

Women Alienation from Job: Husband-Wife Partnerships in Household Financial Management

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Abstract

Household culture in Indonesia determines that men are the breadwinners and women take care of the family and home. Increasingly many women are helping to meet the economic needs of the family. However, their involvement in the fulfillment of family income is not met with reduced household duties. This paper is the result of a qualitative study of female civil servants (PNS) in the Ketapang District, West Kalimantan. Sixteen informants were interviewed in depth. The results show that the civil servants, whose husbands have a steady income, managing and using their earnings for their families, do not benefit from the situation. It is obvious from the results that household work is left more to the women and less to the men, even if both spouses maintain a full time job. This study recommends efforts to change the mindset and worldview of women and men towards income and responsibilities concerning the role and position of husband and wife in the family. In addition, there should be efforts to sensitize the general public about the importance of the division of labor, power relations and bargaining power of women to create a gender-just society.

Keywords: Household Economy, Women, Power Relations, Financial Management.

Start from Work Environment

My interest in doing this research started from my own personal observations of my work environment as a Civil Servant (PNS). My co-workers, most of whom were married women, calculated their economic contributions to their household without considering their personal needs. They believed that to meet the monetary needs of family members, especially the cost of their children's educations was to meet the needs of them. Some of the women even used their one-hour lunch break to go home to make lunch and pick up children from school. In my opinion, there was no balance in marital duties because it turns out that as women became involved in economic contributions, men did not reciprocate by contributing to household chores. While women used their incomes for household spending needs, the men's' income would go towards permanent goods such as houses, land, motorcycles, cars and more. Sometimes, the husbands directly used their income without compromising with his wife. In one specific case, one of my co-workers was going through a divorce. She was a very selfless wife, placing her husband as a top priority in the family at the expense of herself. She sacrificed chances of achieving a higher education and more established career in order to keep her husband superior. She eventually got out of the house as a divorcee with two children, but had nothing to take from it, because all the property they shared was legally owned by her husband.

I am interested in the lives of female civil servants in managing the family's economic life for several reasons. First, while the standardization of roles in the family by Indonesian society and state places the husband as the breadwinner of the family, female civil servants also play a role in contributing to the family economy. Sometimes, they are even the backbone of the economy of the family. Second, according to the BPS (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2005), nearly 25% of educated women in Indonesia, especially in rural areas, take the profession as a civil servant, as it provides fixed income, security and retirement. Proof of career development of female civil servants in Indonesia is seen in the fact that 2/3 of the total number of civil servants in Indonesia. At the end of 2007, the Ministry of Women Empowerment and the State Personnel Board recorded that the number of female civil servants was 1,727,797

out of the 3,728,868 total numbers of civil servants in Indonesia. Based on these observations, I conducted a study of in-depth interviews on 16 female civil servants in Ketapang District, West Kalimantan.

Conceptual Study: Husband-Wife Power Relations

Power is closely related to decision-making. Weber (in Lukes, 1986) connects power with dominance, i.e. a situation in which the person in charge manifests desire in the form of an order; or making regulations to influence the behavior of the people controlled. Sometimes they order as if it comes from their own hearts. Looking at the process of the exercise of power, Dowding (1996) defines power as the power to and power over. Power to is analyzing and measuring our own ability to do something. It focuses more on collaboration to generate power. A person who is the object of the power to is someone who is autonomous and has the right to determine and maintain his desire. Power over is the ability to transform other actors to produce something. In this process, people who are affected do things according to the will of the people affecting have no option to express their opinion. In feminist theory, power is a partnership in achieving objectives. According to Cantor and Bernay (1992), power from the feminist point of view is the setting of social values in society that do not conflict with masculinity and femininity. Power in this case values empowering others, with the aim of creating better social conditions.

