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Submission date: 03-May-2021 02:34PM (UTC+0800)

Submission ID: 1576559589

File name: Layout_Widi_without_references.doc (104K)

Word count: 6634

Character count: 34213

Family conflicts and the violence of unemployed husbands against their wives acting as the main breadwinner

Konflik dalam keluarga dan kekerasan suami tidak bekerja terhadap istri pencari nafkah utama

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Abstract

In a patriarchal society, men are the breadwinners and women are obliged to perform a domestic role. However, in reality, there are many families with unemployed husbands and working wives who support the family. This study aimed to reveal the background of unemployed husbands and the conflicts and violence against wives as the main breadwinner. This study used qualitative research methods and is descriptive research in design. The researchers interviewed informants from families with unemployed husbands where the wives were the breadwinners. The results of this study indicate that the causes of the husbands not working include illness, bankruptcy, company rationalization, a lack of desire to support their family or being too lazy to work. The conflicts that often occur in families with unemployed husbands include the socialization of the children, family economy, the division of domestic labor, differences of opinion in various matters, conflicts with their extended families, and various cases that are considered trivial. The violence that occurs in the family with unemployed husbands is physical violence, verbal, and psychological abuse to wives. Although the wives are the source of the family economy, the husbands remain in a dominant position in the family. Therefore, efforts to overcome the violence in the family requires support from many parties, including the wives, families, communities, and the state.

Keywords: conflict of family; domestic violence; female breadwinner; unemployed husband

Abstrak

Dalam masyarakat patriarki, laki-laki adalah pencari nafkah dan perempuan wajib menjalankan peran domestik. Akan tetapi, dalam realitas, banyak ditemukan keluarga dengan suami tidak bekerja dan istri yang bekerja menghidupi keluarga. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap latar belakang suami yang menganggur serta konflik dan kekerasan terhadap istri sebagai pencari nafkah utama. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dan merupakan penelitian deskriptif dalam desain. Peneliti mewawancarai informan dari keluarga dengan suami yang menganggur di mana istri menjadi pencari nafkah. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa penyebab suami tidak bekerja antara lain sakit, bangkrut, rasionalisasi perusahaan, kurangnya keinginan untuk menghidupi keluarga atau terlalu malas bekerja. Konflik yang sering terjadi dalam keluarga dengan suami yang menganggur antara lain sosialisasi anak, ekonomi keluarga, pembagian pekerjaan rumah tangga, perbedaan pendapat dalam berbagai hal, konflik dengan keluarga besarnya, dan berbagai kasus yang dianggap sepele. Kekerasan yang terjadi dalam keluarga dengan suami yang menganggur adalah kekerasan fisik, verbal, dan psikis terhadap istri. Meski istri merupakan sumber ekonomi keluarga, namun posisi suami tetap dominan dalam keluarga. Oleh karena itu, upaya penanggulangan kekerasan dalam keluarga membutuhkan dukungan banyak pihak, baik dari pihak istri, keluarga, masyarakat, maupun negara.

Kata Kunci: konflik keluarga; kekerasan dalam rumah tangga; perempuan pencari nafkah; suami tidak bekerja

Introduction

In contemporary society, there is a transition in responsibility between the husband and wife in terms of fulfilling the family economy in which the wife acts as the main breadwinner while the husband does not work. The social reality of the family in which the unemployed husband and the wife works is still deemed to be uncommon in Indonesia, particularly in Javanese society where the patriarchal ideology remains deeply rooted. Society dictates that the husband functions as the breadwinner while

the wife is in the domestic sphere of the household, inclusive of cleaning the house, cooking, and caring for any children. An unemployed husband, also called a stay-at-home dad, shares almost the same responsibilities as his wife since their identity is rooted in staying at home (Ammari & Schoenebeck 2016; Lee & Lee 2018; Gangadharbatla & Khedekar 2020). This phenomenon is commonly known as a stay-at-home dad in other cultures. The definition of a stay-at-home dad, according to Elfina (2015), is a father who is mostly at home and cares for the children while the mother becomes the main breadwinner and backbone of the family.

