rumah tangga Suku Laut melalui relasi gender di Pulau Lipan, Provinsi Kepulauan Riau

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Abstract

The Laut Tribe on Lipan Island in Selayar District, Lingga Regency in the Riau Islands Province is a remote community that has received guidance from the government but they live below the poverty line. This study aimed to look at the gender relations of the Laut Tribe households in relation to overcoming the poverty problems, using a gender analysis approach. This study used a qualitative methodology with a descriptive approach. The informants of this study are the husbands and wives from Laut Tribe. The data was obtained through interviews, observations, and documentation. The results of this study showed that the women were contributors to the family's economy, which was used to meet their daily needs. Some worked as shrimp peeler laborers and domestic servants, while others followed their husbands to go to sea to sort the catch. These women role was only considered to improve the family's economy because of the patriarchal values constructed in the community. This has an impact on gender relations, in which there is a division of roles in the domestic and public sectors which causes the women to have a double burden and has no effect on the women's bargaining position.

Keywords: poverty; gender relations; Laut Tribe; socio-economic; women

Abstrak

Suku Laut di Pulau Lipan Kecamatan Selayar Kabupaten Lingga Provinsi Kepulauan Riau merupakan masyarakat terpencil yang mendapat pembinaan dari pemerintah namun hidup di bawah garis kemiskinan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk melihat relasi gender rumah tangga Suku Laut dalam kaitannya dengan penanggulangan masalah kemiskinan dengan menggunakan pendekatan analisis gender. Penelitian ini menggunakan metodologi kualitatif dengan pendekatan deskriptif. Informan dalam penelitian ini adalah para suami istri dari Suku Laut. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara, observasi, dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perempuan merupakan kontributor ekonomi keluarga yang digunakan untuk memenuhi kebutuhan sehari-hari. Beberapa bekerja sebagai buruh pengupas udang dan pembantu rumah tangga, sementara yang lain mengikuti suami mereka melaut untuk menyortir hasil tangkapan. Peran perempuan ini dinilai hanya untuk meningkatkan perekonomian keluarga karena nilai-nilai patriarki yang terbangun dalam masyarakat. Hal ini berdampak pada relasi gender, di mana terjadi pembagian peran di sektor domestik dan publik yang menyebabkan perempuan memiliki beban ganda dan tidak berpengaruh pada posisi tawar perempuan.

Kata Kunci: kemiskinan; hubungan gender; Suku Laut; sosial ekonomi; perempuan

Introduction

Talking about poverty issues, they do not only occur in urban areas, but also in rural areas. There are no standard rules in defining poverty, but it can be seen from various perspectives in accordance with empirical facts in the field because this is related to the handling and resolution of the poverty issue itself. The results of a study conducted by Wahyudi and Rejekiningsih (2013) stated that poverty is the inability to meet the minimum standard of living. If we refer to the Regulation of the Minister of Manpower No. 21 of 2016 concerning the Needs of a Decent Life, decent life is the fulfillment of food and drink, clothing, housing, education, health, transportation, recreation, and savings. This means that if they are not fulfilled, the person or group of people can be considered poor. Meanwhile, based on the opinion of another expert in defining poverty, it is defined as a condition that describes a lack of income to meet basic needs which can be interpreted as a package of goods and services required by everyone to be able to live humanely, consisting of clothing, food, and shelter (Ahmadi 2003). This opinion shows that the level of welfare that is more feasible can be measured from the fulfillment of clothing, food, and shelter needs that are obtained through income.

Regarding the causes of poverty, results of some studies showed that the poverty factor was caused by several things, including the level of income or revenue obtained, education, access to goods and services, geographic location, and gender differences (Sartika et al. 2016; Nasution 2017; Azizah et al. 2018; King et al. 2019; Baloch et al. 2020; Yuwinanto 2018). This shows that the poverty issue is

not only understood as an economic inability, but includes a failure to fulfill the basic rights that are generally recognized, including the fulfillment of the needs for food, clothing, and shelter, health and work, as well as discriminatory treatment in gaining access in the form of welfare assistance. However, the causes of poverty in general can be considered to be due to differences in various human needs and inequalities in patterns of resource ownership which result in inequality in the distribution of income.

