

Fulfillment of Reproductive and Sexual Health Rights in the Fragile Community Food Systems in Rural Indonesia

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Abstract

Women's authority over their bodies is often ignored due to limited choices and access to resources. This study intends to photograph the failure of development governance, especially in the food and environmental sectors, which places women as the exploited party. This research uses the concept of feminist ecology as a rationale in studying women's experiences and their relation to the fragility of the food system. The research method used in this research is a qualitative approach through in-depth interviews and observations in the area of Kampung Darim which is uniquely divided into the territories of Kedayakan Village and Puntang Village with a food-agricultural ecosystem background in Indramayu Regency, West Java. These two villages are one of the food barn areas and have a high tendency for the practice of early marriage to occur. The results of the study show that the commodification of natural resources, especially food, tends to reduce the function of food production to fulfilling daily needs. More than that, it also ignores cultural practices that are closely tied to the food system. This paper intends to raise the experience of women who are vulnerable to exploitation due to the failure of the food system. Apart from experiencing exploitation as a result of failure to manage natural resources, rural women in this study are also a group at high risk of experiencing sexual and reproductive health threats. The development of the food system needs to be improved by placing women as equal subjects.

Keywords: exploitation, reproduction health, woman, food system

Introduction

Indonesia's rural areas are still the focus of food producers (Widiyanto 2018; Atem 2020). In its 2021 Annual Report, the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Indonesia (2022) emphasises the position of villages as the main target of strategic programmes, one of which is the Horticultural Village. This programme promotes 'one village one variety' to improve the welfare of farmers in villages by increasing the added value and competitiveness of horticultural commodities. The target of 2,358 Horticultural Villages began to be built in line with the 2022 fiscal year. Furthermore, the Director General of Horticulture, Prihasto Setyanto, stated that 320 horticultural *Micro*, *Small* and *Medium Enterprises* (MSMEs) will be fostered with processed commodities of chilli, onions, and fruits and vegetables, as well as medicinal plants (Ministry of Agriculture Republic of Indonesia 2021).

The dichotomy of the welfare of villages, the majority of which live with the characteristics of the agricultural and urban economies, is also evident from several

aspects, especially the economic aspects (Ramdhon 2014; Priyambodo et al. 2015). Agricultural activities, which tend to be in the upstream sector, are increasingly uncompetitive when compared to the non-agricultural sector (Anugrah 2016; Pahlevi 2021). In some cases in rural Indonesia, policy makers do not seem empowered to protect agricultural land and food producers (Janti 2016; Syahyuti et al. 2016; Amalina 2018; Fauzin 2019; Sihombing et al. 2021), leading to fragile food systems.

Disconnected food systems and ecosystem interventions that prioritise food production add to the complexity of declining agricultural yields, especially in food barn villages. As an example of the fragility of the food system, the People's Coalition for Food Sovereignty (*Koalisi Rakyat untuk Kedaulatan Pangan*, KRKP) notes that there are farming villages in Indramayu that have experienced extreme land degradation. This situation occurs due to the governance of agriculture and food systems that do not consider the agroecosystem context,¹ even though villages play an essential role as

the spearhead of sustainable development (Jagustović et al. 2019; Mas 2021).

Climate change is also experienced by farmers. The shift in the growing season as a result of climate change is a shock to the cropping patterns and financial capital turnover for farming households (Badawi 2015). This situation makes rural households, which have relatively insufficient access and resources to work outside the agricultural sector, try to mobilise their capital as much as possible. In some cases in rural areas, women are the most vulnerable group to be mobilised (Badawi 2015; Tahir et al. 2019; Situmeang et al. 2022).

The mobilisation of rural women (Yuliana 2015) makes women vulnerable. This is inseparable from the power relations between men and women. Vulnerability is especially related to the context of fulfilling sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) for development subjects at the village level (Irawan 2016; Sari & Hanifah 2020). Women experience various real conditions that have eliminated women's power over their bodies and reproductive health (Badawi 2015). Ironically, this risk does not only occur to individual women who experience exploitation, but often also involves offspring born to women (Chusna & Ramli 2017; Setiawati & Susanti 2017; Suryadi 2017; Utamidewi 2017; Syarif 2018; Santoso 2020; Wardi 2020; Rahmatullah & Suyanto 2021). This structure in gender relations is interpreted as a result of the patriarchal system, which Walby (1990) defines as a social structure and practice in which men dominate, operate, and exploit women.

