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# Sexual Division of Labor: Functional for Family Existence (Based on the case of Hamap Ethnic Family in Alor-NTT Regency)

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# **Abstract**

The gender division of labor is a social phenomenon that is deeply rooted in the traditions and culture of society. The purpose of this division of labor is for the family to function as a stable and intact unit. In Indonesia, one community with unique characteristics in the division of labor is the Hamap tribe, who live in Alor Regency, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). This division of labor shows differences in roles between men and women, which significantly affects family dynamics. This research aims to analyze the existence of the gender division of labor in Hamap ethnic families, with a focus on analyzing the impact of husband-wife relations on the status concerned. The method used in this research is a qualitative case study approach, where data is collected through interviews and literature study. After the data were collected, the analysis was conducted in three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The results show that the gender division of labor in Hamap ethnic families has been going on for a long time, following their life cycle. Generally, men are responsible for earning a living in the public sector, and women handle activities in the domestic sector. Although wives are also actively involved in the productive sector, it is the husband who dominates decision-making in the family, because he controls productive assets and has the authority to control productive activities, while wives work monotonously, relying on their energy and loyalty to their husbands. In this case, the wife is alienated, but this practice is functionalist in order to maintain the balance of the family and society, and that occurs within the control of the social structure.

**Keywords:** Sexual division of labor, Hamap ethnic family, Alor-NTT Regency.

The family is a system consisting of individuals who are interrelated and have specific roles to support its sustainability. One form of this interconnectedness is the division of labor based on gender roles, where each husband and wife have unique responsibilities to maintain family harmony and function (Putri & Lestari,

2015). This division of labor aims to ensure that the family functions as a stable and intact unit. Gender role differences are very clear in the sexual division of tasks. In all societies, there are certain tasks that are usually entrusted to women, while others are assigned to men, and some tasks can be performed by both (Goode, 1991). Sexual

division of labor refers to the separation of labor between men and women, where women are usually responsible for domestic affairs (housework), while men are responsible for activities in the public sector or outside the home (Christiani, 2015; Rahmawati, 2016). In this paper, we will find inconsistent use of the terms sexual and gender. However, it is important to emphasize that the two terms are inseparably linked. Thus, both gender and sexual are intended here as sex differences in the practice of division of labor between husband and wife.

The sexual division of labor is one of the oldest and most powerful social institutions, dating back thousands of years and still existing today (Budiman, 1985, ix). According to the tradition of sexual division of labor, men (husbands) are responsible for the public sector, while women (wives) are responsible for the domestic sector. This tradition has been going on for generations, making it difficult to change (Susanto, 2015). People see this division of roles as natural, and they live with it as it is. In general, this division of labor is seen as a neutral reality, where neither party benefits or loses (Rapsanjani, 2023).

The sexual division of labor in the family is a social phenomenon that is strongly influenced by the traditions and culture of society. In Indonesia, gender roles often vary according to the customs and norms that apply in certain communities (Tedjo et al., 2021). community group that has a distinctive tradition of sexual division of labor is the Hamap tribe, who live in Alor Regency, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). Visibly, the division of roles between husband and wife in the Hamap community looks conducive. Although women also work seriously in the public sector, which makes an imbalance in the practice. Women seem to be disadvantaged in this division, but they still carry it out well.

This is emphasized in Budiman (1995) who states that although this sexual division of labor is considered unfair to women, many women do not see it that way. Instead, they accept the role

given to them as something noble and dutifully respected. The people of Hamap (especially the women of Hamap) also have a similar view, so the sexual division of labor still continues to this day. However, for many feminists, working in the domestic sector is considered a form of discrimination that harms women because it hinders the development of their potential.

The role of men, in this case the husbands of the Hamap tribe, has the responsibility to fulfill the economic needs of the family by working outside the home. One traditional expression that reflects this is: "ob ae o toh mih, o birang he lote o atang om mi" (The life and livelihood of the wife and children are the responsibility of the husband). Activities undertaken by Hamap men generally include gardening, hunting and fishing (for fish and other marine animals). Along with the times, some of them also work in the service sector, either as artisans or laborers. On the other hand, Hamap women do not only perform domestic tasks, but also manage their husband's work or business to fulfill the family's needs, in addition to participating in other jobs.