Therefore, to get out of poverty and survive, many efforts and attempts were made. For poor household families, the efforts and attempts made are starting from doing odd jobs, owing money to food stalls, reducing consumption, even eating without side dishes, and some even mobilizing family members, including children and wives, to participate in working to earn money. All of this is carried out to survive to maintain the survival of the family. Overcoming poverty in this way is a common phenomenon that can be found in poor households, both in urban and rural areas. This is because it is undeniable that they have no other choice due to limitations in their income from the work they are doing. This condition is also experienced in the households of the Laut Tribe in Lipan Island, Penuba Village, Selayar District, Lingga Regency. They still live below the poverty line. The poverty they experience is not only due to limited income economically in meeting the needs for a minimum standard of decent living, but also to get access because of limited infrastructure and also education which is expected to provide enlightenment in the mindset.

The Laut Tribe is included in the category of Remote Indigenous Communities (KAT). Based on the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 186 of 2014, KAT can be defined as a group of people in a certain number who are bound in a geographic, economic, and/or socio-cultural unit, and are poor, remote, and/or socio-economically vulnerable. The Laut Tribe lives on boats measuring 1.5x5 meters like a general house, where all domestic and social activities are carried out on boats (Elsara 2019; Sari & Pratiwi 2018; Mahfud 2018; Bintana et al. 2020; Miswanto et al. 2018; Murni 2019). The local community and the Laut Tribe themselves call their boat *sampan kajang* because their canoe has a *kajang* roof made from woven rumbiak leaves. They live in groups, one group consisting of five to ten canoes led by one group leader. This Laut Tribe lives by moving from one island to another in search of the most abundant source of fish that can be found, because fishing is the only skill they have as their main livelihood. The fish catch is sold to people on the mainland using a barter system with the necessary needs, such as rice, oil, sugar, coffee, and other necessities. Besides selling fish catches, the Laut tribe goes up to the mainland to take clean water from residents' houses for their needs of food and drink and also to ask for clothes.

To provide a more decent life for the people of the Laut Tribe, the Indonesian government through the Social Service in 1957 settled the Laut Tribe in a settlement that was not far from their habitat, in which they lived around the shoreline with stilt house models as those on the water made by the government. The purpose was that they could adapt to a new life out of their habit of living on the canoe, moving from one place to another. Resettling the Laut Tribe in one settlement is to make it easier to provide guidance and empowerment for the Laut Tribe, in which there were 7 families at that time. Then, in 1986, through the RTLH (Rumah Tinggal Layak Huni/Livable Residence) program, the people of the Laut Tribe were moved to the mainland closer to general community settlements. The purpose was that they could socialize with the general public, so that it is expected that the general public can provide enlightenment and be able to make social changes in life. This is because, apart from the internal factors of the community themselves, it cannot be denied that social change occurs because of the influence of external factors outside the community themselves. If a community does not make social contact or interact with people outside their community, there will be no exchange of information, or there will be no process of assimilation, acculturation that is able to change the community itself.

The movement of the settlement of the Laut Tribe, which was originally isolated from the general public, which was then moved to the mainland close to the settlement of the general public, turned to have an impact on the Laut Tribe, especially in terms of economy. The findings of a study by Faisal (2019) entitled "The Economic System of the People of the Laut Tribe, Lipan Island, Penuba Village, Selayar District, Lingga Regency" showed that the people of the Laut Tribe had experienced changes in ways to meet the needs of family life.

Even though they still worked as fishermen who were not far from their previous life as fishermen, the difference is that, for the Laut Tribe who did not have an engine boat and fishing tackle to go to sea, they could work as fishermen's crew and when they did not go to sea because of illness, weather factors, and other reasons, the needs of family members could be fulfilled by *toke*. *Toke* for the Laut Tribe is the same as *toke* in other coastal areas, which is as the owner of capital who provides facilities and infrastructure for fishing and also as fish collectors. Besides, there are also those who work as construction workers. The work carried out by the head of the Laut Tribe household does not bring significant changes in

Wahyuni & Solina: "Overcoming poverty in Laut Tribe households"

improving the welfare of the family. They still live below the poverty line, in which the income earned is only able to meet their daily needs for food and drink, especially for those who work as traditional fishermen. They are called traditional fishermen because they use small engine boats and simple fishing tackle, so that their fishing ground is limited and this certainly has an impact on fish catches which indirectly also affects the income earned from selling the fish.