Power is understood that in material life there is always the structuralization of social-material relations in which all parties are forced to participate. In his discussion of power and material resources, Rosaldo (1974) noted the power and value in women's domestic and public roles. Women's opportunity to obtain authority or power can be done by entering the men's world, accepting the legitimacy of domestic functions or creating a world of their own, through the allocation of women's earnings to the household economy, wealth accumulation, through the control of food, and to form a particular group or association in the family and society. In line with the Rosaldo's opinion, from the Blood and Wolfe study cited by Sajogjo (1985), the distribution of power between men and women is closely linked to the cultural and personal resources that each donated in their marriage. Personal

resources can be in the form of cash, labor, land, skills, knowledge and religious rituals. According Sajogjo (1985), power in the family is the ability to make decisions that affect the lives of family members, and is not equal between husband and wife. The division of labor refers to the pattern of existing roles within the family, especially between a husband and wife, to do a particular job. The combination of these two aspects (power and division of labor) according to Blood and Wolfe (1960), is a basis in the family and is influenced by the position of the family in the neighborhood or community. Therefore, the magnitude of the role of women in domestic work and work for a living does not always coincide with increased autonomy or power of women within the family.

The concept of power in income allocation and household roles in this paper is used to look at women's situations. In this regard, I would like to see if the power of men or women increases or decreases its bargaining position in making decisions regarding the management of the money in the family: to see how women allocate their income and situation of the husband-wife relationships or vice versa, the situation of the husband-wife relationship when allocating their income. Eichler (1981) and Haryono (2000), studied the relationship between women and men or husband-wife power relations and assume that the power relations are formed due to the interdependence of the need for survival, economic wealth, status and prestige, procreation, sex and affection. Eichler developed the idea that economic interdependence between women and men will set up four types of husband-wife dependency relationships, namely: (1) The husband does not rely on the wife and the wife relies fully on the husband (dominant); (2) The wife does not rely on the husband and the husband depends fully on the wife (dominant); (3) Husband and wife are interdependent (equivalent); (4) Husband and wife are not interdependent (equivalent). Scanzoni (in Suleeman, 1999) says that the husband-wife relationship can be distinguished by the pattern of the existing marriage. According to their research, there are 4 kinds of marriage patterns demonstrated in the following chart.

Table of Marriage Relationship Pattern

No.	Marriage Relationship Pattern	Explanation	Exchange position
1.	Owner Property	<p>Wife is part of husband's belongings, just like cash and other valuables. The breadwinner is the husband and the wife's duty is to provide food for her husband and children.</p> <p>Wife also has to complete her duties with household work because the husband has been working to feed her and the children.</p> <p>Wife is not a person but rather an extension of her husband.</p> <p>Wife is just the interests, needs, ambitions and aspirations of husband. If there is disagreement, the wife should submit to her husband's decision.</p>	<p>Wife gets recognition from the needs supplied by husband, relatives and peer group based on the husband, gets social status following her husband, and receives recognition support from others.</p> <p>Obliged to provide sexual satisfaction to the husband, it is the husband's right to obtain sexual services anytime even if the wife did not want it.</p> <p>Husband could divorce his wife if she cannot give sexual satisfaction.</p>
2.	Head-complement	<p>Husband and wife are complementary. Husband is expected to meet the needs of the wife for affection, sexual satisfaction, emotional support, friends, understanding and open communication.</p> <p>Husband and wife live life together. Husband makes a living for the family. The wife remains in charge of the household and educating children.</p>	<p>The final decision remains in the hands of the husband.</p> <p>Wife has complementary attributes to husband that must reflect the social behavior and physical appearance.</p> <p>Wife supports her husband in the form of paying attention to his appearance, inviting relatives, teaching children about the values and engaging in the politics of status maintenance.</p>

