

Women and Social Forestry

Editorial

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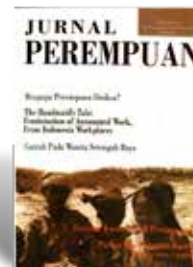
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Women and Social Forestry

Gender equality and women's empowerment are two important issues in the development programs. The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) states that women play a key role in the use and management of natural resources, particularly in agriculture and forest landscape systems. According to the IUCN (2021), in developing countries, 43% of women participate in agricultural work and depend on forests for their livelihood. The data estimates that when women have the same access to productive resources as men, women will be able to contribute to an increase in agricultural output in developing countries by 2.5% to 4%. At the global level, women's participation has a great impact on the reduction of world hunger by 12% to 17%. Women's participation in forest access and governance has been shown to improve the economy of women and communities around forest areas.

Conforming to the IUCN data, in the Indonesian context, there are a lot of women who depend on access to forest and forest management for their livelihoods. They cultivate the land and harvest the forest products, either for daily needs or for sale to the wider community. Women also have knowledge of medicinal plants and other potential forest products. Furthermore, women's dependence on forests is often higher than men's. Women belong to a vulnerable group whose lives are threatened when the forest is degraded or when their access to forests is eliminated. These facts are the basis for the importance of women's participation in forest governance in Indonesia. In addition, a number of studies have shown that women's knowledge and skills related to forest resources and management have contributed to ensuring sustainable and equitable forest management.

Ironically, despite the scale and importance of women's contribution to forest management, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (2020) pointed out that globally, women's participation and representation in forest governance at local, national, and international levels are very low. The data of the Indonesian Ministry of Environment and Forest shows that women's participation in social forestry is only 5% of forestry permit holders who have female members (VOA Indonesia 2021). A number of approaches based on feminist perspectives show that various assumptions at the site-level, national and international levels still believe that women are not relevant subjects in formal

forest management and as decision makers. Forest as a masculine domain puts women as "the other" in forest governance.

To ensure equitable and sustainable forest management, the government has introduced the Social Forestry program. This program is implemented in the state forest/private forest/customary forest by forest communities or customary law communities as the main actors to support wellbeing, environmental balance, and social dynamics. It is an opportunity to ensure women's participation in the formal forestry programs. Furthermore, there has been a written recognition that women are the subject of social forestry policies. Therefore, they are entitled to benefit from the program. Social Forestry allows the formalization of rights to collective forests in recent years. Feminist scholars such as Agarwal and Colfer believe that there is a need for formal recognition of women and other marginalized groups in establishing their ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, and gender identity to ensure equitable governance. Without formal acknowledgment, their interests are often excluded from the decision-making process, explicitly or implicitly.

At the practical level of forest management, feminist scholars believe that the basis for excluding women is the association of forests and masculinity. Forest masculinity has made the male perspectives and needs as the norm that applies to all regardless of the perspectives and knowledge of other groups. Without ensuring inclusive forest management, groups with different ideas, preferences, and needs regarding forest governance will be excluded (Arora-Jonsson 2009).

A number of studies documented in *JP 111 Women and Social Forestry* show a portrait of women's participation in forest governance in Indonesia. A number of efforts have been made through policies and the work of various parties to ensure that women are not excluded from program utilization. However, in reality, women still find challenges in participating in forest access and governance.

Several issues of gender inequality in forest management such as women's access to land, forests, and other resources are less than men's, women are under-represented and have less influence in public decision-making and in leadership positions within

government institutions related to forestry, women lack access to technology and information related to forests and agroforestry, women are excluded from forest commodities with high economic value, and women bear the burden of caring work in the household and are under-represented in mitigation programs and initiatives in environmental change issues (Cifor 2021). Basically, all of these conditions are overlapping with one another. However, women are not just passive victims of a system of inequality. Articles in *JP 111 Women and Social Forestry* show women's agency. In the midst of challenges to gender norms and existing structural inequalities, women build their resilience through collective actions. Women's participation has supported the sustainability of the environment, community, and family.

JP 111 presents the challenges and achievements of gender justice in social forestry in Indonesia. Inclusive forest management and conservation need to be done holistically. Apart from structural changes in policy, it is also necessary to ensure a change in awareness at the community level. Women's participation in the formal social forestry program needs to be ensured in order to create empowerment. It implies that women's participation in forest governance in social forestry does not only strengthen the economy, but furthermore, it is necessary to ensure that the social transformation of women's groups also includes political, social, and cultural reinforcement (**Abby Gina**).

Abstracts

Ernawati Eko Hartono¹ & Khulfi Muhammad Khalwani²
Kelompok Kerja (Pokja) Gender, Kementerian Lingkungan
Hidup dan Kehutanan¹ & Perencana Ahli Muda, Biro
Perencanaan-KLHK²

**The Innovations and Challenges of Gender Mainstreaming
in Indonesia's Ministry of Environment and Forestry**

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 1, April 2022, page. 1-13, 1 table, 2
pictures, 22 references

The issue of gender equality in various fields related to natural resource management, including the environment and forestry, has long been a concern of social researchers, especially the issue of gender bias in planning, management, marketing, benefits and impacts. This paper aims to provide a descriptive analysis of the innovations and challenges of implementing gender mainstreaming ('pengarusutamaan gender'—PUG) in government agencies, namely the Ministry of Environment and Forestry ('Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan'—KLHK). PUG is a strategy that aims to achieve gender justice through policies, programs and activities that take into account the experiences, aspirations, needs and problems of men and women in the process of monitoring and evaluating all aspects of life and development. The data for this research was collected through a desk study and interviews. The results of the analysis show the implementation of a PUG policy in the KLHK has encouraged internal parties to pay more attention to the issue of gender equality, both in leadership and in program implementation. These innovations must continue to be developed consistently so they can be an inspiration and an example for other government agencies, both at the central and regional levels.

Keywords: gender responsive policy, equality, development, gender mainstreaming, Indonesian Ministry of Environment and Forestry

Sukma Taroniarta & Nurul Huda Yahya
Balai Perhutanan Sosial dan Kemitraan Lingkungan Wilayah
Sulawesi

**Women as Silk Warriors in Wajo District: Sole Actors and
the Challenges of Access to Social Forestry Programs**

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 1, April 2022, page 15-25, 3 tables, 4
pictures, 14 references

Silk is a symbol of cultural grandeur in South Sulawesi. Complex business issues, and lifestyle changes within communities, has led to the silk industry being vulnerable to abandonment. Social Forestry, through a scheme to increase nontimber forest product businesses on community lands, can provide economic opportunities for silk-based businesses, which are dominated by women. This study is a qualitative study supported by quantitative data. Direct observations and in-depth interviews were conducted with several key figures in the silk business in Canru Village, Wajo Regency, South Sulawesi. The results of the study show that economic pressure is the main motivation for shifting roles in the silk business, but there are several other obstacles that threaten the sustainability of the silk industry, which has lasted for hundreds of years.

Keywords: women and silk, economy empowerment, KUPS (Kelompok Usaha Perhutanan Sosial—Business Group of Social Forestry

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**Women's Everyday Forms of Resistance to the Acceleration
of the TORA and SF Policies**

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 1, April 2022, page 27-38, 48 references

This paper analyzes the women's everyday forms of resistance, in formal and informal spaces, to the acceleration of the Land Objects of Agrarian Reform ('Tanah Objek Reforma Agraria'—TORA) and Social Forestry (SF) policies in Sigi Regency in Central Sulawesi. The women's resistance is a broader manifestation of To-Kaili philosophy regarding the role of women as the center and base in maintaining harmony between God, humans, and nature, including in the management of agrarian resources ('sumber-sumber agraria'—SSA). Women who are fighting for gender-based agrarian justice still encounter some obstacles, including limited awareness of gender-based agrarian justice and the challenge of the resistance not yet being dominant.

Keywords: Social Forestry, agrarian reform, everyday forms of resistance, agrarian justice, gender justice

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**Gender Responsive Social Forestry Policy: A Case Study of
Laws and Regulations in the Social Forestry Sector and the
Granting of Social Forestry Permits**

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 1, April 2022, page 39-51, 1 table, 13
references

This article focuses on two issues; whether the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership has integrated gender issues into laws and regulations and policy implementation, and whether these issues have been applied to the granting of Social Forestry permits. This study uses empirical legal research methods to assess the application of gender issues in the Social Forestry Regulations and Permit Policy. The results of this study indicate an increase in the number of Social Forestry provisions that regulate gender issues. That is, in the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. 83 of 2016 there are two articles that regulate gender issues, whereas in the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. 9 of 2021 there are seven articles. The integration of gender responsive articles and the implementation of gender responsive practices has led to significant changes such as the management by women of two Social Forestry Business groups, Katimpun Village and Damaran Village. This process represents the first step of positive change in the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies in environmental issues in the Ministry of Environment and Forestry.

Keywords: Social Forestry, gender issues in Social Forestry, permits for Social Forestry management, women and Social Forestry, laws and regulations

Nur Dwiyati

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Women's Participation in Food Agroforestry in Central Kalimantan: Challenges and Obstacles

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 1, April 2022, page 53-66, 6 tables, 17 references

Food Agroforestry is one element of the National Economic Recovery Program, which aims to counter the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic by protecting the economy and promoting food security. The agroforestry program targets Social Forestry Business groups with forest utilization activities. Support is provided in the form of productive economic tools and food agroforestry assistance. This paper examines the involvement of women in food agroforestry activities. The research applies the descriptive approach for secondary data related to food agroforestry activities and interviews with female leaders who are involved in forest management activities and group business development. The results of the analysis show that food agroforestry activities provide economic, ecological, and social benefits for the community. Further, these activities provide access for women to be involved in forest management and utilization, and to support food security and family economies.

Keywords: women's groups, agroforestry, food business management, community economic improvement

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An Analysis of Agrarian Political Economy in Forest Access in Perhutani-Managed Areas Through Social Forestry Programs

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 1, April 2022, page 67-77, 1 table, 23 references

The Social Forestry program in Perhutani-managed forest areas aims to improve the welfare of the community through joint management and

promote sustainability. The program uses the Partnership Cooperation (Kulin KK) scheme, which is regulated by the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. P 83 of 2016. However, this program has become a new conflict zone as various actors are competing to dominate forest use. Women, who have allocated more time and energy to the agricultural sector, now have few opportunities to be involved in forest management because of gender biases within the governance and implementation of the Social Forestry program. Women also have to compete with various parties in order to participate in forest management including Perhutani and the Forest Village Community Institution (Lembaga Masyarakat Desa Hutan—LMDH), the party authorised to manage forest utilization programs.

Keywords: forest, Social Forestry, Perhutani, LMDH

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Women's Participation in Social Forestry: A Case Study in Five Provinces

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 1, April 2022, page 79-92, 3 tables, 15 references

Social Forestry (SF) is one of the government's community-based forest management programs, which aims to balance environmental needs with the welfare of communities around the forest. However, in the program's implementation, due to social norms and gender inequalities, women are often marginalized in access and management of SF. This study analyzes women's participation in SF, primarily from the perspective and experience of women at the site level. This study used qualitative research; data mining was carried out through focus group discussions (FGD) and interviews with women at the site level and with assistance from civil society organizations (CSOs) in five provinces (Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, Bengkulu, West Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, and West Papua). This study shows how cultural barriers affect the forms and good practices of women's participation in SF and their impacts.

Keywords: social forestry, women's participation, gender norms

The Innovations and Challenges of Gender Mainstreaming in Indonesian Ministry of Environment and Forestry

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Abstract

The issue of gender equality in various fields related to natural resource management, including the environment and forestry, has long been a concern of social researchers, especially the issue of gender bias in planning, management, marketing, benefits, and impacts. This paper aims to provide a descriptive analysis of the innovations and challenges of implementing gender mainstreaming ('pengarusutamaan gender'- PUG) in government agencies, namely the Ministry of Environment and Forestry ('Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan'-KLHK). PUG is a strategy that aims to achieve gender justice through policies, programs, and activities that take into account the experiences, aspirations, needs, and problems of men and women in the process of monitoring and evaluating all aspects of life and development. The data for this research was collected through a desk study and interviews. The results of the analysis show the implementation of a PUG policy in the KLHK has encouraged internal parties to pay more attention to the issue of gender equality, both in leadership and in program implementation. These innovations must continue to be developed consistently so they can be an inspiration and an example for other government agencies, both at the central and regional levels.

Keywords: gender-responsive policy, equality, development, gender mainstreaming, Indonesian Ministry of Environment and Forestry

Introduction

The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia stipulates, "The land, the waters and the natural resources within shall be under the powers of the State and shall be used to the greatest benefit of the people." In this context, "the people" refers to men and women. Hence, the management of Indonesia's natural resources—including earth, water, and other resources—must be carried out in adherence to the principles of sustainability and for the benefit of men and women.

The growing issue of gender equality in developing countries such as Indonesia is inseparable from the growing issue of gender equality at a global level. According to the Global Gender Gap Report 2021, Indonesia ranked 101 out of 156 countries with a score of 0.688, down 16 places from the previous year (World Economic Forum 2021). The gender gap ranking is measured using four indicators: (1) economic opportunity and participation; (2) educational attainment; (3) health and survival; and (4) political empowerment (World Economic Forum 2021). By considering these indicators, it is clear that gender equality in Indonesia is closely tied

to economic development and is not just a matter of morals and justice.

Gender equality and development in the environment is a global issue. The World Bank says gender equality is a key development issue that will strengthen a country's ability to develop, eradicate poverty, and govern effectively (Probosiwi 2015). Hence, a number of world conferences have pushed for a global agreement on women's involvement and participation in decision making for change.

At the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (UN Women 1996), the Platform for Action called on governments at all levels (international, national, and subnational), organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the private sector to (1) involve women actively in environmental decision making at all levels; (2) integrate gender issues and gender perspectives in policies and programs for sustainable development, and (3) strengthen and develop environmental policies and mechanisms for women (UN Women 1996).

Gender issues have also been recognized at global climate change meetings, such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). In December 2007, at its 13th session, the Conference of the Parties (COP) issued several papers that said the perspectives of women and gender were urgent issues that needed to be managed. It continued this agenda at the 14th COP meeting in Poland by formulating gender-inclusive policy measures to tackle climate change and emphasize that women are important actors and agents of change in dealing with and adapting to global climate change (KLHK 2018).

Since 2000, there has been an increase in efforts to expand the space for women at various levels to have their voices heard and be able to participate in various decision-making processes. Among the many world conferences, the Millennium Development Summit on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, 2000–2004) succeeded in integrating gender issues into the global development agenda (UNDP 2015).

Other important world conferences such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with the results of the United Nations (UN) summit on 25–27 November 2015, Indonesia and other UN member states signed a joint agreement to implement the SDGs with the agenda contained in *Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (2015). The sustainable development framework includes some of the MDGs. Each of the goals upholds human rights and supports efforts to achieve gender equality and empower women with the principle of no one left behind; in receiving access and benefits and in the implementation process and its substance (Prasetyawati 2018).

Achieving gender equality is Goal 5 of the SDGs. Gender equality refers to an equal situation between men and women in the fulfillment of rights and obligations. The Indonesian Government uses the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) to assess gender equality and gender justice by considering the proportion of men and women in public participation and decision making. Based on Statistics Indonesia (2021) data, Indonesia's GEM in 2020 increased from the previous year; from 75.24 to 75.57. These figures indicate that gender equality and gender justice have become a concern for all Indonesians in accessing equal opportunities. They are the basis for women to participate in development, whereby they can equally participate in the whole process, including planning, preparing, processing, and distributing.

Focus on gender equality continues to grow; however, gender-based discrimination still occurs in all aspects of life for people across the world. The nature and extent of discrimination vary greatly across countries and regions, yet there is not a single region in a developing nation that provides women with equality of legal, social, and economic rights.

Gender inequality in opportunity and control over resources, the economy, power, and political participation are ubiquitous. Women and girls bear the brunt of inequality, but, fundamentally, inequality disadvantages all people; men and women. Hence, gender equality is promoted in its own development goal.

In Indonesia, gender inequality in various fields of natural resource management, including the environment and forestry, has become an area of concern for social researchers, particularly the issue of gender bias in the planning, management, marketing, access to benefits, and/or the impacted subject. Actually, gender differences are not an issue if they do not perpetuate injustice on the basis of sex (that is, gender inequality).

It is necessary to guarantee sustainable environmental development in Indonesia in the existing natural resource management methods. Environmental damage is inseparable from the natural resource management practices in Indonesia, which are then replicated in natural resource management policies. The absence of fair regulation (socially and environmentally) will lead to a transfer of control over natural resources from the hands of the people (women and men) to other parties, business actors, and the government. Consequently, many people will be removed from their sources of livelihood (Arief 1994).

At the household level, gender equality is influenced by social interpretations of how to become a woman and how to become a man, the relationship between women and men in the household, society, and social groups, and the effects of gender position and status. This situation affects men and women in accessing opportunities to participate in the development process and obtaining its benefits. The pattern of gender relations that positions women in the domestic sphere and men in the public sphere has created a different relationship between the two in the development process (Saleh 2014).

Men have more opportunities than women to gain access to and benefit from resources, including in development, and natural resource management. Men have greater access to information, markets, technologies, knowledge, and skills. Yet, environmental

damage, global climate change, and the use of chemicals and pesticides have a more direct impact on women. Hence, women tend to be more concerned about dealing with environmental issues. However, the gender issue is not only a women's issue; rather, it emphasizes equal treatment for women and men (gender justice) to obtain an equal pattern of gender relations (gender equality). Women also have the right to articulate and participate in discussions on environmental and natural resources issues and the future of sustainable development (Djelantik 2008).

Gender equality and women's empowerment are effective ways to eradicate poverty, hunger, and disease, and to stimulate genuine and sustainable development. Thus, promoting gender equality is an important part of Indonesia's development strategy. Efforts to integrate gender issues into government programs and activities have been a concern of stakeholders, as stated by the Indonesian Ministry of Environment and Forestry (*Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan-KLHK*) in its program implementation.

To improve gender equality, the KLHK has begun to implement policies that mainstream gender and involve women in development processes. This effort aims to eliminate gender inequality, which has manifested in marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, and a greater workload (Fakih 1997).

This article aims to describe the process of gender mainstreaming carried out by a government agency, namely the KLHK, in relation to natural resource management. The analysis seeks to determine the strategies that have been carried out and need to be continued regarding challenges and opportunities, and the innovations and methods used to implement gender mainstreaming.

Research Method

The method used to determine the development and innovation of gender mainstreaming in the KLHK was a literature study (desk study). The literature study included all regulations, planning documents, activity reports, other official documents issued by the KLHK, and other media publications up to the year 2021. The authors conducted direct interviews and gave questionnaires to several informants—both inside and outside the KLHK—to discover the views of various parties.

The sampling technique used in this study was a purposive sampling technique, in which sampling is determined based on certain criteria (Sugiyono 2016).

The main objective of purposive sampling is to produce a sample that logically represents the population. Therefore, the research informants consisted of internal parties, namely from the KLHK, and external parties, namely from national development planning agencies. Internal informants were officials and staff of the 13 working units and the Technical Implementation Unit of the KLHK. External informants were university scholars, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), the Ministry of Finance, and functional planners from several ministries and government agencies.

History of Gender Mainstreaming in KLHK

The KLHK is a government ministry that works in the environment and forestry sector to assist the President in administering policy. The KLHK has committed to increasing women's participation and representation in forest development and environmental management—as stated in various laws, policies, and government regulations during the past two decades. The development of gender mainstreaming at the KLHK is inseparable from the issue of gender equality at the global level.

In 1992, the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit issued Agenda 21. Agenda 21 stated women were the most important group for achieving sustainable development. In 1997, the Indonesian Government enacted Environmental Law Number 23. Article 5 Paragraph (3) of this law states all humans (men and women) have the right to participate in environmental management. Likewise, the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg emphasized the importance of women's empowerment in environmental management. In essence, international and national commitments state that the success of a country's development is highly dependent on the participation and representation of men and women. Men and women must be involved in development as development actors. The marginalization of the roles of women and men will lead to unequal development processes and outcomes.

In 2000, to respond to gender inequality concerns, Indonesia's President issued Presidential Instruction No. 9, which compelled institutions, ministries, and provincial and district governments to implement a gender mainstreaming strategy. Gender mainstreaming emerged as a development strategy to address the gaps between women and men in access, participation, control, and benefits of development.

Gender mainstreaming is a strategy to achieve gender justice and gender equality through policies, programs, and activities that take into account the experiences, aspirations, needs, and problems of men and women when monitoring and evaluating all aspects of life and development. Gender mainstreaming strategies are implemented in various programs and activities to improve knowledge and awareness, and increase women's participation in politics, decision making, and leadership. Some of the gender mainstreaming activities that have been carried out include integrating gender issues and perspectives into the wider environment and forestry development process by considering the needs, challenges, experiences, and aspirations of women and men. That is, gender mainstreaming in programs and activities must involve men and women as equal partners.

Until 2014, the KLHK had been two separate government departments; the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Forestry, each with its own policies, programs, activities, and achievements. It has since merged into a single department.

An environmental management policy with a gender perspective has been used in Indonesia since 1994. In a collaboration with the Canadian government, the Office of the State Minister of Environment launched the Environmental Management Development in Indonesia program, which organized small group discussions and seminars on women's empowerment.

Gender mainstreaming activities at the Office of the State Minister of Environment focused on establishing a gender and environment working group through a project initiated by the Canadian government, named the Collaborative Environmental Project in Indonesia (CEPI) in 1997 (KLHK 2018). The working group consisted of various institutions and units representing the State Minister of Environment, Bappeda (Regional Development Planning Board), Bappeda Sulawesi, the State Minister of Women's Empowerment, and the Center for Human Resources and Environment Research of the University of Indonesia. The activities of the working group included gender and environment capacity building, gender and environmental awareness seminars, gender analysis workshops, and drafting a book titled "Introduction to Gender Responsive Environmental Planning".

In 2001, the Ministry of Environment—based on the initiative of Bappenas, and with support from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and CIDA assistance through the Development Planning Assistance project—was selected along with eight other development sectors to implement gender mainstreaming by applying the

Gender Analysis Pathway. To do so, the Ministry of Environment formed a gender working group led by the assistant deputy of Urban Community Affairs and with members taken from various units. This activity was an arena for learning by doing, and for creating a sense of ownership.

In 2003, gender integration was conducted in a government program, Environmental Damage and Pollution Prevention and Control Program. The experience of implementing gender mainstreaming was documented in a book titled *Analisis Gender dalam Pembangunan Lingkungan Hidup: Aplikasi Gender Analysis Pathway dan Berbagai Pengalaman* (Environmental Development: Application of Gender Analysis Pathway and Various Experiences) (Bappenas, DPA & CIDA 2002).

The book describes the application and implementation process, including success factors, challenges, and the production of a matrix of the 2003 Annual Development Plan Draft (REPETA) for the Gender Responsive Environmental Management program. The Ministry of Environment expanded this knowledge into other activities, such as including gender issues as one of the elements to be assessed in the Kalpataru Award (Bappenas, DPA & CIDA 2002).

As with tackling gender issues in the forestry sector as a whole, there have been many milestones in integrating gender into forestry policies. The activity that is considered the most important is to align the perceptions of senior figures and central and regional officials about gender with its relevance to forestry policies through advocacy.

In 2003, a gender focal point and a Gender Mainstreaming Working Group Team of the Ministry of Forestry were formed to encourage the gender focal point at Regency Forestry level to promote gender mainstreaming. They were also used as a reference for integrating gender mainstreaming into planning (policies, programs, and activities), ensuring implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and cooperation between working groups and units both internally and with other sectors.

The strategy of learning by doing was implemented through a collaboration between Indonesia and Germany, which developed a program to reduce emissions caused by deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+). This program included various activities, such as pilot projects in Malinau and Berau (East Kalimantan), and Kapuas Hulu (West Kalimantan). The activities included a focus on gender issues; for example, capacity-building activities that considered women's representation.

In an effort to integrate gender into forestry policies, collaboration was carried out with various parties through activities such as training for representatives of the Forest Agency, National Parks, NGOs, and universities. This effort aimed to encourage people to become partners and carry out participatory gender analysis activities at the village level. For example, the Ministry of Forestry was actively involved in a gender-based climate change adaptation study conducted by CIFOR in Setulang Village, Malinau. The Ministry of Forestry also encouraged gender studies in village forest management in other villages.

The gender gap is the result of a development that is both gender neutral and gender biased. Gender neutral is a term that assumes all people, both men and women, are equal without considering the different problems, needs, accesses, controls, and perceived benefits. Environment and forestry development must involve men and women, and the results must be understood in accordance with the needs and problems of all.

In principle, there are two strategies of gender-responsive environmental and natural resource development. First, the strategy of women's empowerment and leaving no one behind through programs for practical purposes, such as socio-economic improvement for women, micro-credit, capacity building, and skills training. Second, the strategy of gender mainstreaming through eliminating subordination, marginalization, and gender discrimination.

The objective of gender mainstreaming in the KLHK is to ensure all its policies, programs, and activities are fair and equal for women and men. Gender mainstreaming must also ensure the sustainability, preservation, and development of the quality of gender mainstreaming drivers in the KLHK. The most important aspect is to ensure all levels of the KLHK understand the concepts, principles, and strategies of gender mainstreaming in the tasks, functions, and authorities of the KLHK. The development of the gender mainstreaming process in the KLHK is illustrated in the following table.

Table 1. Development of Gender Mainstreaming Process in the Ministry of Environment and Forestry

Year	Development of Gender Mainstreaming Process in the Ministry of Environment and Forestry
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The President issued Presidential Instruction No. 9 which obliges institutions and ministries as well as provincial, district and city governments to implement a gender mainstreaming strategy.
2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Establishment of the Ministry of Forestry's Gender Mainstreaming Working Group membership through Ministerial Decree No. 82 of 2003. ● Equalization of perceptions of central and regional structural officials.
2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Issuance of Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming of Ministry of Forestry through Decree No. 528 of 2004. ● Leadership training for female senior staff. ● Establishment of institutions and child care centers.
2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Pocket Book of Gender Mainstreaming of the Ministry of Forestry. ● Socialization of gender mainstreaming in 7 provinces. ● Publishing gender mainstreaming icon on the Ministry of Forestry's website.
2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Issuance of GRPB Guidelines (Permenhut RI No.65 of 2011). ● MoU of the Ministry of Forestry and MoWECP. ● MoU of the Ministry of Environment and MoWECP. ● Anugerah Parahita Ekapraya Pratama (APE Award) ● Gender Mainstreaming as a strategy in the Ministry of Forestry's Strategic Planning (2010-2014). ● Training of trainer (TOT) for the Ministry of Forestry's personnel. ● Mapping of gender-responsive documents.
2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Disaggregated data compilation in the forestry sector. ● Anugerah Parahita Ekapraya: MADYA. ● Research on Women in Climate Change-Gender Representation in Reducing Poverty and Protecting Livelihood in Mountainous Ecosystem at Solak District, West Sumatra. ● Advocacy for gender-responsive activities at the leadership level.

Year	Development of Gender Mainstreaming Process in the Ministry of Environment and Forestry
2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Anugerah Parahita Ekapraya: MADYA. ● Handbook for Gender-Disaggregated Data Compilation. ● Handbook for Monitoring and Evaluation of Gender Responsive Activities. ● Model Development in Agam-West Sumatra and East Sumba- East Nusa Tenggara. ● Facility building; ladies parking, lactation room, and complaint room. ● Socialization of Law on Child Protection and the Elimination of Domestic Violence. ● Research on “<i>Gender dalam Perubahan Iklim: Merespons Ketidakpastian Masa Depan</i>” (Gender in Climate Change: Responding to Future Uncertainty).
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● TOT on Gender Responsive Planning and Budgeting (GRPB) and gender mainstreaming facilitation techniques. ● GRPB audit briefing. ● Socialization and Assistance of GRPB (in Berau, Malinau, and Kapuas Hulu). ● Development of the concept of gender in climate change. ● Gender mainstreaming (web)site launch. ● Model Development in 3 Demonstration Activity Project; REDD+ in collaboration with Germany (FORCLIME).
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Training of Facilitator (TOF) of Public Dialogue around the forest area. ● Development of the concept of gender in climate change. ● Development of e-learning with MoWECP. ● Gender-responsive audit training for 100 auditors in Yogyakarta. ● Revision of gender mainstreaming implementation guidelines in the field of environment and forestry
2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● HR capacity development through GRPB TOT and gender mainstreaming facilitation techniques (Facilitator for each Echelon I). ● Gender-responsive audit implementation training, gender training for auditors. ● Establishment of gender mainstreaming sub-working group in each Echelon I unit of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. ● Formulation of a policy brief on Gender Responsive Environmental and Forestry Activities (results of the study). ● Provision of Gender Responsive Information, Education, Communication (IEC) Materials. ● Organizing the orientation of the implementation of women's empowerment and child protection (TOT) of gender mainstreaming sub-working group of Secretariat General. ● Signing MoU between MoWECP-MoEF. ● Anugerah Parahita Ekapraya: UTAMA (2015-2016)
2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● TOT of GRPB and Gender Facilitation Techniques in the environment and forestry Sector in 2017. ● Implementation of PUG in the LHK Sector Guidelines: Decree No. P.31/ MenLHK/SETJEN/SET.1/5/2017. ● Formulation of gender education and training curriculum. ● Formulation of gender audit guidelines.
2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● GRPB supervision training for 100 auditors. ● Socialization of GM in Ecoregion of Sulawesi and Maluku. ● Socialization of GM in Ecoregion of Java. ● Socialization of GM at Ditjen PPI (Directorate General of Climate Change) ● Socialization of GM at Ditjen PSKL (Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership) ● Socialization of GM with Widyaswara. ● Anugerah Parahita Ekapraya, category: MENTOR.
2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● GRPB Audit Training for 100 auditors. ● Refreshment of GM Facilitators. ● Working meeting for the formulation of NSPK (norms, standards, procedures, and criteria) of the Education and Training Institute. ● Gender Responsive and Gender E-Learning. ● Coordination Meeting on gender mainstreaming at MoEF Indonesia.

Year	Development of Gender Mainstreaming Process in the Ministry of Environment and Forestry
2020	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Inter-echelon I competition on gender mainstreaming at the Ministry of Environment and Forestry ● Virtual Workshop of the Directorate General of Sustainable Production Forest Management. ● Virtual Workshop of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership. ● Virtual Workshop of the Directorate General of Nature Resources and Ecosystem Conservation. ● Virtual Workshop of the Directorate General of Environmental Pollution and Degradation Control. ● Virtual Workshop of the Directorate General of Waste, Hazardous, Toxic and Waste Management. ● Virtual Workshop of the Directorate General of Watershed Control and Protected Forest. ● Socialization of gender mainstreaming for Echelon I. ● MoEF Indonesia's Coordination Meeting on Gender mainstreaming 2020. ● MoU between MoEF and MoWECF.
2021	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Anugerah Parahita Ekapraya (APE Award) category: MENTOR. ● Counseling and training for regional working units of the environment and forestry sector at the provincial and district/city levels. ● Competition on gender mainstreaming for Echelon II and Technical Implementation Units of MoEF Indonesia ● Storytelling video contest on gender mainstreaming. ● 2012 Gender Festival. ● MoEF Indonesia's gender mainstreaming roadmap 2020-2024.

Source: compiled from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry data

Gender Mainstreaming Innovations in KLHK

The main objective of gender mainstreaming in the KLHK is to integrate gender perspectives into all processes of planning, budgeting, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies, programs, and activities. In addition, the integration of a gender perspective must affect individual cultures within the ministry so as to produce an institutional culture that is sensitive to gender issues.

There are seven prerequisites for gender mainstreaming in the KLHK: commitment, policies, institution, resources, disaggregated data, tools, and public participation. The gender mainstreaming innovations of the KLHK are inseparable from the fulfillment of these prerequisites.

Regarding the prerequisites for fulfilling commitments and policies, the KLHK issued Ministerial Regulation No. 31 of 2017 on Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the Environment and Forestry Sector. In addition, an MoU between the Minister of Environment and Forestry and the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection was signed, and the KLHK's Gender Mainstreaming Roadmap (2020–2024) was drawn up. Further, commitments related to gender mainstreaming are included in the KLHK Strategic Plan for 2020–2024 and the annual work plans of the Ministry, Echelon I Unit, and its organizational units.

According to some media publications, the Minister of Environment and Forestry often conveys commitments and directions to all levels of the KLHK. It aims to encourage KLHK officials to commit to implementing gender mainstreaming through fair and equal policy plans, programs, and activities, and making innovations to accelerate gender mainstreaming in the environment and forestry sector. According to the minister, the objective of gender mainstreaming is to reduce the gap in access, participation, control, and perceived benefits of natural resources.

From a leadership perspective, the Minister of Environment and Forestry has demonstrated that efforts to achieve gender justice in the national development of the environment and forestry sector can be carried out not only through gender mainstreaming strategies but also through affirmation strategies that prioritize marginalized groups. The community—women and men—are the main actors of development, especially in the environment and forestry sector. Therefore, it is very important to include gender issues and women's empowerment issues in the whole development program; planning, budgeting, implementation, and control.

As with the commitment of the Minister of Environment and Forestry to gender mainstreaming, every level of the KLHK ensures the planning, budgeting,

implementation, and control of all activities and programs are responsive to gender issues. The development and improvement of gender-responsive facilities and infrastructure are carried out at the central level up to the Technical Implementation Unit.

Based on the inventory of regulatory data, gender issues have so far been integrated into 40 laws and regulations. This figure is increasing, and the laws/regulations are monitored every year. These laws and regulations cover various priority areas, including forestry planning and environmental management; social forestry; environmental partnerships; multi-business forestry; conservation of natural resources and ecosystems; watershed rehabilitation, peat and mangroves; pollution control and environmental damage; climate change control; B3 waste management; circular economy, carbon trading, environmental, and forestry law enforcement; HR development; and policies that are included in supporting areas, such as supervision,

management of the apparatus, asset management, and other management support mechanisms.

Regarding the prerequisite for institution, as stipulated through the Decree of the Minister of Environment and Forestry No. 45 of 2018, the KLHK established a Gender Mainstreaming Working Group and Gender Mainstreaming Sub-Working Group in 13 Echelon I Units and Technical Implementation Units. To date, there are 102 Technical Implementation Units that have established Gender Mainstreaming Sub-Working Groups, which accounts for 30% of the KLHK's Technical Implementation Units across Indonesia.