The vulnerability of rural women is further exacerbated by the failure of natural resource management in rural Indonesia. This condition causes economic vulnerability, which makes women more vulnerable to exploitation in the forms of being married off at an early age, having unintended pregnancies, and losing authority over their bodies (Indanah et al. 2020). Girls are often considered a burden to the family that many parents in rural areas think of marrying off their children immediately when they enter the menstrual period (Kurniawati & Sari 2020; Samsi 2020). Marriage is considered a momentum to release the family burden and is used as a way to prevent girls from potentially bringing dishonour to the family (Istiqomah 2017; Asmarini 2021). Unfortunately, efforts to marry off girls become a trap because early marriages are generally not accompanied by efforts to prepare the bride and groom for marriage (Erna 2014; Yanti & Wiwita 2018). Women's families often bear the additional burden of caring for their pregnant children or granddaughters (Fauziningtyas et al. 2019; Rahmatullah et al. 2020).

This paper aims to highlight the experiences of women who are vulnerable to exploitation due to the failure of the food system. This paper also shows how the risks faced by women in fulfilling their sexual and reproductive health and rights as a consequence of the exploitation they experience. There are two forms of exploitation commonly experienced in the Darim case, namely women being mobilised as the backbone of the family by being directed to work outside Darim and the practice of underage marriage. Both of these forms of exploitation are essentially carried out for economic reasons. Darim women are excluded from access to Darim land in order to fulfil family needs that should be the responsibility of all family members. This study specifically addresses the case of a food producer community in Indramayu Regency, West Java Province.

Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR)

Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) are developed based on human rights. Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 39 of 1999 on Human Rights Article 3 Paragraph (1) stipulates that "Everyone is born equal in dignity and human rights, and is bestowed with the intellect and reason to live with others in a spirit of brotherhood". These basic human principles are often associated with rights and responsibilities. However, the Indonesian Family Planning Association (*Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia, PKBI*) (2017) emphasises that the fulfilment of one's human rights essentially exists without having to be juxtaposed with the concept of 'responsibility' because human rights are inherent in every human being since they were born. PKBI (2017) also explains further about SRHR as part of human rights. The discourse on the premise of 'responsibilities precede rights' shapes people's mindset, especially on matters related to elements of human rights that relate to one's body. SRHR emerges to reaffirm the rights of each individual in fulfilling sexual and reproductive activities.

The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo on 5-13 September 1994 defines reproductive health as a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being in all matters relating to the reproductive system and to its functions and processes. Reproductive rights are described as rights that include certain human rights that have been recognised by national laws, international documents on human rights, and other relevant United Nations (UN) treaties. In line with these rights, the National Commission on Human Rights (*Komnas HAM*) (2006) states that the discussion of reproductive health cannot be separated

from the quality of human resources, which also involves issues of access to and quality of health services and the relationship between the roles of men and women in society.

Fulfilment of reproductive health rights with justice and gender equality remains a big problem that is influenced by various factors. In the context of women's reproductive health, the influencing factors include (1) Poverty and impoverishment of women; (2) Lower education of women compared to men; (3) Low access of women to essential health services and information; (4) Women's lack of control over their right to receive basic health services; and (5) The position of women is considered inferior or as second-class citizens (Komnas HAM, 2006). In addition, based on the Mapping of Problems on the Right to Sexual and Reproductive Health for Women: Housewives & Singles, Children, Labourers, IDPs, Persons with Disabilities and the Elderly, and Minorities (Komnas HAM, 2006), there are twelve reproductive health problems that are commonly found in women. Some of these reproductive health problems, such as getting pregnant too often, complications of pregnancy and childbirth, and the status or position of women can be found in Darim Village.

Research Methodology

This research was conducted with a qualitative approach and used the constructivism paradigm. The choice of this paradigm was based on the need to see social facts related to the situation experienced by women. The interpretation of data using this paradigm is done to maintain the integrity of the situation experienced by women, while still providing room for new interpretations along with relevant field findings (Denzin & Lincoln 2009; Lubis & Adian 2011). Data bias due to women's experiences that are often overshadowed by men's thinking, or what is known as

patriarchal terminology (Candraningrum 2013), is one of the challenges that the constructivism paradigm seeks to reduce.