Hamap women are not only limited to domestic work, but they are also active in the public sector. Apart from cooking, collecting firewood, fetching water, washing clothes, and taking care of the house and children, they are also involved in activities outside the home. Based on initial observations, Hamap women, except in fishing activities, are also active in gardening, gathering, and trading. Around the house, they grow vegetables, yams and other crops that are suitable for the soil conditions, and raise small animals and poultry. The produce from these businesses is used for self-consumption and sold at the nearby market.

Women's involvement in the public sector can actually be considered a successful struggle to free themselves from the limitations of the domestic sector, which is often considered restrictive (Argawidyanti et al., 2022). However, the problem that arises is whether the results of women's work in the public sector are recognized as legitimate income, or instead they are included

in the category of unpaid family workers (Mckinley et al., 2021). This is not an issue if there is a balance of roles between husbands and wives in overall household work, so that the husband-wife relationship does not appear to be dominated by one party. However, the general reality is that men (husbands) are rarely involved in domestic work. Apart from being considered inappropriate, in some cases this is considered a violation of custom (Zuhri & Amalia, 2022). Another issue that arises is the minimal role of women (wives) in family decision-making, even though this is important as a reflection of their contribution to the family economy (Arafah, 2022).

This shows that wives actively contribute to earning a living in the public sector. However, the issue is whether their work is recognized as their income or whether they are unpaid workers with all the consequences. In addition, do they have the freedom to take part independently in the public sector, or are their activities controlled by their husbands. Also, to what extent are they involved in family decision-making, or are they under the domination of their husbands.

If the situation is like this, the fate of women is not much different from that of laborers or the proletariat. According to Mill, the situation of women in the sexual division of labor is even worse than slaves. Slaves are only expected to serve their masters, while women not only provide physical services to men, but must also provide deep love and care. Men not only want women as forced slaves, but also willing ones, and they expect women to be the "best slaves" (Budiman, 1995).

This is where the problem arises. Wives' involvement in the public sector should be at the core of women's struggle to break free from the confines of the domestic sector. However, this involvement is often under the control of their husbands, their work is not properly appreciated, and they are trapped in monotonous work, as if they have no rights over the results they achieve. As a result, women's role in family decision-making is minimal. These issues will be the

focus of this study, which aims to reveal a picture of the sexual division of labor in Hamap society.

### Research Methods

This research applies a case study approach in the qualitative realm, focusing on a married couple from a Hamap ethnic family. A case study is a series of scientific processes carried out in depth, detail, and intensively to understand programs, events, or activities, whether at the individual, group, institution, or organization level, in order to gain in-depth knowledge about these events (Rahardjo, 2017). Usually, the events studied are ongoing real-life events, not events that have passed. Informants were selected using purposive sampling technique, which is based on certain criteria relevant to the research. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with informants, namely the selected husband and wife and traditional leaders, as well as through literature study. After the data was obtained, it was analyzed qualitatively using an interactive model, which included three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing (Miles and Huberman, 1992). In the next stage, the results of the field research will be used to build an understanding of the pattern of social relations between husbands and wives, with the aim of reducing the possibility of exploitation of husbands against wives and up opportunities for empowerment in various fields. Hopefully, this can contribute to improving family welfare.

### Discussion

The sexual division of labor in Hamap ethnic families in Alor Regency, NTT, is strongly influenced by the customs and life cycle of the community. From birth, differences in roles between men and women have begun to be shown. When a baby is born, the sound of its cry is not only a concern for parents, but also triggers questions that reflect views on gender. For example, traditional parents will ask, "Peh-abuir so e Bubol?" which means "Bow of arrows or place of siri pinang?". The abiang (traditional

birth attendant/village midwife) will respond with an implied affirmation of gender roles. If the baby is a boy, he will be answered with "Pehabuir so o" (meaning: Bow of arrows). Conversely, if the baby is a girl, the answer is "Bubol so o" (meaning: Place of siri pinang).

In this affirmation, "Peh-abuir" symbolizes men's work, namely hunting as the main livelihood activity. This shows that there is a clear separation between the roles of men and women in this society. Men are expected to be involved in public work, especially earning a living, while women are never familiarized with using tools such as bows and arrows. Women's involvement in the public sector was not considered their responsibility, creating strict boundaries and entrenched social norms.

"Bubol", which is defined as a place for siri pinang, plays an important role in welcoming guests and reflects the duties carried out by women. When guests arrive, they are greeted with Bubol containing siri pinang, a symbol of hospitality and service that is the responsibility of women. Apart from Bubol, there is also another marker for girls, ba' botang (niru and bakul), which associates them with domestic roles.