Regarding the prerequisite for resources, budget-planning mapping shows there is an increase in budget allocations for gender-responsive activities and human resources capacity building on gender mainstreaming in the KLHK. A Gender-responsive Budget is one that is responsive to the needs of women and men in order to achieve gender equality and gender justice.

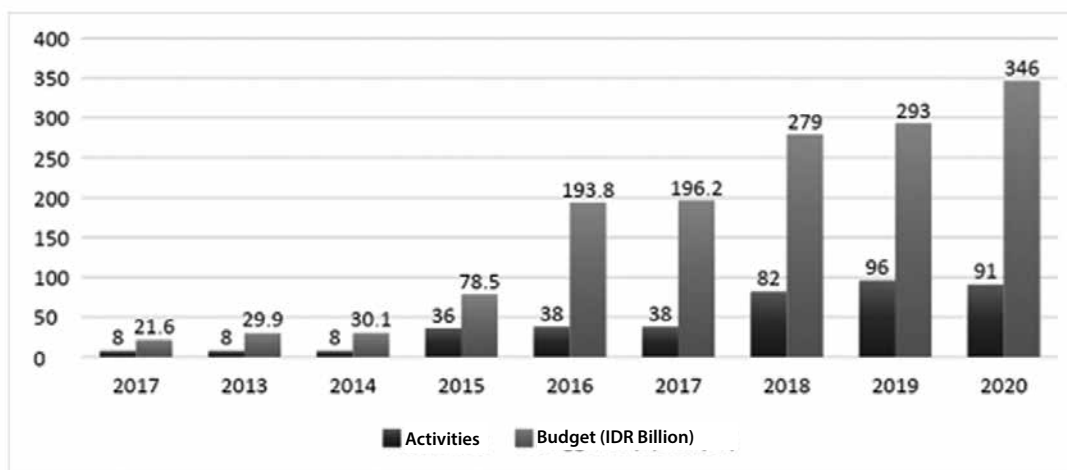


Figure 1. Application of gender-responsive budgeting in the Environment and Forestry activities.

Source: compiled from KLHK's data

Regarding the prerequisite for disaggregated data, all organizational units are required to display up-to-date disaggregated data on various media and institutional web pages. Likewise, during the implementation of activities, organizations are required to provide disaggregated data for each targeted community or group. The disaggregated data of the KLHK can also be viewed on its website.

Based on data from June 2021, 15,935 civil servants worked at the KLHK; 74% of which were men and 26% women. The disaggregated data also shows the age, education, and job position of the employees. Every year, the disaggregated data is included in the employee data on the official website—ropeg.menlhk.go.id. Based on the KLHK's staff data, women have not held policy-making positions, quantitatively or qualitatively. However, as a result of gender mainstreaming in the institution, more women have had the opportunity to hold decision-making positions.

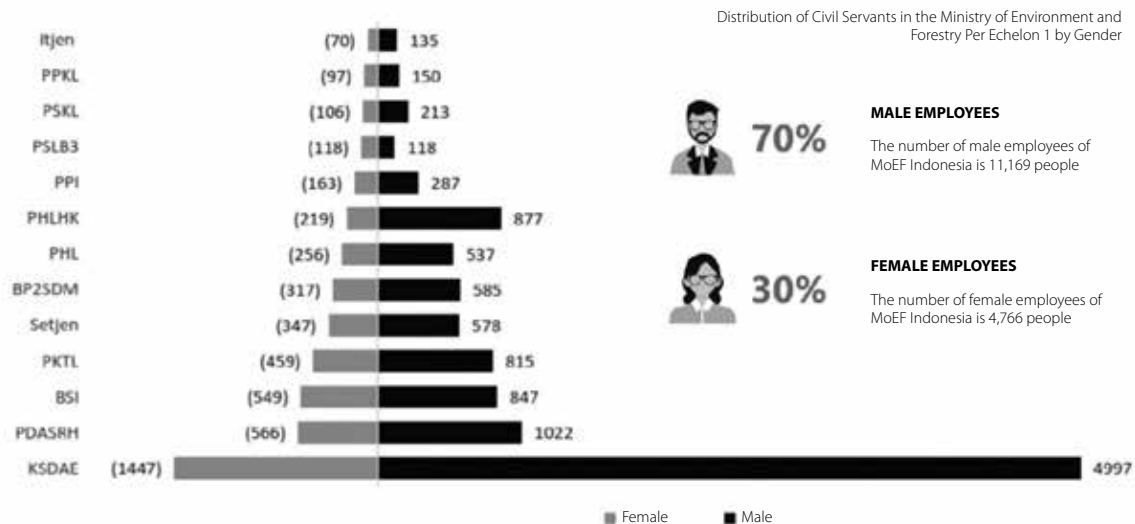


Figure 2. Ministry of Environment and Forestry's Employees According to Their Sex¹

Source: ropeg.menlhk.go.id (2021)

The Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation has the largest number of employees with 4,997 male employees and 1,447 female employees. This organization is responsible for managing conservation forest areas such as national parks, nature reserves, wildlife reserves, tourism parks, and hunting parks in Indonesia. The second-highest number of employees is at the Directorate General of Watershed Management and Forest Rehabilitation, the organizational unit in charge of watershed management and forest rehabilitation in all provinces in Indonesia.

All the main tasks and functions of KLHK organizational units have direct contact with members of society, including forest rehabilitation actors, village communities around conservation areas, and communities in Forest Management Units and social forestry communities and groups. Gender-responsive policies function as an entry point to ground gender mainstreaming.

Regarding the prerequisite for tools, the KLHK has published A Guidebook on Compiling Disaggregated Data, A Guidebook on Monitoring and Evaluating Gender-responsive Budgets, and A Guidebook on Gender Audits and Social Media Management to Promote Gender Mainstreaming on Social Media (Instagram, Twitter, Website, Facebook, etc.).

Regarding the prerequisite for public participation, the KLHK involves various community associations and institutions, businesses, educational institutions, and community groups around the forest in its activities. These groups are: IWAPI, KOWANI, De Tara Foundation, UNDP, UN Women, Pattiro, GIZ, Pesona Mart, RAPP, HKm

Mart, Grand Spartan Indonesia, and some state and private universities.

After twenty years, the implementation of gender mainstreaming has expanded to not just focus on eliminating the gender gap but to also involve social inclusion activities. Attention is given to not only women and men, but also to people with special needs, such as persons with disabilities, children, elderly people, indigenous people, and other minority groups. The various needs are accommodated for in gender-responsive facilities and infrastructure at the KLHK. For instance, Arboretum Ir. Lukito Daryadi, M.Sc., a place for the elderly to do gymnastics every morning; Taman Bina Balita Sylva, a children's park at the KLHK head office; a children's playroom at the office of the KLHK's Technical Implementation Unit; priority elevators, stairs and toilets for persons with disabilities; and other facilities and infrastructure at the head office and Technical Implementation Units of the KLHK.

In 2021, for the second time, the KLHK received the Parahita Eka Praya (APE) Award in the Mentor Category. The APE Award is the highest award given to ministries/ government agencies and local governments that encourage the acceleration of women's empowerment programs and integrated gender issues initiatives. As a recipient of this highest category award, by the President, award, KLHK is able to be a place for learning and can develop the understanding, work culture, and behavior of all its employees to be gender responsive.

This achievement is remarkable because it highlights that gender mainstreaming is not just a formality for the

KLHK but has become organizational culture. Winning the mentor category of the APE award is a major motivator for the KLHK to encourage and accelerate gender mainstreaming implementation in the ministry. However, as the KLHK is a large government agency, these values have not reached all of its civil servants, which totals 15,800 people.

The results of the interview show that for gender mainstreaming to be the culture of each individual in the KLHK, it must become a topic of conversation across the organization. There must also be a continuous effort to reach more people; to increase their awareness and encourage them to become agents of change who promote conversations about gender mainstreaming in all working units of the KLHK.

Certainly, all of the KLHK's civil servants must discuss gender values correctly and without coercion. The encouragement to make gender a habitual topic of conversation should not just occur at the leadership level but at all levels of employees. The mindset and behavior of the civil servants must reflect gender values in everyday life.

To achieve those goals, in 2021, the KLHK held a Gender Festival. Despite the Covid-19 pandemic, gender mainstreaming activities are still being conducted at the KLHK. Through the festival activities, 40 Gender Leaders and 1,000 Gender Champions were appointed. The KLHK Planning Bureau stated that if this activity continues, in the next 4 years, there will be 160 Gender Leaders and 5,000 Gender Champions; thus, at least 30% of the KLHK's civil servants will be talking about gender at work and at home. If more people are talking about gender, it is possible a Gender Community will be established in KLHK.

This innovation can be applied by all central and local government agencies to create more Gender Leaders and Gender Champions who will make gender-responsive policies. Through the gender festival, the KLHK tries to realize the SDG principle of "No One Left Behind". The KLHK interprets this principle as an effort to ensure that no one is left behind, forgotten, or marginalized from their right to education and equal access to development.

For instance, the 2021 Gender Festival used a modern and casual setting to help people understand gender mainstreaming more easily. The events of the festival were GLEADS (Gender Leadership) and TEACH (Training for Eco Gender Hub); GENERATION (Gender Competition); and PESTA (Eco-gender and Nature Conservation Week).

GLEADS inspirational class were held 5–6 times virtually on Zoom from April to August 2021. This class was attended by 40 participants, including Echelon I Officials and the Head of Balai Besar. The participants took turns being speakers and motivators and telling stories about initiatives in gender mainstreaming implementation in their respective work units.

TEACH was conducted on YouTube and in Zoom meetings and was attended by 1,000 employees of the KLHK consisting of representatives from Echelon II, Technical Implementation Units, and the KLHK's partners. Participants were divided into five classes and trained in using creative thinking and design thinking for implementing gender mainstreaming in the environment and forestry sector. Different from ordinary gender classes, this Eco-gender class not only discussed the relationship between humans but also focused on ways to preserve the Earth. At the end of the learning process, participants designed ideas, innovations, and simple actions to support the TEACH initiative. Each participant actively learned and made innovations.

Those classes were then assessed in a gender mainstreaming competition between the KLHK's working units, GENERATION. This competition was effective in making gender equality a topic of discussion in the KLHK. The series of TEACH, GLEADS, and GENERATION initiatives have the potential to become a driving force for realizing gender equality and gender justice in the KLHK.

The series of events, as the culmination of the KLHK Gender Festival, was relaunched as PESTA (Eco-Gender and Nature Conservation Week). This activity was enhanced by several activities such as Konser 7 Ruang, a webinar on gender, a film festival, and a photo video festival. PESTA showcased the innovations and works from the GLEADS and TEACH participants and presented them with a GENERATION Award. The participants were all KLHK civil servants, staff from other agencies, work partners, and members of the community.

This activity focused on efforts to change mindsets and implement programs internally. Thus, it did not involve public participation. All of those activities were organized to strengthen gender mainstreaming within the KLHK, and is one of the best practices to be applied by other agencies or institutions. Concepts and models of these activities can be different, depending on the context. The KLHK has a biannual program planning as a result of the enthusiastic response of its working units. The positive enthusiasm can be seen in the involvement of the Heads of the Technical Implementation Units and Echelon I in every activity.

Creativity is an effective mechanism for discussing gender issues in the KLHK because the nuances of the subject matter are easier to follow than in more rigid activities such as workshops and webinars. With leaders who are responsive to gender issues and committed to its acceleration, gender mainstreaming policies and implementation can run smoothly. This positive step can be realized through several changes to regulations, programs and activities, facilities and infrastructure, and even interactions between civil servants and other stakeholders. There have been significant benefits and changes within the KLHK since these activities were held. Gender mainstreaming has become an important issue discussed in the program and has even received special attention at the grassroots level. One example of best practice in implementing gender mainstreaming is the Wonosadi Customary Forest led by a woman named Sri Hartini. Thus, female leadership is no longer impossible. Furthermore, the KLHK working units have made efforts to formulate policies and improve facilities and infrastructure so they take into account targeted and gender-responsive needs and focus on women's experiences. This implementation is expected to provide equal access, participation, control, and benefits for women and men.

Challenges of Gender Mainstreaming in KLHK

Internally, efforts to mainstream gender in the KLHK have been very successful with the fulfillment of various prerequisites and the discussion of gender equality issues in the KLHK at the central and regional levels. However, there is a perception that gender equality is not an urgent issue. This perception is found in some informants; both internal and external of the KLHK. It indicates that efforts to increase people's understanding of gender equality in the environment and forestry sector needs to be continued.

Some informants argued the KLHK was quite successful in achieving gender mainstreaming because it was driven by leadership factors. That is, the minister is a woman. The forestry sector, which is widely perceived as a masculine industry, is now under the leadership of a woman. However, the success of women's participation—as shown by female leaders—needs to be replicated at the forest management level. At the grassroots level, there have been some female leaders such as Mahariah, an initiator of Pulauku Nol Sampah; Resti Rambu Ana, a daughter of the King of Prailiu in Sumba, East Nusa Tenggara, who serves as the leader of Forest Rangers in Matalawa National Park; Sri Hartini, the Head of

JAGAWANA (the Wonosadi Customary Forest guards) in Yogyakarta; and many other stories of female leaders in the field of environment and forestry.

Studies show that participation is a complex process. Participation can be “just a number” and based on mere physical presence, or it can refer to effective participation that is interactive and empowering and that encourages taking initiative and using influence. The participation space is not neutral because it is full of power influences; thus, the space can be closed or open. Power relations dictate a participatory process and “those who can grow according to identity, discourse, and (political) interests”. The power in the space occurs in different forms (hidden, visible, or invisible), which has implications for the transformative potential of the space (Gaventa & Martorano 2016).

Therefore, it is not enough to only require the presence of women in the decision-making process. The key is to understand the power dynamics that shape their participation, because interventions to increase women's participation in projects and decision making in the community can have unintended consequences for forest conservation and gender relations in society. One example is a reforestation project in Nigeria that took up a lot of women's time, which made the project unpopular and led to its termination (Leach 1991). This example indicates the importance of conducting a gender analysis to map the possible outcomes of the project.

Through gender mainstreaming in the KLHK, informants agree that both men and women should have equal opportunities to access and occupy central positions and roles. Although the number does not have to be the same, the access and opportunities must be equal. This issue is as equally important for government agencies as it is at the forest resource management level.

Research shows that gender influences the way men and women use forest resources. Men and women participate in various stages of the production of wood and non-timber forest products—although the participation varies by country and by the community (Sunderland et al. 2014). Evidence shows there is an increased number of women participating in community forestry institutions that improve forest governance and resource sustainability. A study shows that communities with more women in the forest management group, and communities with all female group members, have better forest regeneration and growth (Agarwal, 2009). A 2016 multinational study showed that improvements in local natural resource governance and conservation occurred

when women participated in resource management (Leisher et al. 2016).

To participate effectively in the forestry sector, women need experience, skills, and confidence to participate in the public sphere. Substantive representation is assessed from decisions, processes, and regulations that take into account the different gender roles of men and women; thus, women have sufficient influence (Agarwal 2010). However, participation can be an additional burden for women who are already overwhelmed with daily household tasks (the impact of the double burden attached to women). Therefore, gender analysis in each community is very important to create an effective participation model (Bolanos & Schmink 2005).

Taking into account the broad aspects of environmental and forestry management, it is important to convince the parties that the integration of gender issues into various programs and activities, from the top to the bottom, is necessary. The gender mainstreaming strategy can be implemented differently based on the location and conditions, in order to maximize the benefit to all people.

Conclusion

The KLHK is a Central Government Agency that is concerned with environment and forestry-related affairs in Indonesia. Some of its regulations—including norms, standards, procedures, and policies—will be a reference and guide for actors at the central and regional levels and their authority to regulate, implement, and utilize natural resource management. Therefore, gender mainstreaming in the KLHK plays a strategic role in increasing gender awareness and gender justice in Indonesia through various gender-responsive program interventions and activities.

Innovative activities related to gender mainstreaming efforts in the KLHK have been consistently developed and have grown from year to year, in terms of the budget and the variety of activities. The KLHK's gender mainstreaming innovations are inseparable from efforts to fulfill the seven preconditions for gender mainstreaming that have been developed and replicated at various levels of its organization, and also at the community level—that is, the program beneficiaries.

The main challenge of the KLHK's gender mainstreaming is the need for continuous efforts to increase the understanding of internal and external stakeholders because there are many perceptions that gender is not an urgent issue. This perception arises

because of the culture, education, and environment of the involved parties. Therefore, gender issues must be continuously voiced in various environment and forestry development activities.

As a follow-up strategy, every level of the organization needs to conduct a gender analysis to implement an effective participation model so that gender mainstreaming driven by centralized policies can be directly applied according to the needs of each level of the organization. The implementation of gender mainstreaming can encourage women to have access and control at every stage of learning; from planning and implementing to monitoring and evaluating activities. The next step is to establish a complaints channel, internal and external, to find out the challenges and problems related to gender mainstreaming implementation in the KLHK.

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Endnote

1. Itjen: Inspectorate General, PPKL: Environmental Pollution and Degradation Control, PSKL: Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership, PSLB3: Waste, Hazardous, Toxic and Waste Management, PPI: Climate Change Control, PHLHK: Law Enforcement of Environment and Forestry, PHL: Sustainable Forest Management, BP2SDM: Agency for Human Resources Development, Setjen: General Secretariat, PKTL: Forestry Planning and Environmental Management, BSI: Standardization and Instrument Agency, PDASRH: Watershed Management and Forest Rehabilitation, KSDAE: Nature Resources and Ecosystem Conservation

Women as Silk Warriors in Wajo District: Sole Actors and the Challenges of Access to Social Forestry Programs

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Abstract

Silk is a symbol of cultural grandeur in South Sulawesi. Complex business issues, and lifestyle changes within communities, has led to the silk industry being vulnerable to abandonment. Social Forestry, through a scheme to increase non-timber forest product businesses on community lands, can provide economic opportunities for silk-based businesses, which are dominated by women. This study is a qualitative study supported by quantitative data. Direct observations and in-depth interviews were conducted with several key figures in the silk business in Canru Village, Wajo District, South Sulawesi. The results of the study show that economic pressure is the main motivation for shifting roles in the silk industry, but there are several other obstacles that threaten the sustainability of the silk industry, which has lasted for hundreds of years.

Keywords: women and silk, economy empowerment, KUPS (Kelompok Usaha Perhutanan Sosial-Business Group of Social Forestry)

Introduction

One of the government's priorities in forest management is to improve community welfare by giving people access to the utilization and potential development of Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs). NTFPs are forest products—such as those derived or cultivated from plants or animals—with an economic value that can be used to improve the welfare of the community. NTFPs are forest products or services other than timber.

NTFPs can be sourced from forests designated by the Government as forest areas, or from forests. In Forestry Law No. 41/1999, these two areas are interpreted as “an integrated system of management pertaining to forests, forest areas, and forest products, and an integral unit of the ecosystem in the form of lands containing biological resources, dominated by trees in their natural environment”. This interpretation is in line with the assumption that forests are an integral part of life and are inseparable from the existence of local communities (Damayatanti 2011). Communities that live in and depend on forests create a social environment that has a reciprocal and mutually influencing relationship with the forest.

In some remote areas, collecting or harvesting NTFPs has been carried out for generations and is considered a traditional practice. People continue to perform this activity because of the added economic value of the products. Many farmers around the forest depend on forest products; either as a side business to earn extra income or as a main source of income.

In general, NTFPs are tree-derived products that have added value; fruit, leaves, skin, sap, caterpillars, or other plants with special characteristics, such as mulberry, rattan, bamboo, etc.. The added value of these products is an economic opportunity that is seen as an alternative to conserving forests and their ecosystems so that NTFPs are continuously available and able to support the livelihoods of local communities. The Social Forestry program was initiated by the government to ensure forest conservation efforts went hand in hand with the improvement of people's living standards.

Social Forestry is a national program that grants forest management rights to communities living in or near forests. The program's priority targets are people who are living below the poverty line, and vulnerable and marginalized community groups whose lives depend on forest sustainability and forest resources.

One of the NTFPs that has been prioritized for development is silk. Natural silk is one of the top five national NTFP commodities (Ministry of Forestry 2014). Since 2004, silk has been part of the Community Economic Development Movement (*Gerakan Pembangunan Ekonomi Masyarakat, Gerbang Emas*) programs developed in South Sulawesi because it contributes to the local and national economy (Baso & Sudirman 2020).

South Sulawesi Province is a popular region for silk production. Silk production is one of the industries that is managed and developed by micro-scale business groups involving women. The Social Forestry program not only supports the community in this region but also supports community business groups outside the region with utilizing NTFPs.

In 2005, the Indonesian silk-weaving industry became one of the top foreign-exchange earners with an export value of \$9,815,469. The silk came from 11,383 industrial units in 11 provinces across Indonesia, with 10,652 of those (93.58%) in South Sulawesi. At that time, South Sulawesi was known as the largest center of silk-weaving activities in Indonesia (BPA 2013).

South Sulawesi has been well known for its production of natural silk since 1960. Silk's reputation as a leading trade commodity is growing because Makassar, as the provincial capital, is a transit port and the gateway to eastern Indonesia. Although natural silk production has experienced highs and lows, South Sulawesi is still the largest silk producer in Indonesia.

According to the Balai Persuteraan Alam (2013), silk companies have been started in 13 districts in South Sulawesi. There are three districts that are considered centers of silk development and an important link in the production chain; Enrekang and Soppeng Regencies represent the upstream sector or pre-production stage, where the focus is on growing mulberries for silkworm feed and cultivating silkworms (*bombyx mori*) to become cocoons,¹ while Wajo Regency is a downstream sector and is the center for spinning yarn, producing silk fabrics, and distribution and marketing.

The characteristics of the industry mean the entire silk production process can occur in Wajo Regency; from pre-production to post-production. In Wallanae, Sabbangparu District, Wajo Regency, the dominance of women in every stage of the process is evident. This fact was revealed during in-depth interviews with several female figures who have participated in the silk business for generations. Direct observations and several literature studies confirmed it.

The struggles of women in silk businesses in Wallanae, especially in Canru Village, are typical of the experiences of local female actors in sericulture. Thus, it is important to consider the opportunities for women to maintain the sustainability of the silk industry. Are there any development programs to support women? How do women access those programs? Do women have the power to lead, access, and control the resources? It is important to investigate this social reality so policymakers can provide appropriate and gender-equitable support for social changes.

Research Method

This paper begins by considering the experiences of women as female actors in sericulture in South Sulawesi. Actors in sericulture are defined as people who actively participate in the silk production process, from cultivating mulberries and silkworms to producing silk threads and fabrics. The data in this research was collected using in-depth interviews and direct observation of several female actors in sericulture in Wallanae, Sabbangparu District, Wajo Regency, South Sulawesi Province.

This research uses a qualitative approach and gender analysis as analytical tools to comprehensively investigate the role of women in sericulture. This research aims to investigate the changes in the silk industry and their impacts on the community, and to document the experiences of silk-weaving business groups who have received assistance to build business capacity. The results of this research are important as they can influence the researchers who work as both bureaucrats and in Social Forestry business groups when they formulate policies that support women's groups.

The Gender Shift in the Silk Production Process: Women as Sole Actors

The silk production process is not as simple as one might think. It requires patience, tenacity, thoroughness, and cooperation between business actors, including in the division of labor between men and women. The production process includes preparation for providing feed, a special room for silkworm rearing, a continuous supply of mulberries, raising silkworms for cocoon production, processing cocoons into silk thread (spinning), weaving silk into textile fabrics, distribution, and marketing.

In the silk industry, many aspects must be harmonized so the division of men's and women's duties can be equal while taking into account traditional gender roles. Men

are traditionally positioned as the breadwinner, while women are considered co-breadwinners. Historically, the silk industry depended on the skill and thoroughness of

the silk makers. The table below shows the division of labor between men and women in the silk production process.

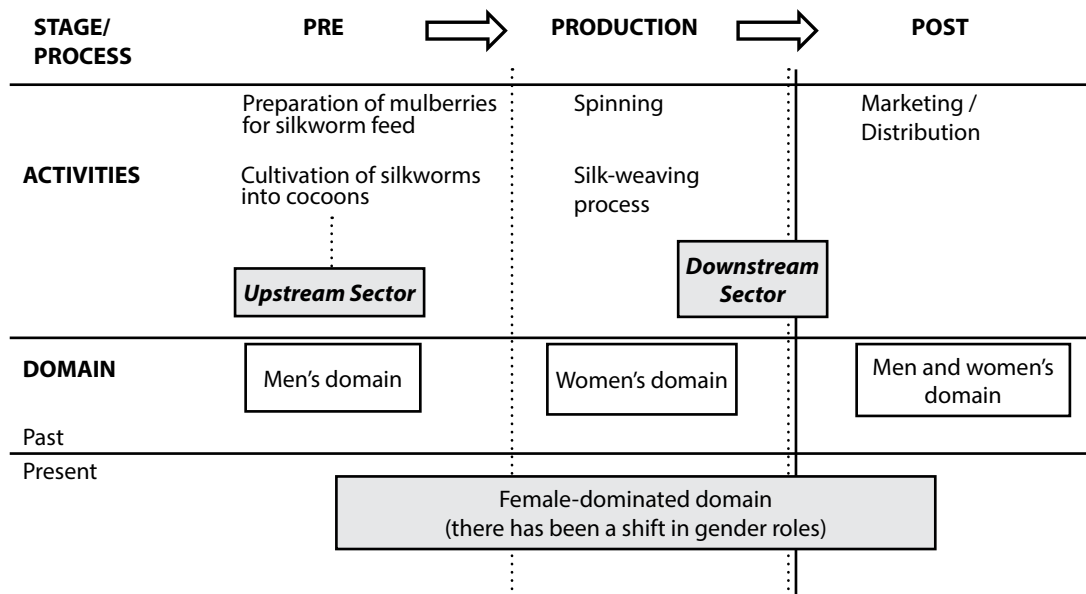


Figure 1. Shifting Roles in Natural Silk Production Flow

Source: Results of Observation & Processing of Primary Data of KUPS-BPSKL Sulawesi (2021)

In the silk industry, there has been a noticeable shift in gender roles. Almost 90% of the work is now performed by women. The division of labor—which was originally divided based on the domain of the work area—has shifted, and sometimes shifted completely, because of the economic needs of the silk farmers' households. While almost all stages of silk production are now dominated by women, men have switched to other jobs that are considered more profitable. As economic demands on silk farmers increased, they began to look for other sources of income that were quicker and easier. The patterns of household income for silk farmers also changed, which resulted in the diversification of livelihoods.



Figure 2. Woman Cutting Mulberry Trees in the Field

Source: BPSKL Sulawesi (2021)

Meanwhile, cultivated lands that were designated for mulberry trees (for silkworm feed) have been used for more valuable commodities, such as corn.

In Canru Village, arable land ownership is only 1–2 hectares. Mulberries are now more commonly found in the yard or among other plants in limited quantities. The mulberry plant requires large amounts of sunlight, which makes it difficult to grow as an intercrop in a small area of land.

However, several scientific studies have shown that mulberry plants have multiple economic benefits. Wahyudi and Nurhaedah (2015) described the economic benefits of mulberries other than as feed for silkworms, stating they can also be used as a food crop, animal feed, and for medicines. The public's limited knowledge, coupled with economic pressures, means farmers are reluctant to gamble on a business that has unknown profit and marketing values.

Apart from being economically practical, mulberry plants also have ecological value. When compared with corn and other second crops, mulberry is classified as a conservation plant because of its strong roots. Mulberry can be planted on sloping land to prevent erosion and landslides. Because people tend to prioritize economic rationality, and minimize the risk of failure, they ignore other factors, such as the fact mulberry has proven to be

ecologically beneficial, and has social and cultural value. At the end of the day, market demand is the main reason people choose a commodity with a high economic value.

In Wajo Regency, silk commodities' prestige has decreased because of diseases that affect mulberry trees, which has resulted in a drastic decline in the production of natural silk threads. This decline in cocoon production has greatly affected people's incomes. On top of this challenge, internal factors—such as difficulty in sourcing quality raw materials, ongoing pest and virus attacks, competition in the silk business at the top level and the market, and capital that is controlled by business elites—must be addressed (Ridwan 2011).

This downturn can also be seen in the decline in public interest in mulberries. In 2020–2021, the Community Economic Development Movement (*Gerakan Pembangunan Ekonomi Masyarakat, Gerbang Emas*), to increase silk production, struggled to reach its goal of planting one million mulberry seeds. The monitoring and evaluation conducted by the Governor's team for the Acceleration of Development of South Sulawesi Province in July 2021 found only about 491,000 seeds were planted in Wajo. In an interview, Abdul Malik, a practitioner and bureaucrat who assists silk business groups, said he was disappointed in the low public interest in farming mulberries in Wajo Regency. One of the reasons for this apathy is the neighboring regencies of Enrekang and Soppeng, in the upstream sector, are also starting to stagnate. It is hoped the silk industry in Wajo Regency can become self-sufficient.

The complex problems faced by silk farmers does not necessarily destroy the home-based silk industry. The women in Wallanae, especially in Canru Village, demonstrate a spirit to survive. However, this decision has increased the workload of women because of the increase in time allocated for non-domestic work. Firzal (2021) calculates the time needed for silk farming in Wallanae—starting from mulberry cultivation activities, land processing, planting, growing, to harvesting—is between 3–4 months when working an average of 3–4 hours a day.

Extra time is needed if the mulberry trees are planted in a garden of at least 1 hectare. The period will be shorter if the mulberry trees are planted in a yard. This situation affects the decline in income because productivity in the upstream sector is also reduced.

This account of the extra workload that increases women's non-domestic working time demonstrates that women play a large role in supporting the household

economy. Women are willing to be sole actors in silk farming in order to meet their household's needs, even though the process does not guarantee that the results will be as expected. The division of labor based on biological factors has disappeared and has been replaced by equal roles for the sake of increasing household income.

Women in Sericulture: Economic Actors and Cultural Conservationists

For the people of South Sulawesi, silk is a luxury garment that symbolizes the social, economic, and cultural status of the wearer. Silk weaving is a hereditary craft that has been practiced for generations in South Sulawesi. The story of silk is inseparable from the hands of the women who weave it. Weaving activities were initially considered a non-domestic side job that signified the maturity and skill of a woman. A woman's ability to spin yarn and weave silk symbolized they had entered adulthood.

Women's contributions to supporting the household economy have always occurred in home industries such as a silk business. This phenomenon is not only based on economic motives but also has a historical background with a social meaning. Another equally important value is cultural identity.



Figure 3. Variety of South Sulawesi Silk Motifs

Source: BPSKL of Sulawesi (2021)

Silk products are used in South Sulawesi traditional rituals. It is used for traditional clothing or as part of sacred equipment in puberty and marriage rituals.

The rich history of silk production in the region demonstrates the important historical relationship between women and weaving activities. Weaving skills are, in some areas, a symbol of a woman's self-respect and dignity. Weaving is often considered a skill that must be mastered by women. Female silk weavers are not only helping their husbands financially but are also protecting the household in case of bad economic situations.

In an interview on 22 December 2021, Andi Aisyah, an 80-year-old female actor in sericulture, stated that spinning yarn for weaving required patience, perseverance, and thoroughness. In the past, women who were able to spin yarn and weave it into silk were considered to be mature women and ready to enter marriage. In South Sulawesi culture, women are traditionally positioned as wives who, besides being good at serving, must be good at positioning themselves as their husband's partner in domestic life.

Women continue to play a role in the local silk industry, even though they can no longer rely on men as work partners. As a micro-scale industry (home-based business), silk has proven to be a pillar of the economy. Thus, women are motivated to continue in sericulture. Women report that, until now, the selling price of silk commodities has been stable and tended to increase.

The home-based silk industry contributes to increasing and/or maintaining household income. In an interview on 23 December 2021, Hadrah, 60, said yarn sales could reach Rp600,000 a kilogram. Firzal's study (2021) similarly stated that the income from mulberry fields was Rp10,793,156 per hectare per season, based on the assumption that the mulberries, as silkworm feed, would produce approximately 60 kilograms of spun yarn.

The growth of the silk-weaving industrial unit in South Sulawesi is rooted in the weaving craft, which is a complicated process because it is performed manually using a traditional loom. This traditional weaving loom, known as a *gedogan*, can only produce woven fabrics that are as wide as the weaver's handspan.

The silk-weaving industry in South Sulawesi has grown steadily since the introduction of the non-machine loom. This loom can produce materials with more diverse sizes and designs in a shorter production time than the *gedogan*. Because of the high demand for silk products, the non-machine loom is more effective and profitable for craftspeople and entrepreneurs. However, weavers are starting to abandon this loom.

The need for large quantities of raw materials, which have limited availability, the convenience of using a

gedogan, and thinking strategically about the future has led many female silk weavers to return to using a *gedogan*. Additionally, women are abandoning non-machine looms because of the new skills needed to use it, and the cost of maintaining machines or buying new tools.



Figure 4. Spinning Silk from Cocoons using Traditional Hand-Spinning Tools

Source: BPSKL of Sulawesi (2021)

Women are still weaving because they see that silk's economic value is still high. Hence, they continue to run this small-scale business, even though it is only a side business and not their main job. Nowadays, all roles in the silk production process rely on women. Unfortunately, the support for women's capacity development is inadequate. Consequently, the growth of the household economy through the micro-scale silk industry is minimal. There is a concern that if economic needs continue to increase, the option to continue the silk industry will disappear.

There are also concerns that other changes will bring about structural changes in the household. Women who initially used the silk business to help the household economy will gradually take on other jobs to meet the growing household needs. Women will continue to be classified as economic actors even when working in other sectors. However, if they change professions, women will be considered to have failed to preserve silk production as an ancestral cultural heritage. Future generations will lose a piece of their cultural identity as the largest silk producer, which has become a symbol of regional pride.

Facility and capacity constraints are a challenge for developing the home-based silk industry. The characteristics of the silk industry are similar to that of a family business, in that it is run by family members, especially women. As a result, the business and the workforce do not increase significantly from year to year.

Business capacity is also difficult to develop because of the specific characteristics of a home-based business.

When operating a home business, decisions tend to be influenced by internal/family factors or other emotional factors. Further, the use of capital is limited and inflexible. As a result, production tends to stagnate or grow slowly.