<p>3.</p>	<p>Senior-junior partner</p>	<p>Wife's position remains complementary and additional to her husband as a friend.</p> <p>Wife works and contributes economically so she is not entirely dependent on her husband.</p>	<p>Wife has more power than her husband in household decision making, but in status, the husband has more power because he is the main breadwinner.</p> <p>Wife's income must not be greater than the husband's.</p> <p>Wife can continue her studies and education but husband's career should take precedence.</p> <p>Husband determines the status of wife, and if the wife comes from a higher social status, her will go down to match her husband's.</p>
<p>4.</p>	<p>Equal partner</p>	<p>There is no higher or lower status between husband and wife.</p> <p>Wife gets the same obligation as her husband to develop her education and career and perform household chores.</p> <p>Wife may have higher income and serve as the main breadwinner.</p> <p>All decisions are made with consideration of the needs and satisfaction of each partner.</p> <p>Wife gets the support and recognition from others for her own abilities without regards to the husband.</p>	<p>Love as a place to develop themselves. Allows husbands to express their needs and feelings, with control.</p>

Economic Position and Women Decision in Family

Marx (in Tong, 1998) looks at production work as an exploitative system, because it uses work force, energy expenditure, and intelligence. Workers sell their force, energy and intelligence to the production owner in the form of a wage. They then sell the commodities produced by workers for profit or 'surplus'. This means they have a monopoly on capital and materials used in production work. The system conditions laborers to work for a wage in exchange system which Marx called 'commodity fetishism'. Exploitation also occurs when women and men form a family. To maintain the stability and continuity of family, women and men must carry out two kinds of work: production work that generates wages to meet the economic demands of the family and reproduction work to preserve descendants and family. The social construction of gender roles places women as housewives who carry out the reproduction work, and men as heads of family who do

“Exploitation also occurs when women and men form a family. To maintain the stability and continuity of family, women and men must carry out two kinds of work: production work that generates wages to meet the economic demands of the family and reproduction work to preserve descendants and family.”

production work. Because production work is rated by wages, reproduction work is not considered "real" work. Men who work outside the home have an economic value of wages needed to fund the process of reproduction. As a result, men are considered owners of capital in the reproduction process, because they transform their income to women to finance the process of reproduction. Therefore, men assume the position of head of family.

As the owners of family and the owners of capital, men take the surplus from women in the form of sexual service, heredity, and increasing their status in society. Men also claim their surplus when they are married to a woman who also works. According to law and social construction, women must assume household roles to free men from reproductive work. However, when a woman keeps a job that garners income, her husband's duty is not reduced, even though she is contributing to production work. According to Karl Marx

(in Suseno, 1999), work is a means of human self-realization and should provide pleasure or satisfaction. With work, man can make himself real, because work makes a person exist for himself, for the environment and for others. On the other hand, work can resort to 'alienation', because men feel they are separated from humanity, being a mechanistic part of a social class. Women, on the other hand, focus primarily on their roles as housewives, and only work outside the home to meet family demands and not to fulfill their desire to work. They work outside the home and in the home. Women then feel they exist not for themselves but only for others. As a result, women experience alienation from themselves for the loss in investment in themselves.

Women are alienated from their work because they do not see results for themselves, and the more they work to make money for their family, the more they feel that they are missing out. They also feel that they are increasingly alienated from their work in the household as well. As a result, their work is no longer an implementation of free will, but being force to work. According to Marx, someone who is forced to work exists for herself when she is no longer working. This also applies to women who carry out their work in the household; they perform household chores with the demands that they have to work for the survival of their families but also have a place in the community as a good mother. When women work in the home solely to fulfill social obligations as housewives, the purpose of their job is to meet the needs of others. She loses essence as an individual human being, because she loses her nature of human development. In this case, the woman is under pressure and loses her sense of self. When a human is alienated from his nature as a human being, then he will be alienated from other human beings. As Marx put it (in Suseno, 1999): "Alienation of man from the work, from the events of his life and of nature as a human being is the estrangement of man from man." "Alienation from fellow states conflicting interests in the form of conflict and damages the relationship of each individual. A sign of alienation is the power of money in human beings against other human beings. So the action of work is no longer to get the value as a human being, but to earn money as a form of power."

