

**Are Dayak Moslem Women Dependant?:
A Study of Dayak Moslem Women Work Ethics**

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Abstract

Previous studies that have been conducted in relation to women's work ethics in traditional society seem to inadequately generalize the holistic women's work ethics of traditional society in general. This article was intended to explain another reality found in Tangkaben Dayak moslem society, Indonesia, that is different from general views telling that women in traditional society are not financially productive, have economics dependency to men, and tend to be lazy. This current study was set as qualitative study by using phenomenological approach. The data were selected through observation, interviews, and documentary study. It was found from the result of study that double role that is played by the women of Tangkaben Dayak Moslem have no impact to their productivity and their household chores. In fact, income those women earned from their work can sustain the economic condition of Tangkaben Dayak Moslem families. Thus, it can be concluded that not all women in traditional society have low work ethics. At this stage, social values and norms that are embedded in a society have major influences on realization of women's work ethics. The social values and norms embedded in Tangkaben Dayak Moslem were found to be a major factor that is able to support and improve women's work ethics. Accordingly, the general negative stigma about women's work ethics in traditional society can be proven wrong by the reality of women's work ethics in Tangkaben Dayak Moslem society. In other words, negative views about women's work ethics in traditional society only occurred in certain communities and can not be used to generalize all women's work ethics in general traditional society.

Keywords: *Work Ethics, Dayak Women, Moslem Women, Tangkaben, Double Role*

INTRODUCTION

Work ethics become an important point in the middle of competition in this industrial era. This is due to the fact that excellent work ethics is able to accelerate processes to achieve a company or an institution's main goals. A good work ethic allows each member of a company or institution to have the same commitment to realize the

company or institution's main vision. At this point, there several factors contribution to build good work ethic, that include culture, psychology, and values system that were embedded and believed within a community (Sapada et al., 2017).

Work ethic is frequently differed based on gender factor (Pierson & Holmes, 2002). Some studies that have been carried out showed realities that work ethics between males and females are differed and shaped by the society, in both qualitative and quantitative aspects (Laditka et al., 2004; Meriac et al., 2009). The distinction as stated by Suprpto and Setiawati (2014) that men are associated with independence, perseverance, and hard work. Meanwhile, women are associated with attendance and dependence. In addition, other findings also mention that in certain societies, men are seen as more productive and have more potential to achieve high careers than women (Lusiyanti & Wicaksono, 2020; Sweet et al., 2016). There is also another finding with regard to education, men are often seen to be quantitatively higher in certain companies compared to women (McDaniel et al., 2001). Likewise, Mussida and Patimo (2021) found that in traditional societies, men are seen as more productive than women. At this level, worker women can have a negative impact on family responsibilities and relationships.

The differences have some implication to the emergence of perception that women tend to have lower work ethics compared to men. At this level, women are often categorized as a group that have low productivity, lazy, "different place" from man, and are only appropriate to handle house hold chores (Maulana & Hafidzah, 2021). As the result, in the practice of human resource management, women face more difficulties to get an important position in a company or an institution (Petersen & Morgan, 1995; Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015).

The above views of work ethics are not completely right. Some other studies concluded that there is no significant difference between men and women in their work ethics. Besides, results from other studies proved the contradictive result showing that women tend to have better work ethics compared to men in some fields of work (Akbarnejad & Chanzanagh, 2012; Valentine et al., 2009).

According to those results of some related studies, in general work ethics have no direct relationship with gender difference. However, the society's work ethics are closely related to culture embedded within a society. It means that the society's ways of thinking is

able to indirectly influence views relating to the society's work ethics (İbrahimoglu et al., 2014). Islam as a religion whose values are embedded and believed by most people in Indonesia has highlighted the importance of work ethic in life to its believers although that work ethic orientation is mainly intended to build positive relationship with God (Husin et al., 2017). The Islam influences on society's work ethics, for example, can be seen in Nigeria who has applied Al Quran and Hadits' values to shaping their work ethics (Attahiru et al., 2016). In Iran, women, especially intellectual women tried hard to break conservative ideologies within their society to have the same rights as men do eventhough they have to face various strong social counteractions (Akbarnejad & Chanzanagh, 2012).

In Indonesia, women position in the context of work ethics still faces some dilemma. Most women in Indonesia tend to be placed at the second position that make them still being trapped merely by domestic matters, especially in traditional society that tends to be limited from modernization. Some labels, such as weak, dependent to men, unproductive are often given to women and become an identity to most women in Indonesia. This condition then places women under the men's hegemony both in their home and in their work environment (Ida, 2001; Kusumasari & Umar, 2018; Maulana & Hafidzah, 2021; Mulyani, 2009).

