

# Gender Relations in Stone-Breaking Women's Families in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia: A Phenomenological Study

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## Abstract

Low socioeconomic levels of families within the Southeast Sulawesi province of Indonesia encourage women to take on the burden of dual roles. In addition to being a stay-at-home spouse, women also have to work outside the home to help the family financially. Often, based on the experience of women, the work is beyond traditional Indonesian gender roles. The study aims to illustrate the experiences of stone-breaking women who perform these dual roles. This study employed a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach. Data collection using in-depth interviews were conducted with thirteen women who were both homemakers and worked outside the home as stone breakers. The in-depth analysis of interview transcripts yielded six prominent themes: dual roles, economic governance, cooperation, empathy for the couple, caring for education, and husband representation. The six themes described egalitarian and gender representation in partner relationships characterized by the collaboration between men and women in the domestic and public areas of daily life. This relationship created the sincerity of sharing the workload with partners and accepting varying roles without conflict. Furthermore, the tangible economic contribution in fulfilling basic family needs has given the same authority to both husband and wife in the familial decision-making process.

## Keywords

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Domestic; dual role; gender relations; life experience; stone breaker

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## Introduction

Economic pressures have led to shifts in values and norms in families globally. Men as family breadwinners and women as homemakers in Asian cultural contexts have shifted over time. Gender roles and domestic work responsibilities have also changed. These adjustments in gender roles in families in Asia tend to follow precursory developments in the Western world. Women's involvement in the workforce in the West has had a positive impact on improving social and economic indicators of households (Liontakis et al., 2020). Changes in social norms have resulted in men and women being given the same appreciation in their dual roles. Senator Joseph McCarthy called the value of a woman's role at home, accompanied by a sense of modern partnership realized by husband and wife, as a 'progressive' narrative (King, 2019). Today, many couples in the Eastern world combine work roles and family roles. Married couples working outside of the home have become the most common type of arrangement. Indonesia is no exception.

When the position of primary income earner (work role) and family caregiver (taking care of the family, minding children) changed, the couple's challenges also transformed. The disproportionate division of work within the home between husbands and wives who both work outside the home affects their mental health (Lee et al., 2018). Therefore, each partner should devise a strategy that best suits their individual needs, values, and life situations (Rosenthal et al., 2020). While traditionally, although the husband's career has been a central consideration, shifting roles have required more flexibility in prioritizing family income.

Equality of roles and responsibilities within the family is essential for married couples where both people work. Although many women have worked in formal and informal sectors, there has been no gender shift in social reproduction (Rai et al., 2019). Often there are no clear guidelines on the fair division of familial duties. The gender gap persists concerning domestic responsibilities even though women work outside the home (Vu, 2019). Time spent on housework in Eastern culture, such as parenting, is always a challenge for women who work outside of the home (Park et al., 2020). Unbiased housekeeping distribution between married couples can reduce stress for both people (Lee et al., 2018). Consequently, a sense of justice in family matters is an essential contributor to marital satisfaction among working couples.

Women are likely to face significant barriers to employment along with inequality of treatment in the workforce (Gouliquer et al., 2020). Gender-based job separation forces women to accept less lucrative jobs and engage minimally in decision-making (Anderson et al., 2017). This discrimination has led to women's chances of being hampered in getting into the labor market. As a result, female workers are more concentrated in the informal sector, such as working at home or working in micro-enterprises. In 2017 the International Labor Organization (ILO) reported that the gender gap reached 26.5% globally in the labor force participation rate (Srivastava & Cheema, 2019). Furthermore, in many occupations, workplaces or work environments are essentially male-dominated, with everything from work schedules to equipment used is arranged to accommodate male workers (Perugini & Vladisavljević, 2019; Yavorsky & Dill, 2020).

Some studies showed that the consequences of the involvement of homemakers in working outside the home had an impact on the increased workload of one or both parties of the married couple, such as with the families of stone-breaking women in North Moramo within the South Konawe Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. The phenomenon of stone-breaking women in North Moramo is unique. Stone-breaking is an activity primarily attributed to women, who naturally have a relatively weaker physique than men. Breaking stones includes demanding and challenging work that requires more energy than the primary work that women usually perform.