Susatijo (2008) says the “natural silk industry has a strategic role; it employs workers and farmers, opens up business opportunities, provides opportunities to improve the people’s economy, increases farmers’ income, and increases foreign exchange”. This outcome can be achieved if we can overcome the obstacles; thus, increasing the local and global economic sectors and preserving cultural heritage.

The Assumptions of the Social Forestry Program: Challenges of Empowering Women

Forestry Law No. 41 of 1999 article 3 letter d mandates the Social Forestry program to “improve the capability to develop community capacity and capability through participatory, equitable and sustainable ways to establish social and economic resilience and resistance against external changes”.

Social Forestry is described by the Minister of Environment and Forestry in Regulation No. 9 of 2021, which outlines the approval mechanism for communities who want to manage forest areas. These management programs include the Community Forest scheme, Village Forest, Community Plantation Forest, Forestry Partnership, Community Forest, and Customary Forest. The approval mechanism is public with no distinction made for the rights and obligations of communities that are physically, socially, economically, and even culturally close to and dependent on the forest.

The Social Forestry program exists as a counterweight to other forestry programs that have always favored elite groups. The program also accommodates the mandate of Article 23 of the Forestry Law that forest utilization shall be intended to obtain optimal benefit for the people’s welfare in an equitable manner while maintaining the forest’s sustainability.

Through Social Forestry, forest utilization must be distributed equally through active participation by the community. It is expected that this process will make the community feel more empowered and develop their potential. In addition, Social Forestry provides equal space and opportunity for men and women to gain access to Social Forestry management. As stated by the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No.

9/2021 on Social Forestry: “1 (one) family is represented by 1 (one) person, by providing equal opportunities for both men and women”.

Equal participation by men and women can be seen in Social Forestry groups. The Center for Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership (BPSKL) of Sulawesi (2021) identified 168 Social Forestry groups in South Sulawesi that have empowered forest farmers by distributing roles equally. The ratio of women’s membership in these Social Forestry institutions is 53.98%; a high percentage that illustrates the proportion of roles based on gender.

Among these groups are Social Forestry Business Groups (KUPS), which utilize and manage NTFPs such as mulberries and silkworms, and their derivative product—silk. The utilization of NTFPs as business products is one of the goals of Social Forestry; empowering vulnerable groups physically, economically, socially, and culturally.

One form of support from the central and regional governments to encourage Social Forestry programs in the management of NTFPs in community forests is to provide opportunities for people involved in production activities. In Wajo Regency, silk is a NTFP that has been managed by a KUPS, which has become the legal holder of Social Forestry permits or rights.

Groups that have been registered as a KUPS are entitled to Social Forestry business development facilities according to four levels: Blue, Silver, Gold, and Platinum.

According to the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership’s Regulation No. 2/2018 concerning Social Forestry Business Development, several forms of support can be obtained including, (1) Assistance to prepare business plans concerning the utilization of forest products; (2) Institutional strengthening through field schools, comparative studies, skill improvement training, and increasing business group status; (3) Enhancement of production value and environmental services in the form of aid for productive economic tools, agroforestry, and production value enhancement; (4) Entrepreneurship strengthening through business meetings, product exhibitions/promotions, and access to capital, marketing, and business partners network.

The silk KUPS in Wajo Regency belong to the silver level—the business has not yet developed but, institutionally, is already established and operating. There are two Silver-level KUPS led by women; both are good examples of women in Wajo Regency gaining access to and participating in maintaining the forest ecosystem, and obtaining economic benefits through the management processes.

Table 1. Women's Empowerment in Natural Silk Social Forestry Business Group

Farming Group/ Level	Chairperson	Donor	Type of Assistance
1. Panreng Panreng (Silver)	Hajera	BPSKL (The Center for Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership) for Sulawesi & Forestry Service of South Sulawesi	- F1 silkworm eggs - Mulberry seeds - Silk cocoon dryer
2. Prosperous (Silver)	Sitti Hadrah	BPSKL for Sulawesi	- F1 silkworm eggs - Silkworm feed basket - Cocooning tool - Participation of KT Sejahtera members in the training on Social Forestry - E-learning - Cultivator

Source: Processed Secondary Data of KUPS-BPSKL of Sulawesi Region (2021)

In order to increase, silk production needs more support than before. Strong political will from the central and local governments is needed to support silk as a superior local product that can compete in the global market. The required support needs to be more than merely providing assistance but ignoring the obstacles

faced by silk farmers, especially women. The silk industry is not a new type of business. It has been operational for generations. Hence, the long-standing problems should be clearly understood, and these problems should become a reference for finding a long-term solution.

Table 2. Benefits and Constraints of the Assistance Program for the Natural Silk Social Forestry Business Group

Program/Assistance		Challenge
F1 silkworm eggs	F1 silkworm eggs are the main element needed for the cultivation of silkworms. These eggs will be reared until they produce cocoons.	The distribution process of F1 silkworm eggs to business groups often causes a low silkworm egg hatching percentage.
Mulberry seeds	Mulberries are food for silkworms. Good-quality seeds will affect the quality of the cocoons.	Only a small number of seeds were planted by the groups due to technical problems with the seed providers.
Cocoon-drying machine	To store cocoons for a longer period of time.	
Silkworm feed basket	To store the mulberries taken from the garden in order to maintain freshness and cleanliness..	
Seriframe tool	A modern cocoon tool to produce quality cocoons. Different to traditional tools such as bamboo combs	Some group members still use traditional cocooning tools such as a bamboo comb because it is easier to use than the seriframe tool.
Participation of KT Sejahtera members in Social Forestry E-learning training Forestry	To increase knowledge, gain insights into the Social Forestry program, and learn tips to develop groups by using BPSKL facilities.	Some group members are not proficient with technology. Thus, this is ineffective.
Cultivator	A tool for weeding and loosening soil before planting mulberry seeds.	

Source: Processed Primary Data of KUPS-BPSKL of Sulawesi (2021)

The government's support includes empowerment programs that provide access and material assistance to KUPS. Unfortunately, not all assistance is appropriate for the group's needs. Some of the assistance is top-down and temporary, which indicates a lack of in-depth discussion during the decision-making process. Consequently, the assistance has failed to deliver a significant increase in welfare and, instead, there exists numerous obstacles that need to be addressed.

The government's good intentions have not been dealt with. There is still an impression that assistance is top-down. For example, the provision of mulberry seeds was unilaterally determined by the government to reach a predetermined amount. One million mulberry seeds were distributed without taking into account land availability, seed quality, and community needs for other commodities. There was no discussion or awareness raising among the public about the benefits and value of the mulberry plant economically and ecologically. This situation indicates a lack of harmonious dialogue between the government and the silk farmers.

Another obstacle for silk farmers is gaining access to capacity building. To be able to compete with established silk businesses, silk farmers should be supported to cooperate with private parties who have the potential to become partners. Partnering with the private sector would be very beneficial in terms of capital and marketing; something silk farmers lack.

Silk production communities are equipped with tools, but not the knowledge to use them. Women in sericulture are more comfortable working with traditional tools because they have been using them for many years. One of the weaknesses of the home-based silk production business is that workers still use traditional methods whose effectiveness and productivity values cannot compete with big foreign producers, such as China and India.

Access to assistance has been obtained, although the assistance has not been optimal. Another aspect of capacity building is the insights, knowledge, and skills that build motivation and increase productivity. Individual capacity can be improved through mentoring, training, and comparative studies in key areas of sericulture.

Another negative experience for female actors in sericulture occurred in Wallanae, Wajo Regency. In an interview on December 22, 2021, Abdul Malik, 40, recounted his regret that female figures were not involved in silk industry training in Thailand. The women were not selected to participate because they only had

an elementary school-level education. In fact, their knowledge, experience, insight, and participation in the silk industry was much greater than that of those who were selected to participate. Thus, we can see that women in sericulture have not been a priority for capacity building.

The power of regional leaders as government representatives will determine the direction of policies, and the changes they bring. The obstacles faced by women in sericulture are an ongoing project for the Government to help manage silk production through empowerment activities.

Empowerment principles—such as communication, participation, and openness—have been the basis for fulfilling the mandates of the Forestry Law. Community empowerment does not mean that the people do not have the will or ability, or are a less-empowered group. In fact, they have survived until now because of their strength and capabilities. But they need support and assistance so that their potential can be fully realized and optimized, and they can become more efficient, more productive, and more financially independent.

Women in Sericulture in Gender Analysis: Access, Participation, Control, and Benefits

Georgina Waylen (1997) in her work *Gender, Feminism, and Political Economy* states that feminism theory and gender analysis play an important role in the creation of a political economy. This is because the role of women in the local economy supports equal economic growth and is capable of making political and economic changes. Silk as an industrial product has proven successful as a base of the household economy in several areas, which proves that economic growth occurs when women participate. Thus, cooperation between men and women in creating a political economy based on gender equality is necessary. Amartya Sen (1999) in his book *Development as Freedom* provides an updated idea about improving human abilities; one of the main concerns in the work mechanism. In this regard, humans are men and women. Inequality between men and women must be eliminated in the management of the political economy.

Research by Klasen and Lamanna (2009) that was published in the journal *The Impact of Gender Inequality in Education and Employment on Economic Growth in Developing Countries* emphasizes that gender inequality in employment will only hinder economic growth. Women's empowerment is a solution. It will eliminate poverty by improving the quality of human resources and optimizing the role of women in economic growth.

Furthermore, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) stated in the Human Development Report that one of the critical aspects of development was equitable economic growth between generations, between ethnicities, between genders, and between regions, with great emphasis given to gender equality (Widayanti et al. 2013)

In terms of implementing the Social Forestry program for silk as an NTFP in Wajo Regency, the authors

conducted a Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP) to assess the position of women. GAP is a tool that assists planners with implementing gender mainstreaming in the planning of development policies/programs/activities. Using GAP, development planners can identify gender gaps and gender issues, and develop policies/programs/activities that minimize or eliminate gender gaps (Nurhaeni 2018). With GAP, we are able to identify gender gaps in terms of access, participation, control, and benefits.

Table 3. Analysis of the Access, Participation, Control, and Benefit of Female Actors in Sericulture

Access	<p>KUPS provides material assistance for business improvement (goods/money) and non-material assistance for human resource capacity building (training/comparative study) for men and women. However, in the field, non-material assistance is still more accessible for men.</p> <p>This situation occurs because there are still stereotypes about women such as: women are shy, women's intelligence is lower than that of men, and women are not good at managing programs. These stereotypes limit women's access to opportunities for capacity development. In many cases, men tend to be prioritized for access to information on training or other assistance.</p>
Participation	<p>The membership of the silk KUPS is dominated by women. Their influence can be seen through their participation in making plans in a democratic manner, and their efforts to strengthen their business through the use of tools for silk production.</p> <p>Furthermore, women actively participate in discussions and meetings conducted by the relevant agencies. However, attendance by participants is still limited—only the core management usually attend.</p> <p>In terms of increasing human resource capacity, women's participation is lower than men's, such as when participating in E-learning training or comparative studies.</p>
Control	<p>Women, as KUPS members, have control over the group's work plans. The preparation of work plans (short, medium, and long term) and formulation of programs to improve the KUPS are made through joint deliberations with all members. The chairman then signs the KUPS administrative document and is responsible for leading the implementation of the programs. In addition, the chairman also encourages mutually beneficial cooperation with other business groups. However, the control of female members is very limited due to their structural role as members.</p> <p>Furthermore, the concept of control is strongly influenced by women's strategic positions in KUPS. One of the indicators is women in the position of chairperson. Of the nine silk KUPS in Wajo Regency, there are two female chairpersons who are able to deliver work to members (men and women) and control the implementation of work. This ratio of 2:9 is still considered too low and does not represent at least 30% female leadership. Thus, women's control of KUPS is still restricted. The representation of women as chairpersons is expected to encourage women's access and participation in all aspects of KUPS activities; access to assistance, access to training, and access to decision making.</p>
Benefit	<p>KUPS does not discriminate by gender. However, it can be seen that the lack of access, participation, and control by women has had an impact on the benefits they receive as members, administrators, and leaders.</p> <p>The benefits can be material and non-material. Material benefits take the form of increased business, profits, and income. Meanwhile, non-material benefits are the empowerment and capacity building of human resources—in this case, women—through training for female members.</p> <p>In terms of material benefits, this program has provided benefits for women by increasing their business, profits, and income. However, in terms of non-material benefits, women's access is still not maximized.</p>

Source: Processed by the authors from BSKL KUPS of Sulawesi Data

The analysis of the access, participation, control, and benefits of female actors in sericulture suggests gender gaps still exist in terms of accessing non-material assistance. The capacity-building program for women has not been optimal; even though women have long participated in the silk industry and some of them have become the breadwinners of the family. The tendency is still for the Government to provide opportunities to men because of certain qualifications that women do not have. Leadership, access, and control over the utilization of business programs have not been given to women's groups (which are the sole actors in the silk industry). This situation hinders the distribution of additional benefits of the silk KUPS to increase household incomes, which will have a flow-on effect in the decline and loss of the silk industry in rural areas.

Conclusion

The division of labor between men and women in the silk industry has existed for a long time. Changes in economic demands caused a shift in the role of women. The shift from mulberry fields to corn or other types of second crop fields led to a diversification of livelihoods in the households of silk farmers; the single-income situation turned into a double-income situation. It can be seen that women became the dominant actors in local silk businesses; however, women's roles are still limited to home industries that have low productivity.

The challenge to continue the silk industry at the local level is now on the shoulders of women. Women's efforts will determine the extinction, survival, or triumph of local silk. The survival of the local silk industry requires the full support of various parties. The government can assist by providing access for women to participate in empowerment programs. Women have the right to be involved or represented in every stage of development—and particularly in the development of local silk businesses.

The data from selected locations (such as Canru Village, Wallanae, Wajo Regency) shows women's participation in the entire decision-making process—the planning, implementation of policies, accessing information, and capacity building—is limited. Stereotypes about women being weak, stupid, and left behind still influence the thinking of some policymakers. Gender issues generally arise at the policymaking and planning level; in contrast to the implementation level, where gender equality seems to be progressing well.

Gender inequality in policy formulation and planning reflects a concept of mainstreaming a gender perspective that was proposed by the United Nations Social and Economic Council but has not yet been implemented. An assessment of the implications for women and men of activities—including legislation, policies, or programs, in all areas and at various levels and as a strategy—has been planned. The concerns and experiences of women and men are integral to the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programs in the political, economic, and other fields of society. Thus, women and men have equal benefits and responsibilities.

The government's support for the Social Forestry program has been indispensable. Its support, and provision of access to assistance and community empowerment programs, has motivated silk business groups to continue to be productive. However, there are some improvements that can be made to the empowerment programs to ensure community assistance is targeted and effective. Furthermore, there are some empowerment principles that have been forgotten.

Cooperation and support from several parties are also needed. The government's role in the forestry sector goes hand in hand with the input from other sectors to ensure the growth of the local silk industry. Capital from investors, capacity and skill building by the Ministry of Trade, marketing by the tourism sector, and contributions from many other sectors need to come together to support the industry. The current era of development is the era of collaboration, in which resources are combined to close the gap.

Internally, the above challenges must be overcome to strengthen the motivation of women in sericulture to maintain their businesses. Externally, these challenges are becoming more complicated as globalization brings foreign cultures and influences regarding styles of dress. The strong influence of foreign culture affects silk's survival because the pride associated with owning and using silk is slowly fading away. Clothing trends from abroad have become the norm for young people and for women. The challenge of regeneration for women in the management of local silk production will also determine the industry's future.

The challenges facing the local silk industry, especially at the home industry level, is a challenge for all parties, not just rural women. The commitment by all parties to restore silk to its former glory is an important foundation for motivating female actors. The empowerment process—increasing access and control over all

resources—must be shared equally. The social reality is that the work within the silk industry is predominantly performed by women. Thus, this situation must form the basis for women having access and control, and being able to take advantage of every available opportunity and resource.

Social Forestry, as one of the government programs that supports the sustainability of the silk industry, should be able to achieve equality of access and management control within the development of the forestry sector. This outcome would create a competitive forestry business system through regional management and community-based institutions. Synergy between natural resources, communities, the government, and the private sector will accelerate the empowerment of silk business actors.

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Endnote

- 1 Cocoons are materials made by silkworms (*Bombyx mori* L.) in the metamorphosis phase (pupation), which consists of cocoon shells and pupae, (SNI 01-5009.11-2002: FRESH COCOON QUALITY). The cocoon is also known as the silkworm cocoon.

Women's Everyday Forms of Resistance to the Acceleration of the TORA and SF Policies

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the women's everyday forms of resistance in formal and informal spaces, to the acceleration of the Land Objects for Agrarian Reform ('Tanah Objek Reforma Agraria'-TORA) and Social Forestry (SF) policies in Sigi Regency in Central Sulawesi. The women's resistance is a broader manifestation of *To-Kaili* philosophy regarding the role of women as the center and base in maintaining harmony between God, humans, and nature, including in the management of agrarian resources ('sumber-sumber agraria'-SSA). Women who are fighting for gender-based agrarian justice still encounter some obstacles, including limited awareness of gender-based agrarian justice and the resistance not yet being dominant.

Keywords: Social Forestry, agrarian reform, everyday forms of resistance, agrarian justice, gender justice

Introduction

Agrarian justice can be achieved through the fair distribution of control of agrarian resources. However, to date, land tenure in Indonesia has been unequal. Data from Statistics Indonesia shows the inequality of land ownership in 2013 was 0.68. This figure signifies that 1% of Indonesians controlled 68% of the land. According to the Center for Research and Development of the Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency 2019, the Gini Index—a measure of Land Ownership Inequality—for the Main Islands of Indonesia was 0.68 for Java, 0.80 for Sumatra, 0.78 for Kalimantan, 0.73 for Sulawesi, 0.68 for Bali and Nusa Tenggara, and 0.66 for Maluku and Papua. A Gini index of more than 0.5 represents high inequality.

Inequality of land ownership in Indonesia currently manifests in two ways; between classes in the agriculture sector (distribution inequality) and in the allocation of agrarian resources between the sectors; corporations and people (allocation inequality) (Shohibuddin 2019). In addition, there is another form of agrarian inequality known as "gender-based agrarian resources inequality".

Gender-based agrarian resources inequality continues to occur across the globe. The World Bank reports that in Africa, Asia, North America, and South

America, men's ownership of land is much larger than women's. The Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) in 2014 stated that fewer than 1% of land certificates across the globe were owned by women, while in Indonesia, that figure was only 0.3%. Ramadanu and Harfianty (2018) state that, in Indonesia, almost all land rights certificates are owned by men. However, when women do have access to land, inherit land, or have strong land ownership rights, they are able to make positive contributions such as increasing their income and improving their children's health (Landesa 2016).

According to Agarwal (2002), there are several factors that prevent women from having greater access and control of lands including inheritance law, administrative bias, and the problem of household-based land transfer. Men are usually the recipients of land transfers because it is thought they provide the same benefits to all family members, although often the opposite happens. Agarwal advocates formal (individual) land ownership for women, such as in the Land Objects for Agrarian Reform (TORA) program in Indonesia. Meanwhile, there are other land access mechanisms, such as the Social Forestry program, in which the land is not owned by individuals, but they can obtain the right to use it. TORA and Social Forestry aim to encourage equitable distribution of agrarian

resources for communities living in or near forests. In practice, gender-based inequality of land access and control is very likely to occur in both programs. Ratnasari, Siscawati, and Soetjipto (2020) outline the many layers of exclusion faced by female heads of households in the implementation of TORA. Likewise, in the Social Forestry scheme, despite regulations that encourage women's participation, women's access to and control of resources are still limited. This is because gender equality and women's empowerment perspectives have not been adequately applied in the implementation of forest tenure reform (Siscawati 2020).

The above examples indicate that access and control of agrarian resources are still far from being fair to women. Consequently, gender must be understood as a political issue that needs to be negotiated and debated (Elmhirst & Resurreccion 2008), especially in the TORA and Social Forestry programs. That is, supporters must continue to fight for gender equality in access and control of agrarian resources. There is a lot of evidence that women are at the forefront of managing and preserving agrarian resources; for example, the cases of female farmers in Kendeng/Rembang (Candraningrum 2014; Candraningrum 2016; Apriando 2014), women in Kulon Progo (Nugroho 2014), women in Parangkusumo (Marhamah 2016), and women in Mollo (Asriani 2014; Mangililo 2014; Maimunah 2015). Throughout human history and culture, women have had emotional, psychological, and spiritual closeness to agrarian resources (Shiva 1988). Despite women's roles in managing and preserving agrarian resources, women have frequently lost their rights and opportunities regarding agrarian resources.

This phenomenon cannot be separated from the capitalistic and patriarchal system that dominates various aspects of life; from the bedroom to the global stage. Instead of gender issues being used as a tool in the struggle for women's rights, under the dominant capitalist patriarchal system, gender equality is being eroded in the critical and political sphere (Kabeer 2005; Molyneux & Razavi 2005; Leach 2007). Thus, gender issues might be instead be used as a tool to expand capitalism and strengthen patriarchy, and perpetuate the destructive system.

This situation distracts gender activists from their main goal of transforming unequal social relations (Libretti 1997). For this reason, it is important to understand gender equality as the antidote to systemic patriarchal capitalism. Gender debates must disrupt and seize control of the hegemonic space, so as to create gender justice in access and control of agrarian resources, especially in the

TORA and Social Forestry programs. Thus, it is not enough to just answer the Agrarian Question and understand the dynamics of agrarian change and farmers (and workers) (Bernstein 2019), but we must also answer the Woman Question for gender-based agrarian resources justice to occur (Delap 2011). However, the integrity of national policies and regulations regarding agrarian resources is in decline; for example, Presidential Decree No. 86 of 2018 on Agrarian Reform, Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. 83 of 2016 on Social Forestry, and Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. 9 of 2021 on Management of Social Forestry. Whereas the Agrarian Reform Law No. 5 of 1960 (UUPA 5/1960) refers to women as subjects who need protection, justice, rights, opportunities, and to benefit from agrarian resources. On the other hand, Presidential Decree No. 86 of 2018 does not even explicitly mention the word "women". Women have been made invisible since the regulations were formally legal. Meanwhile, although the regulations from the Minister of Environment and Forestry provide equal opportunities to men and women as recipients of Social Forestry, the decision-making spaces remain patriarchal. Consequently, we can see that the policies of TORA and Social Forestry at the legislative and implementation level contain bias.

The elimination of the word "women" in policy documents and policy implementation is a warning sign for women. Eliminating women—who are the targeted recipients of the policies regarding access and control of agrarian resources—in documents and on a practical level, is a criminal act that can trigger the phenomenon of femicide¹ (WHO 2012) because it deprives women of the right to life. The fatal effects are widespread and can be felt even at the technical level, such as in the implementation of TORA and Social Forestry policies, because Indonesia is a country that is highly respectful of the bureaucracy and administration (Kasmiati 2021; Oktaviana & Naharoh 2021).

Research Method

This study used a qualitative approach with a feminist perspective. Data was collected through participatory observations in Bunga Village, Palolo District, and Balumpewa Village, Dolo Barat District, Sigi Regency. Sigi Regency was chosen because it has a very large forest area and is a pilot site for TORA and Social Forestry programs. The researchers believe Sigi Regency can adequately show the role, position, and participation of women in promoting fair access and control of agrarian resources in the TORA and Social Forestry schemes at

the micro-business level (home-based business). Field research was carried out from October to November 2020. Primary data was collected through interviews, and field observations. The researchers also conducted a desk study to collect secondary materials and data.

Agrarian Resources and Mechanisms of Control

Agrarian resources, according to article 1 paragraphs 1–5 UUPA 5/1960, are: all the earth, water, and airspace, including the natural resources contained therein. The Indonesian government created two schemes to manage control and access to agrarian resources: TORA and Social Forestry. TORA deals with land controlled by the State and/or land owned by the community for redistribution or legalization (Presidential Regulation 86 of 2018 on Agrarian Reform, article 1, number 4). The term TORA is often used to refer to the Joko Widodo administration's Agrarian Reform Program. Meanwhile, Social Forestry is a sustainable forest management system conducted in State Forest Zones or Private Forests/Customary Forests by local communities or customary law communities to improve welfare, environmental balance, and socio-cultural dynamics in the form of Village Forests, Community Forests, Community Forests, Customary Forests, and Forestry Partnerships (Government Regulation 23 of 2021 concerning the Implementation of Forestry, article 1). The basic difference between TORA and social forestry is that TORA focuses on legislation and land redistribution that leads to ownership rights, while Social Forestry can only grant State forest management permits through five access mechanisms: Village Forests, Community Forests, Community Plantation Forests, Customary Forests, and Forestry Partnerships.

Women have not treated equally in the implementation of TORA and Social Forestry policies. Their access and control of agrarian resources were once regulated through the Basic Agrarian Law/UUPA 5/1960. The objective of this law was to implement Indonesian Socialism; agrarian resources were to be controlled by the State to bring the largest possible prosperity to the people in terms of democracy, welfare, and freedom for the society and the legal State of Indonesia which is independent, sovereign, just, and prosperous (article 2 paragraph 1 – 3). In article 9 paragraph 2, it expressly states that "Every Indonesian citizen, both men and women, has an equal opportunity to acquire a land right and to obtain the benefits and yields thereof for himself/herself or for his/her family." The article explains that there is a need for protection for vulnerable groups related to "The sale/purchase, exchange, gifting, bequest

by a will, grant under custom and other acts which are intended to transfer a right of ownership and the control of such acts are to be regulated by way of a Government Regulation" (article 26 paragraph 1) and the occurrence of excessive control of other people's living and jobs in agrarian-related business (article 11 paragraph 1).

The key ideas of UUPA 5/1960 were the forerunners to regulations that encourage the abolition of class, and create a gender-egalitarian society. In UUPA 5/1960, it is clear that access and control of agrarian resources must not only be analyzed using a class approach (setting the maximum limit on agrarian-related business) but must also be accompanied by a gender justice approach (... men and women, has an equal opportunity to acquire a land right...). That is, access and control of agrarian resources will not be achieved if there is still inequality in the implementation of access and control of agrarian resources, and vice versa. A class approach and gender justice are needed simultaneously to realize access and control of agrarian resources.

Based on the main principles of the UUPA 1960, inserting class and gender justice perspectives into the TORA and Social Forestry programs at the policy and implementation levels is a political opportunity for women to fight for their rights to agrarian resources. However, women must be alert to the possibility of re-exclusion, including in the implementation of the TORA and the Social Forestry programs. As stated by one of the participants of TORA and Social Forestry in Sigi Regency:

"... If there is no gender perspective at the macro-level (the roadmap of agrarian reform in Sigi Regency), then it fails to see the vulnerability of women. TORA and Social Forestry (in Sigi Regency) prioritize the perspective of the vulnerable and the perspective of women. Those perspectives can be applied when women participate in the meetings. If they do not participate, we will never know what their problems are. We do not know whether or not they have access to land. That is why women's participation is important. So, we invite not only the distinguished people but also the women of the village, so that their voices can be voiced. (DR, a female member of GTRA Sigi 2020, interviewed on 15 November).

The above statement illustrates several things: 1) The interests of women have not been considered in official government documents when initiating TORA and Social Forestry programs; 2) Women's participation (with a feminist perspective) in official organizations is very important because it is obvious that women's interests have not been accommodated for in formal documents; and 3) The presence of women with a feminist perspective—at the micro and meso levels—

will open wider and more inclusive participatory spaces for women. Thus, the presence of female subjects with feminist awareness becomes a defense against the possibility of structural deprivation of agrarian resources (Kuswardono 2021).

The Personification of Women in the Living Space of the Kaili Community in Bunga Village and Balumpewa Village

Women and men have different knowledge and responsibilities regarding agrarian resources, which leads to a fundamental difference in their roles in managing them (UNECLAC 2021). Men are typically associated with culture, while women are considered to have a higher affinity with nature (Shiva 1988). For communities that have a culture with a strong reciprocal relationship to nature, women are highly respected.

According to the life philosophy of the Kaili people (To-Kaili), the meaning of women is reflected in myths, perspectives and beliefs, customs, and daily activities. To-Kaili believes that To-Manuru, the woman who turned into Yellow Bambu (Bolvatu Bulava), was the first woman in the plains; the place where To-Kaili now reside (Nisbah 2019). To-Kaili places women at the center and basis of controlling social life and strengthening collective values in their groups; bringing balance to the relationship between humans, nature, and "Pekahowiaa" (God) (Amir 2013; Nisbah 2019).

The personification of women can be seen in "Tina Ngata" (Tina = mother or female subject; Ngata = village) and "Bulonggo". These terms have the same meaning; a woman who guards inheritance, ensures family harmony, mediates conflict, gives advice to fellow ethnic members, and is a quality controller of their generation (Nisbah 2019). Furthermore, a woman's role can be seen in "balia" (traditional rituals). "Tina Nubalia" (the female traditional leader of balia) and "Tina Nuombe" (the female organizer and administrator of traditional ritual banquets) play an important role in balia (Palu 2015). Most of these roles are still practiced by To-Kaili, especially in villages where customs and people's relationship with nature are still strong.

Kaili Women's Everyday Forms of Resistance in Bunga Village and Balumpewa Village

Everyday forms of resistance is a form of resistance that is integrated into the social life of a community. Resistance is the natural response of groups that do not have power but deserve justice. Therefore, everyday forms of resistance should not be considered an unusual

act (Scott 1989; Vinthagen & Johansson 2013). Everyday forms of resistance is a disguised form of resistance to appropriation. However, these actions indirectly show that the oppressed are fighting to overcome the injustices they face but, at the same time, are burdened by the fear of reprisal for their actions. Everyday resistance is carried out through small actions that are subtle and symbolic.

The various forms of everyday resistance carried out by Kaili women in formal spaces are a disruption to achieve agrarian justice. They participate in the TORA and Social Forestry acceleration agenda from the micro level (village level) to the meso level (district level). Female actors' participation in the formal space is a broader manifestation of To-Kaili's philosophy of the role of women as the center and base of maintaining harmony between God, humans, and nature, including in the management of agrarian resources. Women's fight against injustice in access and control of agrarian resources at the household, community, and district administrative levels in Sigi Regency shows that women possess the agency to accelerate a class and gender justice approach within TORA and Social Forestry.

Women's use of creative intelligence to resolve the issue of access and control of agrarian resources in the wider political realm—such as the implementation of TORA and Social Forestry policies—is an explicit action of tacit knowledge² (Dampney, Busch, & Richards 2002). For generations, To-Kaili women have possessed the knowledge to maintain harmony between God, humans, and nature. Thus, women's participation is not just an option or a complementary element, but is fundamental, and a requisite for achieving justice.

The actions of women in Bunga Village and Balumpewa Village in their fight for agrarian and gender injustice with "small-scale" everyday resistance is, indirectly, a form of gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming has yet to be implemented in Social Forestry despite the existing rules and guidelines for formulating gender-responsive program evaluation, disaggregated data, working group structures, and training (Desmiwati 2016). It is not surprising that Kaili women have developed tactics to participate in efforts to accelerate gender perspectives in TORA and Social Forestry.

Women's Resistance in Bunga Village

Bunga Village in Palolo District is an old village in the Palolo Valley. The village was originally located on a mountain but, because of conservation policies, the villagers had to move and rebuild it on lower land. It is

not only the change in location that has transformed the character of Bunga Village, but also a wave of transmigration and the trend of cocoa commodities have accelerated an increase in population. Bunga Village is a haven for local and foreign transmigrants; however, the original population of Bunga Village (To-Kaili-Ta) still outnumber the transmigrants (Oktaviana & Naharoh 2021).

As a village that has been transformed multiple times, Bunga Village is not like the traditional villages in Kaili or Kulawi, which still practice traditional rituals. However, the principles of To-Kaili life are still commonly practiced at the household level, especially when it comes to ownership of agrarian resources, which, for many communities in the area, is based on customary rules. Land ownership for the Bunga Village community means ownership of land obtained through inheritance from their parents, whether they have proof of legal ownership according to the State or just an oral agreement.³ In contrast, the government considers ownership of agrarian resources to mean ownership of formal documents (Sales and Purchase Agreement, Letter C, certificate, or Decree of Forest Management Permit from various Social Forestry schemes). The logic of ownership of agrarian resources is interpreted differently by the Bunga Village community and arguably for many communities in the area based on customary rules. Land ownership for the Bunga Village community means ownership of land obtained from the inheritance of their parents, whether they have proof of legal ownership according to the state or just an oral agreement.³

Agrarian resources that are inherited include plantations, land for other uses, and forest areas. In Bunga Village, land inheritances are distributed when a child gets married, not after the parents have died (Tim Hema Hodo 2013). Daughters and sons get an equal share.⁴ In special cases, daughters receive more than sons. Thus, in a household, it is possible for both wife and husband to own their own land (after the certificate is made). On the other hand, if the parents only lend the land to their children, the children only have management rights and do not have the right to transfer (sell or rent) the land to other people (Oktaviana & Naharoh 2021). This case shows that, at a certain level, the people of Bunga Village have a distinctively gender-equitable consensus regarding agrarian resource ownership. However, this view contradicts the State's formal logic. The State's process of legalizing agrarian resource ownership is patriarchal because land ownership is granted to the head of the family, the majority of whom are male. Gender justice

as it relates to access and control of agrarian resources needs to be expanded, such as in the implementation of TORA and Social Forestry.

When managing inherited land, women tend to control all stages of land cultivation; from pre-planting, planting, and harvesting, to post-harvesting, including decisions on seeds, fertilizers, and the commodities (plants) to be planted. Women take care of inherited land independently or by hiring labors. Meanwhile, men tend to cultivate inherited land themselves. Generally, men do not interfere in the management of their wife's inherited land. In recent years, parents have been reluctant to pass on land ownership to their children, which has created a new phenomenon of landless households (Oktaviana & Naharoh 2021).

If only one member of the household owns inherited land, land cultivation is usually carried out together through an equal division of labor based on the type of commodity (plants). The husband prepares the land for planting, sprays fertilizer, and cuts the grass. Meanwhile, the wife prepares lunch for the family. The wife gets involved during harvest and post-harvest activities. The wife is also responsible for selling the harvest to the wholesaler. In this phase, the wife often uses her power to get additional money from the harvest profit for household needs. After the harvest is weighed by the wholesaler, the wife does not tell their husband the true quantity of the harvest. If the harvest weighs 25 kilograms, they report to their husbands that it weighs 20 kilograms. They use the profit from that extra 5 kilograms as extra money for living expenses. This is a common strategy to manage financial problems.