Not all traditional society in Indonesia put women in the second place group. In Tangkahan Dayak Moslem, for example, women are found to have an equal position to men in terms of their work ethics. Women in traditional Tangkahan Dayak Moslem are involved to sustain economic condition of their family. In other words, women in Dayak Moslem society have high productivity in financial aspect that makes them have no economical dependency to men.

This artice was intended to explain and deny some generalizations to women living in a traditional society that are regarded as unproductive and lazy group that have high dependency to men. Thus, this study is a result of study that was conducted to Dayak Moslem society in Tangkahan, Middle Kalimantan.

The study was carried out in village of Tangkahan, Banama Tingang District, Pulang Pisau regency, Center Kalimantan, Indonesia. This village is located at coordinate of-1.577240, 113.917529 atau 1°34'34.2"S 113°55'07.1"E in the upstream of Kahayan river, about 15 km from the center of district. The livelihood of most people in Tangkahan

village depends on nature, such as farming, gardening, gold mining, and fishing (Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Pulang Pisau, 2020; Tangkasiang & Baddak, 2021).

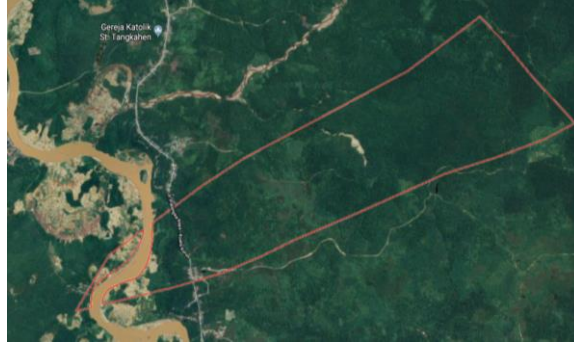


Figure 1. Map of Tangkahen village, Pulang Pisau regency

This study was set as a qualitative study by using phenomenological approach. Phenomenological approach is regarded relevant since the study was only aimed to portray facts in the field of research relating to women work ethics of Dayak Moslem. The study involved a Dayak moslem woman as a participant, a housewife and who is also a rubber farmer or seller. At first, the study was planned to involve 12 women as participants of the study who are regarded to have enough competency to give the information needed by the study. However, there are only 9 women who are willing to be the participants of the study. In terms of age, the nine women are categorized into three groups: 2 women are between 16 – 23 y.o, 6 women between 32-40 y.o , and 4 women are between 49-53 y.o. all of the participants of the study have got married and got children.

The data were collected through three data collection instruments. First, the data were gained through observation. The observation was conducted 7 times and every observation was done for at least three days. The observation focused on working activities of the Dayak moslem women in Tangkahen and their work duration in a day. Second, the data were also gained by having in depth interview with the participants. The interview was conducted directly to each informan at least three times of interview with each of them. There are two kinds of information that are needed that cover work pattern and cultural aspects that have influences on women work ethics of Dayak moslem women of Tangkahen. Third, documentary study instrument was also employed to collect data needed by the study. Documentary data that were collected is the secondary source of data that comes in the forms of photos showing working activities of Dayak moslem women in Tangkahen village.

DISCUSSION

Working Patterns of Dayak Moslem Women

Portrait about working pattern of Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan can be viewed from various aspects. On this theme, the aspects that were discussed include kinds of work, work routines, work motivation, and contribution of the work results to their family. Those aspects are able to provide a clear picture about work patterns that can represent work ethics and domestic responsibilities of Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan.

Women in Dayak moslem of Tangkahan have big responsibilities on their household life. In general, the domestic responsibilities of Dayak moslem women cover all kinds of domestic household matters that include bed, well, and kitchen. At this point, these domestic responsibilities become a major priority that is done everyday by Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan.