The exploration of women's experiences, especially in the context of Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) in this paper was conducted in Darim Village, which is administratively part of Kendayakan Village, Terisi Subdistrict and Puntang Village, Losarang Subdistrict, Indramayu Regency. Darim Village was chosen because the community in this village has interesting complexities in terms of genealogical, geographical, population, and politics related to women's experiences. Being situated between the administrative boundaries of two sub-districts and its remote geographical location in the middle of rice fields, makes it neglected in the context of development and access, including access to health facilities.

Data collection was conducted through observation and in-depth interviews using a list of questions that had been prepared by the researcher. The scope of the data included the history of Darim Village, the development of Darim, the experience of access to health for Darim residents, and the mobilisation of Darim residents. Observations were carried out by looking at the dynamics of Darim Village directly through regular monthly visits from 2021 to 2023. The observations made were broad observations covering population dynamics, dynamics of agricultural activities, and relationships between families.

Primary data collection through specific interviews on the situation of sexual and reproductive health was conducted between 2022-2023. The data extracted using in-depth interviews was the result of the informants' narrative consisting of 8 informants, namely a village midwife, *posyandu* cadres, parents, Javanese traditional healers, a woman migrant worker, and male figures. The description of the number of informants can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Characteristics of research informants in Darim Village

Informant	Number of Informant	Description
Village midwives	1	A health worker whose working area is in Darim Village. A reference for Darim residents to seek treatment when they are sick, especially those related to maternal and child health.
<i>Posyandu</i> cadres	2	A cadre who usually accompanies services at the monthly <i>posyandu</i> . Provides information related to maternal and child health and the findings of health cases related to pregnant women, infants, and toddlers in Darim Village.
Parents	2	Parents who marry off their daughters at an early age. Have experience of allowing their daughters to work outside Darim.

Informant	Number of Informant	Description
Javanese traditional healers	2	Elderly women who are believed to have the ability, knowledge, and wisdom to care for pregnant women, assist in the birthing process, and are entrusted with caring for women entering the postpartum period, as well as caring for babies. Javanese traditional healers are also known as <i>Paraji</i> or traditional birth attendants. Currently, the role of Javanese traditional healers has begun to diminish along with the increasing access to <i>posyandu</i> and <i>puskesmas</i> services to monitor pregnancies as well as the regulation that the delivery process must be accompanied by health workers, so Javanese traditional healers are no longer the sole actors who assist pregnant women. Until now, Javanese traditional healers are also a reference for alternative medicine for all people in Darim, both men and women who experience broken bones, sprains, or even 'colds' and 'not feeling well'.
Woman migrant worker	1	A Darim woman, who has experience as a migrant worker working as a spa worker in Jakarta.
Male figures	2	These informants are Darim residents, who have experience of allowing their wives or children to work outside Darim.
Total informants	10	

Source: primary data

Data was processed by grouping the findings based on issues, then sorted and analysed to see the red thread of the dynamics of the development of Darim Village and its relation to the fulfilment of sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR).

Darim: An Island in the Middle of Rice Fields

Darim or Blok Darim is a village genealogically inhabited by people who identify themselves as descendants of Ki Darim, an actor believed to be a farming elder. Ki Darim is believed by the Darim community to be the first person to build a house in the current location of Darim. The People’s Coalition for Food Sovereignty (2021) notes that before it was inhabited, the location of Darim Village was known as *bunen*, which means drying activity and temporary storage of crops, both rice and secondary crops. This term was given because the location of Darim Village was a place for farmers to temporarily store their agricultural products. Ki Darim then became the first person to make shacks in Darim. Ki Darim’s name became the name of the village because his shack was then used as a shelter by many other farmers until finally this location began to be used as a place to live.

The village is located in the middle of rice fields, so the residents themselves often joke that they live on an ‘island’ surrounded by an ‘ocean’ of rice fields. There is only one access to the village via a narrow road that can only be travelled by one car. According to the records of the People’s Coalition for Food Sovereignty (Sagala et al. 2020), Darim’s main road used to be a farming road with

a width of 2 metres, and in 2018, the road was filled with sand and stones (*sirtu*). Road hardening began in 2022 for 1.5 km. Until February 2023, there were no markers in the form of road names or signboards to indicate that the road was the entrance to Darim Village.