Overcoming the poverty issue is not only a polemic for poor households in urban areas but also in rural areas. Various efforts are made by poor households to get out of poverty, which are also carried out to overcome the poverty that shackles Laut Tribe households because the poverty experienced by the Laut Tribe households was generated by the previous generation. Laut Tribe households have difficulty moving out of the poverty zone. However, the women of the Laut Tribe overcome this by getting involved in the public sector.

The phenomenon of poverty in household life is very interesting to analyze from various perspectives because the results of these findings can be used as a model and strategic recommendation to create empowerment programs for poor households. This theme becomes the starting point from the assumption that a community is constructed through cultural values in the community, that the obligation to earn a living is the husband's responsibility as the leader of the head of the household who is responsible for the survival of his family. This statement is inversely proportional when women are involved in household economic activities. This means that the contribution earned by women plays a crucial role in improving the family economy. The objective of this study is to look at how gender relations, in this case, husband and wife in the Laut Tribe household, in overcoming the poverty they encounter and how the division of roles in the domestic and public sectors and how it correlates with women's bargaining power in decision making, seeing from the contribution of income that is obtained by women in improving family welfare.

Research Methods

This study used a qualitative methodology. The data were obtained through primary data collection techniques by means of in-depth interviews and observation (Lexy 2017) so that it is clearly illustrated that this study used qualitative methods. In conducting this study, the researchers used social mapping to understand and map the conditions, so that the data on gender relations in the Laut Tribe family can be produced in overcoming poverty using a gender analysis approach. The data collected included a general description and physical condition of the Lipan Island, including demographic profile, community socio-economic conditions, and infrastructure. The determination of informants used the purposive sampling technique, which is choosing informants with certain considerations and criteria according to the title of this study, including men and women as married couples from the Laut Tribe who worked together and had four children.

The analysis was carried out by collecting the data, arranging them systematically, interpreting, and analyzing, so that they can explain the meaning and understanding of the phenomena being studied. Qualitative analysis has characteristics, including data that appear in the form of words instead of a series of numbers. The data obtained through interviews with interview guidelines, observation, and documentation were then processed and analyzed qualitatively to provide an in-depth overview and conclusions that are appropriate and adequate in accordance with the topic and objectives of the study. In this case, it explained how the gender relations of the Laut Tribe family in overcoming poverty, how the division of roles in the domestic and public sectors, and how it correlates with the wife's bargaining position in decision making, seeing the contribution of income earned by the wife in improving family welfare.

Results and Discussion

Socio-economic conditions of the Laut Tribe community

The Laut Tribe community who received guidance were initially resettled in 1957, in which they lived on the shoreline with stilt houses. Then, in 1986, they were transferred to the mainland to live in simple houses built by the government through the RTLH (Rumah Tinggal Layak Huni/Livable Residence) program to date. They live in several hamlets, in which this division is based on the religion they follow. However, this does not become a problem or conflict between them. Based on data from the Penuba Village Monograph in 2017, the population on Lipan Island was 360 people, consisting of 185 men, 175 women, and 45 children aged 0-15 years. Meanwhile, viewed from the number of families, there were 105 families.

The life of the Laut Tribe community is the same as the life of the coastal community in general. They are still lagging behind in education, politics, law, health, and economics. It cannot be denied that this is because of the poverty that shackles them. Poverty has long been attached to them, both culturally and structurally. This definitely is a major homework that must be resolved through sustainable mentoring and empowerment programs to create independent and self-supporting resources. As presented in Table 1, today the people of the Laut Tribe generally work as fishermen, which is the main source for the community to fulfill their daily needs. This occupation is considered easier for them because life in the sea is not something new for them, so that they do not need adaptation. Besides, there are also those who work as stoneworkers, construction workers, shrimp peelers, and sellers.

Table 1.
The livelihoods of the Laut Tribe in Lipan Island

No.	Livelihood	Number
1	Fisherman	135 people
2	Labor	70 people

Source: Research data

Although the community generally works as fishermen, their lives are far from prosperous because their catch is only able to meet their basic daily needs. This is because the fishing tackle they use is still very simple and the engine boats used are only capable of the closest fishing ground only. Even if there are those who catch fish to the high sea, their position is only as fishing laborers employed by *toke*.

