

Rural Women's Agency

Editorial

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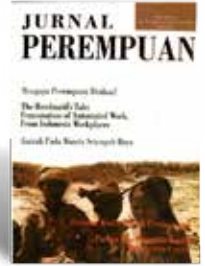
Rural Women's Agency on Forest and Land Governance in The Midst of Change: Case Study in Five Provinces
Andi Misbahul Pratiwi & Abby Gina Boangmanalu

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Rural Women's Agency

Rural women and rural area constitute an ecosystem that is inseparable from the nature. The lives of rural community, including the women, have a close relation with its surrounding natural environment. First, the natural environment is the backbone of rural economy, particularly in agricultural sector. Second, the natural environment is the source of basic daily needs such as water and food. Aside from that, the natural environment has also been part of the local cultural such as handicrafts or as part of local beliefs and rituals. Subsequently, the disruption or change of the natural environment will definitely bring impact to the lives of rural community.

For women, the impact of the environmental changes are obvious due to their reproductive tasks in the households. For example, draught of the peat lands would decrease water and food supplies that must be managed by women in the rural peat area. Environmental destruction in rural peat area also urge men to migrate out to find a job, then women must act as the heads of the households as well as housewives.

One of the roots of inequality in the rural community stem from the weak access and control over land and forest governance. For women, the inequality is also intertwined with gender-based discrimination such as domestication of women. Women's domestication widens barriers of women's access to land, natural resources, information, law, and politics. UN Women's data (2018) finds that women ownership over agricultural land is less than 13%. In the meantime, despite the positive trend on agrarian reform policy in the recent years, gender-justice perspective has not been integrated into the agrarian policy in Indonesia. As the consequence, women still tend to be neglected within the policy which supposedly could give community's access to land and natural resources.

In general, rural women remain to be the responsible person in caregiving works, household care, family economic management, whilst being excluded from public realm. The similar pattern could be seen in rural areas. Rural areas are the main provider of source for natural resources, provider agricultural and plantation areas, labor force's provider, and with its forest area they also function as the lungs of the earth. However, similar to Simone de Beauvoir's criticism about women's position as "the second sex", rural community are also often identified as second-class community, whose meaning is closely linked to underdevelopment, vulnerable to poverty, and often being underestimated in policies on investment and development.

Diana Tietjen Meyers in *Gender in the Mirror: Cultural Imagery & Women Agency (2002)* analyzes how subordination over women influence the formation of women's gender identity, and restricting women from making emancipatory decisions. Rural women are also tended to be seen as persons without subjectivity, nor agency. But Meyer argues that even in its subordinate position, women still have agencies. Therefore, the view of rural women as subject with agency is presented in this JP 103 edition.

Jurnal Perempuan's research about rural women's experiences in five provinces, namely West Papua, East Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, Bengkulu and Aceh, shows diverse women's agency on land and forest governance in rural environment. Women agency appear in their power to persuade family and community, in their power to involve in public space, also in their power to change the perspective of official authority, also in their power to carry out collective action/ solidarity among groups in natural resources management. Rural women also possess contextual knowledge that is compatible to the rural livelihood, for instance the ability of Papuan women to choose a model of shifting agriculture as a sustainable model economy of agriculture.

The ignorance of science towards women's experience is one of the reasons for the rise of feminist's studies. Feminism found the concept of knowledge, that was born from the criticism toward the scientific approach, by looking at the complexities of interconnectivity among women, society and nature, such as in the concept of feminist political ecology. However, Carolyn E. Sachs in *Gendered Fields: Rural Women, Agriculture and Environment (1996)* found that feminist's studies tend to focus on urban feminist movement. Articulation about feminist movement in rural areas is still very limited, because science also tends to view rural community as an object, object of policy, object of poverty or object of development.

Therefore, in order to provide space about and for rural women, JP 103 presents various experiences of rural women and their agencies in dealing with the subordination of patriarchy and capitalism. JP 103 takes us to understand the agency of rural women as a process to train and to make use of the ability to construct themselves and make decisions on matters concerning the lives of rural women as well as the lives of rural communities in Indonesia. **(Atnike Nova Sigiro)**

Abstracts Sheet

Iwan Nurdin & Julian Aldrin Pasha
(Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia)

The Lack of Gender Mainstreaming on the Presidential Regulation No. 86/2018 on Agrarian Reform

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 227-235, 2 table, 15 ref.

The situation of agrarian injustice in the rural area carries multiple layers of burden on women. Such situation could be addressed with the agrarian reform's agenda. This is the reason why the society welcome the announcement of agrarian reform agenda as Joko Widodo administration's priority program. After being in power for four years, finally the government had issued the Presidential Regulation No. 86 year of 2018 on Agrarian Reform. The enactment of this Agrarian Reform's policy cannot be separated from the role of social movement organizations in urging for agrarian reform agenda, including in urging for an agrarian reform policy with gender justice perspective. This paper seeks to see how women's movement and the agrarian reform movement have been trying to advocate gender perspective in the formulation and the implementation of the Presidential Regulation (Perpres).

Keywords: agrarian reform, rural development, rural women, land redistribution.

Hatib Abdul Kadir & Gilang Mahadika
(Universitas Brawijaya, Malang, Indonesia)

Economic Practices of 'Mama-Mama Papua' using Shifting Cultivation System: Study Case in Sorong and Maybrat Regencies- Western Papua

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 237-247, 4 image, 15 ref.