Although it is located on one stretch surrounded by rice fields, Darim is administratively divided into two different villages that are in two different sub-districts. The right side of the main road of Darim Village is the area of Kendayakan Village, Terisi Sub-district, and the left side of the road is the area of Puntang Village, Losarang Sub-district. Both villages are located in Indramayu Regency. Darim is clearly on the border between Losarang and Terisi sub-districts. This situation makes Darim ‘marginalised’ and literally feels ignored by both sub-districts. The remote access makes Darim less strategic to receive development exposure. The youth of Darim feel that the two villages and the two sub-districts seem to be shifting responsibility to each other and are reluctant to develop Darim.

These administrative differences have also polarised Darim. The Kendayakan Village section belongs to the same neighbourhood association (*Rukun Tetangga, RT*), and the Puntang Village section also has its own RT. In 2021, the youth of Darim then formed a communication forum as an effort to reduce the existing polarisation. This forum is called United Darim Forum (*Forum Darim Bersatu, Forimber*). Unfortunately, this platform is utilised more by male youth than female youth.

Darim Village's Food System

Massive interventions to the agricultural ecosystem in Darim Village began in early 2010. Farmers began to recognise the use of fertilisers and pesticides as a stimulant for rice cultivation. Synthetic fertilisers and pesticides have become an important part of rice cultivation in the fields for Darim farmers (Sagala et al. 2020). The use of synthetic fertilisers and pesticides initially proved effective in boosting agricultural production. However, intensive and unwise use of synthetic fertilisers and pesticides has damaged the ecosystem of rice fields and reduced soil fertility.

The People's Coalition for Food Sovereignty (Sagala et al. 2020) notes that high inputs of synthetic fertilisers and pesticides can cause changes in the physical, chemical, and biological properties of paddy fields. This will cause low soil water holding capacity, silty clay soil, unstable soil structure, and soil permeability getting lower and lower, resulting in the soil unable to absorb/store water. Therefore, the soil will lack water, triggering seawater intrusion into paddy fields, which will have an impact on increasing the salinity of paddy fields. The low water holding capacity of the soil can make the soil easily harden, cracking if rain does not fall in a few days during the dry season. Conversely, when the rainy season arrives, paddy fields will be inundated and potentially flooded.

In addition to the degradation of agricultural land, Darim also experienced a dark period related to the irrigation system. In the rice paddy ecosystem, the irrigation system plays a vital role in determining the success of a growing season. The absence of a political policy from the Darim government and the farmers' insensitivity in maintaining the waterways have caused the existing waterways in Darim to become unmaintained. The existing waterways have silted up and even started to deteriorate, making them no longer functional. The neglect of siltation and the absence of efforts to normalise the waterways have left the already dysfunctional channels neglected and become just dry pits. Old and damaged waterways are slowly stockpiled by farmers because they are no longer considered functional and can pragmatically be used to expand the planting and harvesting areas by planting rice.

The combination of land degradation and waterway degradation soon began to cause Darim's food system to become fragile: farmers were unable to plant on time due to water constraints and land readiness (the land was still flooded, or the land has not yet received water), the explosion of uncontrolled pest and disease attacks,

and other problems related to crops that did not get a fair purchase price due to middlemen's games, making Darim, which was once a food estate, suddenly entered difficult times (*paceklik*).

There was a period when Darim was completely submerged in water for days and all Darim residents were unable to leave the area. There were also experiences of successive crop failures due to flooding and crop pests that depleted the capital and food reserves of several families in Darim. The situation was not made any better by the fact that Darim, which is administratively controlled by two different villages and two different sub-districts, seems to be 'left out' of development policies. Darim residents have to find ways to fulfil their needs on their own.

When times of economic hardship due to crop failure occur, migrant labour era begins as an alternative to obtaining economic resources for the family, including food (Mulyana & Wirakusumah 2017). Indramayu does have a reputation as an area of origin for a high number of female migrant workers. Darim's village is not left out of the offers from the migrant worker recruiters. The recruitment system of migrant workers through recruiters as the channelling hub also offers young women in Darim the opportunity to find work outside Darim with the lure of facilities and salaries that would lift the women and their families out of poverty due to crop failure (Mulyana & Octavianti 2016).

Cah Wadon² in Darim Village

The lives of women following the opportunity to work as migrant workers can be said to have undergone drastic changes. A daughter or commonly called *cah wadon*, who is once constructed to help her mother carry out domestic work and then marry off after reaching puberty or has been proposed to, becomes the much-awaited offspring. *Cah wadon* becomes the family's hope to get out of poverty in two ways: marrying a man with a better economic situation or becoming a migrant worker.