The poverty of the Laut Tribe Households on Lipan Island

The Laut Tribe is part of the Remote Indigenous Communities (KAT). KAT is identical to isolated areas. The isolation factor is one of the reasons people are in poverty. Because of the isolation, the community is far to access government service facilities, both in terms of economy, education, health, and infrastructure development, as well as social interactions. However, the Laut Tribe on the Lipan Island is geographically no longer isolated from settlements in general. They are able to interact and socialize with the people around their residence and experience changes in their perspective and behavior in fulfilling their daily needs. However, they live below the poverty line. Poverty is a condition that describes a lack of income to meet basic needs. Basic needs can be interpreted as a package of goods and services required by everyone to be able to live humanely, consisting of clothing, food, and shelter. This shows that poverty is seen from how much income is earned from work carried out to meet the standard of basic needs.

Meanwhile, another opinion stated that poverty is multidimensional and it is increasingly being realized that it is not only a financial-economic problem, but also the powerlessness of the community (Lian et al. 2019). This means that poverty is not only seen in terms of income, but also seen from the context of the powerlessness and inability of the community themselves, both due to low levels of education, opportunities to gain access due to limited infrastructure, and geographical conditions. Poverty is also relative or not the same in every society, for example, economic conditions, welfare standards, and social conditions. Each definition is determined according to criteria or measures based on particular conditions, including average income, average purchasing power or consumption ability, educational status, and health conditions. According to Schiller (in Suyanto 2001), based on the opinion of several experts, it can be concluded that defining the concept of poverty is never the same or there is no standard rule because it is empirical and depends on the need to look at the poverty issue itself. Referring to this definition, the poverty issue faced by Laut Tribe households is not an only economic problem, but also their helplessness caused by low education.

The causes of poverty of the Laut Tribe

The problem of poverty of the Laut Tribe demands an effort of problem-solving in a planned, integrated, and comprehensive manner because this poverty problem is complex and requires handling in a short time in accordance with the poverty issue itself. To solve the problem of poverty, it is necessary to first identify the causes of poverty. Looking at the root causes behind the occurrence of poverty, there are two major streams in this context, including, first, the flow of modernization which always assumes that the problem of poverty is caused by internal factors in the community, in which the poverty experienced by the community occurs as a result of cultural factors that describe the habits of the local community (lazy), limited capital, technology, management limitations, and the condition of natural resources (Manuaba et al. 2019; Steckermeier & Delhey 2018; Hunzaker & Valentino 2019; Dobson & Knezevic 2017; Adhi 2016; Palikhah 2016). This type of poverty is often known as cultural and natural poverty. Second, the

structural flow always assumes that the cause of poverty is due to a social structure in which members or community groups do not control equitable facilities and facilities (Satria 2015). This means that the community experiences discrimination and gaps in obtaining the opportunity to get access due to the limitations and inability of the community themselves due to the low level of education.

Based on the root of this poverty problem, poverty is divided into three categories, including poverty that is absolute, relative, and cultural. Absolute poverty is poverty as seen from the poverty line measurement. In determining the poverty measurement line, it depends on the institution in defining poverty (Nurwati 2008). For example, BPS (Statistics Indonesia) determines the poverty line in terms of calorie needs, while the BKKBN (National Population and Family Planning Board) sees poverty measurement based on houses occupied by families that have good roofs and walls. This means that absolute poverty is poverty that is seen from the income results that are not sufficient to meet the minimum standard needs, including food, clothing, health, housing, and education. Meanwhile, relative poverty is poverty measured by comparing the income of one group with the income of another group. This relative poverty is identical with the term discrepancy caused by unequal infrastructure and opportunities to gain access. Cultural poverty is poverty related to the attitudes and behavior of the habits of the people themselves who do not want to try, even if there are other parties who want to assist.

Referring to the root cause of poverty, the poverty experienced by this Laut Tribe household is cultural poverty, where the people of the Laut Tribe still live below the poverty line even though they are resettled and receive guidance. It is undeniable that the poverty experienced by the people of the Laut Tribe is poverty that is produced over generations, so that extra and sustainable handling is required in providing empowerment programs that are adjusted to the needs and abilities of the community themselves by looking at the potential they have, so that empowerment programs as a form of poverty alleviation can strongly become right on target, which obviously will indirectly affect the level of welfare of the Laut Tribe households. Meanwhile, the guidance that has been carried out so far is less sustainable in providing assistance.