Although domestic responsibilities become a major priority, it doesn't mean that Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan put no care and not involved in improving the prosperity of the family. To find more facts about this, the observation data were strengthened by data given from interview revealing that in genera Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan have other works beside their domestic matters. Although it is not the main major, the income their work resulted gives positive contribution to the family's prosperity. The works that are chosen by Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan are mostly related to farming, gardening, trading, making rattan crafts, fishing, even gold mining. This was as the MI informant stated that :

Silebu tuh nah mamanta jadi andalan iki bawi hatue, bawi hatue si lebu tuh rata-rata bagawian sandeha, karna jite mun pagi uluh si lebih sepi, rami waktu sanja dengan hamalem". Gawian iki nah macam-macam, ada ji menoreh karet, tulak kan tana, manggau lauk, pokoknya are be hindai jibeken." (In this village, cutting rubber is our mainstay, both men and women. All of them work on average, so in the morning people in our village are quiet. Meanwhile, in the afternoon and at night it is quite busy. Our work also varies, such as tapping rubber, going to the fields, fishing, and many others)

The responsibility to do domestic work and work for income keeps the Tangkahan Moslem Dayak women very busy. This busyness even causes them to feel that 24 hours in a day were not enough. This is as the AN informant stated that :

Hampir-hampir bagi iki bawian si lebu tuh nah pa waktu dia cukup, pagi-pagi tulak mamantat, sambil mempersiapkan tulak mamantat, membereskan gawian si huma akan anak

bane, gawian bawian si Tengkahen tub macam-macam ada ji manggaduh anak, kan tana, kerajian mawi wadai akan nambah ongkos andau-andau, maggau lauk umbu bane, are kia ji beken hindai. Mun hamalem ada kia ji bagawi ringan, ada kia hiburan. (Almost all of us women in this village feel that time is not enough because in the morning we go to cut rubber. Before leaving home to cut rubber, we clean the house for our children and husband. The daily works of women vary such as making cakes to increase the family's daily expenses, fishing, and many others. At night there are also those who perform activities; while others use it for entertainment or watching TV).

This reality showed that the Tengkahen Moslem Dayak women were faced with two burdens at once. On the one hand, they had full responsibility for all domestic matters such as taking care of children, cleaning the house, and cooking. However, on the other hand, they also played an important role in improving the economy and family welfare by working. The reality found in the Tengkahen Moslem Dayak women was an antithesis of the negative stigma that was often attached to women as lazy and economically unproductive. In addition, the finding in the Dayak community in Tengkahen was a portrait of the dual role of women which was often found in traditional societies. This was in line with the findings of Tyagi et al. (2021) stating that in traditional societies women were given full responsibility for household affairs. But at the same time, it also contributed to helping husbands in the economic aspect. Mclellan and Uys (2009) mentioned this reality with the term dual-career. It was a condition where women were faced with the situation to be able to balance the need of working and domestic responsibilities in the family.

The fact about double role possessed by Dayak moslem women in Tengkahen is basically found in many places. This fact is happening among women who live in atraditional society, low economic background families, even among intellectual society. In some groups of certain community, a negative sentiment is living about the women's double roles. The negative sentiment is mainly given on the effects they may result. In certain case, the double roles of women may result in conflicts of family due to the limited time the women have to handle their household chores in relation to their work. In addition, women who paly double roles are more potential to have psychological pressure due to their multiplied responsibilities (Abeysekera & Gahan, 2019; Kwatra et al., 2012; Zaikman et al., 2016).

Regardless of the negative stigma about double roles of women, working experience may give valuable meaning for women's life. Through working, women are

given opportunities to fulfil their personal satisfaction, especially in financial aspect from income they gain. The income they earn indirectly gives positive contribution for their welfare. Besides, working women are also allowed to have interactions to fulfil their needs of socializing for a woman (Barnett, 2004; Bosch et al., 2012; Locker, 2014; Reeves & Darville, 1992).

The above topic of debate is triggered by the implications of double roles that are played by women. Group that gives negative stigma to working women is provoked by the fact that place women as a second group (Behdad & Nomani, 2012). Due to this fact, women are only given opportunity and responsibility to handle domestic matters or their household chores, meanwhile responsibilities in relation to financial aspects is given to men. When women are allowed to play double roles, it is to worry about that women will forget about their major role. On the contrary, some groups who give freedom from women to play double roles believe that men and women have equal rights and responsibilities to work and express something. Thus, Cox et al. (1984) point out that there will be no problems for women to work as long as they have good management of time, physic, and skills.

The double roles played by Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan are basically done based on their skills as suggested by Cox et al., as stated above. The skills are viewed from two aspects. First, it is related to time management aspect. Skill in managing time of Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan can be seen from their daily routines proving that they are able to finish a number of jobs in a day systematically and all day long. The cycle of their activities begin by preparing their family needs, such as preparing breakfast at 4 a.m. then it is followed by their work activities, such as extracting rubber trees from 5 a.m. until 12 a.m. In the middle of extracting rubber trees, they do their regular household chores such as cooking, cleaning the house, washing, and taking care of their children. In the afternoon, they help their husband's jobs in the farm while also socializing with their neighbours. In the evening, they accompany their children to study and after that they take some rest. Second, multitasking skill is also needed. It was found by the study that Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan have got skills in doing a large number of works at the same time well. It is unlike men who tend to do what they usually do well.