"...some women have been married more than once, but no sexually transmitted infection or HIV cases have been found in Darim..." (BPW 2023, Interview 4 March).

Marrying a man who has a good economic situation is one of the most common practices. Several cases show that the practice of remarriage and divorce is a combination of economic problems and the harmony of households married at a young age. *Cah wadon*, who marries at a young age is vulnerable to domestic violence,

hence, divorce is inevitable. After a divorce, *cah wadon* tends to try or be encouraged by her family to remarry in order to avoid widowhood. It is not uncommon for the same situation to be recurring in second and third marriages.

There are several ways for *cah wadon* to become a migrant worker: through education or spa (massage service) route. The opportunity for *cah wadon* to access the education route to become a migrant worker is considered relatively difficult, strenuous, and requires large capital. Schools that have connections with international companies or labour brokers are relatively few and the competition is fierce. Students also have to pay for tuition fees for three years (the duration of education at the vocational high school level). However, the education route provides a more respectable job: becoming an administrative or factory worker abroad. This job will bring in income that is considered bigger because it will be paid in foreign currency and the prestige gained will be higher given that the work location will be abroad.

"... you could say that now people here (Darim) are happy if they have a daughter. She can be the hope of the family..." (KOD 2023, Interview 3 March).

The spa (massage) route is a more popular option for the Darim community. The fast process through a broker service makes many families urge their *cah wadon* to take this opportunity. *Cah wadon* who are willing to join this route do not need to spend any money as they will be facilitated by the broker. When they have passed the training period and are paid, the entire cost of their departure and training will be deducted from the income. Brokers at Darim Village level will also receive a thank you from *cah wadon* who have been 'successful' overseas.

"...brokers can get up to 15 million per month from those who work at spa. A way of saying thank you..." (KOD 2023, Interview 3 March).

Male-Female Relations in Darim Village and the Issue of SRHR

When Darim was first inhabited, its inhabitants still adhered to traditional knowledge about all aspects of life. Darim's culture was built on agricultural activities as the sole sector of livelihood for the entire Darim population. Working as a farmer has fulfilled all the needs of households in Darim. The social structure of the people living in Darim Village is founded on their agricultural culture.

In the early days of Darim Village, the division of labour between men and women was divided between domestic and productive roles. Both of them went to the fields to do agricultural activities. Women also held domestic responsibilities, such as cooking, cleaning the house, and looking after children. However, when their children were able to be left behind or could be taken to the fields, women continued to go to the fields. There was a view that man is the head of the household. When a Darim man got married, it was usually the man who was expected to build or give a house to the woman (his wife). Meanwhile, the woman's parents would provide their daughter with kitchen utensils, mattresses, and some other furniture.

Some informants stated that in the early days of Darim, boys would have a more useful role as family workers. Girls were expected to help with domestic work and when there were suitors, girls would be married off by their parents. The marriage of girls in Darim used to take place even before the girls reached puberty (menstruation). This situation is very vulnerable for reproductive and sexual health, but is still carried out on the basis of 'maintaining the good name of the family', 'it is not good to refuse good intentions (proposals)', 'releasing family dependents' or 'carrying out religious orders'.

Marriage at such an early age leads to unintended pregnancies, vulnerable pregnancies and postpartum care, and risky pregnancies and child-births for women. Parents also sometimes have to take part in raising their grandchildren (grandparenting) because couples who marry at an early age are not mentally and financially prepared to raise their babies. During this period, promising harvests make the practice of grandparenting very common and natural.

"...There are women in Darim who are already in their seventh pregnancy and this pregnancy is very risky for the mother and the baby-to-be..." (BPW 2023, Interview 4 March).

Some informants stated that there are several '*pamali*' (taboos) that a woman must observe during pregnancy, such as not eating spicy food, coconut milk-based food, 'fishy' food such as animal protein and certain vegetables. This '*pamali*' also applies to mothers during the postpartum period because it is believed to slow down the healing process after childbirth. This view is contrary to the nutritional requirements of pregnant women and mothers during the postpartum period as it narrows down the sources of protein that must be provided to mothers.

Access to health workers for pregnant women and women who were about to give birth in Darim during that period was also very limited to the role of Javanese traditional healers. Pregnant women would be told by their parents or in-laws to see Javanese traditional healers when entering the third trimester, giving birth, until postpartum. Pregnant women would have their womb position 'checked' when entering the third trimester by the Javanese traditional healers to ensure that the foetus is in the right position. If, according to the healers, the foetus is not in the right position, they will '*menggeol*' (massage the mother's abdomen to turn or position the foetus in the right position) the mother's abdomen to ensure the foetus is in the right position.