The phenomenon of being a stay-at-home dad is usual in the United States. The Census Bureau of the United States of America recorded 2 million household fathers in 2012. The phenomenon of stay-at-home dads in the United States has become popular because of factors including their financial condition, the woman's success, and their parenting values (Davis et al. 2019; Haberlin & Davis 2019; Helford et al. 2012). This is very different compared to the situation in Indonesia. The phenomenon of being a stay-at-home dad is considered uncommon due to the strong patriarchal ideology in the Indonesian social life (Maharani 2016). Patriarchal society considers husbands who do not take a part in the public sphere and passes time in the house to be helpless individuals (Widhiastuti & Nugraha 2013).

Matthew Cole (2007) also found that unemployed husbands are deemed to have lost their identity as a man because society constructs the role of men as being the backbone who takes responsibility for earning a living for their family. Therefore, families with unemployed husbands often receive stigma from the surrounding environment. Previous studies have shown that stay-at-home dads are outside of the traditional gender roles and violate traditional norms (Dunn et al. 2011; Chesley 2011; Glick et al. 2015). Some stay-at-home dads experience less social support and are excluded at the children's playground or by the school (Rochlen et al. 2010; 2008).

The wife's role as the source of the family economy does not change her role in terms of domestic work as she still has the main duties and responsibility associated with being a wife. Muasya (2016) found that women who work because of their unemployed husbands have caused the proportion of women working in the formal sector in Sub-Saharan Africa to have increased in the last few years. This impact leads to a decline in the support for family care and household chores because it remains the responsibility of the wife. When facing these double roles, the working wife often uses domestic workers to assist her in doing the chores. The working wife faces difficulties associated with balancing the demands of work and those of her family. Meanwhile, other findings also stated that unemployed husbands do not contribute much to the domestic work, resulting in a greater gender inequality for the partners at home (Lippe et al. 2017; Doucet 2016; Zimmerman 2000).

Hidayati (2015) stated that the patriarchal ideology is the background of these double burdens, establishing the construction that women are considered to be violating Islamic law when they do not perform their domestic work properly. Meanwhile, different statements indicated that a family with an unemployed husband and working wife can lead to changes in the decision-making in the family. In terms of the socio-economic factor, the wife becomes more powerful and influential in terms of determining which economic issues are considered essential. Meanwhile, in terms of the household work, the husband becomes more powerful because he is the one who performs the household chores (Goode 2002).

Families with unemployed husbands have to reorganize their family life for the sake of the family's financial needs. A previous study revealed that one husband lost his job because of experiencing company rationalization. This caused the husband and wife to experience stress and depression resulted from changes in the family's financial conditions. In this case, social support from their family members is needed by the husband. Initially, as the husband experienced company rationalization, the husband and wife often got into arguments because there was an adjustment in terms of the attitude shown by the wife, as she became more emotional. This triggered some conflicts in their domestic life since the husband experienced a company rationalization (Sari 2015).

In reality, women who take a role in the public sector will cause various kinds of conflicts in the family. According to the data collected by the Minister of Social Affairs, the rate of divorce filed by wives against their husbands in Indonesia in the last five years has ranged from 60 - 70%. In 2014, divorce was ranked third because the wives' income was greater than that of their husbands (Rachmayani & Kumala 2016).

In domestic life, quarrels and conflicts become aspects that are considered normal that under any circumstances must be faced for the wholeness of the household. Family conflicts can occur due to the process of uniting two individuals with different characteristics, cultural backgrounds, and belief systems. This means that changes are required to develop a compatible vision and mission in terms of living as a shared household (Dewi & Basti 2008). According to Scanzoni (1982), social conflicts occurring in the family can be classified according to several different aspects. Some of these aspects include issues associated with family finances, relationships with friends and extended family, the socialization of any children, the division of domestic labor, individual activities that are not in accordance with the wishes of the spouse, and various other conflicts in the field of religion, sex, communication in the family, and aspects that are deemed trivial (Dewi & Basti 2008).

When the family does not find a solution to overcome the conflict, it can reduce the level of harmony between the husband and wife because the dynamics are increasingly complex (Dewi & Basti 2008). Some of the findings discuss problematic families. A problematic family is a family that is not in conformity with the expectations and desire of forming a family that lives in harmony and happiness because the husband and wife are always in conflict concerning matters that have never been resolved. This occurs because they never try to find a solution to the problems that happen. For example, a husband who has an affair instigates domestic violence. The husband and wife no longer communicate intensely, so the level of concern for the family declines. Some of the bad behaviors done by the husband make the wife choose to look for someone who can provide comfort for her, resulting in the wife secretly having an affair. This is used as an outlet for the wife because of the stress and depression in her domestic life. Women maintain their domestic life because they may love their husbands, are worried about the children's growth and development, are concerned about the family economy because the wives are economically dependent on their husbands, to avoid adjustments in their social status or not wanting to be widows due to the associated stigma in the community. They still want to maintain the good name of the family in front of the community (Nurbayan & Nurhasanah 2017). According to Firdaus (in Nurlaili 2008), when the wives experience domestic violence, they will try to cover up what they have experienced because it is considered to be a disgrace to their family that must be kept hidden.