Bubol and ba' botang clearly reflect the domestic sector. Any guests who arrive are usually welcomed by their wives or other adult women by serving bol containing siri areca nut and lime. Meanwhile, ba' (niru) and botang (bakul) are tools used by women to store and manage food. Niru serves to sift rice, corn and beans, and is used when looking for vegetables in the garden. Meanwhile, Botang is used by women to fill farming equipment and store foodstuffs, both in the garden and at home for daily needs. In this community, there is a strong stigma associated with gender roles. The use of botang by men is often seen as an unmasculine act. Those who are forced to use baskets are quipped with the phrase, "er ho ob bar he'in, botang fe fit lame" (you are like a woman, just carry the basket). This suggests that men should carry goods directly on their shoulders, without using containers such as botang, which are considered more suitable for women. If men do use containers, they are advised to use sacks, which are considered more masculine.

This difference in symbols attached to boys and girls, shows the division of tasks in daily work. Work in the public sector generally includes activities that focus on earning a living. Men, as the main breadwinners, are involved in activities such as gardening, gathering, finding wood to build houses, and going to sea to catch fish. Domestic work, on the other hand, is the responsibility of women and includes activities such as cooking, washing clothes, ironing, taking care of children and husbands, and caring for pets and poultry around the house. The main job in the domestic sector is taking care of the kitchen. Women are required to ensure that the family's daily needs are met, from preparing food to keeping the house clean and comfortable.

Related to the above description, there is a customary expression: Lote bar loling mi ola adimang puin e obbar uakala tataen e demang'eng sebune eh, afael se bano' eh (Men (husbands) work outside, trying to get something needed and then processed by the wife so that the kitchen stays hot, the fire in the kitchen stays lit). Here it is clear that men's job is to earn a living, i.e. work in the public sector and women manage it, i.e. work in the domestic sector, centered on the kitchen. The Balinese have a common term for household and kitchen, curen. The Hamap custom is also relatively similar, where the requirements for a man who is ready for marriage are to be good at hunting, have a garden whose produce has been stored in a paan (warehouse). Meanwhile, the main requirement for the wife is to be good at cooking. It is clear that according to Hamap custom, the formation of a family is centered on the kitchen (demang'eng).

Children are also brought up in families with habits that are colored/infused by the tradition of sexual division of labor. There are certain jobs done by boys, such as joining their fathers in fishing, doing carpentry work, taking blocks from the forest to build houses, hunting wild

animals, building fences, pig pens and (joining their fathers) repairing damaged parts of the house. Meanwhile, girls do work such as cooking, washing dishes, sweeping and tidying up inside the house, washing clothes. Although some work is shared, such as fetching water, feeding livestock, sweeping the yard, and collecting firewood, responsibilities in the kitchen remain the domain of women. Both adult and adolescent women have a monopoly over activities in the kitchen, suggesting that this role is very important in domestic work.

This tradition of gender division of labor is also reflected in children's games. For example, in cooking games, boys play the role of "father" who is in charge of finding materials to build a house, while girls play the role of "mama" who arranges the house and prepares food for consumption together. This tradition of division of labor is also evident in family formation plans. When a man has grown up and has the desire and intention to get married, he must prove himself to be an adult by trying to hunt and must succeed in getting a deer/kijang. The deer head must be brought to the tribal parents, and the tribal parents accept it as proof that he is an adult, and can start a family. He is recognized as being able to earn a living to take responsibility for family life (household). For girls who want to start a family, they must fulfill certain conditions: nadof no', nahanang no', buid no' pa'bala, name olofe oid, balenta no'. So a woman who is considered worthy of marriage (forming a family) is a woman who is good at cooking, good at weaving household utensils (from palm leaves), softhearted, loving and social, and generally good at serving (in a broad sense).

The terms of the marriage also make it clear that there is a sexual division of labor with a clear division of labor areas. The marriage system adopted by the Hamap people is the Patrilineal System, which traces descendants or silsila by drawing the line of descent from the male side only. Although the duty and responsibility for the public sector (earning a living) lies with the men (husbands), wives are also obliged to help their

husbands in supporting the family's sustainability. This can be seen in a traditional expression: Lote-lote bang aten sah, ob alal bang er an; Ob-ob nahanang sah, tu' kumang mi anaen lap (Men or husbands who do not have their own house, will take their wives and children from one house (family) to another; and wives who are not good at weaving (making containers from palm leaves), will look for walnuts with broken shell containers). This wisdom language means that men should work hard in protecting their wives and children, their dignity is determined by their responsibility in protecting their wives and children, especially meeting their needs well. On the other hand, women (wives) must also have the skills to support their husbands for the existence of their families. The existence of a home is a picture of the existence of a family.