"...it is common here; pregnant women will get a massage. For example, if you feel that the baby is not in the right position, *Mak* will fix it. *Digeol*... If after the birth *Mak* is called, *Mak* will also take care of the baby..." (MHF 2023, Interview 2 March).

The easiest access to reproductive-related health workers at that time was the Javanese traditional healers. The term 'Javanese traditional healers' (*dukun jawa*) is used for traditional birth attendants, also known as *paraji* in Sundanese. According to one of the Javanese traditional healers interviewed, there is no specific reason why they are referred to as Javanese healers. This term has been used for a long time. A Javanese traditional healer has a dominant role in the care of Darim women from pregnancy to childbirth. They check whether the foetus is in the right position and leads to the birth canal, provide advice to the mother and her family on what the expectant mother and her husband should do, assist in the delivering process, care for the mother during the postpartum period, bathe the baby, and pray for the baby so that it is not 'disturbed' by spirits.

A Javanese traditional healer also handles toddlers and children with health problems. In the general public, a Javanese traditional healer may also be asked to massage an ailing body part as an alternative treatment. Javanese traditional healers tend to be more accessible in terms of distance and cost than *mantri* or formal health workers. Their profession is also closely embedded in the culture of the Darim community so that many families are more familiar and comfortable using their services and seeking their advice than formal health workers.

Some middle-income families may take their daughters or wives to see a *mantri* who lives outside Darim to be given womb-strengthening injections. Information on women's sexual and reproductive health

during that period was mostly limited to pregnancy and postpartum. Consultation services and even health treatments outside the pregnancy and postpartum period were not available because they were considered taboo.

After 2018, when access to Darim's main road started to improve, many families began to have their pregnancies checked by health workers at the public health centre (*Puskesmas*). However, the daily care of pregnant and postpartum women in Darim is still combined with old beliefs such as food *pamali* and assistance of the Javanese traditional healers.

"...In general, Darim's families support the health of pregnant women. To dismiss myths about pregnant women, the midwife conducts counselling on the sidelines of the women's recitation activities. Knowledge around pregnancy planning in the community is generally good, but awareness around closely spaced pregnancies among some young women is still lacking..." (BPW 2023, Interview 4 March).

"...Pap-smears and other reproductive health checks can be done at the nearest hospital (it organises periodic reproductive health check promotions to villages, including Darim)..." (BPW 2023, Interview 4 March).

As access in and out of Darim has improved, sexual and reproductive health services have evolved. The nearest health services at grassroots level are services through *posyandu*. Other health services related to reproductive health have also started to be available *Puskesmas*. However, these health services are still relatively rarely underutilised by Darim residents, especially women.

"...There are no cases of cervical cancer or serious reproductive diseases in Darim. Lactation consultation services can be accessed at *Puskesmas* but are rarely used by the Darim community..." (BPW 2023, Interview 4 March).

"...*Posyandu* is now crowded, with many mothers bring their babies to be weighed. Although there are still some who choose to give birth at home, most people still trust health workers to help mothers give birth. Supporting *Puskesmas* (*Puskesmas Pembantu, Pustu*) is a popular choice for treatment in addition to *mantri* and nurses..." (BPW 2023, Interview 4 March).

"...Counselling on family planning or reproductive health is conducted periodically by midwives in collaboration with the National Population and Family Planning Board (*Badan Kependudukan dan Keluarga Berencana Nasional, BKKBN*). *Puskesmas* also provides sexual education counselling to schools, assisted by the Sector Police (*Polsek*)..." (BPW 2023, Interview 4 March).

Based on the interviews, from the perspective of the health workers in charge of Kendayakan Village and

Puntang Village, health services have actually improved in recent years. Health workers have also made efforts to be proactive by visiting Darim Village for some services. However, these improvements cannot function optimally if Darim women continue to be mobilised to leave Darim.

Women's access to health services will be difficult given that the national health insurance system requires everyone to be registered with a level-1 health facility to be able to utilise the health services paid for each month. Leaving Darim risks distancing access to health services, especially those that are closely related to the fulfilment of SRHR. Moreover, not everyone understands the administrative procedures for changing health facilities according to domicile.