The patriarchal ideology has formed the social construction that assumes that women are weak and can easily be hurt by men, such as through verbal, psychological, and physical acts of violence. This occurs because social reality in the life of a patriarchal society assumes that husbands have the right to do anything when the wives are not willing to meet the husbands' wishes. The practice of patriarchal ideology also considers that violence against a wife is common when the wives do not meet the husbands' wishes, although it may involve desires that are considered bad. Patriarchal ideology can make the wives lose their freedom in order to take the position where they tend to accept the husbands' treatment. This is even though the treatment is considered bad, because it is regarded that the wives do not respect their position (Sakina & Siti 2017). In Indonesia, based on the Annual Notes of the National Women's Commission in 2019, there were 9,637 cases of domestic violence where wives were the most common victims in the private sphere totaling 5,114 cases. In fact, in Indonesia, acts of domestic violence are deemed criminal and are stipulated in article 23 of 2004 of the law on the elimination of domestic violence that is valid to this date.

Walby (2014) defined patriarchy as a system, social structure and practice in a society where men oppress, dominate, and exploit women. Patriarchy is conceptualized into six structures which increasingly show that women are in a subordinate position. Among these are patriarchal relations in the arena of household production, patriarchal relations in terms of wage employment, patriarchal relations within the state, the violence perpetrated by men against women, patriarchal relations in the

context of sexuality, and patriarchal relations in reference to cultural institutions.

This article discusses the families with unemployed husbands that are currently found in community life. It is still considered taboo because they are contrary to the social system that has so far been deeply rooted in a patriarchal society. This article also sought to reveal the conflicts and violence perpetrated by the unemployed husbands against the wives who are the main breadwinner of the family.

Research Methods

This study used qualitative methods with a descriptive research type. In this study, 15 informants were interviewed, consisting of 10 families with unemployed husbands where the wives were the main breadwinners. This study has sought to describe the social reality of the study background and the conflicts and violence in the families with unemployed husbands. The type of study chosen was descriptive, which intends to provide an overview of the particular social symptoms of families with unemployed husbands in order to provide additional knowledge about this issue. The subjects of this research were families with unemployed husbands, where the husbands were of productive age but were unemployed, while the wives were the source of the family income. The research informants consisted of 10 families consisting of 15 people. Ten people were either husbands or wives, while 5 others were wives only. Regarding the age of the informants, there were 10 women and 5 men aged 31 to 60 years old.

The education level of the male informants indicated that 2 people were senior high school (SMA)/equivalent graduates, 1 person was a junior high school (SMP)/equivalent graduate, and 2 people were elementary school (SD)/equivalent graduates. Meanwhile, 4 female informants were elementary school (SD)/equivalent graduates, 4 were senior high school/equivalent graduates, and 2 were university graduates. This shows that the level of education of the informants in this study varied, covering elementary school (SD) through to university.

The informants came from some of the villages in the Kebomas, Kedanyang, Gresik, and Ujung Pangkah Districts within Gresik Regency, East Java. These locations were chosen because Gresik is considered to be the city of *Santri* with the characteristics of a community that upholds noble Islamic values (Faridatin 2016). The high value of religiosity in the life of the Gresik people means that the patriarchal system deeply rooted because Muslim communities are often influenced by a patriarchal ideology in terms of understanding the religious teachings and shaping the culture as a result (Nurmila 2015). The strongly inherent patriarchal culture in the community life in Gresik often positions husbands as higher than their wives, meaning that there is a gender-based division of roles between them. The patriarchal culture also makes the wives obedient and submissive to the orders of their husbands (Yunus 2015). The reality occurring in Gresik is that there are families with unemployed husbands and working wives, which is considered to be contrary to the patriarchal system that has so far been deeply rooted in community life. After processing and categorizing the data, the data was then analyzed and interpreted. The researchers also observed the condition of the family and the social interactions that took place in the families with unemployed husbands.