This research examines women's role and their decision-making related to swidden farming. This research was conducted in two different regions, Sorong (lowland) and Maybrat (highland) in West Papua. Key informants in this research were indigenous Papuan women, their husbands, and relatives. The aim of the research is to demonstrate that in the realm of traditional agriculture, women play important roles, starting from production, plant nursery, to the crop distribution to market. Nonetheless, the role of women tends to disappear, when the system of agriculture changes to sedentary farming by using chemical substances and other modern and farming technologies

Keywords: shifting agriculture, taking decision, traditional market, agriculture commodities.

Abdullah Abdul Muthaleb
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Rural Women and Information on Natural Resources: Rural Women in Aceh's Struggle for Agency

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 249-257, 2 table, 10 ref.

Rural women have the potential to mobilize herself and her community towards a sovereign and just rural community. However, rural women frequently face form of discrimination that impede them to achieve their maximum potential. In the midst of forest and land degradation, those gender-based discrimination also prevent women from participating in land and forest governance that is vital for the rural community's livelihood. An example of form of gender-based discrimination experienced by women in several regions in Aceh is discrimination in accessing public information. This article describes and analyzes several Aceh women's experiences in using the rights-based approach on access to information. The women in this article have used the Law on Public Information as the basis for their advocacy towards the land and forest governance in their residential area. These experiences of the rural women have shown shows that women have not only interests upon the information on natural resources, but they also possess capability, perseverance, and will to obtain such information.

Keywords: rural women, natural resources, access to information, public information.

¹Titiek Kartika Hendrastiti & ²Pramasti Ayu Kusdinar
(¹Universitas Bengkulu & ²Akar Foundation, Bengkulu, Indonesia)

Involvement of Women Village Leaders in Developing Dialogues on Forest Conflict Resolution

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 259-270, 2 image, 32 ref.

This article is a study of feminist ecological politics in rural women's leadership and their involvement in resolving conflicts over protected forests. On the one hand, structurally, there is a complex linkage between social, cultural, adat, and religious practices that prevent women from becoming leaders. On the other hand, after they won the leadership contestation in the village, their task was able to go beyond reconciliation and introduce an alternative discourse on sustainable forest conservation. This study examines three main areas namely: (1) ecological sustainability knowledge, understanding and practices; (2) the practice of equal access to natural resources, and responses to vulnerability to environmental change; and (3) equality practices in village development activism. The narrative of feminist ecological political studies from two villages in Kepahiang and Rejang Lebong Districts shows that women village heads are able to penetrate structural barriers, social exclusion, and dismantle economic class barriers.

Keywords: rural women's leadership, feminist political ecology, forest conflict

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When Wetlands Dry: Feminist Political Ecology Study on Peat Ecosystem Degradation in South and Central Kalimantan

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 271-284, 1 table, 9 ref.

Indonesia tropical peatlands area is 47 percent of out of the total global peatlands. But unfortunately, sustainable peatland governance has not been widely applied in the management of peatlands, instead of being home to biodiversity, peatlands in Indonesia have ended up dry, burning and turned into monoculture plantations. The problem of peat ecosystem degradation is the result of unsustainable - historical environmental governance politics. This study shows the political complexity of peatland governance and its impact on women with a feminist political ecology lens. This research was conducted in several villages in Central and South Kalimantan, the largest tropical peat areas in Indonesia. This study found that 1) Rural women were realized that there are problems with peatland governance, both practically and politically; 2) women and girls have multiple impacts from peat ecosystem degradation ie, women are deprived of living space, women find it difficult to get water and food sources, women take over the role of the head of the family because men migrate but are not always recognized as the head of the family, and women are impoverished because they lose their independence and must work as oil palm workers. This study uses a feminist political ecology study as an analytical tool to see the multi-layered oppression experienced by rural women due to peat ecosystem degradation.

Keywords: rural women, peatland village, peat ecosystem, feminist political ecology, resource governance

Dewi Komalasari
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Women as Agent of Social Inclusion: Experience of the Women of a Local Belief Community in Salamrejo Village

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 285-294, 1 image, 1 table, 23 ref.

Minority religious groups are vulnerable towards discrimination and social exclusion. Social exclusion is a multidimensional phenomenon that is closely related to the denial of the enjoyment of civil and political

rights as well as economic and socio-cultural rights. Social exclusion also excludes the excluded people from development process in the village. This article discusses the social exclusion experienced by community of local belief's groups, the Association of Ekasing Budi Murko (PEBM) in Salamrejo village, in Kulon Progo, Special Autonomy of Yogyakarta. The economic empowerment approach has been used to promote inclusion among communities in the village. The establishment of Cooperative Business Group (KUBE) and also other economic works have encouraged women's role as agent for social inclusion. Business activities established by PEBM have opened room for interaction between women from local belief's community with other women in the village.

Keywords: social exclusion, social inclusion, local belief, women's empowerment, women's agency

Andi Misbahul Pratiwi & Abby Gina Boangmanalu
(Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Rural Women's Agency on Forest and Land Governance in The Midst of Change: Case Study in Five Provinces

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 295-306, 2 table, 12 ref.

Women in rural areas face serious problems as a result of ecological social changes in the village--which are almost mutually interconnected with the expansion of extractive industries and rural development paradigm. Forests and land become as the identity that cannot be left behind in seeing changes in rural areas. Sustainable forest and land governance are one of the ways to reduce the risk of environmental damage & degradation, land use change, deforestation, and loss of food resources and livelihoods of rural communities. One of the principles of sustainable forest and land governance is transparency and participation. In this study we found, explain, and analyse 1) how the social ecological changes in the villages through the experiences of women who is a trailblazer or local champion in 5 provinces (West Papua, East Kalimantan, Aceh, Central Sulawesi, Bengkulu); 2) the struggle of rural women in seizing the right to information and participation in the process of forest and land governance; 3) women's agency in creating positive socio-ecological changes in the village area. This research found that women's agencies are not single and are produced from various forms of power, namely the power/ability to influence and reduce barriers, to change at the household and community level, the power to organize and change existing hierarchies, the power to increase individual awareness and the desire to change, the strength of collective action and solidarity.