This backbreaking work for women has consequences on the emergence of dual roles, and implications for intergender relationships within the family. This research illustrates the life experiences that stone-breaking women feel in these dual roles, both as workers making a living outside the home and as homemakers within the home. This study focused on the woman's life experience and how couples empathize, share workloads, and accept flexible roles without conflict. Moreover, this study seeks to discover the implications of homemakers' involvement in making a living outside the home against the conflict created in the family's decision-making process between husband and wife.

## Method

This research employed a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach that focused on the life experiences of stone-breaking women in North Moramo, South Konawe Regency, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. By examining the intricacies of the stone-breaking woman's experience, researchers can better understand the essence of their experiences (Coetzee, 2020). Phenomenology is not to describe a grand theory or create a model, but to accurately describe an experience or a person's 'life.' The nature of phenomenology is the relation between the subject, place, and phenomenon encountered. Phenomenology records a person's extraordinary experiences that most people generally accept as something ordinary. Therefore, the phenomenological approach aimed to provide insight and understanding of unique and valuable facts about a community's comprehension, experience, and behavior (Cuthbertson et al., 2020).

Data were collected through observations and in-depth interviews to answer two research questions. First, what do individuals experience in a particular phenomenon? And second, what context or situation usually affects a person's experience in the phenomenon? The data was then read, selected, and separated based on specific themes.

### Phenomenological approach

The phenomenological approach focuses on a person's subjective and practical life experiences (Julmi, 2020). Descriptive phenomenology was first performed in 1963 by Husserl (as stated in Gutland, 2018), who used the concept of 'bracketing' to maintain objectivity. Bracketing is the process of setting aside what researchers already know about the experiences being investigated and approaching data without prejudice regarding the phenomenon (Dowling, 2004). This study

used an interpretive approach since researchers could use their own experiences to interpret the experiences of others as the primary research instrument.

The sample size in qualitative research must be sufficient to obtain most or even all research subjects' information and perceptions to achieve data saturation. The concept of saturation is used to determine the appropriate sample size for qualitative research; until the number of participants no longer generates new data, perspectives, or further information, saturation occurs.

The phenomenology research method follows the following steps: formulating questions, intuition, data analysis, and data description. The first step was to develop phenomenological research questions about human life experiences in certain situations and phenomena. This research focused on the question about the life experiences of stone-breaking women in carrying out their dual roles. This question more specifically included how these women empathize with their spouses, share workloads, accept different roles without conflict, and handle power relations between husband and wife in the decision-making process.

Those selected as research subjects in this study were women who had experience as stone-breakers in North Moramo, South Konawe Regency, Southeast Sulawesi. In-depth interviews were conducted with 13 respondents. Thirteen research subjects were considered representative because they have worked as stone breakers for over ten years, were married, and had children. In addition to the thirteen women who were research subjects, the husbands of two stone-breaking women were interviewed as a comparison.

Table 1 below displays the participants' profiles. When considering work status, 'self-employed' is a type of rock breaker who buys logs to divide into splits, and a 'laborer' is a type of worker who breaks someone else's stone and earns wages according to their volume of work.

**Table 1:** Profiles of the Participants

Anonymized Initials	Age (Years)	Marital Status	Number of Children	Work Status	Level of Education	Monthly Income (IDR)	Years of Working as a Stone Breaker
NLN	34	Married	3	Self-employed	High School	1.4 million	13
TT	37	Married	2	Laborer	Junior High	1 million	11
NL	47	Married	4	Laborer	Primary school	1 million	15
LN	35	Married	2	Self-employed	Junior High	1.2 million	11
ND	40	Married	3	Laborer	Primary school	1 million	14
MN	62	Married	5	Self-employed	High School	1.4 million	17
HTN	37	Married	2	Self-employed	High School	1.2 million	16

Anonymized Initials	Age (Years)	Marital Status	Number of Children	Work Status	Level of Education	Monthly Income (IDR)	Years of Working as a Stone Breaker
WND	61	Married	4	Laborer	Primary school	1 million	10
HSN	43	Married	3	Laborer	Primary school	1 million	11
RHM	38	Married	2	Self-employed	Junior High	1 million	12
MRN	38	Married	3	Laborer	Primary school	1 million	11
KRN	43	Married	4	Laborer	Primary school	1 million	11
MMN	39	Married	3	Laborer	Primary school	1 million	13

*Note: USD 1 ≈ IDR 14,000 / USD 70 ≈ IDR 1,000,000*

The questions posed to the participants were limited to their experience of managing time and energy in doing work as stone-breakers as well as being homemakers. The main questions asked were how they divided the workload at home between husband and wife, resolved conflicts, and the critical decision-making processes in the family. To immerse oneself in the phenomenon being studied to better understand the phenomenon of stone-breaking woman, the researchers used two data collection techniques, specifically observation, and in-depth interviews, to understand the stone-breaking woman.