Results and Discussion

Background of the unemployed husbands

In a patriarchal society, there is a sexual division of labor. Men play a role in the public sphere or play a role outside the home to help to raise the income of the family. This is while women are responsible for the domestic sphere of the household (Putri & Lestari 2015). Muassomah (2009) also stated that traditionally, the husband is considered to be the head of the family who is responsible for fulfilling their economic needs, guaranteeing the children's education and providing a good environment for the family members. Christin Munch (in Permata & Sugiariyanti 2015) stated that the role of the breadwinner can indicate the masculinity of a married man. A husband who is economically dependent

on his wife can feel that his masculinity is threatened.

The social reality today shows that many women play a role in the public sphere to help to raise the economic income of the family. Based on the data from Statistics Indonesia (BPS), the female labor force participation rate in February 2017 increased to 55.04% from 52.71% previously. The number of women who play a role in the public sector demonstrates them having the same abilities as men and being able to help the family economy. Many of them act as the main breadwinners in the family because their husbands do not work. This reality can influence the relationship between the husband and wife and can lead to changes in the roles taken on between the husband and wife when fulfilling the family economy (Anggraeni 2012).

The emergence of gender equality issues has resulted in women beginning to enter the public realm and become career women. This spirit encourages women to contribute to the labor market which makes their husbands change their earlier perspective. The husband begins to think about leaving their job and entering the domestic realm of the household. The phenomenon of a stay-at-home dad is becoming more known as a new paradigm in the world in terms of determining the division of roles in the household (Pramanada & Dinardinata 2018). The definition of a stay-at-home dad according to Elfina (2015) is a father who is mostly found at home who plays the role of caring for the children. The mother is the main breadwinner and backbone of the family.

The change in role between the husband and wife in terms of fulfilling the family economy is not only stimulated by the issue of gender equality. Muassomah (2009) explained that economic factors can also be the background for the change in role of the husband from the public arena to the domestic arena. This is while the wife becomes the source of money for the family. The husband's income cannot meet the needs of the family and this leads the wife to taking the initiative to find work with a greater income than that of the husband. This leads to a change in the husband's role from the public to the domestic arena. This change in roles is based on a mutual agreement between the husband and wife because there is a division of labor between the two.

Based on the data findings, the background of the unemployed husbands varies. First, there are the husbands that are ill, meaning that they are helpless and cannot work. They may have experienced a stroke or had an accident that results in them not being able to move as before, therefore they are forced to stop working. The second is experiencing bankruptcy, which refers to those who have previously had a private business but gone bankrupt. They choose to depend economically on their wives because of the limited capital available to set up a business and it being impossible to find a replacement job due to their deteriorating physical condition. Third is experiencing company rationalization and not finding a replacement job. The last is where the husbands do not work because they do not want to support their family, or they are too lazy to work. This has been stated by the wife of a husband who is not responsible for their family; the husband always unilaterally decides on the work contract that is being undertaken. The husband is classified as an individual who is easily offended by criticism from others. Moreover, one wife once tricked her extended family into believing that her husband still had a job to protect the husband's image and dignity in front of her extended family. The following is the statement from the informant:

“But, every time my husband works, it won't last long, you know. He decided himself to quit his job not because he was fired or anything else. In the past, Miss, before my parents and family knew that my husband was not working, I covered this secret from them” (informant DRI).

Another informant said a similar thing, in that her husband was not willing to provide for them and was not responsible for the family. The private business run by the husband had never showed any real results, but instead only increased the debt that he owned. This happened because of the husband's attitude. He was not careful when managing the business and never involved the family in terms of communicating and discussing any problems. The husband always asked his wife to pay off these debts, and the husband always argued that these debts were being used as business capital. The following is the statement from the informant:

“He said he only thinks about his job, but I thought, if he thinks about his job and there was a result, that’s okay. But, he leaves home early, comes home in the evening, sometimes he doesn’t come home, and there is no result, that’s useless, Miss” (informant LIK).

Another informant also experienced the same thing. The husband’s pond had to be sold because it had no more potential. The husband was not willing to find a replacement job after that. The wife confessed that her husband was not used to working hard, so he only relied on her to maintain the family economy after the pond was sold. The following is the statement from the informant:

“We had ponds in the past, but the ponds were used to be managed by others. Since the pond was sold until now, the income is only from me, Miss. I often advise him to work, any works, but there is still no answer from him” (informant DWI).