Keywords: rural women, forest and land governance, women's agency, environmental degradation, sustainable environment.

Economic Practices of 'Mama-Mama Papua' using Shifting Cultivation System: Study Case in Sorong and Maybrat Regencies - Western Papua

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Abstract

This research examines women's role and their decision-making related to swidden farming. This research was conducted in two different regions, Sorong (lowland) and Maybrat (highland) in West Papua. Key informants in this research were indigenous Papuan women, their husbands, and relatives. The aim of the research is to demonstrate that in the realm of traditional agriculture, women play important roles, starting from production, plant nursery, to the crop distribution to market. Nonetheless, the role of women tends to disappear, when the system of agriculture changes to sedentary farming by using chemical substances and other modern and farming technologies

Keywords: shifting agriculture, taking decision, traditional market, agriculture commodities.

Introduction

This article raise the experiences of *mama-mama* or Papuan women farmers, in Maybrat Regency in managing their traditional agricultural method. This article records the experiences of women farmers in integrating shifting cultivating system with horticulture commercial plants that require farmers to settle down. The objective of this research is observe the mixed-economy between the subsistence agricultural practices for daily needs with the commercial agricultural practise to obtain cash. This research discovers how *mama-mama's* have maintained the farm's ecological condition while at the same time have to adapt with their financial needs.

Borrowing King and Wilder's term (2012) these *mama-mama* have practiced mixed economy system, that integrates the cultivation of plants for household purpose as well for commercial purpose to meet national or global market needs. This practice was developed from Boeke's classic concept (1953), about dual society, that is a society that prevails from subsistence economic system, but at the same time also embracing profits and integrate themselves to the market by increasing their agriculture production.

Commercial agricultural practice is different from the shifting cultivation system which has been practiced by the Papuan. The shifting cultivation requires fewer

working hours compared to paddy farming and horticulture. Farmers' involvement in commercial agricultural requires them to maintain discipline in undertaking the production regime (Tsing, 2008). While the cultivation system in West Papua is a mixture of forest, plantation and horticulture practices. This is a mixture between farmers' aspiration for commercial plants with their efforts to maintain subsistence agricultural practices.

According to the agricultural development's perspective, successful farmers are those who have adopted horticulture-planting system and implemented sedentary agricultural system. The reason is not only because the system above could increase production, but also because the level of productivity of such plants is measurable. Local Papuan farmers who have followed the transmigration system are perceived as successful farmers. On the contrary, those who still use shifting system are seen as isolated farmers. The government, ever since the colonial era have been having interest to keep farmers stay permanently in one area and to produce the productive crops, and therefore they are easier to be controlled and to be imposed with tax (Kadir, 2016; Scott, 2011). Aside from increasing variety of nutrition for the community (Boekorsjom, 2012) this is the definition of farmer that is perceived to be effective according to government.

In other words, according to government's perspective, the plants should be the ones that rotate, not the land. This view has cultural bias nuance of agricultural system in Java where plant rotation is actually an excess from the pressure from population density. Whereas shifting agricultural practices have been practiced for more than five hundred years and the quality of the soil is maintained and free from erosion. The government does not have any comprehension about the community agricultural pattern because the Papuan employ mixed agricultural pattern that combine the subsistence plant with horticulture in one plot of land.

For the farmers, shifting cultivation system enable them to adjust with the surrounding social and ecological (environmental) condition and allow themselves to avoid destructive and unsustainable agricultural practices (Namgyel et al, 2008). Upon harvesting periode, the farmers would move and look for new farm area. The left out land would enter the fallow period, that is period where a land cannot be cultivated until new trees grow (usually will take tens of years). The farmers would return to the same land once new trees have grown and start logging again, they would burn the woods and small branches (slash-and-burn farming), then they would replant the land (Potter, 2009).

This article finds that this mixed agricultural practice is a choice and decision made by local Papuan women, who mixed traditional and commercial plants in one piece of land. These choices made by Papuan women are different from several agricultural studies that show how farmers decide to leave subsistence plants and decide to replace their plants with commercial plants, which bring implication to the vulnerability of local food autonomy and dependency to fluctuative prices of commercial crops at the global market (Finnis, 2006; Li, 2014). This fluctuative price at global market therefore is beyond farmers' control, and puts them in vulnerable situation. Though they have their own economic aspiration, local Papuan farmers do not sacrifice all of their land into commercial planted land.

Similar situation happened in selecting and making decisions about pesticide and herbicide. The Papuan farmers in in this study refuse to use pesticide to all of their crops, unless when pests massively attack the leaves during nursing period. The finding of this study also shows that *mama-mama* have significant voice in determining options and decision making for shifting cultivation system and marketing process. These options and decisions are gradually deprived when they shifting

cultivation system is slowly replaced by sedentary and modern agricultural practices.

The freedom to choose is also evident in the close relation among agriculture, kinship, politics of clan, economic practices, and religion. In this research, the researchers do not perceive agriculture as technical system that is separable from other social conditions, but rather interconnected. Furthermore, the traditional economic pattern have put social relation elements with economic transaction into one embedded relation, creating embeddedness (Granovetter, 1985). Nevertheless, embeddedness is not always applicable for modern agriculture practice (sedentary farming).