Gender relations of the Laut Tribe household in overcoming poverty

Gender relations are social relationships between men and women, both in household life and in social life. In household life, gender relations are the gender relations between husband and wife in terms of the division of roles, both in the domestic sector and in the public sector. However, to discuss what gender relations are in-depth, it is necessary to first explain the concept of gender itself because there are still ambiguities and misunderstandings about the meaning of the concept of gender and its relation to achieving gender justice and equality. The concept of gender cannot be understood comprehensively without looking at the concept of sex. Misunderstanding and confusing the two concepts as a single component will preserve gender inequality and injustice.

In the English dictionary, sex and gender are both defined as "gender". However, the two have different meanings. Sex is a biological construction that is a trait of the two human sexes which is attached to a certain sex. A set of reproductive organs that is biologically attached to each particular sex cannot be exchanged forever because it is given, is a provision of God or nature. Meanwhile, gender is the social construction, which is a trait that is inherent/attached to both men and women which is socially and culturally constructed. The characteristics of nature itself are interchangeable, can change over time, and differ from one place to another. The formation of gender differences is through a very long process, formed, socialized, strengthened, and constructed in a socio-cultural manner, even though religious and state teachings (Fakih 2016).

Social construction on gender differences has led to gender injustice and inequality, both for men and women. This is due to gender bias in interpreting or narrating men and women physically based on the cultural values applicable in the local community which in turn creates appropriate and inappropriate measures of what men and women should do and this can be seen and perceived through its implementation in people's daily lives, including marginalization which causes poverty. Meanwhile, subordination, which is considering women as second-class beings, irrationally or emotionally places women in an insignificant position.

Moreover, there is a stereotype, which is labeling or marking due to gender differences and a double burden on women who work not only in the domestic sector but also in the public sector. Justice and gender equality can be created through gender relations. If it is brought into the realm of household life, where the household is a family institution to survive and function, it is necessary to have a balanced division of roles within the family, so that the goals and functions of the family can be achieved.

Theoretically, gender relations in the perspective of functional structural theory place the family as an institutional system with a structural system that places the position of husband, wife, and children in a vertical position so that roles, rights, obligations, and responsibilities are greatly determined by the patriarchal hierarchy. Whereas in the social theory of conflict, this structure has the potential to cause prolonged conflict and often creates an undemocratic condition. This is because there is limited distribution of resources (power, opportunity, and family decisions) that is absolutely in the hands of the husband, without any negotiation process between family members. This conflict will lead to change, where in the next process, the social-conflict approach emphasizes and even fosters awareness of each individual regarding the differences, and how these differences become a harmonious synergy so that better changes can occur in the family.

The family as the smallest system in a society consisting of the father (husband), mother (wife), and children or what is commonly known as the nuclear family has their respective roles and functions. One of the functions of the family is in the economic field, one of which is in a traditional society that the family becomes a production unit (Martono 2014). This means that family members can serve as tools to meet family needs, in other words, family members can be mobilized to fulfill family needs. This is also carried out by the poor households of the Laut Tribe because, inevitably they have to adapt to the conditions of poverty they face so that they can survive. Gender relations between husband and wife are definitely needed in the division of roles, both the domestic sector and the public sector, which becomes harmonious energy in overcoming poverty, which is in accordance with the context of this study, particularly the gender relations that the researchers mean in this study.

In poor households of the Laut Tribe, the husband's income that is uncertain as they work as a traditional fisherman, seen from the fishing tackle used, has greatly affected the catch obtained. Besides, the catch is also influenced by weather factors while fishing, so this has an impact on the fulfillment of the daily needs of the family. Moreover, when the north wind season arrives, the husband does not go to sea, so to fulfill their basic daily needs so that the household life can survive and continue, the fishermen's wife has to work. They work following their husbands to go to sea in the morning and come home in the afternoon because their husbands are unable to pay the wages of the crew. Besides, the reason for the wife to go to sea is because of a tradition that has been passed down over generation in the community system and in the family of the Laut Tribe, where the wife participates when the husband who goes to sea.