The factors that result in unemployed husbands of a productive age tend to be relatively in accordance with their respective life experiences. A husband and wife who experience this are required to restructure their lives to continue to meet the economic needs of the family. Changes in an individual who usually works to becoming unemployed will appear consciously or unconsciously. This can be seen in their daily activities. Based on the data findings, the changes in the unemployed husbands can be classified into three categories. The first is husbands who only spend time in the house and cannot do activities as usual due to their physical condition. The second is husbands who do not wish to support their family or who are too lazy to work, who spend their time doing unproductive things such as hanging out in coffee shops and hanging out with their friends. The data findings also show that unemployed husbands try to find activities that are productive to keep themselves busy. This is so then they can overcome their boredom since they are not working. They usually keep themselves busy by helping with the domestic work and actively participating in activities in the religious field, such as becoming an *imam* and *takmir* of the mosque in their neighborhood.

A previous study conducted by Shodiqin (2017) showed that unemployed husbands obtain social support from their children, have good values of religiosity in themselves so then they can control themselves and accept the circumstances, and they engage in non-working activities even though they are unemployed. This is what helps the unemployed husband adapt to the conditions that he must face. These findings are considered irrelevant in relation to the results of this study. Based on the findings of this study, unemployed husbands do not obtain social support from their family members. There is a change in the attitude of the wife and children such as never following the advice or suggestions given by the husband. The unemployed husbands also get poorly treated by the extended family of their wives due to their condition. This is because they cannot provide for the family, and there is the assumption that the husband should be primarily responsible for meeting the economic needs of the family. They also experience stress because they do not work and have to depend economically on their wives. There are concerns about the economic condition of the family. This causes them to become more emotional. They choose to neglect the situation to minimize the conflicts within their family. In addition, they have also tried to adapt to the conditions that they have to face at this time so then they can accept whatever they have experienced over time.

Family conflicts and the violence of unemployed husbands against their wives as the main breadwinner

The family is the smallest social unit, and it is a place for individuals to begin their lives. In the family, the individual makes it a place to take refuge, both physically and emotionally. However, due to differences in character and where there are different goals among the family members, it can often lead to various kinds of social conflict. According to Galvin and Brommel (in Wardyaningrum 2013), any social conflict that occurs is influenced by various factors ranging from the constructive to the destructive. In domestic life, disputes and conflicts are normal things to happen. Under any circumstances, they must be faced for the wholeness of the household. Family conflicts can occur because they are caused by a process of uniting two individuals who have different characteristics, cultural backgrounds, and belief systems. This requires adjustments to create a compatible vision and

mission when living in the household (Dewi & Basti 2008).

According to Scanzoni (1982), social conflicts that occur in the family can be classified according to different aspects. These aspects include problems related to family finances, problems related to their relationships with their friends and extended family, problems related to the socialization of any children, the division of domestic labor, individual activities that are not in accordance with the expectations of the spouse, and many other conflicts in the field of religion, sex, communication within the family, and various matters that are considered trivial (Dewi & Basti 2008). There is no exception for families with unemployed husbands and working wives. The results of the data findings show that the conflicts that often occur in families with unemployed husbands are related to the socialization of the children, the family economy, the division of domestic labor, differences of opinion in various matters, conflicts with their extended family, and various cases that are considered trivial.

In the families with unemployed husbands, there are expectations from parents that are contrary to the expectations of the children. For example, the parents impose certain rules and limitations which can trigger conflict because this is not in accordance with the expectations of their child.

“It is usually a child issue, for example, our child is ignorant. My youngest child often comes home at night or dawn, then my husband gets angry. One time, my youngest child even went to my younger sibling, Miss, because he was scolded by my husband” (informant EPI).

Certain limitations imposed by the parents in relation to their children can make their children disobey the rules given. This can cause conflict. In the family life, the parents have responsibility and authority over the socialization of the child, which aims to make the child behave by adjusting them to the values of religiosity and the norms that apply in their social life (Anisah 2011). The handling of disobedient children will be adjusted to the socialization patterns that have been implemented by the parents. If the parents choose an improper way to overcome this, such as punishments in the form of physical or psychological violence, it will not result in a good change in the child’s behavior (Hidayati et al. 2011).