Darim Women's Livelihood Strategies and Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR)

The two solutions given to *cah wadon* to get out of poverty due to the fragility of the food system both have risks to the fulfilment of sexual and reproductive health and rights. The practice of early marriage or remarriage carries the risk of sexually transmitted diseases due to changing partners, although no cases of sexually transmitted diseases have been found in Darim residents to date.

"...it is risky because of changing partners. But thank God, until now no HIV/AIDS cases have been found in Darim. No sexually transmitted diseases have been found either. But we health workers will only know if someone reports. If no one reports, then we consider there is no case..." (BPW 2023, Interview 4 March).

The pathway out of poverty through migrant labour route, especially the spa route, has a high risk of violating the fulfilment of sexual and reproductive health and rights because it puts women in a situation that is vulnerable to harassment, rape, human trafficking that leads to unintended pregnancies or sexually transmitted diseases.

"...I am sorry... I am ashamed to say it, you know... about working in a spa. Who knows how it is there. What is clear is that you go home with a lot of money... After seeing your friends who go home with a lot of money, build a house, buy a motorbike, maybe you will think, it is better to work in the city than here (Darim), the results are clear..." (BPD 2023, Interview 5 March).

"... there are also those who go home with children... Their children will be cared for here (Darim)." (BEG 2023, Interview 6 March).

This intense in and out mobility also makes it difficult for health workers around Darim to document the sexual and reproductive health of female migrant workers.

"...The high number of Darim women who migrate out of the village makes it difficult for health workers to monitor women's reproductive health, especially adolescent girls. Although *Puskesmas* has provided counselling services related to reproductive health for couples of reproductive age, the community rarely makes use of it. In general, people only visit health workers if they have complaints about pregnancy..." (BPW 2023, Interview 4 March).

Food System and Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR)

Feminist political ecology explains the position of women in natural resource management. In general, natural resources are closely related to economic and political agendas because they are considered a commodity. But in reality, the roles of women and men in managing natural resources can be seen in unique patterns that differ from one region to another. Many scholars have tried to dig deeper into this feminist political ecology, including Rocheleau et al. (1996), Elmhirst (2015), and Hovorka (2006).

Dianne Rocheleau, Barbara Thomas-Slayter, and Esther Wangari, in their book "Feminist Political Ecology" published in 1996, explain that gender norms are always changing both on an individual and collective scale. Gender identity is closely related to a particular culture and can differ from one region to another. The main concept of feminist political ecology by Rocheleau et al. (1996) is divided into three things: (1) environmental knowledge and gender-based activities; (2) gender-based rights to natural resources and inequality of vulnerability to environmental change; and (3) gender-based environmental activism and organisations.

Through analysing the cases of gender inequality in natural resource management in several countries, Rocheleau et al. (1996) conclude that inequality will persist if women's involvement, knowledge, and activism in environmental management are neglected. In addition, there are four threads of concern that emerge from the analysed cases, namely: (1) survival; (2) the right to live and work in a healthy environment; (3) the responsibility to protect habitats, livelihoods, and life support systems from contamination, depletion or extraction, and destruction; and (4) the willingness to restore or rehabilitate damaged environment.

Through the experience of *cah wadon* of Darim, the conclusion of Rocheleau et al. (1996) is evident in the Darim community's choice to exclude women from environmental management of food agriculture ecosystem. In the end, the food agriculture sector becomes stagnant and is considered to have no future. Working outside Darim is the only hope for a better future, even with the risk of violating the fulfilment of SRHR for *cah wadon* of Darim.

The effort to assist the improvement of the food system encouraged by the People's Coalition for Food Sovereignty is aimed at having the four threads of concern to be fulfilled again. This effort is made to improve the food system to provide a safe space for Darim women to earn a decent livelihood, and indirectly regain authority over their life choices. Through the realisation that food is not just a commodity that must be forced to grow and harvested on time through ecosystem intervention, the Darim community is encouraged to 're-read' their experience of managing nature. This includes revisiting the relationship between men and women who are equal in managing agroecosystems.

In accordance with this spirit, Elmhirst (2015) defines feminist political ecology as a plural political approach. This approach is obtained by combining feminist theories with gender recognition into a tool to analyse the effects of the power of differences in social constitution. Some of the principles of feminist political ecology according to Elmhirst (2015) include (1) emphasising politics and power at different scales; (2) examining the dominant way of acquiring knowledge; (3) exploring connection between the dimension of social location and subject formation; (4) understanding the complex relationship between nature and humans; (5) analysing power relations and equality; and (6) exploring access and control over resources and their implications for environmental health and sustainable livelihoods.