The world of modern economy separates production from marketing roles, while traditional economy integrates production, maintenance and marketing distribution. Traditional cultivation practices do not separate household from economy. Husband and wife both involve in maintenance process, especially during nursing process. Sometimes the sons are also asked to purchase large scale of seeds from outside the town. Similarly, during preparation for harvest, the traditional farmers would involve religious institutions in the process, as will elaborated by the researcher below.

Methodolgy

This research formulate research questions on how women continue the cultivation tradition but at the same time responding to the market needs by planting commercial crop (cash crop). This research also tries to investigate about how women perfoem economically in the farm, in what matters women are involved in decision-making process namely in production sector, maintenance of crops, and marketing distribution. Including to investigate what factors that influence women to be involved or not in farming.

This study took place in two districts, in Maybrat Regency (highland) and Sorong Regency (highland), in Papua Barat Province. The research started since mid June by investigating secondary resources concerning agriculture and women's profiles in these two regencies. In July 2019, field data collection was conducted in both regencies. Data collection method used in this research is structured interview and focused group discussion (FGD). FGD and structured interview were selected considering the longer time it would require for observational-participatory research. On the other hand by using focused group discussion method, the researchers could interact with the informants on unobservable topics, and

could adjust the questions in data collection method (Suter 2000). Aside from conducting structured interview, the data collection process also used unstructured and observation by following the women farmers to the farms that they were working on in the Maybrat Regency.

Selection of informants was initiated by contacting several instructors of the Agriculture Office and Local Food Security Office in the two regencies, Sorong and Maybrat. Then the field agriculture officers (Penyuluh Petani Lapangan/ PPL) of the two offices took the researchers to meet farmers groups in the two regencie to conduct FGD. Snowball informants method was considered quite effective due to the difficult access to reach research's informants (Naderifar 2017). The identities of local farmers, both men and women, including the field agriculture officers are kept anonymous for the purpose of research ethics. Anonimity was opted not only by changing the informants' names, but also by keeping and protecting the informants' privacy as agreed upon with them for data collection purpose (interviews, documentations, etc). (Spradley 2007)

This research interviewed 19 women farmers and 26 men farmers. Most of the men interviewed were the husbands of the interviewed women or in kinship relations, for instance son in law or female sibling. In order to compare the interview's output, this research also interviewed 11 field officers from the Agriculture Office and Local Food Security Office in the two regencies. All the interviewed farmers are local Papuan farmers, or those who considered themselves as native people of Papua (Orang Papua Asli/ OAP) and belong to Melanesian race. In Sorong Regency, the interviewed farmers were members of Moi tribe who lived in Aimas, Klademak and Klasaman villages. While in Maybrat Regency, the interviewed farmers were members of Ayamaru and Ayfat tribes who lived in Ayamaru, Aisyo, Kisor and Aitinyo villages. In order to obtain pattern of answers from the research question, the researchers grouped similar answers generated from different conversations. It is expected that by doing so, the similarities between local farmers in the districts of Sorong and Maybrat could be identified, and the commonalities and comparisons in women's economic practices among women who use shifting cultivation system with other regions could be identified.

In Maybrat Regency, this research observed women's role in the primary commodity production of peanuts, while in Sorong Regency their primary commodity is tomatoes. The Maybrat Regency is located in highland and suitable for tubers, corns and peanuts farming, which

would bring large scale cash for the farmers. The farmers also plant horticulture crops such as chillies, tomatoes, and eggplants. While Sorong Regency is located in swamp area in lowland level. In some regencies, transmigrant farmers from Java have more control over the farming area compare to the local Papuan farmers.

The population of Maybrat Regency reach to 38,067 with area of about 5,461 square kilometers (BPS 2015). Maybrat Regency has more homogenous populations compare to Sorong Regency. The most dominant tribes in this district are Ayfat and Ayamaru tribes that constitute 74% of the population, followed by Arfak tribe of about 21.16%, and the remaining are migrants. The Javanese living in this regency are relatively small of about 0.36% (Ananta et. Al 2010). Maybrat is newly established regency that as established in 2009 as an expansion of Sorong Regency. On the other hand, Sorong Regency has more heterogenous popultions whereas 50% of its populations are migrants from Java, and other migrants' ethnic groups such as Bugis, Buton, Makasar and Toraja. The native tribe of Sorong Regency is Moi who live up to Raja Ampat Regency in the north. In 2010, Sorong's population was 192,000 lives and in 2020 the population is estimated to reach of about 261,000 lives (BPS 2015). The Population in Sorong Regency were about ten folds to the population in Maybrat Regency. The width of Sorong Regency is about 7,415 square kilometers. This densed population has made it impossible to apply shifting cultivation in the centers of Sorong Regency except in the peripheral area.

Shifting Farming as Local Wisdom

In area with low numbers of population such as in Maybrat Regency and in the peripheral area of Sorong Regency, shifting farming is still commonly practiced. However, according to the technocratic view of the government that is also heavily market oriented, this type of farming system is considered as an obsolete practice due to their communal nature, subsistence oriented, irresponsive to technology, no fertilizer usage, and not produced in large scale. On the contrary, this research views the shifting farming system as a rationale and adaptive based on the local community's perspective. This system could minimize the risk of pest attack, weeds, and labor cost (labor intensive). Shifting farming does not cause destruction to the soil. People can also modify the farming system by responding to any environmental change and commodity price in the market. They could diversify their crops of the subsistence and the commercial plants. In one plot of land the farmers plant taro, bananas,

and at the same time they also plant cabbage, tomatoes, chillies, eggplants and peanuts. Commercial crops are often referred as "intervention plant" because it was first introduced by agriculture officers and migrant farmers from Java.