Women are often viewed to have limited physical strength to do heavy jobs. Due to this view, the jobs quality and productivity of women are frequently regarded as not good. This negative sentiment further affects appreciation to women's work is not as good as men, in terms of salary for example. Women tend to have lower salary than men although they have the same job descs. This inequality keeps stronger as the level of education of women and gender awareness among women (Christie & Gordon, 1992; Elveren, 2014).

This negative sentiment women's ability is in fact in the contrast to the reality happening among Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan. At this stage, the psychological condition of Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan allows them to be able to do various jobs at the same time. Pitts (2000) asserts that from physical appearance women may look weak, but psychologically, women tend to have better potency, intelligence, and skills compared to men in doing multitasking jobs. This better skill of women allows them to earn money not only from one source. This view is the supported by data from study of Behdad and Nomani (2012), and Sun (2008) showing that in some countries such as China and Iran, some women tend to have bigger income and more prestigious than men do. In addition, they are also able to handle their household chores at the same time successfully. Further, Coche and Blond (2018) state that in certain jobs, women can beat men's domination in terms of jobs' masculinity label.

The double jobs that are played by Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan is practiced consistently without any pressure. At this point, Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan do all of their responsibilities with fun and sincere. This reality is based on several motives of Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan who work.

There are three main motives why Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan choose to work. First, they have awareness to improve the family's economic condition. A family life in the middle of Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan is like a large ship where husband and wife are the captains. To run the ship well, they have the same tasks and same responsibilities to keep the ship or family balance by equally giving positive contribution. In this level, the wife's income is regarded as an attempt to keep the balance of the family life among Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan.

Second, the women need to fulfil their need to socialize with other women. The socialization among Dayak moslem women Tangkahan is realized by making routine social

gathering or arisan. Thorough this activity, Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan can interact with one to another in Tangkahan. One woman in Tangkahan usually have more than one social gathering activities that make them need more money to join the social gathering. Third, they need to make self image as a diligent and a good wife. The third motive is closely related to social and cultural norms that are embedded within the society of Tangkahan, especially to omit the image of lazy and not good wife to be. This labelling is usually given to women who are not willing to work and who don't have any skills in doing various works.

Motives of Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan to work are based to two aspects, economic aspect and social aspect. In fact, to fulfil the finanacial needs, there are pleny of women who choose to work as a labour abroad (Mee, 2015). In addition, the two supporting aspects generally become a major factor why women tend to choose to work in some other countries. In some countries, such as Bangladesh and Afrika, the financial difficulties oblige women to play double role as a housewife and also a person who earns for living for the family (Heintz et al., 2018; Ragoobur, 2020). Even, in Australia, the unsatisfaction of women towards their roles as a housewife that is regarded as monotonous becomes a trigger why most women choose to work outside their domestic roles (Ford, 2005).

Although working women is viewed as an attempt to make balance in a family life, but not all kinds of jobs are appropriate to be done by Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan. There are some categorizations of jobs, especially based on gender in Tangkahan. Although it is not written, this categorization becomes a social guidance to determine the appropriateness of job that is done by men and women. Kinds of jobs for men are jobs that are regarded hard, need physical strength, and are even extreme, such as making goods, gold mining, and making fishing equipments. Meanwhile, jobs that are considered appropriate for women are jobs that tend to need accuracy, tidiness, and don't really need physical strength, such as waeving rattan and other household chores. There are also kinds of jobs that are considered normal based on the social norms to be done by both men and women. This kind of job is usually a job that is done in group, such as extracting rubber, farming, fishing, and making fishing equipments.

The above reality shows that gender can become an unwritten indicator in categorizing kinds of jobs among Moslem Dayak society. This categorization then allows women to have double roles in some certain communities. Further, this also allows domestication or feminization to happen in working. The term domestication or feminization of work is referred to an attempt to specialize some kinds of jobs to improve women’s participation to work and increase their income (Beneria et al., 2016; Elveren, 2014). Having the same sound, Elveren et al. (2017) states that feminization of work can become a determining factor that may affect income or benefits that can be gained from certain works.