Elmhirst's thinking is reflected in the context of the fulfilment of sexual and reproductive health rights. Darim women also did not have a sufficiently open consultation space until the main access road out of Darim Village was finally repaired. Darim women are now able to access health services at *Puskesmas*, after previously relying entirely on the services of Javanese traditional healers (*dukun beranak*), who are Darim residents. Sexual health services at the grassroots level are now accessible through *posyandu* cadres, who regularly hold monthly meetings. However, these services have not been able to fully counter the 'taboo' of talking about diseases and risks related to reproductive health. This experience is

an example of how the journey of gender recognition of women's needs takes place in Darim.

Hovorka (2006) uses feminist political ecology as an approach to understand rural-urban restructuring and transformation in Botswana. Her research shows that rural women, who understand challenges and opportunities well, can find alternatives to survive in a changing environment. Feminist political ecology in this case plays a role in analysing intersectional experiences and responses to the changing environment, politics, and economy.

The experience of *cah wadon* and the fragility of the food system in Darim is a social fact that shows the close relationship between political ecological relations and power relations between men and women. Sundberg (2017) states that gender is an important variable in relation to the political ecological dimension of life. This relationship shapes access, control, and knowledge of natural resources. The loss of space for *cah wadon* to express and compete in Darim's agricultural sector due to ecosystem damage has left them with no choice but to work outside Darim.

Tiominar & Afiff (2021) underline that the marginalisation of women in formal politics over access to natural resources is a critique of political ecological feminism. In the context of Darim, this marginalisation even reconstructs the mindset of *cah wadon* that they will be valued as women if they succeed in bringing home capital from outside Darim. This capital is similar to the capital of rural communities disclosed by Ellis (2000), which can be in the form of physical capital (ownership of a number of goods), human capital (better economic partners), social capital (work networks, acquaintances), financial capital (remittances), and natural capital (control of rice fields).

For *cah wadon*, the vulnerability of fulfilling SRHR, especially by working outside the Darim area and its surroundings is the result of marginalisation that should not be experienced by Darim women. The choice of agricultural model made by policy makers and the Darim farming community should ensure that Darim can be a safe space for women without feeling they have to try their luck and fight in the economic arena outside Darim in order to get an improved bargaining position and authority over their bodies.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The food system plays an important role in maintaining equal relations between men and women.

The fragility of the food system in Darim Village has led to the disconnection of the food production and distribution cycle, which in turn limits the economic choices and capabilities of the Darim community, the majority of whom depend on the agricultural sector. This situation then results in farming households having to look for other sources of income outside the agricultural sector to make ends meet and cope with losses when the harvests fail.

The complexity of the social structure and the tendency towards greater mobilisation opportunities for women have led to a pattern of exploitation of women as the largest expected source of additional income for the family: being married off at an early age, becoming migrant workers through the education route or becoming migrant workers through the spa (massage) service route. Especially in doing risky work, such as becoming spa service workers and migrant workers (domestic or international), which leads to the risk of unintended pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases. Women are also pressurised into thinking that they are better off leaving Darim and that it would be more beneficial for their families to marry wealthy men from outside Darim in order to lift the family's economy and dignity.

Other risks include early marriages and remarriages with different partners. Early marriage is practised as a shortcut for families to offload the responsibility of maintaining family honour and good name by keeping their daughters away from adultery, without considering the risks of sexual and reproductive health. Remarriage is also often done to avoid being labelled as a 'widow' despite the risks associated with changing sexual partners, even though no cases of sexually transmitted diseases have been found to date.

The disruption of food system sustainability is the root cause of the fulfilment of sexual and reproductive health rights for women in Darim Village. Improving the food system has a high urgency as an effort to improve opportunities for women to be able to have alternative life choices that provide space for efforts to realise the fulfilment of sexual and reproductive health rights. Women should be able to make life choices based on what they want, not because they are forced by the circumstances and structures above them. Improving the food system can start by improving the agroecosystem of rice farming across Darim's farmlands.

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End Notes

- 1 Report of the Participatory Study on Community Perceptions of the Impacts of Climate Change on the Agricultural Sector (2021).
- 2 The traditional language of Darim, meaning a daughter.