However, the shifting farming system also has its own shortcomings that could shift it due to densed population that force the farmers to settle down in one area. This is particularly challenging for Sorong Regency as the second largest transmigration area in Papua and West Papua after Merauke (Ananta, 2010; Upton, 2009). Densed population has made farmers need to intensify their agriculture similar to what happened in Java. This situation is worsened by the incoming 'flood' of voluntary migrants to Sorong that is more prevalent after the decentralization in 2001, which made this area have been fully occupied by foreigners (traders and horticulture farmers). On the other hand, farmers in Maybrat Regency consider the settling farmers as "poor people" because they do not have vast farming land and keep working on the same land. The farmers in Maybrat Regency perceive settling farming as without sense since they have vast area available with only small numbers of population.

When immense migration happened during transmigration program and deforestation due to palmoil investment in the peripheral area of Sorong Regency, these shifting farmers were forced away from their area. They moved to the more secluded area in the foothills. However the cleared forest was not the primary forest, but it was the secondary forest, or forest that has been cleared for farming and have been abandoned for two to three years. These farmers do not perform extensive shifting system by applying mechanization of production due to the limited technology used such as chainsaw, outboard motors or hand-tractor. This is evident from the rare existence of cleared savannah due to land clearing.

Rainfall condition also support the shifting farming system. Different from the condition in Java, where the rainfall has been predicted regularly for every six months, the infrequent rainfall during dry season has made shifting farming cannot rely on irrigation system. This situation is different with the sedentary agricultural system that has been applied in transmigration areas such as district of Aimas and Salawati in Sorong Regency. The farmers, especially the men, must carry water using pumps from the nearest river. While for the farmers community, the nearest farm area can be irrigated with water channeled from the kitchen tap using hose.

To difersify their cultivation practices, the farmers conduct shifting farming by also planting horticulture

plants. They also difersify their work by conducting boar hunting and fishing in the Aymaru Lake or in the river. This action can be classified as a mixed economy practice where seeds of subsistence plants such as fruits, banana are being spread, while the horticulturue plants are organized better but without raised beds.

This article views that the perception towards the farmers who applied the mixed economy as being irresponsible to market to be merely just a myth. In fact, the farmers are very responsive to market and they have different social and economical structure. Nevertheless, they are not an isolated community. This is evident in the way they diversify crops from subsistence to the horticulture plants.

The diversity was also visible in the women farmers' ability to monetize subsistence production such as wild fruits such as *durian*, *rambutan*, mangosteen, as well as wild boar, deer, fish, honey, corns and ferns. Farmers in Maybrat Regency have been having on-going trade relation with middlemen in the city and also the sedentary farmers. In exchange, they could get cash, salt, rice, tobacco, building materials, and *kain timur* (traditional fabric), which is used by the men to pay wedding ceremony.

Maybrat farmers call horticulture plants as intervention plant. It is called that way because such plants were introduced from outside by field officers or transmigrant farmers from Java. Government and other developmental agencies consider shifting farmers as unproductive and not subsistence in nature. Actually, the intensive agriculture practice tends to destroy the soil due to the thick content of chemical fertilizer and herbicides. On the contrary, the shifting farming is actually a rather sustainable long-term agriculture practice, that are complex, varied, dynamic and responsive to market change, suitable to the surrounding environmental condition, and rather low demographic pressure.

Shifting farming system is as exactly as described by Edmund Leach (1970) about the farmers in Burma high land. Farmers would prepare the vegetation and allow it to dry before being burnt. The burning residue would produce phosphate and potassium that would fertilize the soil. The crops then would be sowed with various seeds such as taro yam, sweet potatoes, corns and horticulture plants such as eggplant, chillies, tomatoes and peanuts. In about six months to one year of planting, they would leave the area. They would allow the soil to recover and ready for long-term plant, which will naturally grow as secondary forest.

As found in this study in Papua, the shifting farming cycle does not cause deforestation and depletion of soil quality nor leaving behind weeds and ferns. The growth of secondary forest definitely could prevent soil erosion and flood. From the undertaken interviews, the farmers would return to their initial land differently from five to six years. This period of vacating the land for years before replanting it has enabled regeneration of forest and humus. The more the farmers clearing up the primary forest, the longer it will take for them to return to the initial land, and the more width the secondary forest that would grow (King, 2012). However, the most logical option for them is to rotate in the secondary forest area because when clearing up the primary forest would make the distance between their home and farm would be further and it would be more difficult to control wild boar that sometimes attacking the farm.



Picture 1. Local farmer planting banana tree (long-term/seasonal) in commercial and subsistence area

Shifting farming also defines well the division of labor between men and women. Men are responsible for cutting down trees, making holes in the land for seedlings, and building hut around the farm. While the women are responsible for sowing, weeding, and selecting seeds. Some tasks are undertaken together by men and women, such as clearing the bushes, burning to protect farm from pests and animals, harvesting, and distribution of harvests. The division of agricultural tasks is similar to study by Freeman (1955) in Iban community in the northern part of Kalimantan. The difference between Freeman's study and this research is the land

ownership system in North Kalimantan that has been strictly distributed among individuals. While this article will discuss how customary ownership of the land in West Papua affects women.

Women's Involvement in Production

Traditionally, agricultural practice in Papua does not use animal or plow to transport or process the soil. This shows the human intensive division between men and women. Their decision to restrict the use of technology has correlation with the kinship system. The exogamy marital system, where women move out from their clan is considered as transfer of labor, which enable women to maintain their husbands' shifting farm and to make decision for economy (Goody 1999; Graeber 2018). This transfer of women labor has made possible to continue exchange tradition among clans. The transfer of labor is possible for two reasons. First, low adoption of farming technology that allows women to play important roles in farming activities. This conclusion will be shown further that the more agricultural technology adopted then the less role played by women would be. Second, the low demographic density also contribute to the significant role of women labor and role in making economic decision.