This strategy is employed because their husbands do not give them extra money to cover their daily needs if they spend it all before the end of the month. Consequently, the only option to get enough money to meet household needs is through this strategy. Wives usually work with collectors so that this strategy does not "leak" to their husbands (Oktaviana & Naharoh 2021). This occurrence shows that even in the most difficult situation, women can use unique and creative ways to find solutions. Women are aware that certain spheres of oppression cannot be fought directly but can be disrupted using strategic means. This subversion is a form of the silent resistance described by Pramono (2018), and part of the everyday forms of resistance practiced by some women in broader and more formal spaces, such as the TORA and Social Forestry acceleration committees at the village level.

A Portrait of Female Actors in Bunga Village.

The TORA and Social Forestry acceleration committee in Bunga Village is not an inclusive space for women. However, there are female subjects who attempt to break the mould so women's needs can be presented in public discussions. The strategy used is the same as that of the everyday resistance used in households—silent resistance; that is, women confer with their fellow village officials, who are almost entirely men, before the formal forum is carried out to ensure the forum's decisions are fair to women. This strategy is not always successful because decision making is often carried out in an undemocratic, or even authoritarian, manner. Thus, when injustices occur, women must protest openly and directly (manifest resistance).

On several occasions, the role of women in the acceleration agenda of TORA and Social Forestry in Bunga Village has been very significant. Agrarian inequality and the agricultural land crisis are the main reasons for the resistance to TORA⁵ and Social Forestry in Bunga Village. For example, when the Indicative Map of Social Forest Area in Sigi Regency was issued by the Center for Forest Area Consolidation Region XVI Palu, part of Bunga Village was recommended for Social Forestry, instead of TORA. Unfortunately, the recommended forest area was very small and did not meet the community's expectations, and the need for agricultural land in Bunga Village was very high (Oktaviana 2021). Responding to this situation, female actors involved in TORA and Social Forestry in Bunga Village invited the community to prioritize residents who did not own land to be recipients of TORA and Social Forestry. The proposed categories of priority residents were female heads of family, landless widows, new households without inherited land, and landless households. The suggestion to prioritize particular residents incorporates a class approach and a gender justice approach in access and control of agrarian resources, especially in the implementation of TORA and Social Forestry in Bunga Village.

One of the female actors involved in TORA and Social Forestry in Bunga Village is Mama Y. Mama Y does not have Bunga Village ancestral lineage. She has Manado heritage (through her great-grandmother) and is a resident of Jono-Oge Village. Her entire extended family lives in Jono-Oge Village. Mama Y does not own any inherited land in Bunga Village. Her husband is a palm nectar farmer and maker of traditional alcoholic beverages. He does not own any arable land in the proposed TORA and Social Forestry areas. Mama Y and her husband are not beneficiaries of TORA and Social Forestry programs.

Mama Y participates in the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry because of her desire to see improvements for the people of Bunga Village. Since she moved to Bunga Village, she has seen many residents become unemployed because they do not own land, especially young people and new households. Mama Y's significant role in accelerating TORA and Social Forestry programs is considered a reformist action carried out by a reformist actor (Fox 1993). "Reform" in this case refers to an attempt to change the structure of access and control of agrarian resources in Bunga Village, especially for people who do not own any arable land.

As a reformist, Mama Y is not only active in TORA and Social Forestry, but is a prominent female actor in many village organizations, such as farmers groups, the Joint Business Group (KUBE), children's educational institutions, and religious organizations. In the farmers group, she serves as a secretary. She is the chairman of KUBE and a creator of local spiced soy sauce products there. In religious organizations, Mama Y participates in activities with female villagers and young women. Mama Y's daily activities serve as a good example to other women in her village. Mama Y also inspires others in informal spaces, such as by visiting her neighbor's house and by participating in community celebrations. All these activities are carried out in order to motivate the women of Bunga Village into public participation. Unfortunately, the enthusiasm of other women to participate in organizations or activities does not match Mama Y's.

Mama Y's commitment to promoting social transformation in her region have led to her being appointed as a village representative to participate in training organized by the district government or civil society organisations. In general, Bunga Village residents are not very interested in participating in such activities. Most women in Bunga Village believe that participating in social activities and training has limited impact. This perspective contradicts the view of Mama Y, who feels that her knowledge has increased since attending the trainings. She believes the knowledge she gains from the training is important for herself and her community. Training and seminars provide her with the knowledge that becomes the capital and foundation of the struggle for justice regarding agrarian resources.

"At the meeting, at first, I was not interested in it because what was discussed was land issues. So, I thought, why are women involved when it comes to land issues (not men)? Then on the second day, in the afternoon, after a while, I thought it was necessary for women to participate in the discussion on land issues. After that (the training sessions), when there are discussions (about land) I am

always appointed as a representative of the village." (Mama Y, female actor in Bunga Village 2020, interviewed on 22 November).

The lack of women in key activities, especially in TORA and Social Forestry, means Mama Y has few female warrior friends. Mama Y is arguably the only woman surviving in a male-dominated work space. Mama Y sees this situation as an opportunity to elicit information from men, such as information about social assistance or funding for the village, which is only discussed between male village officials. Thus, getting along with men is Mama Y's strategy to get information that she can share with her female friends.

Despite being a known reformer, Mama Y is still excluded from some village activities. For instance, she was not appointed by the village government to manage the funds/logistics for the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) team, even though she is the secretary of the PRA team and the secretary of the Village Deliberation Agency. These positions give Mama Y legitimacy to participate; unfortunately, on several occasions, she was not invited. To combat this issue, Mama Y gathers as much information as possible from her trusted fellow village officials and invites them to discuss the information and the discrepancies outside of the formal forums. To avoid conflict, she does not make this an open discussion.

Mama Y organizes meetings at her home to discuss accelerating the TORA and Social Forestry programs. She invites villagers to discuss access and control of agrarian resources in Bunga Village. The discussions at Mama Y's house are more comfortable than those at the village office; even the men tend to feel shy about speaking out in formal discussions. As for the women, they usually do not attend meetings about TORA and Social Forestry if their husbands are attending. Female villagers will attend a meeting when their husbands are unable to attend but, recently, Mama Y has been inviting female villagers, regardless of whether they own land, to attend the discussions to benefit women's interests. Mama Y is also involved in the mapping of lands proposed by the villagers for inclusion in TORA and Social Forestry.

Mama Y wields a lot of power in the village. One example of her efforts to mitigate conflict involves a new resident (from South Sulawesi) who lived in the forest with his family members (who had previously been registered as residents of Bunga Village). This new resident had been working on land in the forest, while many other Bunga Village residents were still having trouble getting arable land. Mama Y immediately urged the resident to report to the village head. This situation

had the potential to trigger a conflict between residents. Thus, it must be handled properly.

Mama Y's resilience in managing herself and her time, and her ability to gain access to male-dominated formal and informal spaces and fight for agrarian justice and gender justice is a form of everyday resistance. She uses her access to formal spaces to gain knowledge and information, which she then shares in informal spaces with those who cannot access formal spaces. This action is part of her strategy against unfair access to knowledge. Mama Y belongs to a minority group in her community; she is a woman and not a native of Bunga Village. However, as Agarwal (2002) says, women's participation is influenced by individual attributes. Mama Y's ability to organize and negotiate in formal and informal spaces, plus her broad knowledge, has put her in a position that allows her to participate in public decision making at the village level.

Furthermore, Mama Y has proven herself to be a To-Kaili woman because her actions to take control of agrarian resources, which are dominated by class- and gender-biased practices, are not limited by her ethnicity but are based on the To-Kaili's philosophy. Thus, the whole space becomes a sphere of struggle and resistance for agrarian and gender justice.

The above account shows that the position of women in Bunga Village is unique; instead of prioritizing the quantitative data (the number of female participants), the focus is on the quality of women's participation in Bunga Village. In fact, only 2–3 women participate in the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry in Bunga Village, compared with 10–15 men. However, the role of women is very significant as they are key initiators and actors in the spaces of discussion and practice. Hence, women (female household heads and landless widows) and poor households have been prioritized in TORA and Social Forestry. Women in Bunga Village play an important role when it comes to access and control of agrarian resources—not only to solve daily problems but also to contribute to the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry using unique methods. Thus, we can see that female actors are initiators and dynamic forces in the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry programs in Bunga Village.

Women's Resistance in Balumpewa Village

Balumpewa Village is the old village of the Topo-Inde people (a Kaili sub-ethnic group). It is a homogeneous community inhabiting the forests, mountains, and

hills that are now included in the Protected Forest and Conservation Forest of Wera Natural Tourism Site. The Topo-Inde people have lived in the area since the 1900s, before Indonesia's independence. The main occupation of the residents is farming. For the residents, forests, gardens, and fields are a source of livelihood.

The Topo-Inde people's philosophy is "tampa mangelo katuva" ("a place to find life"). Losing land means losing a source of life; like living "at the tip of one's fingernail". This analogy illustrates how the Topo-Inde people will become vulnerable if they lose their land. Another meaning of "living at the tip of one's fingernail" is that landless people will become cultivators who live under the command of others. This way of life is contrary to the Topo-Inde principle of life, which promotes land cultivation to support their households through an egalitarian system (Kasmianti 2021), and where men and women work together to cultivate the land. There is a concept known as "siampale mengolah tanah." That is, the Topo-Inde people cultivate the land and crops through "gotong-royong" ("voluntary mutual assistance"). In "siampale" activities, people voluntarily work together; they are given lunch, but they do not get paid. This example shows that Topo-Inde people avoid labor relations and tend to value cooperation (Kasmianti 2021). Men and women of Topo-Inde have equal opportunities to own and cultivate the land. The distribution of land in Balumpewa Village is similar to that of Bunga Village, which is based on an inheritance system.

Traditional land management practices means Topo-Inde women are accustomed to managing land in forest areas and other land use areas; thus, having women engage in public programs such as TORA and Social Forestry is not unique. Topo-Inde women are motivated, and invite and encourage other women to participate in TORA and Social Forestry. Topo-Inde ancestral lands have been claimed as State land and given the status of Conservation Forest and Protected Forest. Realizing that their ancestral lands are being "State-ized",⁶ women have taken the initiative to accelerate TORA and Social Forestry to reclaim access rights and control of the land.

Recently, the results of the verification by the Settlement of Land Tenure in State Forests team of Balumpewa Village were released. The results recommended that Topo-Inde land located in forest areas should be part of TORA and Social Forestry, which covers an area of 1,653.04 hectares. Based on this recommendation, the people of Topo-Inde are willing to push for the Customary Forest scheme if their ancestral lands cannot be included in TORA. Unfortunately, the

process of determining Customary Forest status is hampered by administrative requirements that are not inclusive. For instance, the Topo-Inde people must detail their existing customary system in a formal document. However, the Topo-Inde people maintain their customary system through oral traditions. This oral tradition is part of the effort to maintain the customary system. Because of these administrative complications, Topo-Inde women instead continue to manage agrarian resources through occupying Topo-Inde inherited lands in forest areas. This action is a form of everyday resistance to continue to support the household. For Topo-Inde women, to resist is to continue planting, cultivating, and preserving their ancestral lands.

A Portrait of Female Actors in Balumpewa Village

The woman who started the resistance in Balumpewa Village is a young woman named "O". Her awareness of the issues grew through various discussions with her husband, "Bung T", who was an activist at his campus. Bung T had already participated in various student movements and farmer assistance programs before marrying O and becoming a resident of Balumpewa Village. Bung T is well educated, respected, communicative, and sociable. He has always helped O to improve her knowledge about the unequal control of agrarian resources in her village. O is the daughter of the village head and the head of the church youth group named Gerakan Pembawa Suluh (GPS). These two positions are important because Balumpewa Village is an old village whose entire population adheres to the Christian Salvation Army. It is O's social capital in organizing women's groups in her area that gives her the strength to participate in the efforts to accelerate TORA and Social Forestry in her village.

O's first act was to build resistance within her family so that all her family members understood the domination of agrarian resources that was occurring in their village. The conversation began when "Mama O" (O's biological mother) returned home and told O that she had seen forest rangers setting stakes on her arable land. O responded by explaining that the arable land had been "claimed" as State land and, in the future, they might no longer be able to cultivate it.

O's explanation to her mother was as follows:

"The stakes that you saw in your arable land belong to Nature Conservation Agency (BKSDA). It means that it is no longer our land, it is no longer our garden, it belongs to BKSDA. We can still continue to plant now. But in a few years, if there is no change in policy, we cannot own it as arable land" (O 2022, interviewed on 21 November).

O stated that this incident did not only happen to her family, but also to other women. This information encouraged Mama O and other women to fight to accelerate TORA and Social Forestry in their village. Mama O fought back by pulling out the stakes on her arable land. This conflict occurred because the forest area in Balumpewa Village was defined without considering the living space of the Topo-Inde people who already lived there. In addition, the forest area in Balumpewa Village is disputed. According to the Decree of the Minister of Agriculture Number: 843/Kpts/Um/11/1980 dated 25 November 1980 on the establishment of Wera Natural Tourism Site, the forest area in Balumpewa Village is 250 hectares. Meanwhile, the Decree of the Minister of Forestry Number: SK.6586/Menhut-VII/KUH/2014 dated 28 October 2014 stipulates the area of Wera Natural Tourism Site is 349.39 hectares. These two decrees show a difference in Wera's area of almost 100 hectares. In addition, the Decree of the Minister of Forestry No. 869/Menhut-11/2014 designates about 2,050.53 hectares (91.06%) of the Balumpewa Village area as protected forest and conservation forest (Kasmiati 2021). These policies have taken over the living space in Balumpewa Village. Thus, motivating female actors to take the initiative to encourage the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry in Balumpewa Village.

It is unsurprising that O and her mother were the first to take action, even though they had to travel to Palu City to demand the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry. As people in positions of relative power in the village, they are able to encourage other women to join the struggle for equal access to agrarian resources. After successfully recruiting her mother to the cause, O then encouraged her cousins, closest neighbors, and other women to discuss agrarian resources. As a result, Topo-Inde women have initiated forms of resistance including pulling out the stakes that marked the forest boundaries, and more direct actions such as participating in demonstrations and attending meetings to discuss land issues. In some Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) conducted by the researchers, the women of Balumpewa Village actively participated in discussions about the control of agrarian resources. Even though the number of women who participate is still far less than the number of men, it is inspiring to see that women have dared to voice their aspirations and take direct action.

Balumpewa women show us that village women are autonomous agents who can develop their own awareness and break the assumption that women are passive and men are active. In fact, women transcend

this binary perspective. The actions of O, her mother, and other women of Balumpewa Village are non-violent civil resistance. This model of resistance refers to a set of techniques used by ordinary people to challenge injustice and oppression with direct action tactics—tactics that operate outside of existing institutions and do not involve the threat of or actual violence (Principe 2017).

Actions that encourage the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry are pioneered by women and supported by many parties such as the village government, young people, the church, and customary leaders; however, this does not mean it does not generate opposition. There are some people who reject this movement and accuse O's family of being "heretical" and contrary to the Indonesian philosophy of life. The attacks began when they raised the flag of a farmers group in the village, and they were accused of being heretical.⁷

"Since I started sharing information with young people in the village, there have been a lot of young people who are interested in participating in the discussion. Since then, we are called "heretical belief followers". They assumed that we monetized the demonstration, in fact, we funded our action on our own (O 2022, interviewed on 21 November).

Based on O's experience in Balumpewa Village, it can be seen that the participation of women in access and management of agrarian resources is very important. From the resistance of the village community, it is evident that a village's collective initiative grows and develops because of the agency of women. The root of women's strength is a speech or story that grows awareness into collective action. Women engage in a non-violent fight for the community's right to access agrarian resources.

Community members are now working together to carry out various forms of resistance; taking action, mapping land ownership, attending meetings, and devoting their time and what they have to achieve their goals. And it all started with the persistence of one woman named O who constantly shared stories with her community about the importance of accelerating TORA and Social Forestry in Balumpewa Village.

Conclusion

The women of Sigi have resisted at various levels and have played a variety of roles in their fight to obtain their rights through TORA and Social Forestry. Sigi women's participation did not happen overnight. Their awareness and resistance was formed through a long process.

The story of women's resistance, as outlined in this article, occurs every day (informally) through the To-Kaili philosophy. However, in the context of accelerating the TORA and Social Forestry programs, women have to use more energy and achieve more progress because women's participation and interests have not been recognized in formal spaces. Hence, to overcome inequality in access and control of agrarian resources, and fight for equality of gender and in all levels of society, then the spaces that control these things must be reviewed through a critical perspective (class and gender). Mainstreaming women's interests in various levels of policy on access and control of agrarian resources, such as in the TORA and Social Forestry programs, should be the concern of all parties (men, women, and all social classes) at all levels (micro, meso, and macro) in informal and formal processes. Women's resistance needs to work in accordance with the principles of the revolutionary agenda for gender-based agrarian justice or what Scott (1985) calls "real resistance".

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Endnotes:

1. Femicide is violence against women that comprises a wide range of acts—from verbal harassment and other forms of emotional abuse, to daily physical or sexual abuse, which at the far end of the spectrum is the murder of a woman.
2. Tacit knowledge is the knowledge we possess that is garnered from personal experience and context. Tacit knowledge includes skills, experience, insight, intuition, and judgment. Tacit knowledge is typically shared through discussion, stories, analogies, and person-to-person interaction and is, therefore,

- difficult to capture or represent in explicit form because individuals continually add personal knowledge, which changes behavior and perceptions.
3. Since the intensification of the land certification program, people have started to worry about the legal status of their inherited agrarian resources, which are considered by the State as “vacant land without owner” if there is no formal proof of land ownership. Simultaneously, the community has begun to obtain land certification for agrarian resources that are already theirs by custom.
 4. The term “equal” means that women and men who inherit land are not subjected to discrimination. Each will get a share of gardens, livestock, or houses in different locations.
 5. The total proposed area of TORA of Bunga Village is 417.11 hectares, consisting of 139.56 hectares of Limited Production Forest, 77.19 hectares of other land use, and 200.37 hectares of Lore Lindu National Park.
 6. “Stateization” is the process by which land (customary territory) is determined by the Government to be State property (forest area) based on Government authority.
 7. The accusation of being “heretical” implies that someone is considered to have left-wing political views, or still be affiliated with parties that are not accepted in Indonesia such as the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Furthermore, the color of the farmers group flag is red, which is closely associated with the PKI.

Gender Responsive Social Forestry Policy: A Case Study of Laws and Regulations in the Social Forestry Sector and the Granting of Social Forestry Permits

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Abstract

This article focuses on two issues; whether the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership has integrated gender issues into laws and regulations and policy implementation, and whether these issues have been applied to the granting of Social Forestry permits. This study uses empirical legal research methods to assess the application of gender issues in the Social Forestry Regulations and Permit Policy. The results of this study indicate an increase in the number of Social Forestry provisions that regulate gender issues. That is, in the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. 83 of 2016 there are two articles that regulate gender issues, whereas in the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. 9 of 2021 there are seven articles. The integration of gender-responsive articles and the implementation of gender-responsive practices have led to significant changes such as the management by women of two Social Forestry Business groups, Katimpun Village and Damaran Village. This process represents the first step of positive change in the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies in environmental issues in the Ministry of Environment and Forestry.

Keywords: Social Forestry, gender issues in Social Forestry, permits for Social Forestry management, women and Social Forestry, laws and regulations

Introduction

At the Eighth World Forestry Congress held in Jakarta in 1978 a new approach to the management of forest resources in the world was declared, namely Forest for people. Forest for people can be defined as a vision of forest resource development that is ideal for countries with large populations and most of them depend on forest resources for their livelihoods. The most popular term written in various papers at the forestry congress was the term forestry activities involving the community and known as Social Forestry (Awang 1999).

In order to follow up on the world forestry congress, the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Environment and Forestry launched a community empowerment scheme in forest management in Indonesia in 2006. The forms of community empowerment are Community Forest (HKm), the Community Plantation Forest (HTR), Village Forests (HD), And Forestry Partnerships which are currently known as Social Forestry programs. Long before the existence of the community empowerment scheme, the government

had involved the community in managing forest areas by utilizing non-timber forest products.

Community involvement in forest management was realized by the issuance of the Decree of the Minister of Forestry Number 622/Kpts-II/1995 in 1995 concerning Community Forest Guidelines. This policy aims to provide opportunities for the community to participate in forest area management, production of forests, and protected forests. The Decree has several weaknesses, including a two-year period only; forest utilization activities are limited to intercropping activities and non-timber forest products; and the results of the activities are more aimed at the rehabilitation of critical land in production forest areas.

The gender-based proportion of community involvement is still unequal as women are less involved in decision-making and forest management. Issues of tradition, mindset, and policies that are not gender-responsive have a big role in marginalizing the role of women. These issues have received less attention

because the community is still questioning if their role in forest management is guaranteed.

As a result of the non-optimal role of the community in forest area management, the Minister of Forestry issued a Decree of the Minister of Forestry Number 677/Kpts-II/1998 concerning Community Forests. It aims to increase access for the community to the Community Forest Concession Rights through cooperative institutions. Furthermore, in line with the regional autonomy policy, the Minister of Forestry issued Decree Number 31/Kpts-II/2001 concerning Forest Administration.

Regarding efforts to balance the ratio of control over forest area management between corporations and communities, the government established Government Regulation No. 6 of 2007 which regulates the Community Forest program (HKm). This regulation was later amended through Government Number 3 of 2008 which regulates forest management within the community through the Community Forest (HKm), Village Forest (HD), Community Plantation Forest (HTR), and Forestry Partnership (KK).

Providing access to the community aims to eradicate poverty. The social forestry program is a national program in the forest sector that aims to open access to management for communities that depend on the sustainability of forests with their biodiversity. Based on the data, there are 25,863 villages with an area of arable land of around 9.2 million hectares. Forest village communities mostly live in poverty, are unemployed, and landless (PSKL 2021). The data shows that people living in forests are one of the largest poor groups in Indonesia. Outside Java, the majority of rural communities live in or around state forests. Around 48.8 million people live on state forest lands and about 10.2 million of them are considered poor. In addition, there are 20 million people who live in villages near forests and 6 million of them depend most of their lives on forests (Wulan et al 2004). However, in reality, women in the community continue to experience marginalization and impoverishment which can be seen from the lack of women's involvement in the use of social forestry products.

From 2006 to 2015, the realization of community empowerment, both in terms of area and forest yields, has not been encouraging. In the period 2007-2014, only 449,104.23 hectares of forest area were registered (PSKL 2021). This low achievement is due to the lack of policy support (political will) which includes Social Forestry as part of the community empowerment system. As stated in the ninth part of Government Regulation No. 6 of 2002 on Forest Arrangement and Formulation of Forest Management Plan as well as Forest Exploitation.

In the era of President Joko Widodo, the government is committed to allocating 12.7 million state forest areas to be distributed to the community through the Social Forestry (SF) program. Social Forestry is made a national priority program in the context of equitable distribution of the national economy through the provision of land access, opportunities, and the capacity of human resources (HR). In this regard, SF provides access to forest land management to the community for 35 years and can be extended after evaluation.

The achievement of SF up to 2021 was 4,901,778.64 hectares consisted of 7,477 decree units and involving approximately 1,049,215 families (PSKL 2021). Based on the recipients of social forestry permits/approvals totaling 1,049,215 people, women's groups are groups that are vulnerable to discrimination in the management of social forestry. Various criticisms emerged in the form of statements that women are often not involved much in the social forestry permit applications and in every decision-making process. Consequently, the organized programs and activities do not address the needs and problems of women. Therefore, this paper is important as it examines the implementation of gender equality in laws and regulations of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership as well as policies and implementation of the issuance of permits/approvals for social forestry.

Based on the above introduction there are several main problems to discuss, they are: 1) Has the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership integrated gender issues into policies and laws and regulations? 2) Has the issuance of Social Forestry permits taken gender issues into account?

Conceptual Foundation

This paper applies the theory of gender analysis to determine the roles of women and men related to the granting of social forestry permits. Gender analysis is a method or tool to detect gender gap or disparity through the provision of data and facts as well as information about men and women in terms of access, role, control, and benefits (Puspitawati 2013).

Gender analysis as a conceptual basis is used to determine whether or not there is a gender problem by investigating the gender disparity. With the gender analysis, it is expected that gender gap can be identified and analyzed appropriately so that the causal factors and steps to solve the problem can be found (Puspitawati 2013).

Furthermore, gender analysis is the process of systematically analyzing data and information about men and women in order to identify and reveal the positions, functions, roles and responsibilities of men and women, as well as the factors that influence them (Faraz 2012). In the context of granting social forestry permits/approvals, this method of analysis is the first step in the framework of developing gender-responsive program policies and activities. For this purpose, gender-based data is required, namely qualitative and quantitative data that has been separated between men and women (Faraz 2012).

Theoretically, there are several technical models of gender analysis that have been developed by experts (Faraz 2012), including 1) Harvard Model; 2) Moser Model; 3) SWOT Model; and 4) Gender Analysis Pathway or GAP Model. In GAP, the analysis method of this article is helped by paying attention to the planning of policies, programs, and activities that involve a gender-responsive approach, especially in the implementation of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry up to the site level.

Thus, the use of gender analysis (GAP) as a conceptual foundation is very important, especially for decision-makers. In this case, the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership aims to increase awareness of internal parties (the Ministry of Environment and Forestry) as well as external parties in the management of social forestry. For external parties, gender analysis is an instrument to measure women's involvement in managing forest areas.

Research Method

This article uses empirical legal research methods. The empirical legal research method is a legal research based on normative legal science (laws and regulations) which, instead of studying the norm system in laws and regulations, it is simply observing the reactions and interactions that occur when the norm system works in society (Fajar & Achmad 2009).

The primary data in this study relates to the making of laws and regulations in the social forestry sector, namely the granting of permits that are pro-gender issues. In addition, primary data is supported by secondary data in the form of primary legal materials, such as statutory provisions and related literature.

This research is limited to the study of the provisions of laws and regulations relating to gender-responsive content. This study examines the provisions of the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 83 of 2016 and Ministerial Regulation Number

39 of 2017 along with the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Regulation as technical guidelines for the implementation of PS which was amended by Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 9 of 2021 on Social Forestry Management. In addition, researchers also investigate social forestry permits/approvals managed by women. The use of the empirical legal research method aims not only to discuss doctrinal normative regulations but also to reveal facts. These facts include the making of laws and regulations in the field of social forestry as well as the role of actors in the policy of granting permits/ approvals for social forestry which have not been well portrayed.

Gender Mainstreaming in Regulations on Social Forestry

Policies to create gender equality in the social forestry sector requires legal rules as a guide for stakeholders in the implementation of granting permits for social forestry (before and after). Theoretically, gender equality is the equality of conditions for men and women to have opportunities and rights as human beings. Gender equality is expected to be able to play a role and participate in the political, economic, socio-cultural, defense, and national security activities, as well as equality in accessing the development outcomes (Sufiarti 2007). Thus, gender equality is a process of receiving and evaluating equally. Some of the main things that can be understood from gender equality (Sufiarti 2007) are: a) Differences between men and women; b) The different roles of men and women in society; c) Difference in biological condition between males and females is basically due to the function of reproduction in women; d) Differences between men and women should be seen as a blessing; e) Gender equality is not synonymous with equality; and f) Gender equality means equality in existence, in empowerment, and participation in all of domestic and public areas.

Those six points become the philosophical and theoretical basis for the formulation of the articles in the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number P.83/MENLHK/SETJEN/KUM.1/10/2016 on Social Forestry and the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number P.39/MENLHK/SETJEN/KUM.1/6/2017 on Social Forestry in the Working Area of Perum Perhutani or better known as Social Forestry in Java and Director General's Derivative Regulations.

Social Forestry is a sustainable forest management system implemented in state forest areas or Private Forests/ Customary Forests carried out by local communities

or customary law communities as the main actors in order to improve welfare, environmental balance, and socio-cultural dynamics. There are five schemes of Social Forestry, namely Village Forest (HD), Community Forest (HKm), Community Plantation Forest (HTR), Customary Forest (HA), and Forestry Partnerships. By definition, HD is an area with no permit and managed by the village nearby for their community's wellbeing. HKm is a forest area which main use is to empower the community. HTR is a plantation forest in a Production Forest built by community groups to increase the potential and quality of Production Forest by implementing a silvicultural system in order to ensure the sustainability of the forest resources. HA is a forest located within the territory of the Customary Law community. Meanwhile, the Forestry Partnership Agreement is a partnership agreement that is given to the holder of a forest utilization business permit or the holder of approval for the use of a forest area with partners/communities to utilize the forest in a Protected Forest area or a Production Forest area.

The permit for social forestry in Java is known as the Social Forestry Forest Utilization Permit (IPHPS). IPHPS is a business in the form of area utilization, utilization of timber forest products in plantation forests, utilization of non-timber forest products in plantation forests, utilization of water, utilization of water energy, utilization of natural tourism services, utilization of natural tourism facilities, utilization of carbon absorption in production and protected forests, utilization of carbon storage, Social Forestry Forest Utilization Permit (IPHPS), and Forestry Partnership Recognition and Protection (Kulin KK). All of these schemes provide equal opportunities for men and women in accessing forest areas which implementation is adjusted to the social and cultural conditions of the community.

Based on the examination of all articles of the SF regulations, both in ministerial regulations and director-general regulations, It can be concluded that 17 regulations have accommodated gender, as in 2 Ministerial regulations and 15 Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership regulations in the following table.

Table 1. List of Gender-Responsive Ministerial Regulations and the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Regulations

	Regulations	Substance of Gender
1	Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number P.83/MENLHK/SETJEN/KUM.1/10/2016 on Social Forestry	CHAPTER I, Part One, Article 1, number 15. "Local Community Group is a group of individuals—women and men—who come from the local community." CHAPTER V, Article 58, number (1), letter h. "Getting fair treatment on the basis of gender or other forms".
2	Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number P.39/MENLHK/SETJEN/KUM.1 /6/2017 on Social Forestry in the Working Area of Perum Perhutani	Chapter II Article 11 paragraphs 3 and 4 Paragraph 3: The head of applicant groups or applicant group members are farmers who do not own land or farmers who own land less than or equal to 0.5 (five-tenths) hectare. "Farmers as referred to in paragraph (3) taking into account the gender perspective."
3	Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number P.1 /PSKL/SET/KUM.1/2/2016 on Procedures for Verification and Validation of Private Forest	CHAPTER I, Second Part, Article 2, paragraph (1). "This regulation is intended to provide guidelines for the implementation of private forest verification and validation in a transparent, participatory, accountable and non-discriminatory manner by providing equal opportunities for men and women".

	Regulations	Substance of Gender
4	Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Regulation Number P.2/PSKL/SET/KUM.1/3/2016 on Community-based Natural Resource Protection and Management of the Environment and Forestry	CHAPTER III, Article 3, paragraph (2). "Community members are individuals—men and women—who have the commitment, concern, and willingness to make efforts to preserve, protect, and manage natural resources."
5	Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Regulation Number P.4/PSKL/SET/PSL.1/4/2016 on Guidelines for Mediation of Forest Area Tenure Conflict	Appendix, Procedure for Implementation of Mediation, II 1. A.2.c.4). b) "The experts/figures/other informants may come from the government (central and regional), scientists, professionals, leaders (religion, customs, society, women, youth, etc.), non-governmental organizations, and others."
6	Regulation of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Number P.5/PSKL/KELING/PSL.3/4/2016 on Procedure for Verification of Kalpataru Award	CHAPTER I, Second Part, Article 2 paragraph (1). "This regulation is intended to provide regulation for the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership concerning procedures for conducting verification of candidates for the Kalpataru award in a transparent, participatory, accountable and non-discriminatory manner by providing equal opportunities for men and women."
7	Regulation of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Number P.6/PSKL/SET / PSL.1/5/2016 on Guidelines for Assessment of Tenure Conflict in Forest Area	Appendix, Guidelines for Assessment of Tenure Conflict in Forest Area, IV.4.1.3.3. "The mechanism for determining representation must be carried out in a participatory and transparent manner by considering vulnerable groups, such as the poor and women" Appendix, Guidelines for Assessment of Tenure Conflicts in Forest Areas, IV.4.2. "Bidding system—highest bid and lowest bid (TanTeTaRa)—are options for resolving tenure conflicts that need to be prepared by the community before entering the negotiating table. These options must be in the form of a mutual agreement and reflect the aspirations of the parties, especially vulnerable groups and women."
8	Regulation of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Number P.11/PSKL/SET/PSL.0/11/2016 on Guidelines for Verification of Applications for Village Forest Management Rights (HPHD)	CHAPTER I, Second Part, Article 2, paragraph (1). "This regulation is intended to provide guidance on procedures for applying and implementing verification of the Village Forest Management Rights HPHD applications in a transparent, participatory, accountable and non-discriminatory manner by providing equal opportunities for men and women."
9	Regulation of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Number P.12/PSKL/SET/PSL.0/11/2016 on Guidelines for Verification of Applications for Business Permit for Utilization of Community Forest Products (IUPHKm)	CHAPTER I, Second Part, Article 2, paragraph (1). "This regulation is intended to provide guidelines regarding procedures for applying and implementing verification of Business Permits for Utilization of Community Forest Products (IUPHKm) applications in a transparent, participatory, accountable, and non-discriminatory manner by providing equal opportunities for men and women."
10	Regulation of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Number P.13/PSKL/SET/PSL.0/11/2016 on Guidelines for Verification of Applications for Timber Utilization License - Community Plantation Forest (IUPHHK-HTR)	CHAPTER I, Second Part, Article 2, paragraph (1). "This regulation is intended to provide guidance on procedures for applying and implementing verification of Timber Utilization License - Community Plantation Forest (IUPHHK-HTR) applications in a transparent, participatory, accountable, and non-discriminatory manner by providing equal opportunities for men and women."