In the last phase of the phenomenological research process, the process of describing and defining phenomena determines the essence of the phenomenon, the researchers used their understanding of the data to describe and explain the phenomena. All interview data were transcribed. In the process of immersing themselves in this data, the researchers searched within the transcripts for various significant statements, namely sentences or words spoken by participants that explained how they experienced a phenomenon, and then coded such text. Meaningful coding of the same text was then grouped into themes.

## Research results

Qualitative analysis of transcripts from interviews with respondents revealed the six most prominent themes for understanding stone-breaking female workers' experience in North Moramo. The themes in question included dual roles, economic governing, cooperation, empathy towards spouses, caring education, and husband representation. These six themes were the basis of creating a mutual understanding of shared workloads, acceptance of varying roles without conflict, and the allowance of liberty given to women to be involved in the household decision-making processes.

## Dual roles

Low-income families, primarily farmers, fishers, construction workers, or other occupations that do not demand the requirements of education or expertise, encourage many female homemakers to work outside the home, helping husbands acquire additional income in various ways. One of the most accessible jobs for female homemakers is that of a stone-breaker. Women who work as stone-breakers, of course, still have to do their traditional work as homemakers. However, they also do other work, such as helping their husbands in the garden, selling food, and working in the stalls, among other duties.

The burden of stone-breaking women becomes heavier if their husbands get in the way of their housework within the home. This conflict was revealed in the following research subjects' explanations.

One respondent, HSN (43 years old, married with three children, and works as a laborer), stated:

*Every day my work is usually at night making cakes, in the morning I leave the cake in the stall or school. After that, I continue to clean up at home even though my sales results do not suit my needs.*

Another respondent, NL (47 years old, married with four children, and works as a laborer), said:

*So, I have to work [outside the home] because my husband's work wasn't enough. So sometimes at home, I quickly finish the housework, then I also quickly break the stone. That's because... my husband doesn't clean the house because it's my job to clean the house every day. Sometimes my son helps me.*

And one of the husbands, DRF (43 years old), commented on his wife's dual duties:

*I also work in a vegetable garden every day. My side job is mostly stone-breaking with my wife. But I'm more focused on my garden because if there's no money to buy vegetables, there's a place where we get vegetables in the garden... my wife helps plant in the garden, too. Sometimes she's at home taking care of household needs. Sometimes there are also events in my wife's neighbor's house where they need help. Here, if a neighbor throws a party, we have to help because we may also need their help one day.*

## Managing household expenses

Low levels of education cause married couples to do a variety of demanding jobs for low income. Stone-breaking women who are also homemakers must be good at managing expenses so that the compensation received from working meets the family's needs. Regular everyday expenses do not require the husband's approval, except for personal expenses

outside of everyday expenditures. Some respondents mentioned statements related to the family's financial arrangements.

One respondent, ND (40 years old, married with three children, and works as a laborer), said:

*My husband only finished elementary school, so he can only be a fisherman. My husband's income is sometimes enough, sometimes not. I also did not finish primary school, so our income is sometimes enough to buy food. Whatever I want to buy, I have to ask my husband first because we rarely purchase anything.*

Another respondent, KRN (43 years old, married with four children, and works as a laborer), stated:

*Taking care of all the household affairs is my duty as a mother, although I also like to help my husband work breaking stones. But taking care of all the needs of the family is my husband's job.*

Finally, HTN (37 years old, married with two children, and is self-employed) stated:

*If something for the kitchen needs to be purchased, I do not have to wait because it is not an expensive item. Except if what I want to buy is costly, then I should talk about it with the husband. The cooperation of the husband and wife, in terms of the household, is indeed important. When it comes to the cost of educating children, that should take precedence because it concerns the future of our children. I am more dominant in supporting and encouraging children to go to school.*

Another husband, ANS (48 years old), gave their opinion on the function of family finances in the wife's hands:

*If the need of the household is small, such as buying salt or other kitchen essentials, then it is up to my wife alone. I do not know about all the kitchen business. I only know that I want to eat when I get home from work. Unless she wants to buy expensive items such as home furnishings, then, yes, my opinion must be offered because it takes a lot of money.*

## Cooperation among couples

Stone-breaking women have a dual role, both taking care of the household and supplementing household income. But the heavy burden was not carried alone because the husbands helped to ease the burden. Husbands often help with housework if the wife has to go outside the house to work. Among the stone-breaking families in North Moramo, wives are not the only ones to do kitchen work. Husbands often help ease their wives' burden in the kitchen. They take turns, or even together, to do the housework to meet family needs. Housework such as taking care of children, cooking, and cleaning the house, were done together as the following research subjects report.