Alienation of women from their jobs, from themselves, from the

environment, and from human beings is a form of alienation of women because women lose their existence or awareness of self. The relation between capitalism, men and women depicted in a state of alienation of the individual gives an overview of the oppression of women because men free their alienation from capitalism through women. Arivia (2003) describes this concept quoting from Ann Foreman: "Men really exist in the social world, business, industry, and also in the family so that they can express themselves in these four areas. As for women, their place is often in the home. Objectivity of men through the industry and taking their work products indeed provides alienation. But the alienation effect on the lives and awareness of women has a greater impact that is oppression. Men seeking freedom from alienation through their relationship with women, while for women there is no way to be free as their relationship with men is the main structure of oppression." Women's alienation to themselves, the environment, other people and their work becomes an operation as the women are complement to the alienation freedom of men. Women lose their identity when they are in the structure of families and the environment. A woman interprets herself to be 'owned' by her parents as a child, and then 'owned' by her husband when her father hands her over during her wedding. So all done by women are conceptualized for "the one who owns her", including the purpose of doing household chores or working to earn wages needed for the family economy. In society, the workplace is a source of pressure that alienates women and men and the house is a place of refuge. In the house, men dominate their relationship with women to free themselves from the alienating pressures of work. Meanwhile, the woman in job stress and her relationship with husband put her alienated in the family and in the workplace, making it difficult to let herself go.

Women in Household Economy in Ketapang District

The above conceptual study helped me analyze female civil servants in Ketapang, who work and use their income and how it relates to their husband and family household economic decisions. This paper gains its data from 16 participants given pseudonyms to maintain confidentiality and research ethics. The interview began with a general overview of the

informant, including age, marriage age, rank/group of work, tenure, education level when she became a civil servant, current education level, number of children, number of dependents, and husband-wife income including, office benefits, project benefits, and other income. Data were obtained through interviews with informants. The results contributed to the following analysis.

Relations of Power and Husband's Understanding about Income

The husband's dominance in income management can be seen in the delivery of financial management responsibilities and the fact that consequences of shortage must be faced by the women alone. For example, the following informant was positioned as an extension of her husband to manage household finances. "Since courtship, my husband gives his income to me to be managed. My husband provides flexibility to me to manage the income, but I have to face the risk of shortage by myself... as if my husband trusts me and I feel bad if something goes wrong when I do it ... so it seems that my husband gives me his income and I have to be nice, to meet my duty to manage the family finances, and make it adequate if it is less" (interview with Susi/240607). In some examples, the husband decided to unilaterally use the income he left his wife to manage for his own benefits. "... At that time my husband wanted to continue his study... he said he had to continue his study, so I agreed it, as I think it should be, especially as my husband still works in the sub-district, who knows after he finishes his post-graduate he can work to the district. Then, my husband asked for the savings which is actually the saving of our salary, he said that is for the cost for the first six months before receiving the scholarship fund." (Interview with Susi/220607). The above interviews show that there is a tendency for the husband to make decisions on the management of his income for his own benefit, such as financing his education. Husbands can maintain and manage their own income, but they choose to hand over all financial responsibility, and then want to be served after handing over all his salary to his wife. Rosa, one of the informants who experienced this situation decided not to manage her husband's salary, because she felt that her husband showed his power by giving income. "Since I took all salary, my husband does not ever want to know what the family needs,

he seems arbitrary, wants to be served in everything, so I handed over the salary, I asked him to manage it by himself, I told him to pay for a lot of needs, not because a month salary he got such power, whereas I have to pay for all" (Interview with Rosa/300607).

Husband Denies a Traditional Role as Breadwinner

Another finding from the studies is that husbands are unwilling to accept the role as breadwinner and financing the household, by handing over the responsibility to his wife. "... I was ever managing my husband's income for a few months, but it did not last long because my husband tends to turn over all the financial affairs of the family and would not care if his salary is up for some basic needs of family and child allowance. I've continued to ask for additional money whenever he came home moonlight, but every time I asked for the money, the answer is always just asking me in turn, for example: "where is your money, is your money not enough, what do you want to buy anyway" ... Come to think of the money I spent on this family. Finally I return my husband's salary, insisting his obligation to pay for family needs, I asked him to pay for the costly education of children, grocery shopping each month, and if the kids need money I just told them to ask to his father ... since then I never asked for money again to my husband. Although I have to try to meet the needs of families of side dishes every day ... but it is still lighter than I had to accept indifference from my husband when I managed his salary." (Interview with Rosa/221207).