	Regulations	Substance of Gender
11	Regulation of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Number P.14/PSKL/SET/PSL.0/11/2016 on Guidelines for Facilitation, Formation, and Procedures of the Working Group for the Acceleration of Social Forestry (Pokja PPS)	Article 1 paragraph (2). "Facilitation, as referred to in paragraph (1), is carried out through workshops at the center or in the regions which are attended by the parties and are inclusive by promoting gender equality."
12	Regulation of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Number P. 16/PSKL/SET/PSL.0/12/2016 on Guidelines for the Preparation of Village Forest Management Plan, Work Plan for Forest Management and Forest Utilization Timber Products of Community Plantation Forest	CHAPTER I, Second Part, Article 2 paragraph (1). "This regulation is intended to provide guidelines for the preparation of Village Forest Management Plan (RPHD) or Work Plan for Timber Utilization License - Community Forest Plantation (RKU-IUPHHK-HTR) in a transparent, participatory, accountable, and non-discriminatory manner by providing equal opportunities for men and women."
13	Regulation of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Number P.17/PSKL/SET/PSL.0/12/2016 on Guidelines for the Implementation of Community Plantation Forest Activities	CHAPTER I, Second Part, Article 2 paragraph (1). "The regulation is intended to provide guidelines for the implementation of Community Plantation Forest (HTR) activities in a transparent, participatory, accountable, and non-discriminatory manner by providing equal opportunities for men and women."
14	Regulation of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Number P.18/PSKL/SET / PSL.0/12/2016 on Guidelines for Drafting Cooperation Agreement Document (NKK)	CHAPTER 11, Article 2 paragraph (1). "This regulation is intended to provide guidance regarding procedures for the preparation of the Cooperation Agreement Document (NKK) in a transparent, participatory, accountable, and non-discriminatory manner by providing equal opportunities for men and women."
15	Regulation of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Number P.22/PSKL/SET/PSL.3/12/2016 on the Establishment of a Communication Channel for Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership	Article 2 paragraph (1). "This regulation is intended to provide guidelines for implementing the PSKL Communication Channel (Kakom-PKSL) in a transparent, participatory, accountable, and non-discriminatory manner by providing equal opportunities for men and women."
16	Regulation of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Number P.23/PSKL/SET/PSL.3/12/2016 on Guidelines for the Role of Business Actors in the Implementation of Environmental and Forestry Protection and Management	Article 2 paragraph (1). "This regulation is intended to provide guidelines for the implementation of the role of businesses in the protection and management of the environment and forestry in a transparent, participatory, accountable, and transparent manner, and non-discriminatory by providing equal opportunities for men and women." Appendix, III. 6) "Supporting environmental and forestry education facilities, such as audiovisual production and book publishing for use in Early Childhood Education (PAUD)/Kindergarten (TK)/schools/universities."
17	Regulation of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Number P.2/PSKL/SET/KUM.1 /3/2017 on Guidelines for the Development, Control and Evaluation of Social Forestry	CHAPTER I, Second Part, Article 2 paragraph (1). "This regulation is intended to provide guidance for assistance, control, and evaluation in a transparent, participatory, accountable and non-discriminatory manner by providing equal opportunities for men and women."

Source: The Ministry of Environment and Forestry Regulations

Based on Table 1, it can be seen that the regulations within the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership have accommodated gender by providing equal opportunities in granting approval for Social Forestry from pre-permission and post-permit. The permit includes the preparation of a business work plan as well as in activities in the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership, such as facilitating a conflict situation, awarding Kalpataru, coaching activities, control, and evaluation of SF. Although the regulations in the two Ministerial Regulations only consist of 3 articles, technically they have been translated into 16 Directorate General Regulations as guidelines of Social Forestry implementation.

After the enactment of Law Number 11 of 2020 on Job Creation, Social Forestry has a strong legal standing as regulated in Article 29 A and Article 29 B. It strengthens the position of Social Forestry compared to Law Number 41 of 1999 on Forestry. This strengthening is clearly regulated in the Job Creation Act on the material on Social Forestry. It is different from Law Number 41 of 1999 which implicitly regulates social forestry. Further arrangements are regulated in Government Regulation Number 23 of 2021 on the Implementation of Forestry and Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry on Social Forestry Management.

The process of drafting the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 9 of 2021 involved related parties through two public consultations by inviting parties consisting of central/regional governments, academics, NGOs, SF activists, international institutions, and community leaders. In particular, the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership held a hybrid public consultation on 19 March 2021 which was attended by approximately 500 participants, including representatives of SF female activists who either represented organizations or individuals who were concerned about gender issues in Social Forestry. All inputs from participants were mapped based on the material in the Draft of Ministerial Regulation on Social Forestry as material for improving the draft.

Based on the mapping of the public communications results, many participants conveyed the importance of explicit gender regulation in the Ministerial Regulation draft. The inputs are summarized in 4 important points, they are: 1) Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 83 of 2016 has not accommodated gender from upstream to the end of the social forestry program since before and after the permit in detail; 2) The role of women is only processed at the end— in

business management—but is not involved from the initial planning and in institutional management and regional management; 3) The previous provision which stipulates that the SF permit is required for the Head of the Family causes the ownership of the social forestry permit to be gender-biased; and 4) Constraints on social forestry requirements in the form of Family Cards and Identity Cards which are usually dominated by men who are generally the heads of families.

The above inputs affect the content of the Ministerial Regulation in accommodating gender issues, both at the application process stage and the post-approval stage for social forestry management. They prompted changes to regulations. Thus, the Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry Number 83 of 2016 has 2 articles that regulate gender, amended by the Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry Number 9 of 2021 with the addition of 7 articles.

In general, the content of gender material in the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 9 of 2021 is as follows:

1. Beneficiaries of Village Forests (HD) are provided with the condition that one family is represented by one person by providing equal opportunities for men and women (Article 10).
2. Group members who can be granted Social Forestry Approval are granted with the condition that one family is represented by one person by providing equal opportunities for men and women (Article 21).
3. Criteria for applicants for the Community Plantation Forest (HTR) approval include one family being represented by one person by providing equal opportunities, both men and women (Article 33).
4. Partners in forestry partnership agreements are granted with the condition that one family is represented by one person by providing equal opportunities for both men and women (Article 44).
5. Rights of HD, HKm, and HTR approval holders to receive fair treatment based on gender and other forms (Article 90).
6. Formulation of the Social Forestry Work Plan (RKPS) and Annual Work Plan (RKT) (Article 107).
7. Evaluation of Social Forestry management activities covers various aspects, one of which is the social aspect; gender equality and representation of women's groups (Article 189).

The seven points can be seen as a breakthrough for the existence of gender issues in every decision. Article 10 paragraph (5) of the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 9 of 2021 stipulates that village forest beneficiaries are given the following provision: one family is represented by one person by providing equal opportunities, both men and women. This is an advancement in that village forest beneficiaries get equal opportunities regardless of gender.

Regarding community forest approval, Article 21 provides opportunities for group members; one family is represented by one person by providing equal opportunities to men and women. Article 33 for the approval of community plantation forest states that one family is also given equal opportunities, both men and women. The forestry partnership scheme also provides opportunities for men and women who are represented by one family head to partner with the holders of forestry permits and forest product utilization permits.

The provisions of Article 90 letter h, holders of the Village Forest (HD), Community Forest (HKm), and Community Plantation Forest (HTR) management approvals, are entitled to fair treatment on the basis of gender or other forms. With the provisions of this article, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry provides equal opportunities for men and women in applying for social forestry approval. The same thing applies to the aspects of obligations and prohibitions against holders of social forestry approvals.

Furthermore, the urgency of gender (equality) is regulated in Article 107 which contains material on the preparation of a social forestry work plan for a period of 10 years and an annual work plan for a period of one year. The matters regulated in the work plan include a. Institutional strengthening; b. Forest management includes: 1) Structuring the area; 2) Forest Utilization; 3) Forest rehabilitation; and 4) Forest protection and security; c. Entrepreneurship development; and d. Monitoring and evaluation. In addition, the technical aspects of forestry and business development work plans are prepared by taking into account local wisdom, forest potential, market opportunities, and aspects of gender mainstreaming.

After the stage of preparing the social forestry work plan, the regulation on gender is contained in Article 189 on evaluation. Evaluation of Social Forestry Management activities which include the following aspects: a. Administration; b. Ecology; c. Social; and d. Economy. These social aspects include a. Increasing members'

income and welfare; b. Strengthening accountable and transparent institutions; c. Changes in the behavior of the management and members; d. Conflict resolution; e. Gender equality; f. Representation of the parties, especially groups of women, youth, and marginalized groups; g. Contribution of the permit holders to the surrounding village/community; h. Stakeholders' support for the implementation of Social Forestry; and i. Innovative activities in Social Forestry Management.

The added provisions of the article that regulates gender in the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 9 of 2021 is a tangible form of implementing gender mainstreaming thoroughly from upstream to downstream from the approval stage to business development and evaluation of the environment and forestry sector. At the practical level, this is a form of evaluation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 83 of 2016 which has not optimally regulated substance of gender.

Gender-Responsive Policy Implementation

The success of gender mainstreaming requires seven prerequisites, namely commitment, policies, institution, resources, disaggregated data, analytical tools, and community participation. The commitment of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership has been demonstrated by the support of policies that have included gender material in the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 9 of 2021 and previous Ministerial Regulations and Directorate General Regulations. The implementation of gender mainstreaming policies as policy implementation is contained in policy documents, namely planning documents and budget documents.

The planning document of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership has included gender issues contained in the Strategic Plan (Renstra) of the Directorate General of PSKL for the 2020-2024 period, the Strategic Plan for five technical directorates within the scope of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership, Strategic Plan of 5 Centers for Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership (BPSKL). The budget document containing the Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP) and Gender Budget Statement (GBS) documents from 2016-2012 and the 2021 Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership work plan that has been designed has seven outputs related to gender responsiveness (PSKL 2021).

Institution to support Gender Mainstreaming has been established by the Gender Mainstreaming Working Group of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership through the Decree of the Director General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Decree No.28/PSKL/ SET/OTL/12/2017, gender facilitator in the Decree of Secretary to the Director General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership (Setditjen PSKL) No. ST.04/ PSKL-SET/KOTL/OTL.0/12/2019, and the determination of the Gender Mainstreaming Working Group at 5 Centers for Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership (BPSKL). The allocation of resources has been carried out through GRPB training for 32 people appointed through the Secretariat General's Assignment Letter Number ST.1/PSKL/SET/KOTL/OTL.0/1/2020. The GRPB training and mentoring facilitator for four people is determined through the Secretariat General's Assignment Letter Number ST.4/PSKL-SET/KOTL/OTL.0/12/2019 to determine the gender champion. A total of 3 (three) people were assigned to provide input related to gender mainstreaming was determined through the Letter of Assignment of the Secretary to the Director General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership No. ST.2/PSKL-SET/KOTL/OTL.0/1/2020. The budget was allocated to facilitate gender mainstreaming activities in 2020 through the State Budget sourced from foreign grants amounting to IDR 1,534,960,000.00. In 2021, the Gender Responsive Budget (ARG) has been allocated at 43.67% (147.8 billion), and consists of the following outputs: 1) Recommendations for Preparing Access to Manage Social Forestry in HD, HKm, KK, IPHPS Schemes; 2) Social Forestry Management Permit in HD, HKm, KK, IPHPS Schemes; 3) Ratified Work Plan/management of Social Forestry groups; 4) Social Forestry Business Group (KUPS) upgraded to gold/platinum class or level; Facilities and infrastructure for increasing the added value of forest products and environmental services; and 6) Social Forestry Assistance Personnel.

To provide a direction for accelerating the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership, Decree Number SK.9/PSKL/SET/KEU.0/2/2021 on the gender mainstreaming action plan of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry was issued. The establishment of an action plan aims to accelerate gender mainstreaming by encouraging, streamlining, and optimizing efforts in the field of social forestry and environmental partnerships. In the previous year, an Action Plan was made through Decree Number

SK.9/PSKL/SET/OTL.0/4/2020 dated April 1, 2020, on the Action Plan for Gender Mainstreaming of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership. There are several objectives of this decree: 1) To integrate a gender perspective in national planning, both Strategic Plan and Work Plan; 2) To increase the understanding and commitment to gender mainstreaming in planning and budgeting; 3) To know whether there is a gender bias in each activity within the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership. 4) To arrange a series of activities in the context of accelerating the implementation of gender mainstreaming; 5) To improve the capacity of planners in preparing gender-based budgets and ensure that there is a gender-based budget allocation; 6) To ensure that gender-based budgeting is included in the planning application; 7) To obtain information of the conditions, needs, problems faced by women and men related to access, participation, control, and benefits in the development of Social Forestry so as to facilitate the planning and budgeting process of gender responsive development programs and activities; 8) To encourage a social forestry group management system that applies the principles of gender equality so that the existence of SF can provide fair benefits to all community groups, including women, men, persons with disabilities, and other vulnerable groups; 9) To support the implementation of infrastructure development within the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership that is gender-responsive and as a means of supporting the improvement of work productivity for the elements involved in it; 10) To provide an overview of the implementation of SF activities in terms of gender mainstreaming aspects; 11) To encourage and improve the knowledge of the facilitators of POKJA PPS (Working Group for the Acceleration of Social Forestry) related to the concept of gender mainstreaming in the Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership field; 12) To provide innovation in providing tools or facilities and infrastructure that are gender responsive to support cultivation, harvesting, product processing, and marketing purposes to support Social Forestry Business Group (KUPS); 13) To develop informative and communicative methods for disseminating GM information; 14) To help the process of fetal growth and development in the mother's womb; 15) To develop informative and communicative methods for disseminating GM information; 16) To encourage the understanding of employees within the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership.

The Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership already has disaggregated data of its total employees and its activities which include

data on granting access to Social Forestry, Kalpataru award, appreciation for Social Forest leaders, Wana Lestari award, and environment-based community (Communication Channel). Evidence of acknowledgment of women's involvement can be seen from the number of Kalpataru awardees. As of 2021, there were 360 awardees—38 of which were female awardees (10%). For the appreciation of social forestry leaders, 12% of which were women. The percentage of Wana Lestari female awardees was 34%. And environment community members, 23% of which were women (PSKL 2011). The awardees are not indicated by number, but by the representation of women who provide an equal opportunity or access. The form of the award is given based on the results of the selection which includes certain criteria and indicators. This process indicates there have opportunities and recognition for women.

At the site level, it is necessary to strengthen all parties involved in Social Forestry; local governments, academics, supporting institutions, and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) regarding the need for gender mainstreaming, so that indications of the successful implementation of gender-responsive policies are not only written programs but are implemented comprehensively and sustainably. Inter-institutional communication will ensure that the implementation of the policy is well addressed.

To accommodate the parties of the social forestry program, the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership established a Working Group for the Acceleration of Social Forestry which aims to accelerate the achievement of social forestry targets. The establishment of the Working Group for the Acceleration of Social Forestry (Pokja PPS) is stipulated in SK.33/PSKL/SET/PSL0/5/2016 on the establishment of Pokja PPS. The Pokja PPS provides assistance to the community in the process of submitting and issuing social forestry rights/permits which includes the process of preparing documents and submitting proposals as well as the process of technical verification. In addition, Pokja PPS also conducts socialization on gender issues so that women and men have equal opportunities to obtain social forestry permits. In terms of membership, 35% of the members are women, most of whom are figures who understand gender issues and the need to increase women's roles in social forestry management. The reason for choosing these female figures is because they have been concerned with gender issues and have worked at the site level by socializing the role of women in social forestry. Pokja PS membership is revised every

year with the last membership changed to TP3PS (Team for the Acceleration of Social Forestry Management) through Decree No. 52/PSKL/PKPS/PSL0/12/2021 by paying attention to the representation of woman movers of social forestry who understand the gender issues in Social Forestry whose percentage is 36.36%.

Based on the explanation above, it is known that the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership has carried out gender mainstreaming in all activities that have been formulated in the rules and policy documents as well as implemented at the site level. Policy implementation is carried out through a democratic decision-making mechanism by involving the relevant parties, with due regard to the representation of women, inclusiveness, non-discrimination, and opportunities for all parties to opine (PSKL 2021). Regarding the gender mainstreaming, there have been workshops and socialization on gender mainstreaming, training of social forestry assistance, as well as verification that prioritizes women's representation, providing assistance with productive economic tools, establishing communication channels, Kalpataru Award, and an information system for facilities and infrastructure that prioritize people with disabilities. The accomplishments that have been achieved because of this program has made the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership receive the Gender Mainstreaming award within the Ministry of LHK twice; for the main category (2020) and the innovation category (2021).

The Granting of Gender-responsive Social Forestry Permits

Gender responsive social forestry agreements do not only aim to balance opportunities for women in accessing and managing forest areas. Rather, the participation of women in social forestry has various positive impacts. When women manage forests well, it will increase their families' resilience because women become economically independent. Thus, the social forestry program as one of the visions of President Joko Widodo's Nawacita is able to have a positive impact on society, especially women. The achievement of social forestry as of December 2021 was recorded at 4,901,778, 64 hectares consisting of 7,477 decree units and involving approximately 1,049,215 families (PSKL, 2021) from the target of 12.7 million hectares.

To further optimize the achievement of social forestry, the government held a coordination meeting between ministries and institutions led by the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime & Investment Affairs on 30 September 2020.

One of the results of the meeting in point 1 shows that social forestry is one of the National Strategic Programs (PSN) based on Presidential Regulation Number 56 of 2018 on the Second Amendment to Presidential Regulation Number 3 of 2016 on Acceleration of Implementation of National Strategic Projects (Appendix Number 227 related to the Economic Equality Policy Program). Furthermore, the results of meeting point 4 stated that the Ministry of Environment and Forestry will immediately prepare a National Action Plan roadmap for Accelerating Access to Social Forestry Programs and Improving Social Forestry Business Group (KUPS) Performance.

Furthermore, in a limited cabinet meeting held on 3 November 2020, President Jokowi conveyed two directions for community economic empowerment based on Social Forestry. The two directions include the Acceleration of Access to Social Forestry Programs and Improving the Performance of KUPS which will receive support from ministries and government agencies under the coordination of the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime & Investment Affairs.

In addition to efforts to accelerate social forestry achievements through policies, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry also provides great opportunities for women to manage forest areas. Data on social forestry achievements in October 2021 with a distribution area of 4,733,5980.15 hectares consisted of 7,228 decree units and approximately 1,034,296 families. There were 897,976 men and 136,320 women, and around 13.18% were beneficiaries (PSKL 2021). The number of women who received SF decree increased after being accommodated by the gender-responsive article in the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 9 of 2021 which was declared on 1 April 2021. Based on data from 98 Decrees on Community Forest issued in 2021, there were 6,942 Decrees recipients (the family heads), 2,259 of which were women (32.54%) (PSKL 2021).

KLHK has accommodated gender in social forestry permits/approvals and documented some success stories of social forestry management that have been carried out by women. The two villages, namely Katimpun Village and Damaran Village, successfully showed the criteria for successful implementation of gender-responsive policies based on the number of women's involvement in policymaking, program management, and utilization of management results.

The Katimpun Village Forest Management Institution

The Katimpun Village Forest Management Institution received a permit from the Minister of Environment and Forestry in accordance with Decree Number SK.212/Menhut-II/2014 on the Determination of the Katimpun Village Forest Work Area, covering an area of $\pm 3,230$ hectares in a protected forest area in Mantangai District, Kapuas Regency, Central Kalimantan. This village forest management institution has 3 (three) Social Forestry Business Groups, namely: (1) "Harapan Jadi" (fishery); (2) "Sari Madu Lebah" (honey bee farming); and (3) "Dare Jawet Katimpun" (rattan craft).

Of the 3 (three) Social Forestry Business Groups (KUPS), Dare Jawet Katimpun is an all-female business with the following formation: Rusida as a chair, Minarti as a secretary, and Rustina as a treasurer. The members Jare Dawet are married women and old widows. They weave uwei (Dayak Ngaju's language for "rattan") which has been carried out for generations in Katimpun Village. This is a prerequisite for women when they want to get married, they must be able to weave rattan.

The name of "Jare dawet" reflects the efforts and focus of the SF Business Unit. Dare means motif while jawet means woven. The woven crafts they create are bags in various shapes and sizes with various traditional motifs. The traditional motifs have been taught from generation to generation by the *tambi* great-grandmothers to the Katimpun women (Dewi 2020).

The rattan (raw material) comes from rattan seeds that are planted and grown by the community. They grow rattan and protect trees at the same time, because rattan needs trees to grow. The woven rattan has several motifs, namely *matan andau* (sun), *mata bilis* (eyes of anchovies), *mata saluang* (eyes of saluang), *siku kalawet* (a type of endemic monkey in Central Kalimantan), *tunjang palara* (taproot of palara wood), *mata punai* (eyes of green pigeon) and *upak pusu* (areca peel). All of these traditional motifs are symbols of the closeness of the Dayak tribe in Katimpun to nature (Dewi 2020).

The handicrafts they produce are bags in various models and sizes. With these products, they have been able to penetrate regional and international markets. Every month, they send 1,000 bags of various models and sizes to Bali. They also ship about 1,000 bags to Osaka, Japan. This sale was suspended due to the Covid-19 pandemic. To overcome it, from October to December 2020, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry launched the National Economic Recovery (PEN) program to

support the agroforestry development of social forestry business groups in Central Kalimantan through donations of creative production tools and initial capital.

This program began with training to increase the capacity of forest farmer groups and social forestry groups in business management on 6-9 October 2020. There are 80 Social Forestry Business Groups participating in training that was conducted by using the blended learning method—online training and practice in the field. Of the 43 members of Dare Jawet, 21 members attended the training. With this training, Dare Jawet members received new knowledge of improving product quality. This training was also supported by productive economic assistance from the National Economic Recovery Program.

From the utilization of non-rattan forest products carried out by LPHD members, Katimpun is able to increase women's income, thus, it has a greater impact on women's independence and also preserves the culture of the village community.

The Damaran Village Forest Management Institution

The Damaran Village Forest Management Institution (LPHK) located in Damaran Baru Village, Timang Gajah Subdistrict, Bener Meriah Regency has obtained a permit to manage protected forest areas through the village forest scheme. This is based on Decree Number SK.9343/MENLHK-PSKL/PKPS/PSL.0/11/2019 which grants a management permit for an area of 251 hectares. The management of the village forest in Damaran was initiated due to the flood caused by illegal logging in the buffer zone of the Leuser Ecosystem Area. The management of the Damaran Village Forest Management Institution is 100% managed by women, while the members consist of men and women (PSKL 2021).

Women's participation in managing this protected forest area was initiated by a female figure named Rubama. She is active in Yayasan Hutan Alam dan Lingkungan Aceh (HAKA) — Forest, Nature, and Environment of Aceh to empower women as the main actors in village forest management. Furthermore, she established Community Patrol Team: Women ranger/Mpu Uteun. The main role of the community is to keep the forests on Mount Burni Telong, especially around the Wih Gile River, from being damaged. (Widianto 2021).

In addition to protecting the forest from illegal logging activities, the Damaran Village Institution carries out coffee farming activities that aim to improve the welfare of rural communities. Also, there are women who

initiate ecotourism. The ecotourism facilities consist of parking areas, meeting halls, cafeterias, jungle tracking, public restrooms, souvenir stalls, prayer rooms, outbound activities, photo spots, and food courts.

There are two benefits that women who preserve the forest get. First, the Damaran Village environment is no longer a flood-prone area due to a decline in illegal logging and an increase in preserving biodiversity. Second, in the economic aspect, the community will benefit from the development of ecotourism and the use of waste recycling. This trend shows a positive impact on involving women in environmental management.

Conclusion

The Ministry of Environment and Forestry has integrated gender issues in the content of the Minister of Environment Regulation which regulates Social Forestry. Based on this study, there are already 17 regulations that regulate gender concept in one regulation consisting of 1-2 articles before the Job Creation Law Number 11 of 2021. The Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 83 of 2016 on Social Forestry contains only 2 articles, while in the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 9 of 2021 on Social Forestry Management, there are 7 articles that regulate gender responsiveness in Social Forestry Management. The implementation of the policy has been made in planning documents and budgeting documents as well as implementation at a level that is supported by various parties. The competition activities held by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry and the involvement of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership in the competition activities show the seriousness of the institution in prioritizing gender-responsive issues in policy formulation and implementation.

The added articles that regulate gender are the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership's affirmative policy towards women and their understanding of the need for women to be given permission to manage forest areas. Furthermore, with the addition of gender-responsive articles, there is a legal guarantee and legal certainty for women.

The granting of social forestry permit/approval has paid attention to women. Based on the examples presented in the discussion, the two Social Forestry Business Groups report that women have played a big role in the utilization of forests. It shows that women are able to manage forest areas independently without

depending on other parties. In addition, the utilization of forest areas by women is able to improve the family economy and women's independence, that will lead to national resilience.

Based on the records and processes in generating policies and programs for gender mainstreaming, there is a lesson learned regarding the issue of women's participation at the decision-making level and implementation level. There is still a long way to go and good practices to be implemented institutionally (within the Ministry of Environment and Forestry) and in the community. The main problem is the transformative change in behavior and mindset that tends to discriminate against women due to stereotypes in society. Therefore, special attention to social forestry policies and programs should focus more on efforts to ensure the active participation of women and an equal share of the benefits of forest management. To do so, inter-institutional communication and cooperation are needed, so that the management of policies and programs prioritize the needs of the community, including women.

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Women's Participation in Food Agroforestry in Central Kalimantan: Challenges and Obstacles

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Abstract

Food Agroforestry is one element of the National Economic Recovery Program, which aims to counter the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic by protecting the economy and promoting food security. The agroforestry program targets Social Forestry Business groups with forest utilization activities. Support is provided in the form of productive economic tools and food agroforestry assistance. This paper examines the involvement of women in food agroforestry activities. The research applies the descriptive approach for secondary data related to food agroforestry activities and interviews with female leaders who are involved in forest management activities and group business development. The results of the analysis show that food agroforestry activities provide economic, ecological, and social benefits for the community. Further, these activities provide access for women to be involved in forest management and utilization, and to support food security and family economies.

Keywords: women's groups, agroforestry, food business management, community economic improvement

Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic has had an impact on the Indonesian economy, including its food security. The Government, through Government Regulation No. 23 of 2020 on the National Recovery Program for Handling the Covid-19 Pandemic, has launched the National Economic Recovery (PEN) program, which is implemented by several ministries/agencies. The main objective of the PEN program is to protect, maintain, and improve the economic capacity of business actors.

The PEN program within the Ministry of Environment and Forestry aims to restore the national economy for forest productivity and a prosperous environment for the people. The activities include: 1) Labour-intensive mangrove planting; 2) Food security (agroforestry); 3) Support for waste productive business; and 4) Labour-intensive support for conservation tourism.

Social Forestry is a national priority program that provides legal access to the community to use forest areas. There are a number of schemes: Community Forests (*Hutan Kemasyarakatan, HKm*); Community Plantation Forests (*Hutan Tanaman Rakyat, HTR*); Village Forest (*Hutan Desa, HD*); Customary Forests (*Hutan Adat, HA*); and forestry partnership for sustainable forest

management and community welfare. According to the data of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership, the area of Social Forestry as of the end of 2021 has reached 4.901.778,64 hectares. In addition, as many as 7.477 decrees (*Surat Keputusan, SK*) have been issued by the government and involved 1.049.215 heads of families (*Kepala Keluarga, KK*). From the program's land area, 8.136 Social Forestry Business Groups (*Kelompok Usaha Perhutanan Sosial, KUPS*) have been established.

The utilisation of forest areas by KUPS uses an agroforestry system developed to provide benefits to human beings or improve community welfare. Agroforestry is primarily expected to help optimise the outcomes of land use in a sustainable manner to ensure and improve food supplies (Mayrowani & Ashari 2011). The business activities of forest utilisation by KUPS with an agroforestry system become the targets of the National Economic Recovery program to support food security.

In 2020, Food Agroforestry activities in Central Kalimantan targeted 33 Social Forestry areas in Pulang Pisau Regency with a total area of 58.848 hectares and in Kapuas Regency with an area of 45.224 hectares.

These activities targeted the management right holders of Village Forest, Community Forest, Community Plantation Forest, and Customary Forest. The recipients of these activities included 80 KUPS,¹ which consisted of 70 KUPS in Pulang Pisau Regency and 10 KUPS in Kapuas Regency. In 2021, these activities involved 20 KUPS, namely 14 KUPS in Pulang Pisau Regency and 6 KUPS in Kapuas Regency. Business activities in the Social Forestry areas were developed using agroforestry, silvopostura, and silvofishery systems. Each KUPS carried out Food Agroforestry activities with Food Agroforestry development assistance amounted to Rp100.000.000,00. Fifty percent of the assistance were in the form of wages and productive economic tools provided as leverage and a value add to on-farm and off-farm activities.² In addition, KUPS also received assistance for capacity and institutional strengthening.

These Food Agroforestry activities involve both men and women. The involvement of women in the executive committee of forest management and their effective participation in decision-making can improve forest governance and resource sustainability (CIFOR 2013). This is reinforced by (Puspitawati & Fahmi 2018) that the division of roles in an organization is needed to accommodate human expertise or specialisation that can complement each other in carrying out tasks to achieve a common goal. Furthermore, (Puspitawati & Fahmi 2018) also state that a stronger and more cohesive group of women, both in terms of organization and productivity, will increase the amount of agricultural production so that it can significantly benefit regional economic progress.

This research aims to explain that Food Agroforestry activities in Pulang Pisau and Kapuas regencies in Central Kalimantan provide benefits to women who are involved economically, socially, and ecologically. In addition, this research also reveals the involvement of women in Social Forestry through Food Agroforestry activities.

Research Methodology

This research was conducted in Pulang Pisau Regency and Kapuas Regency in Central Kalimantan Province. Data collection was done through the analysis of data and documents related to the research objectives. The data used in the research were from interviews and literature studies. Researchers conducted in-depth interviews with 2 women: the Head of Social Forestry Business Group and the Head of Kalimantan Regional Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Centre. The two

interviewees are important figures and actors in the implementation of Food Agroforestry activities in Central Kalimantan. Furthermore, the literature study used in the research included data related to agroforestry, peatland management, and women's participation in forest management. The data in this research were analysed using gender perspective. The researchers used Longwe's empowerment framework in order to describe the real conditions and the impact of women's participation in Food Agroforestry activities.

Food Agroforestry in Central Kalimantan

Agroforestry is an agricultural system where trees are planted in the same plots together with one or more types of seasonal crops. Trees can be planted as fences around the plots of food crops, randomly inside the plots, or in other systems, for example, lining the trees up in an array to form an alley/fence (DLHK Banten 2019). Food agroforestry is part of the National Economic Recovery Program within the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. Food protection for the community through Food Agroforestry activities has a main target, namely social capacity and land infrastructure for food.

The legal basis for the implementation of the National Economic Recovery program and Food Agroforestry activities in Pulang Pisau Regency, Central Kalimantan Province includes: 1) Government Regulation No. 71 of 2014 on the Protection and Management of Peat Ecosystems; 2) Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. P.83/MENLHK/SETJEN/KUM.1/10/2016 on Social Forestry (State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia of 2016 No. 1663); 3) Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. P.10/MENLHK/SETJEN/KUM.1/3/2019 on the Determination, Confirmation, and Management of Hydrological Unit-based Peat Dome Peaks; 4) Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. P.16/MENLHK/SETJEN/KUM.1/2/2017 on the Technical Guidelines for the Restoration of Peat Ecosystem Functions; and 5) Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. P.37/MENLHK/SETJEN/KUM.1/7/2019 on Social Forestry in Peat Ecosystems, which is a regulation related to Social Forestry activities in peat ecosystems.

The location of Food Agroforestry in Central Kalimantan Province is the location of Social Forestry with a potential area of 58.848 hectares in Pulang Pisau Regency and 45.224 hectares in Kapuas Regency. In Pulang Pisau Regency, there are 33 Decrees on Social Forestry and 24 Decrees in Kapuas Regency with details per sub-district as follows.

Table 1. Number of Social Forestry Decrees in Pulang Pisau Regency and Kapuas Regency

Pulang Pisau Regency			Kapuas Regency		
Scheme	District	Number of Decree	Scheme	District	Number of Decree
HD	Kahayan Hilir	4 Decrees	HD	Timpah	1 Decree
HD	Kahayan Tengah	13 Decrees	HD	Mantangai	3 Decrees
HD	Banama Tingang	3 Decrees	HD	Mandau Talawang	3 Decrees
HD	Panman Tingang	1 Decree	HD	Dadahup	1 Decree
HD	Sebangau Kuala	2 Decrees	HD	Kapuas Tengah	1 Decree
HD	Jabiren Raya	2 Decrees	HKm	Kapuas Hulu	2 Decrees
HKm	Kahayan Tengah	1 Decree	HKm	Mandau Talawang	2 Decrees
HKm	Banama Tingang	1 Decree	HKm	Mantangai	3 Decrees
HTR	Pandih Batu	2 Decrees	HKm	Pasak Talawang	1 Decree
HTR	Kahayan Hilir	2 Decrees	HTR	Kapuas Hulu	2 Decrees
HTR	Maliku	1 Decree	HTR	Mandau Talawang	3 Decrees
HA	Jabiren Raya	1 Decree	HTR	Mantangai	2 Decrees

Source: Directorate General of PSKL (2020)

The main target of Food Agroforestry development is 80 Social Forestry Business Groups (KUPS), namely 70 KUPS in Pulang Pisau Regency and 10 KUPS in Kapuas Regency. KUPS of the Social Forestry Group consists of: 1) Village Forest Management Right Holders; 2) Community Forest Holders; 3) Community Plantation Forest Holders; and 4) Customary Forest holders. During the preparation for the Food Agroforestry activities, there were 65 KUPS, and 5 of them had managed agroforestry. All formed KUPS use agroforestry system with silvofishery and silvopostura development systems, which are adapted to the conditions and commodities selected.

The location of Food Agroforestry activities in Central Kalimantan Province is mostly peat so it is necessary to consider peatland management guidelines. The concept of Food Agroforestry uses local community-based agriculture and is friendly to peat ecology with a system developed in this area, namely agroforestry, silvofishery, and silvopasture. The implementation of Food Agroforestry is determined by the condition of the coverage (*tutupan*) and the presence or absence of canals.

Cultivation of food crops on peatlands uses an adaptive species selection strategy. This strategy uses peat ecosystems and land preparation without burning and provides production facilities/buildings (seeds, fertilizers, and treatments) and agricultural tools to Social Forestry farmer groups. In addition, there is technical guidance assistance for cultivation on peatlands through agroforestry by ministries/agencies, such as the Ministry

of Agriculture, the Forestry Service, and the Agriculture Service at the provincial or district/city level.