The bridewealth system requires women to marry men from different clan, for instance Nau clan women should marry men from different clan (such as Wai clan). The purpose of the exogamy marriage is to transfer women's labor in the farming after the bride's family received *Kain Timur* as dowry payment. *Kain Timur* has been used as exchange tradition for wedding ceremony in the high land in the head bird area of West Papua (Timmer 2011). *Kain Timur* that were given have varied prices from 70 to 100 million Rupiah, depending on the capability of the men's family. After receiving *Kain Timur*, the woman is expected to live with her husband's family and works with her husband in the farm. This research finds that with *Kain Timur* as dowry women are not only suitable to contribute in farm's works, but also has role in selecting seeds, maintaining the crops, and selling the harvests to the market. The man (husband) decides the rotation of farm's plot. Mama Nau from Aitinyo shares her experience as follow:

Pai tua (husband) is the one who decides on land shift. Sometimes it's far, sometimes it's nearby. But we will decide together on what kind of crops we will plant, what kind of seeds to sow. Afterwards, I will take over the maintenance of the crops.

Men have three important roles, those are to decide on the land's sequence for planting, logging trees, clearing the farm and build post in the farm for protection against wild animal attack. The remaining tasks are shared between husband and wife. In the tending process of the crops, women play important role in selecting and deciding farming production from purchasing seeds, maintaining using ash and selling in the market. Women play important role in selecting the seeds as available in the market. Mama Yau Kambuaya from Ayamaru District explained:

I am the one who buys the seeds, in the stores they also sell rica vegetables, tomatoes, spinach, green beans, okra, just vegetables.

Aside from purchasing seeds, women also manage local seeds that they usually distribute among their families, such as local tomatoes seeds, local chillies and tubers. Papua, especially in Maybrat Regency has different variety of tomato that is different from the ones sold in the market. This local variety requires no intensive maintenance than the ones sold in the market. Mama Yau explained:

Self production is possible (local tomatoes and chillies), we just spread the seeds and tomorrow they would start to grow, clear the land, cultivate again. Then leave to plant and shift to a new plot.

The tomatoes sold in the local market are usually called as "Java" tomatoes or "apple" tomatoes due their big shape. This "apple" tomatoes require intensive maintenance as practiced by transmigrants from Java in compared to the local tomatoes' variety. Other commodities (such as chillies and tubers) that are sold in the market also require far more intensive maintenance in compared to local commodities. Crops' tending is considered to be new for most of the local Papuan farmers since it requires meticulous work. Mama Tomi from Aitinyo village explained:

If I plant "Java" tomatoes, then I have to go through that meticulous process of agriculture. If we plant carelessly the harvest won't be good, planting, tending, maintaining, regularly, then it will harvest. While for the local variety we can plant as we like.



Picture 2. Local women holding local tomatoes varieties from the retained seeds

Women play significant role in deciding which seeds to purchase. Especially in Maybrat Regency, since there is not any agriculture store available, then the peddlers from Java who live in Moswaren would come to Maybrat by vehicles. The Javanese shifting sales persons who live in Moswaren area would come by motorcycle to Maybrat. They sell various household appliances, plastics, and also seeds such as chilli, lettuce, tomatoes, eggplants in small sachet. These seeds are usually used for one planting season, to be sowed simultaneously with other subsistence crops such as taro yam and sweet potato.

Allocation of budget for purchasing seeds such as tomatoes cost no more than 50 thousand rupiahs. In Sorong Regency, the large-scale purchasing of seeds amounts to Rp. 200 thousand is estimated could yield more than 300 kilograms of tomatoes. Women do not go to other towns when purchasing large-scale seeds, instead they leave this duty to the younger men such as their sons or younger brothers to go to Moswaren or Teminabuan. The intersectionality occurs when women could assign the younger men to purchase farming needs from outside of their area.

Aside from managing the seeds, women also involve in carrying out fertilization for horticulture using kitchen or firewood ashes during land clearing. They have proven that the ash is effective for terminating pest on the leaves and branches.



Picture 3. Leaves dusted with kitchen ash collected from firewood to exterminate pests.

Even though they do not use fertilizer, pesticide and herbicide, the shifting farming method is effective enough in avoiding pests. The situation is different from the sedentary farming as usually performed in transmigration agriculture. When the farm is attacked by pest, the sedentary farmers cannot move to different area, therefore they have to use fertilizers, herbicides and chemical pesticides. The Mamas that were interviewed in the two regencies admitted that they have been visited by the field agriculture officers who tried to introduce chemical fertilizer and herbicides, but they were very much aware of the negative consequences and therefore decided not to use them. They understand that these chemicals would be harmful not only for the soil but also their bodies. Mama Yori from Klasaman Sorong admitted:

Our legs would hurt if we consume vegetables grown with fertilizer. They use some kind of medicines, right? If you go to any market, you would see their flawless appearances, the chillies, eggplants, lettuce, they all look good because of the fertilizer. But Mama intentionally refuse to use fertilizer, but if there is other option such as using bio-gas is available, I would be willing to learn.