"... Before the other needs are met, the living cost of my child who goes to college is sent first. I lower costs by reducing snack or buying a cheap menu. Otherwise, it is difficult for savings and allocating for semester tuition of my child. I also have to take into account the child's allowance each month. I can only pray that I die when the children have finished college. If I count, actually my husband's salary given to me is just enough for us to eat, so for a monthly cost of children and child semester tuition are all from my income." (Interview with Nana/230607). In a subsequent interview, when talking about her husband's duty as a breadwinner, Nana expressed objections to the process of financial management in her family which is more chargeable to her income, especially the attitude of a husband who is not involved in the management of household activities. Nana protested the

assumption that the child's success is always considered the result of the husband's efforts, because husbands rarely shows gratitude to his wife. As she states in her interview, "I don't mind anyway, but well, it's marriage, right? Both of us want it, so we should live it together. If husband and wife have deficiency, we cover each other. But, I feel we have a duty as a wife, husband, too. If the husband is respected in the family and in the eyes of the people because he is the leader, because he supports his family. Yeah ... so well in fact that a wife had been forced for always doing this, to bear family living. Maybe it seems I like touted as if counting our services to the family, but it is the reality, if the husband is respected for our merit, for our help, so the husband should be grateful to his wife, it can be by helping the household chores or maybe by moonlighting. Please listen, if a child is successful he is mentioned as the father's child, not the mother's child" (interview with Nana/301107).

Nana's ability to meet family needs with her income, even though her husband does not provide full income, is also experienced by Kurnia, whose economic contribution has been well established since marriage. The desire to be married by a certain age urged Kurnia to maintain a relationship and get married at a young age. Although she had to pay for the family economy at the beginning of their marriage, her husband still paid for college. But after college completion and Kurnia had asked to manage his full income, her husband refused to give the rest of his salary because Kurnia made more than he. "... what else do you want to buy that you beg for money again, is your great salary not sufficient! That's what my husband replied if I told him the rest of his salary. Once my husband also told me, ... you know my salary is low, why should you ask yourself again while your salary still enough for daily needs! ..." (Interview with Kurnia/251207). The unwillingness of men to hand over all his income to be managed by his wife is due to men being unprepared to lose control of his income. This feeling is strongly influenced by men's wishes to use their income towards status symbols, such vehicles and luxurious goods.

Husband Utilizing the Contribution of Wife's Income

Fina, another informant, did not want to differentiate and quantify whose salary is widely used for the needs of the family, because she

wanted to avoid conflict. She said that the use of income each month is the responsibility of the husband and wife together. However, when asked about her husband's personal expenses, Fina admits that much of her money is used for the family and saved for family needs. Overall, she feels economically exploited by her husband, as shown the following interview. "... from the beginning ... for our meal I use the money outside of my salary ... and almost all of my salary is saved... and we use that saving money to buy land and build a house, so if I count it, my money is used more." "I even ever thought that I was economically exploited by my husband to support his career and my husband's family life." (Interview with Fina/240607). Not having full access to her husband's income, and the absence of husband-wife communication regarding family finances show a lack of her husband's responsibility to his family's needs. It causes an economic burden and puts pressure on women, even raising questions about the responsibility of the family breadwinner. Fifit and Marni agree with this opinion: "If I think that building home is an obligation of both of us and discussing family finance is supposed to do together as well, perhaps I have revealed a long ago who work full to support this family, to raise the children, to make the monthly budget enough until the end of the month and the money is still remaining... everything has been used all, but my husband feels that it is enough to give a month's salary ... even we give all out to the family, my husband is just relaxed and doesn't think that the next month we have to pay the college semester tuition of our child. Listen ... there is not the child of mother who becomes scholars, it is the child of father. Although I feel to be exploited by my husband, I was trying to be willing to what I did" (interview with Fifit/150607). Based on the informant interviews, the following are the factors that influence the use of husband-wife income. (1) Maintaining family image: the wife is willing to work to support the family, and let the husbands not carrying out their responsibilities. She does not want a divorce so that children are raised by intact-parent. (2) Wife's ability to negotiate with the husband: the process of a wife's negotiation with her husband occurs when she starts running household activities that cost money. The problem is, husbands are unwilling to give up money unless the wife asks for it, or they choose not to give money altogether. In these