Uniquely, when they go to sea using an engine boat, this boat can be boarded by three or more husband and wife couples, where the wives are later assigned to sort the fish that their husbands catch before being taken to the mainland to be sold to Toke. Toke is a term for people who collect fish from traditional fishermen. In this case, the catch is not shared equally, only the operating costs of the boat are shared. Further, there are fishermen's wives who choose to work by not following their husbands to go to sea. They prefer to work as shrimp peeler laborers, washing laborers, or ironing clothes. They assume that if they work with their husbands, they will not earn money, but if they work elsewhere, they earn money and can help the family economy because the salary they receive is separate from the husband's income.

The condition of the Laut Tribe household shows that earning a living is no longer the responsibility of the husband as the leader of the household, but also the responsibility of the wife as a family member who actually had to be the responsibility of the husband in meeting the family's needs. However, for wives who work by following their husbands, they have a contribution in the work because there is a division of roles played by the wife, in which the wife is assigned to sort the catch obtained before it is sold to the buyer. Automatically, if this is carried out using the services of other people, the wages must certainly be paid to them. But, because the wife does this, they are not paid because they are considered to be helping and lighten the burden of the husband. In fact, it is very clear that economically, what the wife carries out has a profound effect on family income.

The involvement of women in economic activities is a significant phenomenon in the era of modernization and globalization because it shows a shift in the sexual division of labor. The division of labor in the patriarchal system that has occurred in many communities in the world has encountered a shift. Currently, the boundaries of the domestic and public sectors as boundaries between men and women are obscure. This does not only happen to particular social classes, but also in all social strata of society. For highly educated women, working in the public sector is not a necessity to meet the demands of life, but to fill their spare time in applying the education they received. While for other women, particularly in poor households, working women is a must to meet the needs of their family. This is also experienced by women in Laut Tribe households. However, even though women have contributed to improving the family economy to fulfill their daily needs, they are indeed only considered as additional income. This point of view is established because of the construction of a patriarchal culture in a society that men as

Wahyuni & Solina: "Overcoming poverty in Laut Tribe households"

husbands are family leaders who are fully responsible for fulfilling family needs. Theoretically, in the view of structural-functional theory, the family is the smallest institutional system in society. To be able to function and survive in the face of the poverty problems they encounter, they must be able to adapt to this poverty.

Gender relation analysis in the Laut Tribe households

A study by Aisyah (2013) showed that each structural-functional, conflict, and feminist theory has its own perspective regarding the patterns of gender relations in the family. However, it simultaneously recognizes that socio-cultural construction still has a significant effect on the division of roles played by men and women in family institutions. This means that socio-cultural construction plays a very significant role in contributing to the creation of relations between men and women fairly, or otherwise, inequality occurs. The factors causing the imbalance of gender relations in household institutions include those who become the greatest contributor to household income, the influence of patriarchal values, women's attention in childcare, and who has a favorable position and is more likely to impose a negative position on the division of household labor that is far from equal and leave the marriage when negotiations fail. Patriarchal culture ranks as the second variable in producing unequal gender relations. However, consciously or not, patriarchal culture has strengthened the construction of gender role differences that tend to benefit men.

Gender relations that are built in the Laut Tribe households in overcoming the problem of poverty in the productive sector are the involvement of wives in earning a living to meet the basic needs of the family in daily life. However, in reality, all this does not necessarily increase women's bargaining power in making decisions within the family, such as children's education, use of money, purchase of household tools, and involvement in social activities, which are still very sexist and gender-biased. For example, the wife makes decisions in the children's education. This is in accordance with the gender stereotype that children's education is a woman's concern because there are social values that applicable so far, in which education is a concern for the mother. This condition also applies to decision-making in the purchase of household goods and in spending daily necessities. On the other hand, decision-making is carried out together, but only at the level of discussion, in which decisions are dominated by the wife. Gender bias continues to occur because the purchase of household tools and daily necessities is the territory of women in the domestic sector. Meanwhile, for decisions in the public sector, although there are discussions between husband and wife, they are more of communication only because the decisions are dominated or decided by the husband. This happens because of the patriarchal culture that has been attached and has become a tradition in society that men as husbands are the backbone of the family as leaders who are responsible for the survival of the family. Thus, the decision must be approved by the husband, even though the wife contributes to improving the family's economy, but they still occupy a subordinated position.