Working pattern, as have been discussed above, shows that in work ethics perspective, Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan are basically not lazy. Besides, Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan is generally open to gender equality, especially to women who are willing to work. It can be seen from a large number of Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan that successfully earn for living from their work. This reality is in contrast to stigma rumouring outside Center Kalimantan that considers Dayak moslem women to be lazy, although some studies showed that due to their limited physical, women in some certain place seem to be lazy to work.

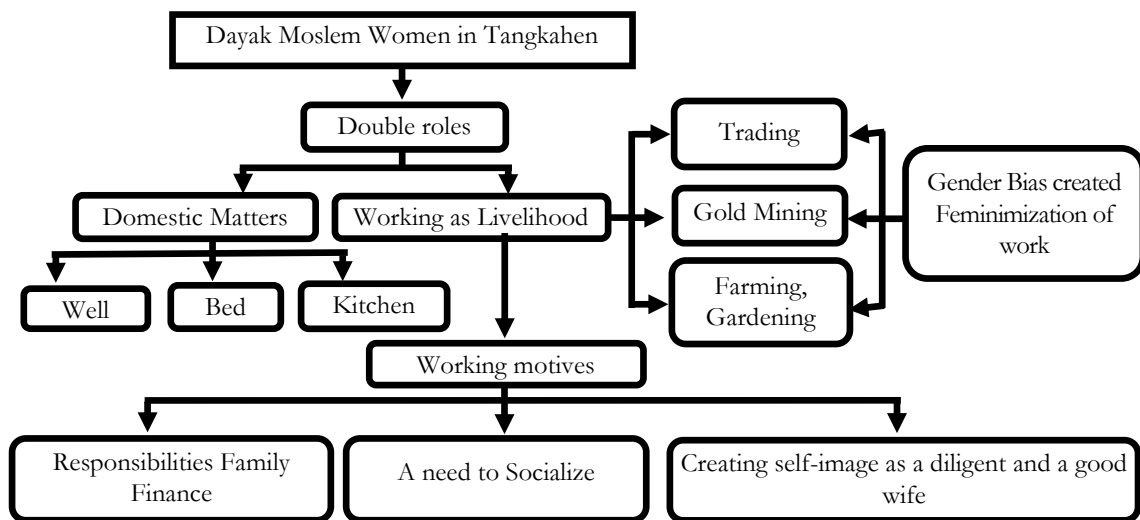


Figure 2. Working Patterns of Dayak Moslem Women in Tangkahan

Social and Cultural Aspect that Influence Work Ethics Dayak Moslem Women in Tangkahan

Work ethics has become a part of culture that is embedded within a society. That’s why, work ethic building in a society is closely related to social and cultural system that are

believed by a society. Some of the social and cultural aspects are religion, morality, and life satisfaction (Banks, 2016; Fakunmoju, 2018; Höpfl, 2007; Richardson et al., 2014; Yusnita, 2018). Some arguments about work ethic building are actually relevant to the reality found in Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan. Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan have played double roles due to their culture that has been living for centuries within the Dayak Tangkahan society.

There are at least some social and cultural aspects that have some implications to build work ethics among Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan. First, theology aspect becomes the foundation of belief and acts. Islam in Dayak Moslem society is not only made as guidance to worship, but also is used as glasses to portray and determine the appropriateness of some acts. In this context, Dayak Moslem society in Tangkahan understand and believe that Islam give guidance to its believers for both men and women, not to be lazy in working. In addition, working is regarded as an attempt to fulfil the need that can support the availability of facilities to do worship easily. Thus, Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan believes that working is also whorshipping. This point of view and belief then motivates Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan have valuable meaning to their working activities. In relation to the theology aspect, there is an analogy of values among Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan that is Philosophi of Bird. Every morning, bird files to look for food and go to their nest in the afternoon after they are feeling full. This bird activity represents the bird's belief in God that God has prepared everything eery creature needs, include human and animals where working is a way to get it.

There was a very close relationship between the theological dimensions and the work ethic of the Tangkahan Moslem Dayak women as the TO informant stated that :

Tuhan jadi manantu akan umur itab, jodoh itab, rajaki itab. Namun itab jida batawan sikuweh razaki tanau, pere razaki itab, makae itab harus manggau rajaki itabna lewat bausaba. Ujan jatun manjatu bara langit mun jatun prosese, Tuhan jatun merobah nasib ulub, mun ulub jida manbah nasib itab kabuat Rajaki jatun mungkin dumah kabuat. Bagawipun inyuhu awi Tuhan". (God has determined our age, our soul mate, our fortune. However, because we do not know where our fortune is, or how big the fortune is, then we must demand it by working. Rain will not come from the sky suddenly without any process. God will not change our destiny before we try to change our destiny by working and our sustenance will probably come by itself. Work is also God's commandment).