One respondent, MN (62 years old, married with five children, and is self-employed), mentioned:

*My position as a housewife while helping my husband feels a bit heavy. In addition to my primary duties as a wife who has to take care of the kitchen, children, and other things, I also make a living helping my husband. My husband also likes to help me at home to take care of kitchen work. So, I don't get too tired because there is help from my husband. Sometimes my husband washes dishes, helps me cook, and also cleans the house.*

As well, NLN (34 years old, married with three children, and is self-employed) said:

*I help my husband make money because his income is not enough to meet our daily needs. Our son has to bring money to school every day, not to mention other requirements that must also be met. The money my husband gives me isn't enough, so I also have to work. If we're at home, and if I'm taking care of the kids, and no one has washed dishes or washed clothes, my husband usually does it straight away. Especially if we want to go to work breaking stones, we have to get the job done at home quickly.*

## **Empathy for each other**

The women of North Moramo expressed reasons why they work as stone-breakers. First, many of them feel sorry for their husbands. Second, they were moved to do stone-breaking because they saw their husbands, who worked so hard but still did not earn a sufficient income. One statement describing empathy was put forward by one of the research subjects.

One respondent, WND (61 years old, married with four children, and works as a laborer), mentioned:

*I work to make ends meet, but then nothing is done at home. I'm better off breaking stone. At least the income from breaking stone can be used to buy salt. Moreover, my husband's income is just enough. We usually buy our log stones to break into split stone. The price of a single truck of stone is IDR 200,000. It takes about a week to break into split stones. After the split stone is sold, we earn a net income of IDR 300,000 per single truck of log stone. I'm working as a stone-breaker because I feel sorry to see my husband working alone.*

## **Caring about children's education**

The income generated by some stone-breaking families is not much; even sometimes, the pay does not quite meet their daily needs. Stone-breaking families also have low levels of education; many only reached primary school. Nevertheless, they are motivated to support their children's education. They believe knowledge is essential. Therefore, they pay attention to the needs of their children's education. Some prominent statements from respondents regarding their views of education are below.

One respondent, TT (37 years old, married with two children, and works as a laborer,) stated:

*Well, even though my husband and I only reached elementary school, but Alhamdulillah [praise be to God], this presence is enough. We have enough money for our daily needs – we have enough for the educational needs of the children. He [God] let us, as parents, whose school is only up to primary school, help our children to at least finish secondary school or, if possible, undergraduate level. It's enough that we as parents feel the bitterness of life like this for not being educated.*

Another respondent, LN (35 years old, married with two children, and is self-employed,) provided the following information:

*I only finished junior high school. My husband also finished junior high school like me. My husband's job is just as a farmer whose income is not much. I help my husband work to set aside a small amount of money for our children's school fees. We have three children who are in school. The first child, who has entered high school, must graduate to find a decent job later. But if we are the parents... well, anything can be done that is important to pay for our children's school.*

So did the following respondent, MRN (38 years old, married with three children, and works as a laborer,) who said:

*My husband's highest education was graduating from elementary school. His job is only as a small farmer, so we can't just expect much from his crops. That's why I also work breaking stones for added income. Alhamdulillah, income as a stone breaker, along with my husband's income, can meet our daily living expenses. The cost of educating my child, who is currently in college, has been resolved a little. Hopefully, when my child has a bachelor's degree, his life will not be as difficult as his parents.*

## Representing the husband

Stone-breaking women have families who are active in social affairs along with other community members. They are often involved in social activities to help fellow villagers or just to stay in touch. Attending social activities organized by the government or community members is one of the routine activities carried out by the stone-breaking families in Moramo. The stone-breaking couple often has to take turns to fulfill invitations from various community events or activities such as community meetings, village meetings, community service, and other invitations. In the household life, a husband and wife cooperate, and in social life, they build a good friendship.