Land use preparation on peat needs to pay attention to the hydrological arrangement of peat. Hydrologically, clearing peatlands without burning gives time for improvement in the hydrological arrangement of peat by *rewetting* and *revegetation*. Socially, in peat restoration, a distinctive and unique social approach is required (Gunawan et al. 2020). The utilisation of social forestry peat ecosystem for food security includes cultivation functions, namely the cultivation of mushrooms, bees, and swallows' nests; the cultivation of fish in *beje*, ponds, net cages (*keramba*), canal partitions; the utilisation/harvesting of sago; and the utilisation/harvesting of fruit or seeds, honey, and tubers. In addition, the use of protection functions, including the cultivation of mushrooms, bees, and swallows' nests as well as the use of life-support plants (*tanaman kehidupan*) for food supplies with varieties that are adaptive to the protective function of the peat ecosystem.

Meanwhile, the principles of utilisation of peat ecosystem areas that are applied to the cultivation function of Social Forestry are: 1) In accordance with the Peat Ecosystem Protection and Management Plan (*Rencana Perlindungan dan Pengelolaan Ekosistem Gambut, RPPEG*); 2) Not reducing, changing, or eliminating its main function as limited tillage; 3) Not causing negative impacts on biophysical and socio-economic aspects; 4) Not using mechanical equipment and heavy equipment and not building facilities and infrastructures

that change the landscape; and 5) Implementing a mixed cropping system of agroforestry and/or agrosilvofishery.

The use of forest areas by KUPS for Food Agroforestry activities in 2020 varied according to the conditions and needs of the community. From several types of

businesses carried out by KUPS, it could be seen that honey bees farming business type dominated (22%). Meanwhile, woody plants and agroforestry (about 13%) and mushroom cultivation as well as medicinal plants and ornamental plants or orchids were around 11.25%.

Table 2. KUPS Business Types in Food Agroforestry

No	KUPS Business	Number of KUPS	Percentage (%)
1.	Agroforestry	11	13,75
2.	Ecotourism	6	7,5
3.	Medicinal plants, mushrooms, orchids	9	11,25
4.	Environmental services	4	5
5.	Rattan crafts	8	10
6.	Honey bees farming	18	22,5
7.	Silvofishery and fishery	8	10
8.	Woody plants	11	13,75
9.	Silvopasture	4	5
10.	Propagation	1	1,25

Source: Processed from the data from the Directorate General of PSKL (2020)

The activities of 80 KUPS to support the provision of food from social forestry areas through forest cultivation are carried out using an agroforestry system. This system is a combination of woody plants in the form of forage, honey bees, silvofishery in the form of woody plants, such as shrimp or fish, and upland rice. These Food

Agroforestry activities provide benefits in optimising forest areas. This optimisation is expected to be able to support commodity centres that can be marketed to improve the economy. The data of the 80 KUPS can be found in Table 3.

Table 3. List of 80 KUPS in Food Agroforestry in 2020

No	SF Scheme	KUPS Name	Regency	Number of KUPS Members	Female	Male
1.	HPHD	KUPS Agroforestry -LPHD Tambak	Pulang Pisau	16	6	10
2.	HPHD	KUPS Ecotourism -LPHD Tambak	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
3.	HPHD	KUPS Crafts - LPHD Tambak	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
4.	HPHD	KUPS Medicinal Plants - LPHD Tambak	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
5.	HPHD	KUPS Honey Bees Farming - LPHD Tambak	Pulang Pisau	16	6	10
6.	HPHD	KUPS Agroforestry -LPHD Tumbang Tarusan	Pulang Pisau	18	6	12
7.	HPHD	KUPS Bahalap Orchids - LPHD Tumbang Tarusan	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
8.	HPHD	KUPS Mushrooms Cultivation - LPHD Tumbang Tarusan	Pulang Pisau	16	6	10
9.	HPHD	KUPS Ecotourism and Environmental Services - LPHD Tumbang Tarusan	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
10.	HPHD	KUPS Woody Plants -LPHD Tumbang Tarusan	Pulang Pisau	15	6	9

No	SF Scheme	KUPS Name	Regency	Number of KUPS Members	Female	Male
11.	HPHD	KUPS Rattan Crafts - LPHD Tumbang Tarusan	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
12.	HPHD	KUPS Honey Bees - LPHD Tumbang Tarusan	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
13.	HPHD	KUPS Kelulut Bawan Honey - LPHD Bawan	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
14.	HPHD	KUPS Environmental Services - LPHD Bawan	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
15.	HPHD	KUPS Langanen Bersinar Agroforestry - LPHD Bawan	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
16.	HPHD	KUPS Bawan Silvofishery - LPHD Bawan	Pulang Pisau	17	6	11
17.	HPHD	KUPS Honey and Mushroom Cultivation - LPHD Tangkahan	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
18.	HPHD	KUPS Agroforestry - LPHD Tangkahan	Pulang Pisau	15	6	9
19.	HPHD	KUPS Inland Fishing – LPHD Tangkahan	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
20.	HPHD	KUPS Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFP) - LPHD Tangkahan	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
21.	HPHD	KUPS Ecotourism - LPHD Tangkahan	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
22.	HPHD	KUPS Fishery – LPHD Kalawa	Pulang Pisau	18	6	12
23.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Oyster Mushrooms – Gapoktan HTR Sengon	Pulang Pisau	21	7	14
24.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Sengon – Gapoktan HTR Sengon	Pulang Pisau	199	70	129
25.	HPHD	KUPS Honey – LPHD Buntoi	Pulang Pisau	19	7	12
26.	HPHD	KUPS Propagation – LPHD Buntoi	Pulang Pisau	17	6	11
27.	HPHD	KUPS Fishery – LPHD Buntoi	Pulang Pisau	18	6	12
28.	HPHD	KUPS Rattan - LPHD Buntoi	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
29.	HPHD	KUPS Ecotourism - LPHD Buntoi	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
30.	HPHD	KUPS Rubber - LPHD Buntoi	Pulang Pisau	17	6	11
31.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Buntoi Harapan NTFP – IUPHHKHTR Gapoktan Forest – Buntoi Village	Pulang Pisau	18	6	12
32.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Sengon Bersama - IUPHHKHTR Gapoktan Forest – Buntoi Village	Pulang Pisau	177	63	114
33.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Agroforestry - IUPHHKHTR Gapoktan Forest – Buntoi Village	Pulang Pisau	75	26	49
34.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Rattan Crafts – IUPHHKHTR Gapoktan Forest – Buntoi Village	Pulang Pisau	18	6	12
35.	HPHD	KUPS Ecotourism – LPHD Gohong	Pulang Pisau	23	8	15
36.	HPHD	KUPS Rattan Crafts Pahari – LPHD Gohong	Pulang Pisau	23	8	15
37.	HPHD	KUPS Agroforestry – LPHD Gohong	Pulang Pisau	23	8	15
38.	HPHD	KUPS Oyster Mushrooms Pambelum - LPHD Gohong	Pulang Pisau	36	13	23
39.	HPHD	KUPS Karya Bersama Agroforestry – LPHD Mantaren I	Pulang Pisau	30	11	19

No	SF Scheme	KUPS Name	Regency	Number of KUPS Members	Female	Male
40.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Sengon – Gapotan Hutan Maju Bersama	Pulang Pisau	47	16	31
41.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Agroforestry – Gapotan Hutan Maju Bersama	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
42.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Mushrooms – Gapotan Hutan Maju Bersama	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
43.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Kelulut Honey Bees – Gapotan Hutan Maju Bersama	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
44.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Sengon – Gapotan Dandang Bersatu	Pulang Pisau	72	25	47
45.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Livestock – Gapotan Dandang Bersatu	Pulang Pisau	90	32	58
46.	IUPHHKHTR	KUPS Rattan – LPHD Bahu Palawa	Pulang Pisau	18	6	12
47.	HPHD	KUPS Forest Honey Bees – LPHD Balukon	Pulang Pisau	15	8	7
48.	HPHD	KUPS Livestock – LPHD Balukon	Pulang Pisau	15	7	8
49.	HPHD	KUPS Oyster Mushrooms – LPHD Balukon	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
50.	HPHD	KUPS Berkat Usaha (Ecotourism) – LPHD Bereng Rambang	Pulang Pisau	32	11	21
51.	HPHD	KUPS Kelulut Honey Bees - LPHD Bereng Rambang	Pulang Pisau	32	11	21
52.	HPHD	KUPS Hanjak Maju (Oyster Mushrooms) - LPHD Bereng Rambang	Pulang Pisau	32	12	20
53.	HPHD	KUPS Honey Bess – LPHD Bukit Bamba	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
54.	HPHD	KUPS Agroforestry – LPHD Bukit Bamba	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
55.	HPHD	KUPS Ecotourism – LPHD Bukit Bamba	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
56.	IUPHKM	KUPS Fishery – IUPHKm KT 19 POKJA – Bukit Rawi Village	Pulang Pisau	19	7	12
57.	HPHD	KUPS Agroforestry – LPHD Paduran Mulya	Pulang Pisau	18	6	12
58.	HPHD	KUPS Sehati – LPHD Pamarunan	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
59.	HPHD	KUPS Agroforestry – LPHD Petuk Liti	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
60.	HPHD	KUPS Honey Bees – LPHD Sigi	Pulang Pisau	29	10	19
61.	HPHD	KUPS Agrosilvopasture – LPHD Sigi	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
62.	HPHD	KUPS Livestock – LPHD Sigi	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
63.	HPHD	KUPS Fishery – LPHD Sigi	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
64.	HPHD	KUPS Environmental Services – LPHD Sigi	Pulang Pisau	17	6	11
65.	HPHD	KUPS Agroforestry – LPHD Tahawa	Pulang Pisau	39	14	25
66.	HPHD	KUPS Livestock – LPHD Tuwung	Pulang Pisau	23	8	15
67.	HPHD	KUPS Kelulut Honey Bees Cultivation – LPHD Tuwung	Pulang Pisau	18	6	12
68.	HPHD	KUPS Fishery – LPHD Tuwung	Pulang Pisau	23	8	15
69.	HPHD	KUPS Fishery – LPHD Tanjung Sangalang	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10

No	SF Scheme	KUPS Name	Regency	Number of KUPS Members	Female	Male
70.	HPHD	KUPS Agroforestry – LPHD Tanjung Sangalang	Pulang Pisau	15	5	10
71.	HPHD	KUPS “Tampung Karuhei” Honey Bees – LPHD Katunjung	Kapuas	21	7	14
72.	HPHD	KUPS Harapan Jadi Fishery – LPHD Katimpun	Kapuas	21	8	13
73.	HPHD	KUPS “Dare Jawet Katimpun” Rattan Artisan – LPHD Katimpun	Kapuas	21	7	14
74.	HPHD	KUPS “Sari Madu Lebah” Honey Bees – LPHD Katimpun	Kapuas	21	8	13
75.	IUPHKM	KUPS “Kapakat” Fishery – KTHKm Tumbang Muroi	Kapuas	21	7	14
76.	IUPHKM	KUPS NTFPs “Batuah” – KTHKm Tumbang Muroi	Kapuas	21	7	14
77.	HPHD	KUPS Segah – LPHD Kayu Bulan	Kapuas	15	5	10
78.	HPHD	KUPS Hajunjung – LPHD Kayu Bulan	Kapuas	15	5	10
79.	HPHD	KUPS Bintang Sakti – LPHD Kayu Bulan	Kapuas	15	6	9
80.	HPHD	KUPS Hapakat – LPHD Kayu Bulan	Kapuas	15	5	10
Total				2.020	707	1.313

Source: Directorate General of PSKL (2020)

The total number of people involved in Food Agroforestry activities was 80 KUPS (2.020 people) - 70 KUPS (1.834 people) were in Pulang Pisau Regency, and 10 KUPS (186 people) were in Kapuas Regency. Based on the number of working days³, Food Agroforestry activities produced 23.881 working days with an average wage of Rp150.000,00 per working day. Thus, the total value of wages reached Rp3.58 billion.

Food Agroforestry activities carried out in 2020 were considered to have benefits for the community economically, socially, and environmentally, including benefits for supporting food supplies (Directorate General of PSKL 2020). Economically, the community received assistance in the form of direct cash, Food Agroforestry assistance, and productive economic tools to support the development of business management. KUPS business management is adapted to the potentials of each location, such as honey bee cultivation, agroforestry, silvofishery, and silvopasture. Socially, the community benefited from institutional strengthening, such as facilities for preparing business management plans and annual plans as well as institutional capacity strengthening. In this regard, several social forestry business groups benefited from the group classification upgrade facilities.

Environmentally, the community enjoyed environmental restoration from the planting of woody plants, fruits, and vegetables through agroforestry system. The mechanism of activities, which was carried out in a participatory manner from planning, implementation, and monitoring to channelling funds directly to groups' accounts (account-to-account mechanism), was a learning process experienced by the community (Directorate of PKEG 2020). In the implementation, Food Agroforestry activities were carried out by community members of social forestry groups from planning, namely identification of group business potentials, preparation for social forestry business management plans, to Food Agroforestry implementation. The distribution of funds for Food Agroforestry activities was directly disbursed to groups' account.

In 2021, the program continued by involving 20 KUPS in Pulang Pisau Regency and Kapuas Regency, Central Kalimantan Province. The system remained the same, namely with agroforestry, silvofishery, and silvopasture. In addition, there were other concepts used, namely local-based community, community farming, and environmentally friendly peat ecology.

In 2021, 14 KUPS in Pulang Pisau Regency and 6 KUPS in Kapuas Regency involved 348 heads of families. The

largest commodity from KUPS was agroforestry (21%). Other commodities included fruits (17%), ecotourism (16%), timber (12%), coffee (7%), food crops (7%), honey

(5%), palm sugar (4%), eucalyptus (1%), bamboo (2%), rattan (2%), and other NTFPs (6%). KUPS data in 2021 could be seen in the table below.

Table 4. Data of 20 KUPS involved in Food Agroforestry in 2021

No	License Name	License Area (Ha)	Regency	KUPS Name	Number of Members	Male	Female
1	LPHD PILANG	8583	Pulang Pisau	KUPS “Karya Bersama”. Fishery	16	15	1
				KUPS “Tampung Penyang” Agroforestry	15	15	0
2	MHA BARASAK PILANG VILLAGE	102	Pulang Pisau	KUPS Kelulut Pambulan Agroforestry & Honey Bees	18	15	3
				KUPS Barasak Silvofishery	19	16	3
3	KTH IJE ATEI	180	Kapuas	KUPS “Kahanjak Atei” Agroforestry	19	17	2
				KUPS “Batang Pambelum” Rubber Cultivation	19	11	8
4	KTH RIMBA LESTARI	100	Kapuas	KUPS Lunuk Ramba Agroforestry	15	8	7
				KUPS Handep Hapakat Silvofishery	15	8	7
5	LPHD PELITA MUDA/ LPHD TUMBANG MANGKUTUP	2012	Kapuas	KUPS “Itah Tempon Gawi” Agroforestry	16	6	10
				KUPS “Maju Makmur” Fishery	16	11	5
6	LPHD Parahangan	1574	Pulang Pisau	KUPS NTFPs	17	0	17
				KUPS Silvopasture	18	13	5
7	LPHD BUKIT LITI	896	Pulang Pisau	KUPS Bees	21	20	1
				KUPS Silvofishery	16	14	2
8	LPHD PENDA BARANIA	514	Pulang Pisau	KUPS Agrosilvofishery	15	10	5
				KUPS Silvopasture	15	13	2
9	LPHD HENDA	3932	Pulang Pisau	KUPS Kahanjak Henda Agrosilvofishery	15	11	4
				KUPS NTFPs Henda Sejahtera	15	4	11
10	LPHD TANJUNG TARUNA	4858	Pulang Pisau	KUPS Taruna Mandiri	15	12	3
				KUPS Taruna Bersatu	33	29	4
	Total Area	22.751		Total KUPS Members	348	248	100

Source: Kalimantan Region PSKL Centre (2021)

Women's Participation in Food Agroforestry

Social Forestry Management can be done by local community living in and around forest areas. Pursuant to Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. 9 of 2021 on Social Forestry Management, local community who can manage forest are women and men who live around forest areas. However, community who lives or conducts activities in state forest areas must have a social community that can be proven by a history of forest area management and its form of dependence on the forest. In accordance with these regulations, the management of Social Forestry provides equal opportunities to men and women.

In 2020, women's participation in the membership of Food Agroforestry activities was 707 people out of 2.020 people or about 35%, while in 2021, as many as 100 women (out of 348 people or 27%) were involved as members. Most of the women in the Food Agroforestry KUPS are permanent members in accordance with KUPS' establishment decision. Moreover, women's participation in the institutional structure is also visible as there are women who become chairpersons, treasurers, and companions.

While women have been involved in KUPS, their participation is still limited because some still feel hesitant and embarrassed to be seen and to speak in public. The lack of information and access to participate in trainings is one of the obstacles for women. In order to encourage the participation of women's groups, awareness-raising is needed to enhance women's self-confidence through gender education or training. These efforts can be done through meetings, workshops to improve the role of women, and discussion groups on issues of women's roles, women's rights, and organizations.

Women's participation in the management of Food Agroforestry activities was mainly presented by 2 KUPS. KUPS NTFPs Parahangan has 16 Kelulut honey *stups* for cultivation. In addition, to support bees' food, they grow plants, such as sunflowers, *kaliandra* flowers, and bridal tear flowers. Since July 2021, there have been several honey harvests reaching a volume of around 4 liters per harvest. The price of honey per liter ranges from Rp350.000,00-Rp375.000,00 per liter. Meanwhile, Henda Sejahtera's NTFPs LPHD Henda has 30 Kelulut honey *stups*. Since July 2021, KUPS NTFPs Henda has harvested about 4 times with a selling price of Rp375.000,00 per liter. In addition to working on Kelulut honey, the two KUPS also grow other types of fruit plants as an on-farm business, such as crystal guava, bitter beans (*petai*), and longan.

The involvement of women in Food Agroforestry activities has started since 2020 with 707 women involved in KUPS membership. There are seven women as chairperson and 28 women as group treasurers. In 2021, there were 100 women involved as members of KUPS. In the KUPS institutional structure, there were 7 women as treasurers and 4 women as secretaries. In 2021, 2 KUPS – KUPS NTFPs Kelulut Honey Bees LPHD Parahangan and KUPS NTFPs Henda Sejahtera LPHD Henda – were created and chaired by women. Their membership is entirely or mostly (more than 50%) women. KUPS NTFPs Henda Sejahtera consists of 15 people, 4 of them are men and the rest are women, while KUPS Kelulut Honey Bees LPHD Parahangan consists of all women (17 people). The establishment of women KUPS was driven by women's desire to help their families to increase their income. There was also encouragement from the Head of Village for women to be involved in Food Agroforestry activities. Women's KUPS develop groups' business management by cultivating Kelulut honey, flower plants, and fruit trees.

In developing the business management of honey bees cultivation, bee food plants, wood plants, and fruits, these two KUPS received assistance in developing Food Agroforestry that includes plant seeds, working days calculation, and productive economic tools to support cultivation activities. Based on KUPS' types of commodities and needs, the tools provided included Kelulut honey bee boxes, honey suction equipment, packaging bottles, packaging stickers, buckets, containers, and harvest clothes.

The results of women's group business management, mainly Kelulut honey, have empowered women economically. The results were used for consumption by families and sold to the market. They also managed to increase families' income and fulfil and support food security. Women, who have gained experience in Food Agroforestry activities, share their knowledge and take the initiative to invite their closest groups, such as through *arisan*.

Challenges to Women's Participation

Women's participation in Food Agroforestry activities includes propagation, land clearing, planting, and harvesting activities. Women as KUPS members assist more in propagation and harvesting activities, while men are usually involved in land clearing. In women's KUPS, all activities are carried out by women. Women's participation in Food Agroforestry activities is important to share roles in implementing forest management and utilisation. The production, processing, and marketing

processes can be carried out together according to their roles.

Group members jointly carry out activities ranging from land preparation, honey *stups* installation, harvesting, and packaging. For activities that require more precision, such as packaging, it would be better for women to do it. The involvement of women in Food Agroforestry activities is important to enhance women's capacity through training activities organised by Kalimantan Region PSKL Centre (Erna-Chairperson of KUPS NTFPs LPHD Henda 2022, interview, 8 January).

KUPS members, especially women, have the courage to speak in public, and are no longer shy. They can learn about packaging and marketing online. Female members gain knowledge of land use for business management so that they can increase their income. Accompaniment, both from companions and PSKL Centre officials, is very helpful in land management activities (Erna-Chairperson of KUPS NTFPs LPHD Henda 2022, interview, 8 January).

To enhance the group's capacity in business management, technical guidance and training are provided to KUPS members. The training aims to provide knowledge of online product marketing. Currently, KUPS is connected to Tokopedia and Shopee and has an online store. Several KUPS have been contacted by buyers (Nurhasni-Head of Kalimantan Region BPSKL 2022, interview, 25 January).

Women's participation in the management of Social Forestry is still very low. At least, only five percent of women take part in the management of Social Forestry. Socio-cultural influence is the main factor that affects the low participation of women in forest management (Andriansyah 2021). In forest utilisation activities through Food Agroforestry, the criteria for beneficiaries have actually provided opportunities for both men and women, but there are still challenges for women's involvement in terms of meaningful participation and institutional governance. In general, women join as group members; not many become group administrators. Limited ability and lack of self-confidence are obstacles and challenges for women. Women's groups are also constrained in terms of securing their business management; groups that are mostly women have to employ men as guards. From this example, it seems that women cannot own or fully control the resources. The benefits and profits earned have to be reduced to pay the guards.

Impact of Women's Participation in the Management of Food Agroforestry Activities

According to SETAPAK (2016), in the context of governance in the forest and land sectors, there are still many gender inequalities as there is not much

participation of women in decision-making processes related to their access to land and forest resources as a source of livelihood. According to CIFOR (2013), women depend on forest for basic income and needs. World Bank's 2010 data state that women in forest communities earn half of their income from forest, while men only earn a third. The research result on women's participation in Community Forest management shows that the area of cultivation and income of women farmers groups have a very substantial effect on family income (Yudischa et al. 2014).

The role of women in Food Agroforestry activities can be seen from their involvement in propagation, land clearing, and honey harvesting. The use of Food Agroforestry in Social Forestry areas promotes the role of women to participate in the management and utilisation of forest areas through agroforestry systems. The 2020 data of the Directorate General of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership for the Kalimantan Region reveal that the involvement of women in Food Agroforestry activities was at an average rate of 30%, namely as supporters (around 38,75%). The total number of women as KUPS members was at 35% or around 707 women and the absorption of working days from Food Agroforestry activities that affect women was around 30%.⁴ Food Agroforestry activities promote the participation and role of women as actors in business development to improve the economy.

The involvement of women in Food Agroforestry activities has a positive impact, including increasing family income from group business management activities, as explained by the Head of KUPS NTFPs LPHD Parahangan below.

Through Food Agroforestry activities, the group cultivates Kelulut honey bees and harvests flower and fruit plants. Kelulut honey bees have been harvested several times and the products are not only consumed by the family but also sold to increase income (Fitria-Head of KUPS NTFPs LPHD Parahangan 2022, interview, 8 January).

The impacts of women's participation in Food Agroforestry activities were felt by the Chairperson of the KUPS NTFPs LPHD Parahangan. These impacts included economic contributions to families as well as access to knowledge and learning from participating in trainings held by Kalimantan Region PSKL Centre that could be transferred to group members. Women became more confident in influencing and sharing knowledge with fellow female members.

Gender Analysis with Longwe's Framework

Gender analysis is a process that systematically analyses data and information about men and women in order to identify and unpack the positions, functions, roles and responsibilities of men and women, as well as the influencing factors (Faraz 2012). Furthermore, gender analysis provides the basis for carrying out social transformation to realise a new, better life order through more just social relations.

Analysis at the site level shows that Social Forestry tends to favour male elites in forest management, which has implications for gender inequality (Tobing et al. 2021). Furthermore, it is said that women tend to play a domestic role in the household, while forest management is identical to the male-dominated public sphere. In fact, in one of the cases of Community Forest management, the role of women is in the low category (Pratiwi et al. 2018), which is influenced by three factors, namely social, cultural, and religious aspects.

Social aspect affects women's participation in forest management and utilisation. For example, in institutional governance, women are considered being incapable of management so they cannot be involved in group management. It was also found that women have a desire to contribute to family income by developing honey bees cultivation, but in the field there is a lack of disclosure of information. From a cultural aspect, there is a tradition of farming communities that involves women in planting and harvesting activities. For example, when planting rice in shifting cultivation, men generally carry a sharpened wooden stick to make holes. After that, women will follow from behind and put the rice seeds into the rice holes. This traditional culture assumes that women cannot carry out a complete planting process, although in practice women can also do it themselves. For example, in Sigi Village, Pulang Pisau Regency, Kahayan Tengah District, Central Kalimantan Province, women working in the fields follow the *Handep* system, a form of social organization that is fairly ancient among the Dayak community. In this organization, people agree to help each other to do the work. The organization does not discriminate between genders; it adheres to what is commonly applicable or sees the type of work being carried out (Directorate General of Cultural Values, Arts and Film, Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2009).

Furthermore, in this section, the data that have been explained in the previous subsections are analysed using Sara Longwe's analytical framework (1999). There are two stages in Sara Longwe's gender analysis. The first stage is to identify the level of equality and the second stage

is to assess the level of recognition of women's issues contained in an activity (Nurhaeni 2013). According to Longwe's framework, identification will be carried out to observe equality and assess the level of recognition. The following is the identification of Food Agroforestry activities in the first stage.

Welfare: Increasing Women's Income through Food Agroforestry Activities

Food Agroforestry aims to optimise the utilisation of forest areas and support in the supply of materials from forest areas. The utilisation of forest areas through agroforestry systems includes agroforestry, silvofishery, and silvopasture. Commodities including woody plants, such as *galam*, *ketapang*, and others as well as fruit trees, such as *guava*, *durian*, and *rambutan*. This activity involves a lot of people; in 2020, it involved 2020 people, and in 2021, it involved 348 people to support labour-intensive programs. This activity recognised and fulfilled women's interests without differentiating between the beneficiaries' membership. In Longwe's terminology, all levels of women's programs prioritise a higher level of equality because all activities start from the premise of trying to increase women's level of confidence, awareness, and control (Nurhaeni 2013).

Food Agroforestry activities of 80 KUPS in 2020 involved 707 women, and 20 KUPS in 2021 involved 100 women. This provides opportunities for both men and women to utilise forest area. The main activity is the development of Food Agroforestry with commodities according to the potentials of the area. This activity promotes women's empowerment by requiring the criteria for KUPS recipients of Food Agroforestry to have at least 15 members, both men and women. This provides opportunities for women to participate in accessing resources. Women in Food Agroforestry activities gain knowledge through e-learning and technical guidance, earn additional income through the developed businesses, and are able to expand their network through inter-group communication and a mindset change that women can be involved in development activities.

Access: Women's Access to Food Agroforestry Activities

The stages of Food Agroforestry activities include inventory of KUPS data, socialisation at the site level, facilitation of planning, institutional strengthening, Food Agroforestry development, and provision of productive economic tools as well as technical guidance. All activity stages can be followed by both men and women, including technical guidance and trainings. The number

of women in Food Agroforestry activities in 2020 was at an average rate of 35% with the proportion of women membership in 80 KUPS reaching 33%-40%. In 2021, the number of women in Food Agroforestry activities was at an average rate of 29% with the proportion of membership in 20 KUPS relatively varied between 0%-100%. In Food Agroforestry activities, if the activities could be done by women, for examples, preparation, planting, and harvests processing, their involvement would be encouraged. This experience fostered confidence in women, hence the following year there were women who already initiated the establishment of women's KUPS.

Women's Critical Awareness: Promoting Women's Critical Awareness of Gender Roles

There are limitations to the implementation of Food Agroforestry activities during the Covid-19 pandemic, particularly in regard to community's activities and movements. To raise awareness of gender issues, the Food Agroforestry activities introduce trainings with an e-learning system. E-learning is a remote online training. This online training is intended for socialisation as well as capacity building for institutions, assistants, and groups. It also aims to encourage community and companion activities in the field so that the activities of Social Forestry program do not stop because of Covid-19. The activity includes materials on gender issues and gender mainstreaming in Social Forestry program. With these materials, it is hoped that participants will be able to understand gender issues, raise awareness of women's rights, and there is a transformation of knowledge to increase the capacity of women members of KUPS.

Women's Empowerment in KUPS

Food Agroforestry provides development assistance according to the potential conditions in the KUPS area and the needs of the KUPS. This program does not require the existence of certain types of commodities in each group. KUPS is adjusted to the agreement of the members, and

with the guidance of the companion determine the type of commodity and the type of equipment proposed. This activity has encouraged an open participation of men and women in decision making. Although it is open to women, sometimes women have time constraints in terms of its implementation because it is done together with other household tasks. In addition, in the decision-making process, women are still shy to give opinions or speak in public.

In some KUPS, men trust women to decide when the crops will be sold and enter the market. However, negotiations are still being done by men (Nurhasni-Head of Kalimantan Region BPSKL 2022, interview, 25 January).

Control: Women's Independence

Women are involved in the production process and benefit from the results of business management. The results of business management such as honey are used for family consumption and as a source of income. Women earn additional income and contribute economically to the family. This activity gives consideration to women to increase their capacity, especially in forest resource management, agroforestry cultivation, and institutional governance. They can decide for themselves the utilisation of business management results and have control over resources.

The level of equality between women and men in Sara Longwe's empowerment model is classified into 5 (five) levels and is defined in terms of welfare, access, awareness, participation, and control (Nurhaeni 2013). The findings in the Food Agroforestry activities are described in table 5, which has been sorted according to socialisation/technical guidance for production area and business management. This production area is considered being able to clearly describe the involvement of women in Food Agroforestry activities.

Table 5. Analysis of Equality Level

Use of Tool 1: Women's Empowerment: Level of Equality		
	Socialisation/Technical Guidance	Business Management
Welfare	No	No
Access	Yes	Yes
Awareness	Yes	Yes
Participation	Yes	No
Control	Yes	Yes

Source: Processed from the data from Kalimantan Region PSKL Centre (2021)

Analysis of the Level of Recognition of Women's Issues

Longwe identifies three different levels of recognition of women's issues in project design (Nurhaeni 2013). Recognition is divided into negative, neutral, and positive levels. At a negative level, the objective of the project does not mention women's issues. Experience shows that women are very likely not to be the target of a project.

The neutral level indicates that at this level the project recognises women's issues, but the project's intervention does not make women worse than before. At this level, the positive objective of the project relates to women's issues, namely to improve the position of women to men. The second stage, which is an assessment of the level of recognition of Food Agroforestry activities, is presented in table 6 below.

Table 6. Analysis of Women's Issues

Using of Women's Empowerment Framework: Tools 1 and 2						
Project	Equality Level					Level of Recognition of Women's Issues
	Welfare	Access	Awareness	Participation	Control	
Socialisation/ Technical Guidance	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Positive
Business Management	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Positive

Food Agroforestry can be said to have a positive level because the implementation of its activities has a level of recognition of women's issues. Women's participation in the management and decision-making processes of farmer groups needs to be enhanced to encourage the strengthening of women's capacity with a policy and planning approach, namely by providing greater opportunity and access for women's groups to resources (knowledge, skills, finance, and organization) and services. (Prastiti et al. 2012). In fact, Food Agroforestry activities have provided access to both men and women, and thus, there are equal opportunities and rights in forest management and utilisation.

In addition, there is already control for decision-making in development and its resources. This can be seen from the establishment of KUPS that is chaired by women and entirely or mostly consists of women. However, there is still a need for increasing the involvement of women to ensure equal participation of men and women. Steps to increase women's participation include capacity building to ensure that women can also gain knowledge and skills. This can be done through trainings, comparative studies, or field schools. With this knowledge, women are expected to be involved in accessing development programs and decision-making processes.

The encouragement from the Head of Village gave women the initiative to be involved in Food Agroforestry activities in order to benefit from the business management activities. It was hoped that women could support their family's economy (Fitria-Chairperson of KUPS NTFPs Parahangan 2022, interview, 8 January).

Women have the desire to provide economic support to their family through the cultivation of Kelulut honey bees, but they do not know how. They had to look for information to understand that women could also be involved in the cultivation of Kelulut honey bees through Food Agroforestry activities by forming a KUPS (Erna-Chairperson of KUPS NTFPs LPHD Henda 2022, interview, 8 January).

From the interviews above, it was found that women's participation remained lacking. Thus, there needs to be encouragement from other parties to enhance women's confidence. This shows that opportunities for women have yet to be fully utilised. Hence, there is still a need for control so that decision-making and participation could be improved. Furthermore, access to information should also be increased to bring opportunities closer to women.

Conclusion

Food Agroforestry, which was implemented in 2020 and 2021, provided social, economic and environmental benefits. Socially, the community was formed in business groups (KUPS), where group institutions could be strengthened and improved. Economically, the community benefited from groups' business results, including from the cultivation of Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs), honey bees, plants with agroforestry system, silvofishery, and silvopasture. The community also benefited from environmental restoration and land cover improvements by using agroforestry planting system.

In Food Agroforestry activities, the involvement of women as KUPS members can contribute to the implementation of business management activities. To women, the opportunity in such involvement can be to pursue personal development and get support to better understand their constitutional rights and knowledge of production and post-production management.

Food Agroforestry also has a positive level of recognition for women. Women are involved in all stages of the process, from socialization to business management. Challenges and obstacles to women's participation in this activity partly come from women (domestic roles and lack of access to information). Capacity building in business management activities can help enhance women's ability, knowledge, and self-confidence so that women become more confident, able to implement an equal division of gender roles at home, and receive sufficient information to be able to participate in activities.

In terms of business development, it is recommended that groups for capital and commodity market be assisted through program collaboration and support from various parties, such as Regional Government Organizations in provinces and regencies/cities, NGOs, as well as capital institutions and the private sector. Food Agroforestry activities carried out by the community could encourage women's participation through the creation of KUPS consisting of women to participate in managing forest area through Food Agroforestry. The group's business results can help sustain food security, especially for family resilience during a pandemic. Women's groups must continue to be active so that KUPS institutions can remain sustainable and actively manage their business.

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End Notes

- 1 KUPS is a business group established by the Social Forestry group that will and/or have done businesses.
- 2 Off farm is an activity carried out outside of agricultural land but is still related to agricultural products.
- 3 Working day is a labour unit that is generally used to compute farm business analysis.
- 4 See table 4.