situations, if the husband does not accept her negotiations, she figures it out by working outside of the house to earn the living.

Husband's Status Quo

The conditions of husband-wife relationship in the use of husband-wife income for a family that requires women to make adjustments, implies many things. One implication is the status quo of male gender establishment that results violence against women, and the exploitation of women's work. Imaging of men as a leader or head of the family is still anesthetized by underlying root of paternalistic-masculinity culture that puts women in an unequal position. Unpublished empirical data says a lot of men are not ready to marry women who earn more, because he is not prepared to face the changing gender establishment constructed by culture over the years. Mens' unpreparedness to share his roles equally with his working wife can be seen from the attitudes and behaviors exhibited by Kurnia's husband to his spouse. Kurnia's husband has a tendency to limit the movement of his wife with unilateral rules that he made as a form of manifestation of power to his wife. He uses demeaning words and makes threats while out in public if the wife dared to commit a violation of the rules that made the husband.



JP Documentation

“... I do not dare, because he suppressed me with his attitude. For example, when we were still on courtship, once he threatened to leave me if I was still doing gymnastic activities and making friends with people he did not like. He had never hit, but he threatened to hit me if I violate the ban, or the threat of leaving me was very often. ... I'm always forbidden for monitoring activity or other activities to leave the house more than a day, whereas I do not forbid

him to do the same activity. My husband always accompanied and picked me up when we will go to or come home from work, I go to work at seven, go home for lunch at twelve and came back an hour later then come out at 3 pm ... my husband is doing so because he could not meet the needs of families full, so he gets it away to me, perhaps it makes him not to be underestimated, because if I noticed, he often did this in front of friends who like to poke fun at me, that my husband married me due to money ... they know that all facilities used by my husband is from my income before marriage" (interview with Kurnia/030707). The attitude demonstrated by Kurnia is one of man's attempts to maintain the status quo of gender establishment that provides physical and psychological benefits to men. Looking at Kaufman's opinion (in Subono, 2007), the power shown by Kurnia's husband is a form of insecurity and fear of power loss.

Wife's Strategy

These are some ways in which wives adjust the income in her own way.

Reducing or eliminating expenses for herself.	Wife puts their needs in the final sequence. She puts the children first and the basic necessities.
Using saving and loan services.	Shopping by owe at the beginning of the month, then paid at the beginning of next month to stabilize the family's finances.
Reducing the family consumption expenditure.	Overcoming the money crisis by suppressing family expenditure like cheaper cooking materials or making it by themselves. The process is completed by the women themselves.
Suppressing the growth of the number of family members.	Doing unhealthy and dangerous abortion by reason of financial and social conditions which do not allowed. They do abortion by taking laxatives for delayed menstruation cycle, strenuous physical activity even taking hard drugs.

Role Distribution in Households

Mei and Marni show how the social construction that puts family consumption under the women's' management makes women afraid

to speak out on economic issues the family faces. "... I feel that my duty is to provide meals and drink, and then my husband told me that I have to meet the needs with my salary, so I'm just uncomfortable to ask my husband salary" (interview with Marni/050707). "I feel bad asking for additional money to my husband, because my salary has been spent, ... so every shortage is covered by myself, if there is something difficult, I do it by myself, I feel that it's not good to have a fuss on household needs" (interview with Mei/250607). There is a notion in society that family economic problems are a personal matter and should be kept a secret. A woman's inability to keep family finances secret and to overcome the family economic problems would place the women as deficient. Therefore, the woman looked at the use of income as a way to be welcome in the family and society. Women are conditioned to accept attitude and relationship offered by the spouse, particularly when viewed from the management of the husband's income. In addition, women as wives use their income to support stable family structure, or for the establishment of an ideal family.