Stone-breaking wives often take the role of taking their husbands' place when attending various invitations from other community members. The following research subjects described this phenomenon.

One respondent, RHM (38 years old, married with two children, and is self-employed,) stated:

*If my husband does not go to sea or does not go to break stones, it is certain that my husband will go to meetings or join in community service. But he always goes to the sea, so I am the only representative. However, most times, my husband participates in activities outside of household needs when there are calls from the village or business organizations with friends or family.*

Another respondent, MMN (39 years old, married with three children, and works as a laborer,) also said:

*When I have external affairs, I usually like to go to attend. This is when there are meetings at the village office or other needs at the village hall. My husband is rarely at home except during rest hours. But if my husband is at home, he's the one who joins the meeting or community service.*

Another respondent, HSN (43 years old, married with three children, and works as a laborer,) said:

*If there is an invitation from the village organization to attend a meeting or community service, my husband will indeed go. Unless he is not at home because he has already gone to his workplace, I will attend the meeting or community service.*

## Discussion

Based on the above results, this study underlines how stone-breaking women's life experiences build empathy for each other in the couple, share workloads, and accept roles without conflict in their homes. Also, this study highlights the implication of the stay-at-home spouses' involvement in making a living and in the family's decision-making process. The gender relationship formed between husband and wife is illustrated in six main themes that have been successfully revealed: dual roles, economic control, cooperation, empathy for partners, caring for education, and representation of husbands.

Gender issues arise from the huge barrier women face in getting jobs and in equal treatment (Hutchings et al., 2020). Female workers are more concentrated in the informal sector, working at home, or working in micro-enterprises (de Groot et al., 2017). The experiences of stone-breaking women in North Moramo showed that they are part of the problem of the world's poorest women working to support their families. The opportunity to work outside the home for stone-breaking women is one form of self-actualization in contributing to the family economy.

As previous studies have pointed out, many occupations, places, or work environments are essentially male-dominated and are designed to accommodate male workers (Lowes, 2020). As these studies have shown, the stone-breaking women in North Moramo are doing work that is neither naturally nor culturally intended for them. Stone-breaking work is a heavy and rough job

that is culturally supposed to be dominated by men. Still, poverty forces women in Moramo to do jobs that require great physical strength despite the consequences of creating an additional workload that has little benefit. Besides, women who are forced to involve themselves in work outside the home to fulfill basic family needs tend to experience increased health risks (Falconi et al., 2020). However, the mental stress caused by the considerable workload has been slightly improved by stone-breaking women's authority and autonomy in controlling the family economy (Pennington et al., 2018).

Gender discrimination is a phenomenon widely found in the formal industrial employment sector in general (Ibáñez, 2017). However, the issue of gender discrimination that arises is very minimal when it comes to the benchmarks of the workforce in public industries, such as male workers being treated with more privileged, and hostility from male co-workers, sexual harassment, isolation toward women (e.g., being the only woman in the workplace), and job insecurity. This is because women stone-breakers in North Moramo are seen as a family job or business done on a family initiative. This is different if working in an industrial sector run by corporations. There is no difference in wages for stone-breaking female or male workers in North Moramo. The amount of pay is based on the volume of work, not based on the number of hours worked.

In this study, it was discovered that if a stone-breaking woman is pregnant or undergoing childbirth, they are not allowed by their husband to continue their work. In that state, the husband took over almost all of his partner's work. This is done to maintain the health of pregnant women and unborn children. Homemakers do not work hard while pregnant, nor is their work questioned by their husbands, let alone their husbands thinking of it as unfair. The findings showed no gender issue associated with income dispensation for stone-breaking women who are pregnant, and not working for a living outside the home. Most people regarded that a break from work is a right to be granted to pregnant women, and family leave was given to women working in the formal sector (Ahammer et al., 2020; Walsh et al., 2019).

Besides, although men and women tend to work the same number of hours per week, women usually do more overall work than men (Trzebiatowski & Triana, 2020). Therefore, women tend to experience more stress than men when balancing caring for the family and working outdoors. However, the condition was not found in the stone-breaking households in North Moramo. The stone-breaking women did not have to balance their responsibilities because husbands, in general, understood the wife's condition of bearing a heavy burden. Husbands did not hesitate to take up positions within the house if necessary. A sense of empathy towards the partner and a willingness to share the growing role of everyday life experiences allows the stone-breaking family to overcome various role conflicts.