Hamap families rely on farming as their main source of income. This activity has been going on for generations in a way that appears natural and traditional. In this study, all female informants revealed that they do not own their own farms, but only manage their husbands' farms. When they got married, they did not receive land from their parents as part of their livelihood equipment, so they did not own their own land. This research shows that the land used for farming is owned by the husband, which is usually inherited from parents. So the land, which is the main source of farming, is controlled by the husband, while the wife only plays a role as a worker in accordance with existing farming traditions.

In the process of cultivating in the fields, it begins with a deliberation to determine the location of the garden. All Hamap families are present along with tribal elders in a joint deliberation. At this stage, husbands and other adult men are actively involved in the deliberations, while wives and other adult women take care of the refreshments to entertain the audience - including serving siri pinang. Here too, it appears that it is the husband who plays an important role in determining the location of the

garden, while the wife just accepts what is decided at the meeting.

The next stage is slashing bushes (dil beh) where men play a role because this activity really requires physical strength and the stage of burning the garden (dil tub) which is full of risks so that husbands and other men play an important role in both stages, which activities at these two stages are more often carried out in mutual cooperation. And in the later stages of cleaning up unburnt debris (dil apeh), planting seeds (di lte' namoding), weeding (lufe fetang), harvesting (bate hor), binding the maize and storing it in the warehouse (bate pet e paan mi taro'ing), women - in this case wives and other adult women - are actively involved in the work. In fact, for all stages, the women (wives) play the main role and are even independent in preparing consumption needs. From this it is clear that wives are equally involved with their husbands in farming.

Seeds grown in gardening are corn, red beans, tourists and pumpkins. The results of this farming are generally for self-consumption, and on average can fulfill consumption needs for one season. It is rare or almost none of the Hamap families sell garden produce because the purpose is only for consumption, after all, the yield is limited to consumption needs. All informants stated that they do not sell crops, except for lending them to those in need, which will be returned in the next harvest season with a small increase in the amount as a token of appreciation or gratitude.

Another productive occupation is raising livestock, generally small livestock and poultry. Even these livestock raising activities are traditional, something that has been practiced for generations. Small livestock are generally pigs and some keep goats, while poultry are chickens and ducks. These livestock raising activities are carried out around the house, and are done equally by husband and wife.

There are also Hamap families who do petty trading. Of the 20 informant families, 15 wives sell at the market. The items sold are vegetables,

fruits (including siri - areca nut) and nuts. Hamap men do not usually sell in the market, but as things have developed, some men or husbands do sell in the market, but they sell things that are considered suitable for men to sell. One husband sells palm wine (tuak / to in Hamap), and another sells firewood on the side of the road in front of his house. Men (old) are seen as unfit to sell, but there was once a man (who was already old) selling church letters, who happened to be a church worker. However, selling in the market (walking sales) for an adult male (husband) is not a common practice among the people of Hamap.

All wives responded that the goods they sell (pang) are taken from their husbands' gardens, or bought cheaply from other parties and then sold at a higher price for a small profit (bought with the husband's joint capital). The proceeds from each sale ranged from Rp 50,000 to Rp 100,000. The proceeds of the business are the family's income and are used to fulfill the family's daily needs, including the children's pocket money.

There are also those who, in addition to gardening, also work at sea (fishing). This is the job of the husband and adult sons. They only use hooks to fish, and the results are primarily for sale, other than for their own consumption. Selling the fish is mostly done by the boys, both teenagers and adults; sometimes it is sold directly by the husband who is still young. The proceeds range from Rp100,000 to Rp300,000, and are used for routine household needs, and some are saved for the children's education (Hamap language: hadamang - taro'ing e seng sakolah u hadamang e). In addition, there are three husbands who, in addition to gardening, also work as artisans, earning an average of IDR 5 million a year. This is the husband's income and is used for major expenses such as school fees, house repairs, and the purchase of household furniture.