An Analysis of Agrarian Political Economy in Forest Access in Perhutani-Managed Areas Through Social Forestry Programs

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Abstract

The Social Forestry program in Perhutani-managed forest areas aims to improve the welfare of the community through joint management and promote sustainability. The program uses the Partnership Cooperation (Kulin KK) scheme, which is regulated by the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. P 83 of 2016. However, this program has become a new conflict zone as various actors are competing to dominate forest use. Women, who have allocated more time and energy to the agricultural sector, now have few opportunities to be involved in forest management because of gender biases within the governance and implementation of the Social Forestry program. Women also have to compete with various parties in order to participate in forest management including Perhutani and the Forest Village Community Institution (Lembaga Masyarakat Desa Hutan—LMDH), the party authorised to manage forest utilization programs.

Keywords: forest, Social Forestry, Perhutani, LMDH

Introduction

Forest area in Java is approximately 2.4 million hectares, but about 85,37% of the area is controlled by a state-owned forest enterprise, Perum Perhutani (Ferdaus et al. 2014). Meanwhile, there are 5.617 villages in the Perhutani-managed area, 60% of which are below the poverty line and need access to forest resources as their economic sources (Apriando 2013).

Inequality in agrarian control in the forestry sector has been going on since the Dutch colonial period that pioneered the institutionalisation of state control over land, forests, and other natural resources with the issuance of the Forestry Ordinance that took effect in Java and Madura in 1865 (Komnas HAM 2016). This Ordinance adapted the approach of state control over land, forests, and resources. The concept is used in Perhutani's working method that it excludes the participation of village communities around the forest.

Perhutani as a state-owned enterprise has management control over forest, especially in Java and Madura that aim to increase state profits through timber business. Meanwhile, villagers around the forest use the forest to fulfil their daily needs. This different objective creates tenurial conflicts because both sides are involved in managing the same resources. On the one hand,

Perhutani has greater power and dominance because its tenure rights are legally guaranteed. In contrast, forest management right of the community is limited by regulations and state authority. This condition creates inequality in forest control and gives birth to prolonged agrarian conflicts.

One of the solutions offered by the government to resolve such conflicts is to involve the community in forest management. In 2002, Perhutani launched Joint Community Forest Management (*Pengelolaan Hutan Bersama Masyarakat, PHBM*) programme through a farmer group called Forest Village Community Organization (LMDH). In addition to resolving conflicts, the programme is also expected to reduce poverty problems in rural areas around the forest. However, the implementation of PHBM programme has not been effective because cases of arrest of forest farmers are still happening. LMDH has failed to serve as a forum that facilitates the interests of the community with various issues, ranging from budget and programme management transparency to discrimination in the election of administrators (Ferdaus et al. 2014).

Along with the change of power, policies in the forestry sector continue to develop, including under Jokowi-JK administration that includes social forestry as one of

the priority programmes through vision and mission of Nawacita.¹ Through this programme, the government targets an allocation of 12.7 million hectares of land to increase community's participation in forest utilisation in state land areas while still promoting sustainability. This programme also applies to Perhutani areas, one of which is in Harumansari Village through Forestry Partnership Recognition and Protection (*Kulin KK*) scheme. This partnership is regulated by Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. P 83 of 2016 on Social Forestry.

One of the provisions in the regulation states that community who receives a Decree (*Surat Keputusan, SK*) on forest management has the right to receive fair treatment based on gender. The inclusion of such a provision was a result of strong encouragement from various parties to ensure a more gender sensitive natural resource management in Indonesia. This is considered as an effort of the government to respond to the shortcomings of the agrarian policies in the forestry sector that tend to be masculine. However, the implementation of this provision at the site level requires close monitoring given that forest management has always been dominated by men. In society, women's participation in forest management is very limited compared to men due to power relations (Peluso & Poffenberger 1989). In fact, women are economic subjects and actors who are very dependent on the environment they live in. In some cases, women have a significant role in programme implementation and land management, from land clearing, propagation, planting, maintenance, to harvesting.

Methodology

Departing from the forest management scheme through Kulin KK partnership as mentioned above, this research aims to describe: how are the changes in women's tenure pattern before and after social forestry in the Perhutani-managed area? How is the distribution of land and benefits for women in the social forestry programme and with whom do women compete to gain access to land utilisation in the social forestry programme in the Perhutani-managed area? These are the research questions that will be discussed in this paper.

This paper uses a political economy approach that focuses on the issue of agrarian inequality against women in forest management in Perhutani-managed area before and after the realisation of social forestry programme in Harumansari Village.

This research uses a descriptive qualitative method with an ethnographic approach. The data collection

was conducted through participatory observation, in-depth interviews, literature studies, and documentation. The selection of informants was done using a purposive sampling. This research was conducted for 3 months from December 2018 to February 2019 at Perum Perhutani BKPH Leles, Harumansari Village, Kadungora District, Garut Regency, which has been designated as a social forestry programme area through Kulin KK scheme, covering an area of 85 hectares.

Agrarian Political Economy in Forest Management in the Perhutani-managed Area

The agrarian political economy approach is often used as an analytical tool to look at the issue of inequality of land tenure that occurs as a result of the separation of farmers from their land. Marx calls this a process of primitive accumulation, which is the first step towards capital accumulation of the privatization of resources and means of production by capitalists (Mulyanto 2008). State facilitates these two processes as the power holder in formulating policies that are in line with capital interests. In the context of forest management by Perhutani, the state has two roles: as a capitalist that enables a state-owned enterprise (Perhutani) to monopolise timber management in Java and Madura and as an institution that has the power to perpetuate capital accumulation through the power of exclusion. The monopoly of forest management was a product of colonialism during the Dutch colonial period that had a capitalism character which regulated land ownership for the state if ownership rights could not be verified. This policy was known as "*Domein Verklaring*".² Moreover, state arbitrarily controlled or divided the land in the form of plantation or forestry concession. This process resulted in a centralised forest management adopted by Perhutani as a state-owned enterprise in the timber sector.

The process of determining state's lands does not prevent land grabbing. In many cases, farmers were the victims. State uses the power of exclusion to separate farmers from their land, which appears as a neutral process through its instrument of power. The power of exclusion in an agrarian study tends to have two characteristics. Empirically, exclusion is seen as a condition that denotes that most people do not have access to land while others have land to be privatised. Another reference to exclusion is seen as a wide-scale process and often involves various acts of violence perpetrated against poor people in order to evict them from their land by powerful actors. Normatively, exclusion is seen as negative and is counterposed to inclusion that

has a positive meaning. These two frameworks refer to the notion that exclusion is something imposed on the weak by the strong, something that must be opposed due to its detrimental nature (Hall et al. 2011).

In the power of exclusion with a gender dimension, women and other marginal groups have to contest with stronger power forces in regard to controlling land and various agrarian resources. Derek Hall, Philip Hirsch, and Tania Murray Li (2011) view exclusion as a process of dismissing the weak by the strong in land tenure through various instruments of power, such as regulation, coercion (violence and a series of intimidations), market, and legitimation.

Four instruments of power that lead to the process of excluding certain individuals, groups, or social institutions in land ownership that occur within a country are carried out through: 1) Regulation, namely policies or rules issued by the state to regulate various elements of society, groups, and institutions related to access to resources; 2) Force, can be in the form of violence, threats, and punishments to intimidate the weak so that regulations can be enforced; 3) Market Power, which takes an important position in the power of exclusion that can be realised through regulation, coercion/ violence, and legitimacy; 4) Legitimation establishes a justification for something or a series of normative foundations that have a major influence in various forms of exclusion instruments, namely regulation, force, and the market. The four instruments of power are interconnected and do not stand alone. The market is also reinforced by the power of regulation, force, and legitimation, as are the other three instruments of exclusion (Hall et al. 2011). Exclusion process aims to generate inequality of control and access to privatised land.

Access in the perspective of Ribot and Peluso (2003) is the ability to benefit from things. The ability to gain access is more akin to a Bundle of Power than a Bundle of Rights (Ribot & Peluso 2003). Often a person does not have a right, but can benefit from something because of their power, and vice versa. Every individual has a different level of power. The stronger the power an individual has, the greater their chances of accessing resources. In the theory of access with a gender dimension, women with a weak bundle of powers will be confronted with a series of powers from various more powerful actors (the state, corporations (Perhutani) and community organisations) that can prevent women from accessing resources. In some cases, while women have the right to resources (The Bundle of Rights), they do not have the ability to benefit from what they have due to inequality

in power relations. This is related to the concept of gender that generally recognises the existence of a social construction that is inherent in men and women which causes gender inequality in society such as economic marginalisation, women's subordination, stereotype, double workload, and violence (Fakih 2016). These five issues cause women's participation to be less than optimal in various development programmes, including forest management.

The concept of access is used to map the dynamic process of resources and analyse the actors who utilise the resources and their methods. This essentially relates to the agrarian political economy approach formulated by Henry Bernstein (2015) that can be a reference in mapping actors, economic differentiation, and power relations in the Perhutani-managed area as well as referring to ownership and sexual division of labour: (1) Who owns what; this question focuses on the social relations of different property regimes: how production and reproduction are distributed; (2) Who does what; this question relates to who carries out production and reproduction activities which are composed of social relations in production units, producers, men and women, and class differences in agrarian society; (3) Who gets what; it is about the division of labour and distribution of income; and (4) What do they do with their work. The questions are based on the result of social relations of consumption, reproduction, and accumulation.

This process is closely related to the political and economic interests of various actors. In the context of forest management by Perhutani, the state has two roles; as a capitalist that enables a state-owned enterprise (Perhutani) to monopolise timber management in Java and Madura and as an institution that has the power to perpetuate capital accumulation through the power of exclusion.

In the Social Forestry scheme, the role of the state should not stop at only providing space for women to obtain a land, but also to take part in the implementation and evaluation of each policy up to the implementing organizations. Like the LMDH programme, women have equal participation and space with men in forest management. Women's property right is not a guarantee that women can be involved in managing the land if it is not complemented with a right to control (Agarwal 1994). The right to control according to Bina Agarwal is one of the embodiments of the right to control property ownership. However, it becomes more complete when contrasted with the access theory approach by Ribot and Peluso (2003). According to them, access is the

ability to benefit from things. This concept is a broader development of the understanding that access is only limited to the right to use something.

The Exclusion Process of Harumansari Forest Village Community

During the New Order era, territorialisation transpired in various areas in Indonesia through land privatisation by the private sector that was granted concession permits and by the state-owned enterprises. The community who inhabited these lands had to be forcibly evicted by the state apparatus or using various regulations. This also happened in Harumansari Village. The forest, which had been the source of life for many people, had to be surrendered to Perum Perhutani and was given a protected area status in 1986. The lands acquired by the government, which were located on Mount Haruman with an altitude of 700 meters above sea level covering an area of 85 hectares, were replaced with the Perhutani-managed area in Bandung, which at that time was planned for the construction of Cirata Dam. The dam was projected to be the location of a Hydroelectric Power Plant (*Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Air, PLTA*). During the New Order era, the power plant was the biggest in ASEAN (Detik Finance 2015). Despite the refusal from the community as a response to the land swap proposal, the government quibbled about needing to carry out reforestation because the forest condition on Mount Haruman was critical.

The land swap that led to the sale of the residents' lands was an example of the power of exclusion that aims to separate the farmers from their land. The exclusion process worked through four instruments of power, namely regulation, force, the market, and legitimization. These four powers are interconnected in the process of dismissing and restricting access by the more powerful against the weak, which in this case was Perhutani that represented the state against the people.

First, the power of regulation played a role in determining the protected forest areas. The essence of the regulation was force, which required the people to leave their area because of the power of the government. Second, the swapped land should have been seen with a holistic lens within the development agenda because this is where the power of the market works. The government swapped the Perhutani protected area from Cirata Dam to provide electricity for public interest, but the development was also an instrument to serve market and industrial interests. Unfortunately, this agenda run at the expense of the community's area on Mount

Haruman that was used as a protected area as a buffer for Perhutani to continue serving the demand for the timber market. This plan was successfully carried out by the government using the legitimization of environmental sustainability jargons to normalise the "removal" process of community's control over the land. Meanwhile, the community who confronted the state did not have the power to resist, resulting in them being evicted from their land.

Neither the government nor Perhutani provided any solutions to the residents living around the forest after the land acquisition. This exclusion process caused adverse social and economic impacts ranging from the difficulty in meeting daily needs, increase in migration rate, land conflict, to the exacerbation of double workload for women. Ironically, the community continued to be victimised by the government and Perhutani given that there was a lack of proper compensation settlement process. There were some impacts of the exclusion process experienced by the community after the land acquisition.

First, the government's intervention in setting low price for the land resulted in the residents being unable to seek a substitute land or a sustainable livelihood strategy. The residents were aware of the potential crisis following the sale of land that has been instrumental in meeting the needs of three generations through the practice of subsistence crops. This condition was illustrated in the story of one female farmer who received a compensation of Rp281.400,00 for her land area of 200 *tumbak*.³ The money ran out in less than two months. In her land, there was also white teak woods that were planted by the previous generations to be used as materials for the houses of their descendants. The sustainability agenda that was carried out by the farmers through farming could not be realised. The government acquired the land without paying for the plants that grew on it. Some of the residents also did not receive compensation because the transactions were carried out through intermediaries, creating a disorganised process. The magnitude of the power of the government and Perhutani was able to legitimise the "land grabbing" which was packaged through normative procedures that were seen as fair and equal land sale transactions. In fact, the government unilaterally set a low price on these lands, while the people, who lost their lands, were forced to bear multiple burdens for the global interest in order to preserve the environment. The bundle of power was the basis for the government's arbitrariness in making decisions that became the rules for the Harumansari Village community.

Second, the shift in land ownership which has been a means of sustainable production for farmers had caused economic problems in meeting the daily needs. This condition indicated that the process of exclusion of farmers from their land was running according to its original purpose. This relationship further created dependence between the community as the weak party and Perhutani as the powerful party. Various forms of economic injustice also occurred due to the imbalance of power relations between these parties. Economic injustice arises because of monopolistic practices in the provision of agricultural production facilities, while social inequality occurs between farmers and communities outside farmers (Lagiman 2020). The people as the dependent party had very little bargaining power before Perhutani. One of the forms was labour exploitation of the residents who did not have an alternative production. This condition was apparent after the government won the land acquisition, in which Perhutani immediately took full control. Tree seeds such as *kaliandra*, *africa*, *sengon*, and pine were immediately brought in to replace the previous owner's subsistence plants. The community was employed with a daily wage to plant for 6 months on Perhutani land. This work opportunity was offered with a piece-rate income system per day. The low income was only enough for a day's meal. People were paid Rp50,00 for planting one tree seed.⁴ In a day, a person could only plant 100 to 200 trees. This means that the maximum average wage per person ranged from Rp5.000,00 to Rp10.000,00, which was allocated for buying rice, side dishes, and children's pocket money that run out on the same day. The wage standard provided by Perhutani became an absolute provision for forest village communities as casual daily labourers without a negotiation or bargaining process. Low-wage intervention indicated that Perhutani was supported by an exploitative work system. There was no health insurance or work safety protection for farm workers. However, this condition was still accepted by the residents for economic reasons. Perhutani has created dependence as a consequence of the relationship between the power holder and those who are ruled (Martin 1995).

Third, land acquisition caused changes in the division of labour between genders. Women bore a double workload to earn a living and perform domestic work. This was because the migration rate of the male population out of the village had increased because Perhutani's land access was completely restricted after six months of planting activities. The limited space for community management to continue had caused many residents, especially men, to migrate to Bandung, Bogor,

Majalengka, and Cirebon to sell *bajigur* and grilled meatballs, while farming activities were done women. Women took advantage of the remaining forest land, rice field, livestock, or peddled with undiminished social reproductive responsibilities. This choice was taken because the rules, which restrict production activities in the forest with a series of penalties and fines, including finding grass for animal feed and firewood to sell and use, came into effect. This period was viewed as the "terror period" because community activities were always under the control of Perhutani through forest police. This condition was referred to as the panopticon system that describes that power works by creating fear for the community to obey the instruments of power created by the government and Perhutani through policies, laws, and regulations (Foucault 1995).

Fourth, the tighter control of Perhutani increased the frequency of land conflicts. The power of regulation played a big role in this regard because Perhutani reduced public access to forest resources, causing economic turmoil in the lives of the people living around the forest. The centralised management system of Perum Perhutani that does not pay attention to social aspects made Perhutani unable to properly manage the forest (Yanuardi 2013). This conflict continued and escalated at the beginning of reformation following the downfall of President Soeharto in 1998. People who had been constrained by a tight security system during the New Order eventually pressed to access the forest on Mount Haruman. The pressure was exacerbated by the difficult economic conditions during the collapse of the New Order, contributing to the community's decision to take wood from the forest as an economic source to meet their daily needs. This period was regarded as the collapse of the legitimacy attached to the forest on Mount Haruman. Consequently, almost everyone in the village thought that the forest belonged to Soeharto. During this period, the control of the forest police and *mantir* was weakened, in which people started taking advantage of the situation to openly grow rice and secondary crops. At that time, as a response, Perhutani reminded the residents not to cut down trees. The looting of forest products did not only occur on Mount Haruman, but in almost all forests in Indonesia (Peluso 2011). Forest occupation by communities in various areas urged the government to issue a deliberative policy that allows the community to work in the Perhutani-managed area through the Joint Community Forest Management (*Pengelolaan Hutan Bersama Masyarakat, PHBM*) scheme.⁵

The unequal burden borne by the people demonstrated that there was an inequality of power

between the two parties. This condition continued when the people no longer had access to benefit from the resources that have been privatised by Perhutani as the power holder.

Gender Inequality in the Joint Community Forest Management Programme

Around the year of 2002, Perhutani brought in student researchers to do a brief assessment using the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approach. The result of this assessment then became the basis for a policy to establish Joint Community Forest Management (PHBM) in 2004 around Mount Haruman area. The community prepared all for the institutional prerequisites for the implementation of PHBM as established by KKPH Garut. These prerequisites included the rules for establishing Forest Village Community Organisation (*Lembaga Masyarakat Desa Hutan, LMDH*) and Forest Farmers Group (*Kelompok Tani Hutan, KTH*). As a result, Buana Mukti LMDH was formed with 70 members, most of whom were men. The opportunity for women to obtain forest management rights in Perhutani-managed areas through PHBM scheme was very limited (Cifor 2007). According to (Agarwal 2001), this was due to inequalities at the household, community, and state levels, thereby limiting women's participation in forest management. This condition was caused by gender inequality through various forms, ranging from marginalisation, subordination, stereotype, double workload to violence which prevent women from being involved in production activities (Fakih 2016).

Manifestation of gender inequality could be seen in the PHBM system run by LMDH. The group members were only filled by the closest individuals who have kinship relations with LMDH core management consisting of village officials, bureaucrats, and teachers. This indicated the existence of social and economic violence that limited women's access and participation to take strategic roles in the group, resulting in the impoverishment of women (Yayasan Pulih 2021). Social violence arises due to unequal power relations in community groups. Moreover, women have little room to obtain the right to forest management by joining LMDH. Women are labelled as additional breadwinners and having "weak" energy. This labelling

contrasts with the image of forest identified with a masculine male workspace. This condition is a result of social construction that has so far despised the position of women as subordinates in society in order to establish a patriarchal system (Fakih 2016).

Women are dealing with an ecological crisis. Drought damages the agricultural system; the provision of clean water needs declined due to the drying up of residents' wells after Perhutani's occupation. Women who carry the domestic workload had to spend money to buy water, drill wells, or even fetch water from neighbouring wells using pipes or manually transported.

The patriarchal system that is rooted in various institutions and community groups increasingly prevents women from utilising the resources around their environment. Therefore, some women chose to find work as labourers in textile factories in industrial cities in West Java. Many also became women migrant workers (*Tenaga Kerja Wanita, TKW*) due to the narrowing of land and the lack of opportunity for women to be involved in various programmes (Peluso & Purwanto 2018). The decision to work abroad was made in an effort to ensure household survival in response to poverty conditions (IOM 2009). The phenomenon of TKW was an indicator of the layered adverse impacts experienced by women since the occupation by Perhutani from separating women from their sources of livelihood to the lack of access provided by LMDH in the PHBM programme. It was the most challenging period for women living around Mount Haruman due to their production and reproduction responsibilities.

For elderly female farmers with limited abilities and skills, they relied solely on their strength, such as working as farm labourers with a wage difference of Rp10.000,00 lower than the daily wage of men. This difference in wage was motivated by the assumption that farming activities require greater physical strength which is associated with the type of work of men than women (Kemenpppa 2016). Whereas in practice, women are more involved in almost all agricultural processes, both in the fields and farms, while men only do some types of work. The following table 1 illustrates the division of roles between men and women in the agricultural sector, both in fields and farms in Harumansari Village.

Table 1. Division of Role based on Gender

Type of Work	Role
Land clearing	Men and women
Sowing	Men and women
Planting	Women
Harvesting	Women
Plowing (using a tractor)	Men
Maintenance	Women

Source: processed by the author from interviews with farmers in Harumansari Village (2019)

LMDH works more to serve the needs of its core management who have interests with various external parties, one of which is the company. In the implementation of its programme activities, LMDH usually cooperated without paying attention to details related to the group members and disregarding the benefits of cooperation for the organization. In distributing the seeds, LMDH failed to identify the types of seeds needed by the residents and the right time for planting. In 2017, the core management instructed its members to plant citronella seeds distributed by LMDH. The seeds were obtained from a company that was in need of citronella to be processed into eucalyptus oil. The community was gathered to discuss the agenda for planting citronella. Although some residents suggested delaying the distribution of seeds due to the dry season, one of the core management members insisted on implementing the programme on the grounds that it was an experiment and had already been accepted by LMDH. As a result, after several months of planting, the programme failed because many citronella plants died due to drought.

Recently, it was discovered that the distribution of seeds was carried out by one of the administrators because they were suspected of benefiting from the labour wages that did not reach the farmers. According to the farmers, the company had prepared a budget for the payment of their wages which were entrusted to LMDH for distribution. However, as a "thank you fee" for the planting activity, the residents were only given cigarettes and coffee, which were intended for men. Whereas, female farmers did not receive similar rewards because they did not consume both. They also did not receive any compensation in lieu of wages. From the profits of citronella cultivation that were obtained by the core management of LMDH, there was unpaid sweat of farmers, notably women who provided free labour for the core management.

The above story illustrates that LMDH, which aims to accommodate communities in joint forest management, acted like a labour provider for the external parties and Perhutani. Occasionally, LMDH also operated like a profit-oriented business organization for some people. This happened because the power held by the management of the organization was greater than that of the members, allowing them to control the direction of the management of the organization. To distinguish the existence of class differentiation, it is important to look at how the relations of production and consumption as well as the division of labour are carried out by the people in the organization through four key questions in the political economy approach (Bernstein 2015).

First, "who owns what?" This question does not only refer to the subject of ownership of resources, but also to power. LMDH management has the power to determine the programme to be implemented with a lack of transparency. Meanwhile, those who are members do not have equal power to intervene or influence every decision related to the organization. This can be seen when several core management members become patrons of the decision making that will be followed by the group members. Second, "who does what?" This question is to map out who devotes more time and energy to work than others. From the case above, there were two major groups, namely the core management who coordinated and conveyed information to the group members to carry out the planting process. Farmer members used more of their time and energy to execute the work ordered by the core management. The type of work, time spent, and energy of the two groups were different. One group only communicated and coordinated information and became an intermediary between the external parties and the farmers, while the farmers did the core work that demanded more physical strengths and energy. Third, "who gets what?" explains the consequences or results received from the work. The core management members were suspected of

benefiting from the wages of the farmers' work, while the farmers were exploited to support the income of the core management. The farmers were divided into two groups determined by gender. Men only received wages in the form of food and drink, while women got nothing. Fifth, "what do they do with the results?" The male farmers worked and got paid to make a living that only lasted a few hours to support their work. Meanwhile, women were "exploited" without any wages. On the other hand, the core management gained profits from the work of the farmers, which were then used for various purposes or even for personal advantage.

Inequality of Women's Participation in Social Forestry Programme

In 2016, Jokowi officially realised the promise of his vision and mission in Nawacita by implementing the Social Forestry programme covering an area of 12.7 hectares on state land, including Perhutani land. This programme was known by the management of LMDH Buana Mukti. They immediately applied for a social forestry programme assisted by the Indonesian Green Union (*Serikat Hijau Indonesia, SHI*) and the West Java PPS Pokja. This programme consists of two schemes, namely the Social Forestry Forest Utilisation License (*Izin Pemanfaatan Hutan Perhutanan Sosial, IPHPS*) and Forestry Partnership Recognition and Protection (Kulin KK). Perhutani encouraged farmers groups to apply for a Kulin KK decree instead of IPHPS, while farmer groups opted otherwise. This difference was due to the division of authority and rights in the IPHPS scheme. People felt more benefited from the distribution of 70% for farmers and 30% for Perhutani. Whereas, the Kulin KK scheme applies a partnership that places farmers and Perhutani on an equal footing.

Some parties considered that the resolution of Kulin KK Scheme is feared not being able to place the two parties in an equal position. This is due to the power dominance and the strong state legitimacy that has been attached to Perhutani for a long period of time also affects the relationship. Aligning the superiors and inferiors in a scheme that lacks monitoring, is likely to end up unequal.

The farmers in Harumansari Village initially proposed the IPHPS scheme, but from the result of the forest location survey, it appears that the land cover is above 10%, hence LMDH Buana Mukti could only propose the Kulin KK scheme with an area of 85 hectares. The total number of farmers was 115 people consisting of previous LMDH members plus 45 new members. The core management of LMDH gathered the farmers by

registering ID cards and family cards (KK) who wanted to join in managing lands. One KK was allowed to manage a maximum of 2 hectares of land.

When the research was conducted, the farmers had only received the Kulin KK decree for about 3 months, which was previously given to LMDH Buana Mukti by the Minister of Environment and Forestry on 27 July 2018. The majority of the decree recipients (73%) were men because the membership approval system was based on the name of the head of the family with some exceptions.⁶ At least, there were 24 names of women from the total farmers, 7 of whom were widows/divorcees, while the other 17 were women land managers whose husbands were not farmers.⁷ The determination of the decree holders could not be separated from the patriarchal construction in which the decision-making axis even programme targets were always established by the head of the family, most of whom were men. Women became the second choice when the husband or head of the family had other preferences regarding their production activities. As a result, the process of determining the recipients of the SK Kulin decree in Harumansari Village was still far from the spirit of justice. Furthermore, there was a bias in the selection of members, which was based on the close relationship between the core management without taking into account the aspects of gender and needs. Various individual and group interests also existed within the organization, which were connected with various external parties. They used LMDH as a source of income, for example, the paragliding tourism management plan which, although it was made in the name of LMDH Buana Mukti, the formulation and distribution of benefits allegedly only involved the core management of LMDH. This was reinforced by the lack of information about paragliding management from ordinary citizens.

Instead of being a forum that represented the interests of the community, Perhutani's land became an arena for political battles between ordinary citizens and the core management of LMDH, who exploited the momentum of agricultural assistance through social forestry programme. With various objectives that had been planned by LMDH, strategic locations in the Mount Haruman area were mostly controlled by the core management of LMDH. The locations included areas that were intended to establish paragliding spots and agroforestry plantations⁸ for tourism, which would be managed by the land management circle. Meanwhile, locations that had difficult terrains and were located at a fairly distant altitude or were deemed less strategic were left to the farmers who wanted to manage without taking

into account their age vulnerability, gender, and ability. Many conflicts of interest had made the organization, which should have been a bridge to improve the community's welfare as the objective of social forestry, a new part of an arbitrary power system.

Gender inequality as part of patriarchy has continued since the land acquisition to date at LMDH by involving old players and a system that has not changed much. Of all the major schemes designed by LMDH Buana Mukti since its formation in 2004, women had always been the subjects with the least space to occupy strategic positions and take important roles in the organization. The LMDH management members, who are dominated by old players, view women's roles as not very important, especially in decision making, distribution of access, and benefits due to inequality in power relations and gender construction.

The dissemination of information and decision making related to social forestry only circulates among certain circles of people, which are dominated by men. This was recorded in the experience of one female farmer who was unaware that her name was added to the list of recipients of the Kulin KK decree because there was no notification whatsoever from the LMDH. The farmer admitted that she was only ever asked to give an ID card by one of the LMDH management members in 2017 without further explanation. She never participated in any social forestry socialisation activities that were held in the village. This unawareness continued by the fact that since the Kulin KK decree was issued in July 2018, the decree has not been given to her and is still held by the head of her KTH.⁹ As a resident who has worked on Perhutani land since 2012 and is registered as one of the recipients of the decree, information about social forestry should have been known.

Some women, who deserved the SK Kulin decree, were not considered as beneficiaries. This was because the bundle of power held by women is very small when compared to the bundle of power held by men, LMDH, Perhutani, and even the state in accessing the benefits of forest resources (Ribot & Peluso 2003). Ribot and Peluso (2003) explain that the theory of access focuses on looking at the broader social relations that allow a person to benefit from natural resource management, rather than focusing on property rights. One example is what was experienced by a 50-year-old Mrs. Sinta, a female farmer with the status of a widow whose participation rights in the Social Forestry Programme have been guaranteed by the state. She was part of the

poor and vulnerable group according to the expected programme targets. Yet, having a right alone was not enough. Even with such a vulnerable status, she did not have access to receive benefits from forest management through the Social Forestry programme. Instead, she questioned her non-participation in the process of submitting the SK Kulin decree, hence her name was not registered as a recipient of the decree nor joined LMDH. This happened because information about the social forestry programme was also unknown, although she herself was working on land in the Perhutani area that had been planted with corn. Mrs. Sinta, who did not have strong legitimacy to manage Perhutani's land, had a very big risk of being evicted from the land she cultivated by other farmers who have a decree. While she was already at a vulnerable level, as a widow and a poor woman, this position was not taken as an important consideration for LMDH in the distributing the land in the Social Forestry programme. According to Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation P.83/2016, Social Forestry is intended to reduce poverty, unemployment, and inequality in the management/utilisation of forest areas.

On the other hand, although structurally women are at the lowest level in society, there is also class differentiation within their groups, which is determined by their social status. This condition could be observed when among the female farmers there was a name of the wife of one of the village officials. LMDH entered her name into the list of SK Kulin decree holders not being based on the principle of need, but rather on a stimulus programme as a "quota" for the village, even though she herself actually had a private farm. Several months after receiving the decree, she has yet to manage the land in the Perhutani area due to limited workforce.

The process of popularising social forestry programme from the policy makers to programme implementers did not seem to have been successful because some farmers have not or did not even know that the programme had entered the village. Most of them were women. This unawareness stemmed from the lack of involvement of the farming community as a whole with various programme implementers from the government, NGOs, and LMDH management. As a result, the Social Forestry programme has become a "double-edged knife" for farmers who have not received a social forestry management decree because they are in danger of being evicted from Perhutani-managed land since they do not have the legality of the decree.

Conclusion

The problem of community poverty and challenges faced by women in forest management in the Perhutani area are explained through economic and political approaches. This problem involves the state as the main institution in the exclusion process as well as in regulating limited access to the community as the root cause of poverty. Another actor is Perhutani, which is actually part of the state institution as an engine for the accumulation of state wealth through a monopoly on forest management that implements the principle of centralised management. This has made people whose access to forest is limited unable to receive benefits from forest resources. In society, women are the ones who experience multiple losses due to gender construction which is the root of the patriarchal system. This construction reduces women's opportunities to access forest resources, which have been characterised as masculine production spaces dominated by men, especially in the Social Forestry programme.

The Social Forestry Programme, which is projected to be a solution to the gap in land tenure for communities around the forest, has in fact not been able to become an answer to the problem of women's poverty in the Perhutani area in Harumansari Village. Various forms of discrimination against women within LMDH as implementers and beneficiaries in the Social Forestry programme are caused by several factors. *First*, LMDH is a forum dominated by village elites as old players since the PHBM period, hence the system and management methods are still centred on the decisions and interests of certain people. *Second*, the lack of women's participation in the farmer group's agenda has distanced them from the centre of information dissemination. Women do not have space and strategic positions in LMDH to convey their aspirations, decisions, and needs. *Third*, gender construction that considers women as additional breadwinners has influenced the attitude of programme implementers and LMDH management in placing women as actors who have a very large work allocation in the agricultural sector. This affects the distribution of land received by women, both based on the designation of the location and the area of land, which is still unequal. The lack of transparency in LMDH's programme management on matters related to assistance and group business empowerment plans has resulted in an unequal distribution of benefits to women. *Fourth*, the assessment process carried out by the LMDH management on the farmers was not carried out prudently so that the recruitment of LMDH members had not yet targeted

vulnerable and poor women who needed land more. Therefore, in practice, the implementation of the Social Forestry programme has not been able to achieve gender justice as referred to in the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. P 83 of 2016 on Social Forestry.

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End Notes

- 1 *Nawacita* is the term used by Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla in referring to their vision and mission during the 2014 election, which contains nine priority programmes in the government.
- 2 *Domein Verklaring* is the principle in the *Agrarische Belsuit* regulation, which was derived from the *Agrarische Wet Act 1870* that reads "any land which other parties cannot prove as their *eigendom* right (property right) become the property of the State".
- 3 *Tumbak* is a unit of land area used by residents in Harumansari Village. One *tumbak* equals to 14 square meters.
- 4 Rupiah currency at the end of the 1980s, even though the nominal was small, had a high value compared to 2022. When compared to the price of rice at that time that ranged from Rp1.000,00 to Rp1.500,00, while the current price of rice is around Rp9.000,00 to Rp13.000,00. The price of rice became a reference so that it was easy to compare the value of goods in the 1980s.
- 5 PHBM stands for Joint Community Forest Management. PHBM programme, launched in 2001, aims to provide access to communities to cultivate lands through a partnership scheme with concession owners by way of intercropping. PHBM emerged during the reformation period as an effort to improve governance in the forestry sector that ignored the lives of forest village communities.
- 6 This exception refers to the type of work performed by husband and wife in one family. The name of the head of the family (husband) is included in the recipient of the Kulin KK decree if both are farmers. Under certain conditions, the name of the woman (wife) could be added to the list of recipients if the wife is a farmer and her husband is not a farmer or is constrained by chronic illness so that he could not carry out production activities.
- 7 Women who obtained Kulin KK decrees included widows or farmers whose husbands were not farmers. Usually, the husbands of these female farmers migrated to urban areas such as Jabodetabek, Bandung, and other big cities to sell *bajigur* or grilled meatballs. In some cases, there were also women whose husbands have been sick for a long time so that they could not work to manage agricultural land.
- 8 LMDH Buana Mukti has 4 (four) Social Forestry Business Groups (KUPS), which are divided into paragliding tourism, agroforestry, coffee, and honey bee sectors.
- 9 When the interviews were conducted with the resource persons on 29 January 2019, the Kulin KK decree had not been given by the head of the Forest Farmers Group (KTH) who was a member of LMDH. The resource person also did not know that her name was included as one of the recipients of the Kulin KK decree.