On the other hand, domestic work or household work is work that is carried out related to household maintenance. These works include providing food or cooking, keeping the house clean, such as washing, sweeping, mopping, and caring for children, the sick, and the elderly. Domestic work, in this case, is the work of cleaning the house. The gender relation that is formed in the Laut Tribe family is a division of labor, but it is not static. In domestic work that is carried out by the husband, it is more to help, meaning that the husband will help with cleaning the house when he has free time and sees his wife being very busy doing so much domestic work. This condition shows that domestic work is indeed the wife's domain as a housewife. This cannot be denied because patriarchal values are passed down over generations in families and communities.

A study by Janggar (in Hizriadi 2019) stated that women's participation in the economy is necessary but does not increase women's status. In fact, women's involvement is considered to discourage them because women carry a heavier workload. Likewise, for the women of the Laut Tribe, although they contribute to improving the economic welfare of the family, they are still fully burdened with domestic work because the husband considers that domestic work is the responsibility of the wife. This condition shows that the contribution of women as the economic support of the family in solving household poverty is only considered as a complement (additional breadwinner) because of the construction of patriarchal values in which the husband as the head of the family and the leader is responsible for the sustainability of his family life. In structural-functional theory, the role of each family member is greatly determined by the male (father) power structure as the head of the family who hierarchically has the highest authority in family decisions. This perception has neglected the role of women in the family, which has placed them in a subordinated position. In the study of Marxist feminism, which sees the factor of increasing the economy by women as a solution to women's oppression, it turns out to be irrelevant because the increase in the economic level of wives does not automatically have an impact on gender justice for women, for example, being free from domestic violence. In the Laut Tribe household,

although the wife contributes to overcoming the poverty problems they encounter, the division of roles actually makes the wife have a double burden. In the public sector, the wife is directed to be able to play a role in improving family welfare, while the wife is also required to be able to complete her work in the domestic sector. However, in the decision-making in the family, it is more dominated by the husband.

Conclusions

The division of roles in the household in the perspective of the structural-functional theory is seen as a natural thing to maintain family harmony. This is actually detrimental to women (wives) because the division of roles in husband and wife relations makes the husband plays a role in the public sector as breadwinner, while the role of the wife is in the domestic sector by carrying out her role as wife and mother who takes care of all her household work, starting from washing, cooking, cleaning the house, preparing the needs of children and husbands. However, when the wife works in the public sector, this will be a double burden. On the one hand, the wife is directed to contribute to improving the family economy, while on the one hand, the wife must be able to complete her work in the domestic sector. This phenomenon is often found in poor households, while for middle-upper class economic households, this work can be done by a household assistant. Meanwhile, in the perspective of Marxist feminism, increasing the economy of women is a solution to end the oppression of women is irrelevant because the increase in the economic level of women (wives) does not automatically result in the absence of injustice or oppression of women. For Marxist feminism, oppression and gender injustice occur because of the existence of political, social, and economic structures that are controlled by capitalists as owners of resources in a patriarchal perspective.

The figure of women is often disadvantaged because of the gender ideology that differentiates men and women. Not only based on gender, but they are also differentiated based on their respective roles. Thus, the inferior, oppressed, subordinated treatment often befall them. There are at least two factors that often cause women to be treated in such away. First, this is because of gender-biased social and religious constructions. Second, this is because of patriarchal ideology. These two factors often become trigger factors that cause many forms of oppression and injustice on women. In poor households of the Laut Tribe in overcoming the poverty problems they encounter, wives participate in working for a living. Some work as shrimp peelers of fishermen labor, domestic assistants, sellers, and joining their husbands to go to sea to sort the fish before they are sold to *toke* (collectors). The income that the wife earned from her job in the public sector contributes to fulfilling the needs of the family. In fact, it does not have a direct impact on the bargaining position in gender relations, in this case, the husband-wife social relationship. In strategic decision-making, it is determined by the husband, and when there is a discussion, it is limited to being communicated. Meanwhile, decisions that are more directed at the role of the wife in the domestic sector, for example for kitchen purposes, are fully given to the wife as the decision-maker. This means that the gender relations created in the Laut Tribe household show that the wife plays a role in earning a living, while the gender relation of the husband's role in the domestic sector shows that the husband only helps reduce the workload but does not carry it out completely. This means even though women (wives) contribute to maintaining family survival, they are still subordinated.

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