Furthermore, it is important to understand the roles of husbands and wives in family decision-making, as this can be an indicator in evaluating their division of roles in earning a living. The livelihood activities of husbands and wives

should have an impact on their involvement in family decision-making. There are variations in the pattern of husband-wife roles in decision-making, including husbands making decisions alone, wives making decisions alone, husbands being dominant, wives being dominant, husbands and wives being equal, and the involvement of others. These patterns will be

seen in various aspects of life, as described by Pudjwati Sajogja (1983), but adapted to local customs.

Based on the results of the interviews, information was obtained about the role of husband and wife in decision-making in areas of life, the variations of which are shown in the following table.

Table 1. Variation in Husband-Wife Roles in Family Decision-Making

No.	Bidangkehidupan	The role of husband and wife in family decision-making				
		Husband	Wife	Dominant husband	Istridominant	Equivale nt
I	Production	%	%	%	%	%
A	Purchase of Facilities and Tools	65	-	30	-	5
В	Labor Usage	25	-	25	10	40
C	Sales of products	-	-	50	-	50
II	Basic Needs					
A	Food					
A.1	Cost of Living	40	-	25	5	30
A.2	Food menu	-	25	15	35	25
A.3	Food Distribution	15	40	-	40	5
В	Housing	30	-	60	-	10
C	Clothing Purchase	-	25	15	45	15
D	Education Costs	20	5	45	-	30
Е	Purchase of household appliances	-	30	5	50	15
F	Health care	10	10	-	-	80
III	Family Formation					
A	Number of children	30	-	15	-	55
В	Socialization of boys	10	15	60	5	10
	Socialization of Girls	10	15	20	50	5
C	Division of labor among children		20	40	30	10
D	Children's Education (Type, Duration, Place)	20	5	45	-	30
IV	Social Activities					
A	Thanksgiving	-	-	-	-	100
В	Mutual cooperation	20	-	40	-	40
С	Arisan or similar	-	-	-	-	100
D	Worship	-	-	-	-	100
Е	Village Activities	80	-	-	-	20

Source: Processed primary data, August 2024

Based on the table above, it can be seen that decision-making in Hamap ethnic families can be divided into several categories:

1. Decision Making in the Production Sector

In terms of the purchase of production facilities and equipment for the various businesses run by Hamap ethnic families, the decision is dominated by the husband, accounting for 65%, with the husband predominantly making the decision in 30% of

cases, and only 5% having joint-equal decision-making. This shows that husbands have a strong influence in decision-making regarding the ownership and/or purchase of production facilities and equipment.

During farming activities, especially in phases that require a lot of labor, it is usually done by mutual cooperation or hiring labor. In this case, decision-making is done jointly and equally by the husband and wife at 40%, while decisions by the husband alone and the dominant husband each reach 25%, and decisions by the wife alone are only 10%. This shows that there is a significant contribution from wives, especially in relation to hiring labor services, which is related to the preparation of consumption. However, husbands still dominate decisionmaking in this context. As for the sale of the produce and the method of sale, the decision was made jointly by the husband and wife by 85%, with the husband dominating the decisionmaking by 15%. Overall, husbands still dominate decision-making in production.

2. Decision Making on Spending on basic needs

Decision-making regarding expenditure on basic needs in the family involves several important aspects. The first is food, where decisions relate to the cost of living, the menu, and the distribution of food to family members. Although consumption is often seen as the wife's responsibility, husbands play a significant role, with 40% of decisions being made by the husband alone, 25% by the dominant party, and 30% jointly and equally. The husband, as the main breadwinner, has a large economic contribution. Wives dominate regarding food menus and food distribution, with 25% of decisions regarding menus being taken by the wife alone, 35% by dominant, and 25% equally. For food distribution, 40% of decisions are made by wives alone, 45% dominantly, and 10% equally. This reality shows that husbands are more dominant in decision-making regarding living costs, while wives are more dominant in making decisions regarding food menus and distribution.

Secondly, in terms of housing, decisions about house construction and repair are also dominated by the husband. The husband makes 30% of the decisions alone, 60% dominantly, and 10% equally, in line with tradition where this responsibility usually lies with the husband. Thirdly, when it comes to purchasing clothes, the wife dominates the decision-making, with 20% decided alone and 45% with the dominant wife. Husbands played a co-dominant role of 15% and equal 15%. Husband involvement is more related to the financing aspect. For education costs, husbands are very dominant, with joint decisions dominant 70% and equal 30%, because husbands are fully responsible for the children's future and have a greater income.