Family conflicts with unemployed husbands that are related to the division of domestic labor occur due to the attitude of the husband where they are not willing to help the wife in terms of doing domestic work. The wives object to having to bear a double burden, which is a role in both the public and domestic spheres. The husband and wife often get into arguments about this. A married couple that does not share the domestic labor in a balanced way can cause one party to feel depressed and stressed, meaning that a harmonious household life cannot be obtained (Claffey & Mickelson 2009). Families with unemployed husbands experience economic difficulties because the wives admit that it is difficult to fulfill the needs of all family members alone without assistance from their husbands. This can often lead to debates between the husband and wife. The economic limitations experienced by the families often do not find a way out of these conditions. It creates sentimentality which can make the situation in the household even more problematic (Rachmadani 2013).

Those who still live under the same roof with their wife’s extended family are often involved in conflicts. They receive bad treatment from their extended family in the form of humiliation, social gossip, and isolation.

“I once heard a statement like this ‘Don’t be lazy’. But the most painful thing is when they put things in, they always throw them, Miss, that hurts my heart. Sometimes when they want to go out, they start their motorcycle engine loudly in front of my bedroom, Miss. I just keep quiet when they are like that, sometimes I pretend to be asleep and I don’t hear that. I often invited my wife to live at my parents’ house but she never wanted to.” (informant TEG).

The wife’s extended family considered that the unemployed husband had no right to do anything to his family. This was because the wife’s extended family was influenced by the assumption of society that assumed that the husband was responsible for meeting the economic needs of the family. The husband

often invited his wife and children to move to his parents' house so then he can maintain his image and dignity before his parents. Here, the wife did not follow the wishes of her husband.

Another conflict that often occurs in families with unemployed husbands is related to the differences of opinion when buying goods and household renovations. The husband often disapproved when his wife bought an item. As a wife who was the source of the finances in the family, she felt that she had greater power than the husband when spending money. In this case, the wife did not care about her husband's opinion. Scanzoni stated that individual activities that are not agreed upon by the partner can lead to quarrels (Dewi & Basti 2008). Another difference of opinion was due to the husband's habit of always renovating the house. The wife did not like it because it could interfere with her busy activity as a food seller. The following is the statement from the informant.

"Well, it's just a little argument, Miss, usually when we have different opinions on buying goods. But we had a big fight when he was renovating the house, I didn't like it. It made a lot of dust, Miss, so I just left one day to my child's house" (informant MIS).

The conflicts that occur in the family with unemployed husbands involve an element of violence perpetrated by the husband against the wife. Their family is classified as a problematic family because the husband and wife are always involved in arguments that do not have a solution. If the conflict in the family is not overcome, it can reduce the level of harmony between the husband and wife because the dynamic becomes increasingly complex (Dewi & Basti 2008).

Nurbayan and Nurhasanah (2017) showed that financially independent women still try to maintain their domestic life, even though their family condition is in trouble because husband and wife are always involved in arguments. These findings are relevant to this study. The wife in the statement below, who was the source of the family economy, still chose to maintain the household even though her husband committed violence verbally, psychologically, and physically.

"With a mediocre condition and he doesn't work while I work alone, he still has an affair with another woman, whether it's just for fun or something else. He never complained back, but when I offended his heart, he usually gets angry and talks harshly and slamming the door, and even hitting me, Miss. He admitted to doing this because I often refuse when he asks to have sex" (Informant DRI).

When the wife supported the family and the husband established a relationship with another woman, one of them argued that the wife was not willing to have sex, so the husband did so with another woman to meet his sexual needs. Christin Munch (in Permata & Sugiariyanti 2015) stated that a husband who is economically dependent on his wife can have an increased possibility of having an affair. Cheating is seen of as a means for men to show their masculinity, which is threatened by their unemployment. Moreover, the husband also always demanded that his wife pay off the debts he had. This showed that the wife was oppressed in the form of exploitation as stated by the wife below.

"All of his wishes must be fulfilled and obeyed. In essence, he asked me for money to pay off his debts and if I didn't obey him, he would be angry and slamming the door and once hit me. He even put a sicle on my neck. So, it's better if I stay quiet, I'm more afraid when he gets angry because he can do anything to me." (informant LIK).