The results showed the completion of the whole or a variety of reproductive work in 16 informant families almost all the household chores are completed on a daily basis by the wife. In some informant families, the husband does not get involved in the completion of routine and non-routine household chores. In general, informants describe that the husbands are only involved in non-routine activities such as shopping staples for families every month, or accompanying the wife with grocery shopping and cooking side dishes. Husbands get involved in parenting activities such as dropping off and picking up children from daycare or school, occasionally taking children to play or teaching children to learn. However, the husband's involvement in childcare is not a whole because he is simply aiding his wife. The following table is based on informant interviews and indicates husbands' lack of involvement in household chores.

Table 2. Recapitulation of labor division based on the implementation by the husband/wife

No.	Type of Household Chores	Routine involvement (people)		Non-routine involvement (people)		Other information
		S	I	S	I	
	Daily routine	S	I	S	I	
1.	Cooking					
	Providing breakfast		16			*eating out, the maid
	Lunch		16	3*		
	Dinner		16			
2.	Washing dishes		16			
3.	Washing clothes		16			
4.	Ironing		14	2		
5.	Cleaning the house		14	2		
6.	Shopping to the market		16	3		
7.	Helping children learn		13	3	1*	*helping
8.	Parenting		16	10*		*helping
	Monthly routine					
9.	Shopping groceries		14	2		
10.	Going to pay for electricity		9	7		
11.	Going to pay for water services		9	7		

The implications of the husband-wife division of labor to the development of women are as follows: (1) Career options after husband's career: women should not hold career positions higher than their husband's. Politically, the distribution of positions in the government is less responsive to women because it puts women second after her spouse. The second, the assumed responsibility of household work and parenting small children make women unable to express their desire to go to college and in favor of her husband. (2) Not wanting to compete and conflict: women do not want to be considered selfish by her husband. (3) Condescension toward women in household chores: husbands cannot do household chores, but they can enjoy the results of

the wife's work to support the family income. Husbands refuse because they consider household chores lower, which means woman or wife is considered having lower position. As the informant Gina said, "... it is enough for me that my husband's attitude who do not want to interfere in the domestic affairs as an attitude not to accept myself ...". (4) Women relented: some informants make a strategy by utilizing and maintaining the condition as a companion to her husband. But the husband maintains his dominant position by limiting the choice of women to get a better education.

Conclusion

In general, women who work as civil servants in particular have access to employment, income, education and skills. However, the results showed, despite having access to all of those things, a woman's status in relation to her husband does not improve. For that, it takes the awareness of women and men to change the concept of roles and responsibilities in the family. The awareness to change this concept requires awareness in women and men about the meaning of personal needs and familial needs, and the meaning of the wife's income and the husband's income. Married couples should have a plan in order to improve their bargaining position. The plan is a financial plan for household needs or "husband-wife partnership". Here are some of the benefits offered in the 'partnership' or husband-wife partnership: (1) Establish strength and solid relationship between husband and wife, thus simplifying the spouses to achieve career advancement because they are more empowered. (2) The partnership will reduce conflicts that may arise in the management of income due to the openness of financial problems and the benefits gained by the husband and wife, so fairness is achieved. (3) The partnership will maintain continuity of relationships between husband and wife because of the commitment of cooperation between the two. I recommend efforts to change the mindset and worldview of women and men towards income and responsibilities concerning the role and position of husband and wife in the family. In addition, there should be efforts to sensitize the general public about the importance of the division of labor, power relations and bargaining power of women to create a gender-just

society. It is necessary to revise Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage to be changed substantially into “husband and wife together shall organize households as well as possible”.

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