Aside from the possible effects against their bodies, the other reason why most farmers household are reluctant to use fertilizer is because it will bring implication to labor cost and transportation. The use of fertilizer will increase production, which will bring implication to more labor recruitment during harvesting. Different from transmigrants farmers from Java who recruit worker directly, the Papuan farmers recruit their workers through churches. Before harvesting, the farmers would inform the church about their harvest plan, therefore the congregations members will help them out. The church will receive of about 10 percent of the money that are donated by farmers. The farmers would donate of about one to two million Rupiah for the church. Other members of congregation are mostly farmers, therefore the help they give will be reciprocally mutual. Farmers could recruit workers to help them in land clearing for the new farm. Usually they would pay the workers between 200-300 thousand Rupiah per day. However, harvesting peanuts on a quarter hectare of land would require more than five workers, therefore churches have important role for consolidating workers.

Increased production will affect transportation cost. If they have to harvest more than five sacks, they have to sell the crops to central markets, such as Teminabuan market and Remu market, in Sorong. They have to calculate their initial cost for renting transportation, and decrease their selling price in order to be more competitive with similar

products sold at central market. Therefore, increased production also means increased labor cost and risk of loss, which are not necessarily profitable. From the interview, it is found that most of the farmers complain about how they have tried to increase production of crops such as farm rice and peanuts, but there is no institution such as big cooperative or village enterprises (Badan Usaha Milik Desa/ BUMDES) that could collect their increased production.

Women's Role in Modern Agriculture

Women play significant role in shifting farming system as elaborated above. However, the advancement of agricultural technology have given more roles to men in agriculture work, and have shifted women's role. Modern agriculture place women as rather inefficient and lower income (Majumder and Shah, 2017). This shifting would make women's role in housekeeping shifted as homemaker only within a nuclear family (Adams, 1991; Adams, 2004). Different from traditional farming, modern agriculture focuses on three things: maintenance cost such as fertilizer and herbicides, labor cost, and transportation costs. Social cost can be suppressed hence farmers can only focus on the main costs mentioned before.

As a comparison, this research interviewed an agriculture field officers in Salawati District in Sorong Regency, Mr. Rode. He mentioned how transmigrants farmers from Java have applied mechanization for their agricultural production in that distrik.

Initially to plant one hectare of rice, you would need 8 persons for two days, but if you planting machine such as hand tractor you will finish it for a day, you don't need 8 people. Two will suffice.

Salawati and Aimas Districts are some of the examples of sedentary agricultural practices that most transmigrants farmers from Java have adopted in Sorong. Agricultural mechanization and sedentary farm intensification in this district have reduced women's role in agricultural domain (Ember, 1983). Modern agriculture adopts sedentary system, hence when pest attacks the farmers would have to use pesticides. Form of modern agriculture have been much applied in Sorong Regency, especially in Aimas district. Local farmers from Moi tribe are more inspired by the sedentary system that are applied by the transmigrants from Java. The local farmers would build raised beds, use herbicides to control pest, and use synthetic fertilizer "Mutiar", "1616 NPK". They

also start to involve middlemen who would directly come to their farm. Although could reduce transportation cost, the middlemen usually set the price below the market price. Therefore, to be able cover the cost the farmers have to produce more. In these processes from production, maintenance, until marketing, women play less role compare to traditional agriculture.

This research finds that when farmers manage to increase their agriculture production by employing mechanization, women do not lose their housekeeping's role. Since the farmers adopt hybrid planting instead of intensification, then the women still play important role in the market, such as selling the yields from their long-term or seasonal farm, such as banana. The development of technology could shift women's role in agriculture. Women who usually do the weeding has been replace by men. The use of grassmower is also profitable for the men, because they could also earn from renting the machine or being paid for carrying out other work using the mowers. One Mama from Kambuaya in Ayamaru district explained:

There's a guy who brought a grassmower machine here, when someone ask them to mow they have to pay him Rp. 300,000.- then he would do the work.



Picture 4. Local Papuan male farmer using grass mower machine in mixed system from traditional to modern agriculture

When the shifting farmers start to settled down, as some examples in Sorong Regency, the women beginning to lose their contributions in crops tending. This situation occurred when their husbands started to use fertilizer, pesticides and chemical herbicides. Ever since the farmers use chemical herbicides, women's role in weeding has also been reduced. The women are reluctant to weed the farm that have been sprayed with chemicals. The same also happen with the farming tools such as grassmower machine and hand tractor, which are all operated by men.

Meanwhile in the domain of market distribution, with the huge harvesting scale up to three tons of tomatoes for instance, the farmers would need middlemen to buy within the price. The existence of middlemen's services is a sign or a boundary between production sector from marketing sector. Different from the traditional agriculture where both (production and marketing) are managed by women, in modern agriculture the women are no longer involved inmarket distribution because the sizeable production and their inability to control the price. The middlemen cut the women's role who usually sell their small-scale crops directly to the market or right in front of their houses.

However, interestingly mama-mama in Sorong Regency still play role when their husbands adopt sedentary agricultural system. The women still go to the market to sell their farm's products such as banana, taro yam, sweet potato, and papaya leaves and flowers. During planting season, the subsistence plants are inserted in the middle of other commercial plants that are planted in larger scale and to be sold to middlemen.

Women in Market Distribution Domain

Traditional farmer in shifting farming are intentionally mix their land for both economic needs and subsistence needs. This mixture plot take less than 0.25 hectares of the farm, therefore it does not require lots of human power. Such mix farming would produce a rather diverse rather than big number of homogenous crops. Therefore, the farmers would not need to sell their crops to the middlemen who would take their crops. The women would sell their crops in the sidestreet in front of their houses. For them this is a much more effective market than going to central market, because they can do both their chores while selling the crops. Mama Yaru from Ayamaru district said:

This is our kind of market. I don't bring the crops to the marke, not one such as in Sorong. Mama prefer this way (selling in front of the house). it is sold a lot quicker.