This study indicated six themes: multiple roles, economic control, cooperation, empathy for partners, care about education, and husbands' representation. The first theme, 'multiple roles,' showed that women who break stones in North Moramo take on two roles. This dual role is that of a homemaker and a fellow breadwinner. For example, apart from working as a stone breaker, they also help their husbands work in the garden. The wife's sincerity to perform the role of fellow breadwinner, usually the husband's cultural responsibility, also implied encouragement from the husband to share the role in domestic affairs. This dual role is not without conflict, but any conflict resulting from heavy workloads can be resolved internally within the family. Wages

based on the volume of work, rather than based on the number of hours worked, allow stone-breaking women to adjust working hours to break stones without abandoning their responsibilities as homemakers.

The theme of 'economic control' suggested that women who break stones in North Moramo control family finances. Most of the decisions regarding expenditures are made by the wives, except for extraordinary expenses where the husband's consent should be requested. This function of economic control and cultural practice is derived from the income from stone-breaking activities. According to the culture of the local Moramo society, financial control for the daily shopping needs of the family is done by men (husbands). Besides, the economic contribution of women (wives) in meeting the family's needs increases women's bargaining power in the decision-making process. Being a stone breaker has added female authority to the decision-making process. Although there is a dominance of decision-making in certain aspects, the decision-making process is not concentrated on either party, but instead spread between husband and wife.

Likewise, the theme of 'cooperation' showed no difference between what a husband or wife should do. Cooperation between husband and wife in fostering a home is possible due to the sense of empathy with both. Based on the interview analysis, 'empathy' is one of the themes found within the text. This is due to a feeling of pity for the husband or wife, where they see their respective partners working hard. Empathy towards couples implies a partnership gender relationship because both husband and wife can do work for a living and housework together (Chen et al., 2020).

Another positive point based on the interview transcript analysis is 'care about education,' or the serious concern of stone-breaking families towards caring for their children's education. They use most of their income to pay for their children's education for their children to have a better life in the future. Concern for children's education grows from the experience of those with limited access to economic resources due to their low level of education. The same feeling of the importance of education for children gives birth to the motivation of hard work and willingness to sacrifice to minimize conflict in the family.

Meanwhile, the theme of 'husband's representation' shows that women who break stones play a multi-functional role in the household's private sphere and society's public sphere. They represent their husbands in attending various social activities when their husbands are absent because of work. Thus, in addition to the theme of economic governance, the theme of the representation of husbands also describes the empowerment of women in the family as the implications of women's income obtained from the activities of breaking stones (Umar et al., 2020).

Although not perfect, some of the descriptions above show that gender relations in stone-breaking women's families tend to be democratic and demonstrate a partnership between husbands and wives. Working hard to make a living based on empathy towards the spouse, give birth to cooperation, and helping each other take care of the household without having a strict labor division between husband and wife. A real economic contribution in meeting the basic needs of everyday families breeds gender equality in the family. Moreover, as one of the sources of living, stone-breaking women have the same 'authority as their husbands in decision-making.

## Conclusion

The in-depth analysis resulted in six salient themes: multiple roles, economic control, cooperation, empathy for partners, care about education, and husband's representation. By the six themes, gender relations showed that in the families of stone-breaking women in North Moramo tend to be democratic, characterized by partnerships between men and women in daily life, either in private or public areas. This gender partnership is reflected in access and control over family resources and decision-making processes that male does not dominate. The families struggle to cope with unfavorable socioeconomic conditions leading to a sense of empathy and the sincerity of sharing workloads with a partner. Socioeconomic conditions are the primary motivation of women (wives) to make a living by breaking stones. Even though women who break stones seem to work against their nature as women, they live with sincerity. Values, norms, habits, and situational conditions have shaped their attitudes and behavior in living family life.

## Ethical approval

Research ethics approval was issued by the Research and Community Service Institute of Halu Oleo University, Indonesia (No. 518b/UN29.20/PPM/2019). The research was conducted through in-depth interviews and observations to build rapport between researchers and those research subjects. This study's fundamental principle was the appreciation of individuals as subjects who are free to make decisions, so interviews were conducted only if the informant gave verbal consent. Transcripts of the interview were shared with the informants to check his validity. In reporting, the informant's identity was not revealed, so the source of information is anonymous.

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