For the purchase of household appliances, wives make the decision alone at 30% and dominantly at 50%, with husbands contributing 5% dominantly and 15% equally. This shows that although wives dominate the purchase of household appliances, husbands are also actively involved due to financial considerations. For health care costs, the decision is made equally by 80%, with 10% of the decision being made by the wife alone and 10% with the dominant wife, because the wife is more concerned about the health of the family, which is considered important in joint considerations.

3. Decision Making linked to Family Formation

Decision-making related to family formation covers aspects such as the number of children, socialization, division of labour among children, and education. In determining the number of children, husbands dominate the decision, with decision making the alone. dominantly, and 55% equally. This is based on traditions that emphasize the importance of offspring in marriage. Wives usually cannot refuse, given that traditional marriage aims to produce children for the existence of the family and kinship system in general. In terms of child socialization, husbands have a dominant role,

which is different from the common practice where wives usually play a greater role. The husband also plays an important role in children's education, due to the wife's busyness with household affairs. Decision-making shows that husbands make decisions alone 10%, wives alone 15%, with joint decisions dominant husbands for the socialization of boys by 60% and girls 20%. In contrast, wives are dominant in the socialization of girls (50%) but play a lesser role in the socialization of boys (5%).

For education (type, place, length), husbands also dominate decision-making, with 45% of decisions being made jointly. Husbands are perceived to have a better understanding of the children's future, and play a role in education costs. Joint decisions equaled 30%, with the husband making the decision alone 20%, and the wife 5%. Meanwhile, division of labor among the children is also part of family decision-making. Wives make 20% of decisions alone, while joint decisions equal 10%. Husbands dominate decision-making by 40%, and wives dominate by 30%. In general, wives appear to play a greater role in the division of labor among the children.

# 4. Decision Making linked to Social Activities

These social activities include selamatan (thanksgiving), gotong royong activities, arisan, worship and donations to government (village) activities. For all of these - with the exception of gotong royong activities and donations to the village government - there is a similar trend for other activities, with husband and wife playing equal roles. For gorong-royong activities, where there is a slight variation, the husband's joint decision is dominant at 40%, and the husband's own role is 20%, while the joint role is 40%. The wife's role is related to the preparation of consumption for entertaining invitations. Regarding contributions to village government affairs, the husband dominates the decisionmaking, namely the husband's own decision by 80%, and jointly by 20%. This is because it relates to activities in the productive sector and even in the public sector as the husband's domain.

Considering the description in the section above, it is clear that the husband dominates decision-making in family life because he (read: husband) controls productive assets and has power in family life according to the patriarchal culture adopted. On the other hand, wives have limited authority culturally so that they have very little control over assets in the productive sector, which has an impact on their limited role in family decision making. This condition reflects the wife's alienation. Alienation, according to Karl Marx's theory, is related to social relations that create dependence on those who control economic resources, which he calls the "mode of production" (Hendrawan, 2018). Based on patriarchal culture, husbands as those who control economic resources relatively occupy a dominant position, while women are dependent on their husband's power. Alienation, according to Marx, occurs when individuals are separated from control over the economic resources they rely on. Marx saw the history of mankind as a of social relations that regulate dependence on those who control the means of production (Marandika, 2018). In the context of husband-wife relations in patriarchal societies like Hamap, husbands who control economic resources are in a dominant position, while wives rely on their labor and loyalty to their husbands. This creates a social hierarchy that marginalizes (alienates) women in access to these resources.

However, when viewed from a functionalist perspective, this condition is understood as part of the social structure that aims to maintain the balance of the family and society. According to functional theory, the sexual division of labor does not just create inequality, but is also considered to function for the common good. Budiman (1995) states that the placement of women in the domestic sector and men in the public sector functions for the stability of society as a whole, and for the family in particular. A clear arrangement that women work in the household and husbands outside the household

minimizes the possibility of competition between husband and wife (Parson in Budiman, 1985). Thus, despite the division of labor that places husband and wife in different positions - public and domestic, these positions are equally important because they serve for the good - not only for the family, but also for society as a whole.

### Conclusions

The sexual division of labor in Hamap ethnic families has been going on for a long time, practiced for generations until today. Although women (read: wives) are also active in productive activities, their role in family decision-making is minimal. In contrast, husbands dominate decision-making in family life, including control of productive assets and control of financing, while wives work monotonously, relying on their energy and loyalty to their husbands. This imbalance in power reflects the alienation of wives. However, the practice of sexual division of labor is functional for the existence of the family and society in general because it occurs within the control of the social structure.

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