Second, the meaning of natural resources. The life of Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan is very close to nature. In this context, nature is God's gift that needs to be taken advantages of and to be well managed. Hence, working by managing natural resource is an activity to use them well and an activity to show gratitude to God.

Third, the applicable social facts aspect. In Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan, women who work has been considered normal. On the contrary, women who are not willing to work will be given negative sentiment by the society. The stigma will be given by labeling women as lazy and bad choice of wife to be. This negative stigma indirectly influences the work tehic building of Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan. This was as the RU informant stated that :

Bagawi tub na turun turun mulai babut, apalagi mun tege tanggungan, justru mun jatun bagawi dianggap aneh masyarakat bahkan jadi panderan ulun si lebu tub. Mahamen kia mun uluh bagawi, sementar itah jatun bagawi, kecuali ada hal-hal kilau haban, memang harus istirahat. (Working has been a routine activity from generation to generation, especially if we already have dependents. Even if we don't work, the community sees us as strange and can even become the negative talk of the village community. It is shame if other people work and we don't work, unless we are sick we should have a rest).

Fourth, as fulfilling the soul's satisfaction. The working activities has been a kind of routines among Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan that make them feel strange if they leave some activities even for only a day. There is even view within the society of Moslem Dayak that doing nothing is able to make them sick since working can give them healthy soul and satisfaction. This was also as the NI informant stated that :

"iki ji desa tub biasa bagawi tiap pagi, buli bentuk andau, justru mun jatun bagawi jadi ida sebat, bawi hatue termasuk para pemuda kia" (We, in this village are used to working every morning, coming home at noon. If we don't work, we feel unwell, both the elder and the youth).

Fifth, economy aspect. Working for Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan is done to get a better life and a more economically-secured life. Problems in life, especially in family life, are mostly triggered by the insufficient life needs fulfilment. On one side, the needs and demands of life keeps increasing, while on the other hand, the life's needs cannot be fulfilled appropriately. Thus, involving women to earn for living can be a good solution. Sixth, myth aspect. There is a myth that is believed by Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan that women are fortune getter so working women will get more fortune when they work.

These social and cultural dimensions behind the Dayak moslem women work ethics are basically social values and norms that have embedded within the society for hundred years. The disavowal of these social and cultural dimensions can make them get social punishment. Its consequence then becomes a social legitimation for Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan choose to play double roles. In eastern society, cultural values and norms have pivotal role in human's life. Religion as a part of values believed, in fact, becomes a major trigger in improving work ethic (Richardson et al., 2014).

Various social and cultural backgrounds that influence Dayak moslem women's work ethics in Tangkahan also shows that they are open to see the reality of life. this openness can be seen from the freedom of choice given to women to work. This reality also indirectly shows that there is an acknowledgment to an equality of men and women in Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan. Thus, in this context, women are no longer placed as a second group within the society.

This attitude in understanding the equality between men and women gives positive hopes for women who are willing to have activities beside their domestic matters. At this level, their willingness may be strengthened by various movements and social acts that emerge to support and campaign freedom for women to make their life choice

CONCLUSION

Women in traditional society tend to be placed as a second group within community after men. This placement often makes women only have limited activities by only handling house hold chores. Besides, this placement also limits women to have other activities beside their domestic matters. This reality then strengthens negative stigma that is often labeled to women, as an unproductive group and group who have low work ethics.

However, this point of view can be denied by the reality found in Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan. The results of the study have shown that Dayak moslem women in Tangkahan who play double roles don't make their responsibilities of their household chores neglected. They can play their double roles really well by keep handling their domestic matters, while at the same time they are also contributing to improve the economic condition of their family.

Based on this explanation, it can be concluded that not all women in traditional society have low work ethics. At this level, social values and norms give significant

implication to build the women's work ethics. These social values and norms are clearly applied by the Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan that make them able to motivate and improve the women's work ethics. Accordingly, the stigma the generalize women in traditional society have low work ethics can be proven wrong by the reality found within Moslem Dayak society in Tangkahan. In other words, the negative sentiment in relation to women's work ethic in traditional society only happened in certain society and cannot be generalized to the whole traditional society

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