In Ayamaru district, the government has built a central market for mama-mama, but the market remains unused since the scale of crops' production is rather samll, and selling in front of the house is more practical for the women. Horticulture products such as vegetables are only sold on the side streets due to their short storage time compare to other crops that have longer storage time such as tubers and peanuts.

When more commodities are being produced, especially peanuts, the women of Ayamaru district will sell the products to Teminabuan and Moswaren markets in South Sorong Regency. Since in Maybrat, there is no middlemen exist that would take their products, mama-mama rent transportations. The means of transportations usually a four-wheel drive car that could carry heavy load and able to take the rocky road. Mama Yaru explained:

With car, Mama have to pay Rp. 250,00,- per person. For a sack of peanut, I have to pay Rp. 50,000. - to Rp. 55,00,- per person. To take people on board could cost Rp. 250,000,-. To use of about Rp 1,500,00.- or Rp 2,000,000. - Just show it if many would cost Rp 1,500,00.-. Then can get a car such us Hilux.

There are several reasons why farmers do not sell their products to central market that is located further. Aside from higher transportation's cost, the farmers consider the price of their crops will be cheaper when they sell their products in Moswaren, Teminabuan or Sorong Central Market. It is because they have to adjust their price in order go compete with other big traders from various areas who sell the same products. In the villages visited by researchers such as in Maybrat Regency, Ayfat and Aitinyo, the farmers would only sell their products to big cities if they produce averagely to three to five sacks. If it is less than that, they will sell it in small market in front of their houses.

Similar to other researches about women's role in market (Alexander, 1987; Brenner, 1998), women in these two regencies also play important role in marketing the crops and post marketing allocation of money. Female farmers in Maybrat Regency play important role in managing the money earned upon harvesting. Aside for purchasing seeds, the production from the farms are mostly used for social network such as paying fines, school tuition, share the money with their extended family for ritual such as wedding ceremony, and for the cost of religious activities in the church especially for preparing Christmas party. Farmers do not only deal with maximizing profit, but also have in negotiation with their neighbors and clans. In other words, economic decision on investment as well as to maintain social relation is made simultaneously. The cycle of mixed economy is often seen as unproductive and irrational by the government due to the small proportion of budget allocation provided for seeds and fertilizer, the lack of budget allocation for purchasing of tools and modern agricultural technology, or allocation for additional labor power.

Women contribution for agriculture would decrease when local Papuan farmers applied modern farming as sedentary farming, especially in distribution and marketing. It happens due to the heavy reliance of the sedentary farmers upon middlemen who will bring their commodities to the market, hence the women do not have to sell the products in the market. Nevertheless in several cases there are some local farmers who were not fond of the middlemen due to the arbitrary decision in determining and reducing the commodities' price up to 50%.

The market price is Rp. 20,000, -, usually, they will buy them, the middlemen were being dishonest in the purchasing, the price is different from the price at the market. At the market the price could be for Rp. 20,000, -, but they would tell us that the price of tomatoes is Rp. 10,000, -.

This research finds several important practices and perspectives from the farmers' community and mama-mama in the two regencies that were being researched. First, the advantage of Trans-Papua road for farmers is heavily determined by the amount of crops that they have produced. For farmers, Trans-Papua road is beneficial when they harvest in larger scale, then they can reduce the transportation cost. Second, the concept of market for mama-mama Papua is different from the concept of central market. The idea of selling products at central market is more suitable for traders from Java, Makassar, or Bugis. For these mama-mama, market is a place where they can exchange goods, and it's not necessarily have to be centralized. They trade goods on the side streets, in front of the farms, or just nearby their houses. Therefore, along the Sorong and Maybrat regencies, small huts or small permanent buildings can be found in every tens of meter, where mama-mama used to sell their products.

Conclusion

These shifting farmers intentionally limit their production's scale as a matter as an economic consideration. They only work on around a quarter hectare of land, and only purchase seeds of less than Rp. 200,000, -, use no pesticides, and sell no more than 300 kg of crops, as a reasonable option rather than sacrificing the embeddedness of social relation with economy. In traditional farming, women play important role in both social and economic domains. First, they apply subsistence agricultural practice for food security, as well as to appreciate commercial market by also planting commercial plants according to market demand.

In the shifting farming, women play an important role in applying this mixed economy. The logic behind mixed economy is that women farmers put consideration on social relation and religion, as well as on ecological condition. The farmers do not only think about ways to maximizing economic profit but also ways to maintain social relation. Women plays important role in decision to keep the production steady because it would bring implication to the chain of production and may break the existing social relation with transactional relation. For instance, how using waged labor would replace the role of church, mechanizing farming tools, in the end would replace the role of women. Therefore, women have significant role in balancing agriculture as both economic transaction and social relation.

Under developmental regime that emphasizes economic growth, shifting agriculture is perceived as unproductive because this system will not increase revenue significantly. However, shifting farming is quite an environmentally friendly system. At this point ecological policy contradicts with the ambition towards economic growth, and the local Papuan farmers in this research manage to mix both without harming the soil with harmful chemicals.

In conclusion, this research concludes that the traditional world, which has been perceived as outdated by modern world is not proven. Women in traditional farming system have key position in decision-making and choices. On the other hand, in modern farming system, women farmers whose role were to deal with subsistence crops then becoming less since this farming system concentrate on commercial crops. The role of women in decreasing when under the increasing of modern farming system. This research finds that in the two regencies in Papua, modernization has marginalized women from their roles in traditional agriculture sector.

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