So far, the wives have always met and followed their husbands' wishes because the husbands often engage in physical and verbal abuse when there is an argument with their wives and when their desires are not fulfilled. The husbands also engage in verbal violence in the form of cursing and abuse directed at their wives when their blood pressure is high. The husbands' arbitrary attitude is also shown through their habit of always coming home late at night without any significant interest, and they do not show concern or take responsibility for the family.

In his theory, Walby (2014) conceptualized the patriarchy into six different structures, one of which is violence perpetrated by men against women. In essence, violence is a form of male power over

women. The violence perpetrated by men is due to the patriarchal domination in many other areas (Walby 2014). In reality, the patriarchal ideology remains firmly rooted in the community group, including families with unemployed husbands. The assumption is that those with economic resources are the ones in control. However, in a patriarchal society, even though some women work and men do not work, men still dominate their families. Unemployed husbands oppress, dominate, and exploit their wives.

The patriarchal ideology has formed a social construction that assumes that women are weak and can easily be hurt by men, for instance, through acts of abuse that are verbal, psychological or physical. This occurs because the social reality in the life of a patriarchal society assumes that husbands have the right to do anything they want when their wives do not fulfill the husbands' wishes. The patriarchal ideology also considers committing violence against their wives to be common when they do not fulfill their husbands' wishes, although it involves desires that are considered bad. Patriarchal ideology can make the wives lose the freedom to take a stand, meaning that they tend to accept all of their husbands' treatment. This is even though the treatment is considered bad because their position as wives is not respected (Sakina & Siti 2017; Sultana 2012).

As of today, the wives have always tried to maintain the good name and dignity of the husbands in front of their extended family. They have never shared the violence that they experience with their extended family. This is relevant to Firdaus' (in Nurlaili, 2008) statements which explained that when a wife experiences an act of domestic violence, she will try to cover up what she has experienced because it is considered to be a disgrace to the family.

When the wives engage in domestic work as well as public work, their husbands commit acts of violence verbally, psychologically, and physically against them. However, the wives choose to remain in the household. This is because they consider their children. They do not want their children to lose their father figure and become victims when they decide to separate from their husbands. This is what motivates the wives to maintain their domestic life which shows that women do not have the freedom to take a stand.

Conclusion

In a patriarchal society, the division of labor is carried out based on gender. However, in reality, there are families with unemployed husbands where the wives work as the breadwinners to support the family. The backgrounds causing the husband to not work are varied including due to illness so if his physical condition forces him to stop working. It can also be caused by bankruptcy, where those who used to have private businesses went bankrupt. Husbands who do not work are also caused by the rationalization of the company they work in and not finding a replacement job. Besides, husbands who do not work may also do so because they do not want to support their family or are too lazy to work. Unemployed husbands busy themselves by helping their wives carry out the domestic work and often participate in religious activities to fill their spare time. Unemployed husbands due to illness can only spend time in the house because their physical condition has not yet recovered. They also spend time doing unproductive things such as hanging out in coffee shops.

The conflicts that occur in families with unemployed husbands are related to the socialization of children, the family economy, the division of domestic labor, differences of opinion on various matters, conflicts with the extended family, and various trivial cases. The conflicts occurring in families with unemployed husbands also have an element of violence. Husbands abuse their wives verbally, physically, and psychologically, although not all husbands do this. Husbands have an affair, while the wives are oppressed in the form of exploitation because their husbands always demand that their wives pay off their debts. The husbands also abuse them physically as well as verbally when their wives do not follow their wishes. The husbands also commit verbal violence in the form of cursing and abuse against their wives when their blood pressure is high. In essence, violence is a form of male power over women. The husband's arbitrary attitude is also shown through their habits of always coming home late at night without any significant interest, and they do not show concern and

responsibility for the family. This shows that the patriarchal ideology remains firmly rooted in the family, even though the husbands do not work. They bully, dominate, and exploit their wives. The wives choose to keep their households intact despite the various kinds of conflict that have to be faced resulting from the arbitrary treatment by their husbands. The wives are always considerate of their children and do not want them to lose their father figure. This indicates that women still do not have independence. Although the wives are the source of the family economy, the husbands remain in a dominant position in the family. Therefore, efforts to overcome violence in the family require support from many parties, including the wives, families, communities, and the state.

Family conflicts and the violence of unemployed husbands against their wives acting as the main breadwinner

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