Women's Participation in Social Forestry: A Case Study in Five Provinces

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Abstract

Social Forestry (SF) is one of the government's community-based forest management programs, which aims to balance environmental needs with the welfare of communities around the forest. However, in the program's implementation, due to social norms and gender inequalities, women are often marginalized in access and management of SF. This study analyzes women's participation in SF, primarily from the perspective and experience of women at the site level. This study used qualitative research; data mining was carried out through focus group discussions (FGD) and interviews with women at the site level and with assistance from civil society organizations (CSOs) in five provinces (Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, Bengkulu, West Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, and Papua). This study shows how cultural barriers affect the forms and good practices of women's participation in SF and their impacts.

Keywords: social forestry, women's participation, gender norms

Introduction

Social Forestry (SF) is a forest management system that is based on the autonomy and involvement of local communities. This system is expected to ensure direct role of the community. Pursuant to the Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry No. P.83/MENLHK/ SETJEN/KUM.1/10/2016, Social Forestry is a forest management system that targets the involvement of forest communities and indigenous peoples in the access and governance of forest. The program, which was launched in 2016, has allocated 12.7 million hectares of forest areas to be used as SF with 5 schemes, namely Village Forest (*Hutan Desa*, HD); Community Forests (*Hutan Kemasyarakatan*, HKM); Community Plantation Forests (*Hutan Tanaman Rakyat*, HTR); Forestry Partnership (*Kemitraan Kehutanan*, KK); and Customary Forests (*Hutan Adat*, HA). As of December 2021, SF achievements have reached 4.807.825 hectares, with a total of 7.437 decrees for permits/ rights for 1.049.096 Heads of Families (KLHK 2022).

As an effort to support the gender mainstreaming program (*pengarusutamaan gender*, PUG) by the government in every ministry and work program, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (*Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan*, KLHK) is committed

to promoting inclusive and gender-just forest access and governance by adopting policies that provide opportunities for men and women to be involved in SF. Through the Minister of Environment and Forestry (MENLHK) Regulation No. 9 of 2021, men and women could be the subjects who apply for and have forest management permits in the HD, HKM, HTR, KK, and HA schemes.

The SF policy regulates the registration process, certification, licensing requirements, and so on. The MENLHK Regulation has provided an opportunity for women's legal involvement, but has not responded to the problem of structural inequality and gender norms that have hindered women's involvement in SF. Gender-sensitive policies, according to Bina Agarwal (2000), need to accommodate the condition that women do not compete in the same arena because their capacities and opportunities are impeded by gender values and norms. Meanwhile, gender-sensitive social policies and practices should empower individuals and community at the grassroots to be legally involved in social change.

Referring to the report of the Center for Regional and Information Study (Pattiro 2021), it was revealed that the implementation of the MENLHK Regulation No. 9 of 2021, particularly regarding the submission of the HD

scheme, is not yet fully gender sensitive. The Regulation explains that the application for a SF permit can only be made by the head of the family. According to Indonesian law, for example, Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974, the head of the family is male, not female. As a result, most of the SF permits are held by men who are structurally constructed as the head of the family. Although the official SF policy does not prohibit the involvement of women and has included gender mainstreaming, the policy has not fully recognised and accommodated the needs of women in rural areas.

This research aims to explore and analyse the experience and knowledge of women at the village level with regard to their involvement in SF. This research identifies the barriers that they experience,

how they respond to them, and good practices, and the transformation that women's groups and forest communities experience when they are involved.

Methodology

This research is qualitative research that refers to the practice of women's participation at the village level in social forestry. The focus is the exploration of the experience and knowledge of women at the village level who are involved in the access and governance of social forests from five provinces, namely Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (1 village), Bengkulu (2 villages), West Kalimantan (3 villages), Central Sulawesi (1 village), and West Papua (1 regency).

Table 1. Research Area

Province	Place
Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam	Damaran Baru Village, Bener Meriah Regency
Bengkulu	Sumber Bening Village, Rejang Lebong Regency
	Sumber Jaya Village, Rejang Lebong Regency
West Kalimantan	Sungkup Village, Melawi Regency
	Belaban Ella Village, Melawi Regency
	Sungai Asam Village, Kubu Raya Regency
Central Sulawesi	Bondoyong Village, Parigi Moutong Regency
West Papua	Merdey Village, Teluk Bintuni Regency

Source: Processed from Interview Data

The selected resource persons represent the good practices at the village level, who have been involved in fighting for the issuance of SF permits or management approval letters and demonstrating active involvement in the management, monitoring, and maintenance of forest areas. Meanwhile, there were 27 research subjects involved in this research, namely women at the village level and companions from CSOs. Information gathering was carried out through online FGDs due to the pandemic, hence there were limitations in data mining and the absence of direct and in-depth observations related to the work and interaction of women at the village level. Specifically for resource persons from West Papua, data was collected through telephone interviews because they were unable to attend the FGDs.

The main question in this research is "what is the form of women's participation in SF?" The main source of this research is the experience of women at the village level which is complemented by the views and experiences

of the companions, namely CSO activists, who are also partners of the Asia Foundation (TAF). These activists are people who are in the field and follow the process of applying for SF approval and/or access and governance processes after the issuance of SF permits/approvals. A further question to be answered is "how is the experience of women in the village with and/or without any legal access, or Social Forestry Agreement? Furthermore, does legal access result in social transformation for women in the village?"

Gender Norms and Women's Participation in Social Forestry

Gender norms and structures in a patriarchal society have an impact on the form of women's participation in forest management, including in SF. Governance issues, environmental destruction, and resource conflicts are often seen as global issues that have the same impact on everyone. Whereas in the gender analysis, there is

a disproportionate impact on women who have been positioned as subordinates in society (Colfer & Elias 2016). This situation has a direct impact on women's access to forest, the division of labour, form of participation, and how women get benefits from the program.

According to Agarwal (2000), women's participation in various aspects including forestry is common,

nothing extraordinary. The problem is about the form of participation practiced by women, and whether this participation genuinely has a transformative impact on themselves and their communities. Agarwal shares a typology of participation to examine the forms of women's involvement in natural resource management, especially in forest governance.

Table 2. Typology of Participation

Participation Level	Participation Characteristics
Nominal participation	Group membership oriented.
Passive participation	Member is informed of the results after a decision is made; or attend public discussions only as listeners without providing views or comments.
Consultative participation	Being asked for an opinion in specific matters without any guarantee of it being accommodated.
Activity-specific participation	Being asked to (or volunteering to) undertake specific tasks.
Active participation	Expressing opinions, whether or not solicited.
Interactive participation (empowerment)	Having a voice and influence in group decision making; having authority.

Source: Agarwal 2000

Furthermore, according to Agarwal, women's participation in resource management such as forest management is influenced by the differences in social/political networks, values, and gender norms. The criteria for good forest management must ensure community participation. According to Agarwal, good forest management must ensure: 1) Community participation in policy making; 2) Efficient distribution of benefits and equity; 3) The substantive participation of women in forest management (Agarwal 2000, p. 284).

Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province

Women's participation in social forestry in Aceh stems from the flash flood disaster that occurred due to ecological damage in forest areas in 2015 and hit Damaran Baru Village, Timang Gajah District, Bener Meriah Regency, Aceh Province. The incident swept away 11 houses in Damaran Baru Village. In such a situation, women's sources of livelihood were severely affected and their access to clean water was lost. Social norms, cultural beliefs, and collective practices determine gender roles. In society, the role of women is associated with family life, hence the continuity in the private sphere becomes the responsibility of women. Women often feel guilty when social expectations to meet household needs are not available (Danielsson 2020). Women have to spend extra money, time, and energy to ensure the availability of clean water as a primary need in household care.

According to the experience of Sentia and Sumini (2022, FGD 2 February), the flooding in Damaran Baru Village was caused by deforestation. Their village is located in a protected forest area of 251 hectares, but trees in that area are often encroached on by residents outside Damaran Baru Village to meet the fuel needs of the brown sugar factory in the opposite village.

Initiative to carry out patrols and forest monitoring by women's groups since 2009, even before the SF program was introduced. However, they only applied for and received legality in the form of a permit in 2019 with the accompaniment of CSO "Forest, Nature, and Environment of Aceh" (*Hutan, Alam dan Lingkungan Aceh, HAKA*). The initiative and accompaniment of CSO to support women to have legal access to forest is very instrumental in the role and position of women in social forestry. According to Meinzen-Dick (1997) & Colfer (2013), property right and/or forest management right has a fundamental role in forest management as it is related to equitable distribution and sustainable resource management. Therefore, without legal access, women will remain a poor group, being excluded from the process of sustainable forest use and not being involved in environmental disaster mitigation. The vulnerability described by Meinzen-Dick & Colfer is evident in the experience of Damaran Baru women.

According to Rubama— Damaran Baru women's companion from HAKA Foundation—prior to the Decree on Village Forest Management Rights (*Hak Pengelolaan*

Hutan Desa, HPHD), even though the Damaran Baru women were cognisant and well aware that the impact of encroachment, which was ecological damage could be fatal to the survival of the local community, they were powerless to expel the encroachers because they did not have the authority and legal basis to prohibit them. *Mpu Uteun* women's group, also known as forest rangers, was created from the initiative of local women who were called to maintain the sustainability of the ecosystem in the village area.

Being aware of the importance of legal recognition and forest management right, in 2019 with the accompaniment of HAKA and the SETAPAK TAF program, women of Damaran Baru Village applied for a social forestry permit under the HD scheme. The women's group in Damaran Baru Village was involved in the mapping, identification, submission of the decree, and forest management after the issuance of the decree. According to the experience of Sentia and Sumini (2022), the submission process of HPHD Damaran Baru decree was initiated by the women's group, and in fact the process for obtaining legal recognition of forest management right was troublesome. One of the main reasons was the existence of gender bias in society. Although the decree was finally issued, the process for submitting the LPHD Damaran Baru decree was hampered at the earliest stage, namely at the village level due to the gender bias of the village officials.

"In 2019, in February, I submitted an application letter for social forestry. We encountered problems with the village officials...the Head of Village was doubtful about our offer and initiative. (If) these women talk about the forest, it is considered uncommon because all they know is that forest is (the realm) of men" (Sentia 2022, FGD, 2 February).

In the experience of Rubama, women of Damaran Baru Village had to make a number of visits and dialogues with village officials so that their application was processed properly. Gender norms that associate forest with masculine values, directly or indirectly, become the basis for eliminating women's participation in forest access and use (Agarwal 2000; Colfer 2013). Forest management is associated only with physical work that is identical with masculine values. Meanwhile, women, who are associated with domestic work, are considered not having adequate capacity and knowledge to be involved in forest management. Furthermore, Rubama stated that prior to the issuance of the decree, women already had a concern for the forest, but the work of monitoring and preserving the forest becomes stronger with legal access.

"If you count, it has only been 3 years (after obtaining the decree), but the changes are noteworthy. It is not my intention to discriminate against men, but when the HAKA Foundation worked with many groups of men, the changes were not that significant. But when we work with women's groups, we are seeing real changes made by women's groups." (Rubama 2022, FGD, 28 January).

Since the issuance of the HPHD Damaran Baru decree, women's participation in forest management has legal recognition. It is evident that deforestation process caused by illegal logging has decreased intensely. Before women were involved in forest protection, the process was ineffective. In the past, all-male village patrols had a tendency to respond to encroachment with verbal to physical encounters. Unlike *Mpu Uteun rangers*, who use a strategy of dialogue with the encroachers, women invite the encroachers to talk about the danger of encroachment to their village and other villages in the area and explain the legal consequences against them. This method proves to be more effective because the encroachers never come to Damaran Baru village again. Women also record in detail what and where the encroachment occurs. They document and then plant in the area of encroachment.

As Agarwal (2010) points out, inclusive participation becomes important in forest governance because women and men can share and practice different experiences—their knowledge and ability are overlapping and complementary. Women's participation in SF in Damaran Baru confirms a more effective forest protection process due to inclusive management.

Through SF, women have access to forest management right. This allows women to carry out routine patrols and forest restoration by planting more than 10,000 trees in the Damaran Baru Village area to prevent landslides. Even in identifying forest potential, Damaran Baru Village is currently developing ecotourism or educational tourism in its area. This forest development plan is based on the observation and planning of women's groups in the village.

Barriers to women's participation in Damaran Baru Village are gender norms. As noted by Colfer (2017), women's mobility is often limited by the assumption that women do not need to be involved in forest management because 1) The forest terrain is dangerous; 2) Women should stay at home; 3) Women must be accompanied for activities outside the house. This belief is also circulated and generally accepted by the people of Damaran Baru, including by women. Gender norms influence women's motivation to be involved in SF. Sentia stated that it is

not easy to convince and gather women to be actively involved in forest management. However, a number of women, such as Sumini, Sentia, and others, still chose to be actively involved in the forest. According to Sentia, the active involvement of the *rangers* was also because of the communication and support from their husbands. In fact, according to her, the forest patrols in Damaran Baru Village have become more effective since the patrol activities are carried out jointly by husband and wife because there is an exchange of knowledge and practical innovation from various perspectives.

Bengkulu Province

Women's participation in the access and governance of social forestry in Bengkulu can be found in the stories of women members of Environmentally Concerned Women's Group (*Kelompok Perempuan Peduli Lingkungan, KPPL*) Sumber Jaya, Karang Jaya Village, and KPPL Sejahtera, Sumber Bening Village in Rejang Lebong Regency. Both are groups of women that are directly involved and apply for licenses for social forestry access in the KK scheme, notably the conservation partnership. The conservation forestry partnership area managed by KPPL Sumber Jaya and KPPL Sejahtera is the *Kerinci Seblat National Park* (TNKS). TNKS has an area of 1.389.510 hectares, which includes Bengkulu, Jambi, North Sumatra, and West Sumatra provinces. Women in Karang Jaya and Sumber Bening villages, who are part of KPPL Sumber Jaya signed conservation partnership cooperation agreements with TNKS Center and KPPL Sejahtera both in 2021.

Similar to the stories of women in Damaran Baru village, women from KPPL Sejahtera and KPPL Sumber Jaya initially found it difficult to get involved in forest and land governance in TNKS area. For women in Rejang Lebong, forest is a terrifying place. Not because of the geographical situation, its darkness, or the presence of wild animals, but because of the forest rangers. Prior to signing the conservation partnership agreements, forest was an unwelcoming place for women in TNKS area.

KPPL Sumber Jaya submitted an application for a conservation partnership cooperation in 2020 and signed a conservation partnership cooperation agreement with TNKS Center in 2021. Similarly, KPPL Sejahtera applied for a conservation partnership cooperation in 2020 and signed a conservation partnership cooperation agreement in 2021. Women in Rejang Lebong experience barriers to accessing the forest due to prevailing gender norms in society. Dedek Hendry, who accompanies KPPL Rejang Lebong from the Institute for Research, Advocacy and

Education (*Lembaga Kajian, Advokasi dan Edukasi, LivE*), in the FGD (2021) stated that there are a number of key challenges with regard to women's participation in TNKS, namely 1) Women's bad experiences with TNKS that made them afraid and not wanting to be involved with TNKS; 2) Barriers from the family; without permission from the husbands it is certain that the wives cannot be involved in KPPL; 3) Culturally, women's mobility is very limited; 4) There is a bad stigma on women who are involved in organizations; 5) When KPPL had the initiative to apply for SF under the conservation partnership scheme, local residents did not believe it and believed that the women in KPPL were victims of fraud by the officials.

Women in the villages in TNKS area are very close and depend their livelihood on the forest. Most of them work as forest farmers. But ironically, before signing the conservation partnership cooperation agreement, their access to the forest was labelled as illegal.

"All this long, to cultivate (the forest), women played cat and mouse (with the officials). The villagers' trees were cut down and their houses were burned down—destroyed. This is the experience of Mrs. Melly, Mrs. Donsri, Mrs. Roisa, and Mrs. Sugini. Mrs. Melly once stayed overnight in the area. Meanwhile, Mrs. Donsri, when she was pregnant, ran when she saw the officials because of doing some activities in the area. Due to fear of meeting the officials, Mrs. Donsri and Mrs. Roisa, ran to a bamboo tree near a cliff while pregnant and holding a child. When they could not run anymore, they usually used the tactic of saying that they are widows (known as seasonal widows)" (Dedek 2021, FGD, February).

Based on Dedek's experience accompanying women, women experience immense vulnerability when accessing forest without a legal guarantee. It is true that the lack of access does not only apply to women but also men in TNKS area. However, in a situation where there is no legal access to forest, women become a group that bears multiple layers of vulnerability.

The lack of access to TNKS for rural communities, including women, has kept them away from their environment, source of income, and main livelihood. In fact, they really need land and forest harvests for their daily life. In such a situation, women are forced to access forest without legal permits, risking their physical and mental safety just to get basic household needs such as firewood, or plants for consumption purposes—not for their own benefit.

As stated by Agarwal (2000), in various studies in the poorest areas of India, when women were excluded or prohibited from accessing state-owned forests, it was often found that women had to access these forests

because of their family's daily needs. If the situation of women as a group that experiences structural inequality comes from the underprivileged group and does not own land, then a just and sustainable forest management will not be achieved because the requirements for an inclusive management are not fulfilled. Based on the FGD with LiVE companions and the experience of women in KPPL, they admitted that they had to play 'cat and mouse' to access the forest areas for the sake of their family's survival.

As a response to the deprivation of access to living space, women's groups in Rejang Lebong area, which are assisted by LiVE, are organised to voice women's interests. The collective action of women in KPPL Sumber Jaya and KPPL Sejahtera is seen as the basis for their political strengthening because through organizations women's voices are taken into account. However, women's collective action in KPPL Rejang Lebong also faces challenges from gender norms and biases in government institutions at the village level. Just listen to what Donsri, the Head of KPPL Sumber Jaya said:

"It was difficult to get the Head of Village's approval for KPPL. Now there is a license from TNKS, so there is already a license for management. At that time, we asked the approval from the Head of Village, but he did not believe it, "it is impossible for women to restore the ecosystem". In fact, to be able to have access to SF, we must have a letter from the Head of Village. It took up to 3 months to get the letter, which could have been issued within a week" (Donsri 2022, FGD, 2 February).

In the story of women's participation in Rejang Lebong TNKS area, women had to meet, negotiate, and convince the village officials that they really have the capacity to be involved in restoring the ecosystem in TNKS area. Ecosystem restoration is also part of their concern because ecosystem sustainability affects their daily livelihood. Their role as direct cultivators strengthens their argument in demanding the right to obtain a decree.

Sumber Jaya KPPL women have been involved in the restoration of the ecosystem. They plant avocado trees, jackfruit trees, durian trees, bitter beans (*petai*), *jengkol*, nutmeg, and other trees. KPPL members also plant 70 trees per person per year. With 40 members, in 2021 KPPL Sumber Jaya women have contributed to the planting of 2.800 trees since joining SF. Likewise, KPPL Sejahtera with 42 members until 2021 has planted 2.940 trees. Agarwal (2000) believes that inclusive participation of women will increase forest efficiency and sustainability. This is evident from the ecological changes to TNKS area.

Significant changes when women are involved in forest management are the increase in forest restoration practices, reduced deforestation, availability of clean water discharge, and the absence of floods and landslides. At the same time, the women's community in KPPL gets the benefit of economic empowerment from the processing and selling of forest products such as jackfruits and avocados. KPPL is currently developing liquid organic fertilizer products and selling tree seeds. These activities provide additional income for women. Not only that, having a legal access makes KPPL women the subject of SF and thus, they have the right to be facilitated by TNKS.

West Kalimantan Province

Women's participation in social forestry in West Kalimantan region highlighted in this research is under two forest schemes, namely customary forest, LPHA Rimok Adat Bukit Semungo in two villages, namely Sungkup and Belaban Ella, Melawi and village forest, LPHD Permata Jaya, Sungai Asam village, Kubu Raya. Both are assisted by Bela Banua Talino Institute (*Lembaga Bela Banua Talino, LBBT*) and JARI.

Of the two regions assisted by the CSOs, the ideal active and interactive participation has not been fully realised in LPHD Permata Jaya. Two women representatives in the villages shared their success in managing pineapples from forest commodities. Pineapple derivative products, such as chips, *dodol* (a fudge-like sweet), *manisan* (preserved fruits), syrup, and *nastar* (pineapple tarts) are the result of the participation of village women as SF managers. Based on the typology of participation by Agarwal (2000), women at the village level only participate in certain activities. This means that they have not been involved in the whole process of forest management. This assumption departs from women at the village level who state that:

"For women, the focus is more on the processing, marketing, and creation of products. They focus more on that. So, for serious work, let them (men) handle it, ma'am... like field work and all" (Tri Susanti and Nur Faizan 2002, interview, 2 February).

From such a statement, women are placed in the pineapple processing role that is considered not as heavy as the work of men in the forest. This condition is justified by the companion:

"During village meetings, they (women) come and are asked for their opinions, input, and roles. What is certain is

that input from women is taken into account in preparing documents. This means that (women) are not only present to follow the initial and final processes, but also to provide input. Although currently JARI's focus is still on reaching the target of 30% female members in LPHD structure" (Bima, 2022, FGD, 2 February).

Gender and social norms also influence rural women in Rimok Adat Bukit Semungo customary forest, Ketemenggungan Belaban Ella, Menukung District, Melawi Regency. In 2016, the Indigenous community of Ketemenggungan Belaban Ella together with other Indigenous communities submitted a customary forest recognition request to the Regional Government. In 2018, Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 4 of 2018 on the Recognition and Protection of Indigenous Communities was issued.

This Regional Regulation is general/regulating in nature and does not mention the identity of any Indigenous communities. In 2019, the Regent of Melawi issued a decree that specifically recognises the existence of Ketemenggungan Belaban Ella Indigenous community. This Decree is a recognition of the legal subject, while the object–Rimok Adat Bukit Semungo customary forest–has not been technically verified (*vertek*) by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry as a prerequisite for the issuance of the decree of the Minister of Environment and Forestry on the recognition of Rimok Adat Bukit Semungo customary forest. Maria Fransisca Tenot, one of the indigenous women in Sungkup village, Ketemenggungan Belaban Ella stated that:

"In my village, the involvement of women is still very minimal, ma'am. Especially if we have an opinion. So, we really have not been involved. But ma'am, we did not back down, we continued to join in spirit although we were not involved, ma'am" (Maria Fransisca 2022, FGD, 2 February).

In addition to the management and protection of forest harvests, women's involvement in the customary forest management in Melawi has been significant with Maria Fransisca Tenot as the Secretary of Rimok Adat Bukit Semungo Customary Forest Management Body (*Lembaga Pengelolaan Hutan Adat, LPHA*). However, if we look at the number, out of 46 LPHA members, there are only 15 women or less than 30%.

According to Agustinus (2022, FGD, 2 February), a companion from LBBT, the involvement of indigenous women is still hindered by the patriarchal culture. It is difficult for women to share their problems. Village women are shy and not confident to be involved in various activities (meetings/ village gatherings). Therefore, companions from CSOs have to develop

strategies, such as accompanying women to the fields and building friendship in order to gain their trust and experience. Furthermore, according to the companions and women at the village level, the involvement of women has not been welcomed by LPHA members, the majority of whom are men.

"There are a lot of obstacles, ma'am. When attending a meeting, it is difficult for men to accept the fact that we want to express our opinion. Secondly, we are also uneducated, we are ordinary people so we do not really understand forest issues. If we say we want to create a group, my friend's husband will not allow it. So, he disagrees" (Maria Fransisca 2022, FGD, 2 February).

According to Agarwal (2000), individual attributes such as education, knowledge, and social status in society are one of the factors that influence women's participation in environmental governance. Knowledge is a factor that determines a person's power, expertise, and legitimacy to express opinions or ideas. Meanwhile, women, who are often excluded from formal and informal education due to cultural limitations, become a powerless group in society.

Young (2009) states that people who are powerless tend to be excluded from public dialogue process. This happened to the women's group at Rimok Adat Bukit Semungo LPHA. The sense of inferiority is often internalised within the subordinate group. As a result, they do not have the courage to demand for justice. They may also not realise or surrender to the situation, which ultimately results in a voiceless community. The accompaniment of CSOs and strengthening of women's collective action is an empowerment tool for women to have a voice. In women's group organization, each member is empowered to be involved in public life as equal partners. Mental barrier to speaking up is responded to through various trainings and capacity building activities. Although women's participation in forest governance in West Kalimantan province is hampered by gender norms, technically their participation is apparent. In Sungai Asam LPHD, of its 19 members, six are women. Meanwhile, at Rimok Adat Bukit Semungo LPHA, out of 46 members, 15 women have participated in the structure of the LPHA.

The main way to empower women is by building women's collective action, creating a safe space for women to participate to the extent that they can freely engage in public discussions with men as equal partners (Colfer 2013 & Tripathi et al. 2012). Individual attributes such as education are an asset to make women have a position and bargaining power in society. In the experience of rural women in West Kalimantan province,

education and strengthening of knowledge by CSOs have become the foundation for strengthening women's position in society as well as in LPHD and LPHA.

Central Sulawesi Province

Similar to women in other provinces, forests and farms are very important resources for the livelihood of women in the Seroja farmer group, Bondoyong Village, Parigi Moutong Regency, Central Sulawesi. Around 98% of the population work as farmers managing farms in forest areas. According to Onna Samada, Head of LPHD Bondoyong, women's initial involvement in the SF program was because of GPS information that indicated that their village area was part of a protected forest area.

"So, our activities came from the farms. We were very worried when we found out that our land was part of that (protected forest) area because that would make our activities there illegal. During the hearings with related parties, we asked how we could make our activities legal, because if they are illegal, we could not live. How could we eat? In our areas, there are clove, nutmeg, cocoa, and monthly crops such as corn, chilies, etc." (Onna 2022, FGD, 2 February).

The submission and issuance of Bondoyong HPHD decree was a result of the collective initiative of women's groups. Women in LPHD Bondoyong, which was initiated by Onna, carried out a number of self-help activities to obtain the decree. Based on Onna's experience, organising women's groups in her village is not an easy task. When they wanted to apply for the decree, not many Bondoyong village women wanted to be involved.

After the women's group was created, the next challenge in obtaining the decree was the lack of funding for the administrative process. At that time, Seroja women farmers, Bondoyong Village's women's collective initiative group, did not have any savings or group membership fees. This kind of challenge is related to structural inequality, in which village women, including women in Bondoyong Village, have limited access to the economy that prevented them from financing the logistics for the mapping of the area.

Meinzen-Dick (1997) states that in many cases in various countries, women's participation in forest access and governance is not prohibited in regulations or policies. In fact, policies related to forest governance often state that access is open to all genders; however, it is important to acknowledge that forest access and governance is not equal for both genders. According to Meinzen-Dick, the process of obtaining a decree in various regions is a fairly

complex process, requiring money, political connections, knowledge, capacity to negotiate and lobby, and various other resources. With the support and accompaniment of CSOs and the negotiation process with the government at the village level, Seroja women farmers group received Rp6.000.000,00 in funding for the administrative process of the decree. They used the fund for the logistical needs of women cadres who conduct mapping of forest areas.

This shows that gender-neutral policy and implementation alone are not enough to ensure that women and men become beneficiaries of the program equitably. In the situation where women, who experience structural inequality and limitations in both economic access and education, justice should follow the principle of equity instead of the principle of equality. This means that in order for women to enjoy the same empowerment benefits from a program, women's groups need affirmative actions or a number of special facilitations as carried out by CSOs that assist women's groups.

The involvement of women in SF, in Bondoyong Village, seems quite strong. This means that Onna as a woman at the village level took the initiative and organised a group of women to initiate the HPHD decree. Under Onna's leadership at LPHD Bondoyong and in the Seroja women farmers group, women were involved in almost all forest management activities. At the pre-license stage, women carried out mapping, identification, monitoring, and forest management. Post-HPHD decree issuance, women's groups were involved in forest patrols, training, management, and sales of forest products, such as coffees, bitter beans (*petai*), and gingers as well as forest derivative products such as rattan handicrafts. Although women's involvement in SF shows a significant impact on more productive and efficient village forest area management, at first this involvement was hampered by gender stereotypes within society, both gender biased practices by the village officials and internal barriers from the families of Seroja women's group members.

One of the challenges that Onna faced as a woman was that the work that she did was overlooked by local village officials as well as the community. One time Onna was assaulted by fellow residents of Bondoyong Village who supported an illegal mining located in a forest area, but that did not stop her struggle to protect the environment. Although at first the community and village institution did not take Onna's work seriously, in the end, Onna's evidence and argument were accepted as a basis for the closure of the illegal mining in Bondoyong Village, whose existence caused floods that inundated two villages, Sidoan Barat and Sidoan. The mining also

disrupted the river that previously flowed smoothly from Bondoyong Village.

Another challenge in promoting the involvement of women in Bondoyong Village in SF was the difficulty of recruiting and empowering women members. Onna had to implement a number of strategies so that Seroja women could organise, gather, and participate in discussions and trainings. At the beginning of the recruitment of Seroja women, the community still doubted the benefit of organising because in their understanding, benefit must be in the form of money. However, through discussions, Onna explained that collective action is important for village development and sustainability as well as women's welfare, even though the results and benefits could not be directly felt. After gaining understanding, many women wanted to be involved in SF although there were still other obstacles, namely not getting permission from their husbands. This obstacle was overcome through education and participation so that men understand the meaning of equality and husbands have the opportunity to participate in existing programs.

In the case of Bondoyong Village, legal access to the forest protects women's work. While there is a division of labour that refers to gender roles, namely that men are mainly involved in production activities while women are involved in the forest protection, women benefit from both aspects. According to Onna, the division of labour is based on physical condition. Production work related to land provision, planting, and harvesting requires great power and thus, the work is dominated by men. However, women are involved in the process of identifying plants, what will be planted, and what will be produced in the future as well as in determining the management of the SF area.

The existence of legal access to village forests makes women recognised legal subjects. Accordingly, they have the right to have their needs facilitated, whether it is the provision of tools to support the production process, training related to product processing, disaster mitigation, and others. An important achievement of women's participation in forest management is the support for farming development for women's groups and better monitoring and protection of forests. The courage and persistence of women in the village to refuse illegal mining have also succeeded in encouraging the local government to close down illegal mining. From the ecological aspect, after Seroja women were involved in forest management, there was no more flooding in the village area because the landslide areas had been planted

with trees and the mines that caused the flooding had been closed.

West Papua

Ogoney Indigenous peoples are part of Moskona tribe. Their customary area of 21.210,75 hectares is located in Merdey Village, Teluk Bintuni Regency, West Papua Province. According to Sulfianto, Head of Panah Papua, currently the Ogoney community is still fighting for the management right of Indigenous peoples from the KLHK (FGD 2022, 28 January). The initiative to apply for a Customary Forest Decree began from local community's concerns over the issuance of the annual work plan (*Rencana Kerja Tahunan, RKT*) of a timber management company whose concession extends to customary areas in the Merdey district. Forest concession along the Moskona tribal area has been issued. With this permit, the customary forest area is threatened (Elisabeth 2020 & Panah Papua 2020).

In an effort to protect the living space of Ogoney Indigenous peoples, Yustina Ogoney as a government representative who serves as district head and as part of Ogoney Indigenous peoples initiated the submission of a Decree on the Recognition of Indigenous Peoples as an initial prerequisite for submitting a Customary Forest Decree from the KLHK. This process was burdensome. According to Yustina, initially Indigenous peoples were not aware of the purpose and importance of the Decree on the Recognition of Indigenous Peoples, which has an impact on the legal recognition of customary territories. The Decree on the Recognition of Ogoney Indigenous Peoples was obtained from the Regent of Teluk Bintuni.

In the process of applying for the customary forest, instead of getting their support, the community initially mistrusted her, questioning her capacity because of her gender and assaulting her. Yustina was the initiator of the Decree on the Recognition of Ogoney Indigenous Peoples. She was involved in the entire process of the issuance the Decree. She explained that the initial assessment process was very challenging because there were conflicts between fellow communities regarding the determination of territorial boundaries. In Moskona culture, women do not have the space to speak and be involved in customary decisions. In traditional ceremonies, even if women are involved, they are only involved in the rituals and logistics of customary activities.

In the process of submitting the Decree on the Recognition of Indigenous Peoples, Yustina was the only woman involved in the submission. This is because

Yustina is an educated woman and has a position as a district head or government representative in her area. Her position as a leader and knowledge of bahasa Indonesia and local traditional languages allowed her to understand and communicate the aspirations of the Indigenous peoples to the village government. But this is not the case for other Indigenous women. Their voices do not define the decisions at the village level. Even if women are said to be participating, the form of their participation is only limited to organising customary ceremonies. This situation justifies the opinion of Agarwal (2010) concerning the importance of education and knowledge attributes possessed by women so that their participation in environmental governance is taken into account.

"Yes, women were involved. They were present in the process of determining customary boundaries. But the role of women was to remind their brothers to not forget about territorial boundaries based on ancestral heritage. Women were also involved in customary ceremonies. Women made oaths of peace. The goal was to ensure that there will be no more conflicts" (Yustina 2022, interview, 9 February).

Based on Yustina's explanation, the involvement of Moskona Indigenous women is to prepare rituals and remind their brothers, but they are not able to raise their voices fully and autonomously in customary ceremonies.

In a patrilineal kinship system, women's right to resources is determined by their male relatives. This factor becomes one of the reasons why it is very difficult for women to own a land (Meinzen-dick et al. 1997). A further implication is that women do not have access nor the right to manage land. In the context of Moskona Indigenous peoples, Indigenous women are involved as a whisperer to their brothers. Their opinions could be heard—or could not be heard. This means that their voices are not elevated openly let alone recognised in customary decision-making. The kinship system and local customs are the basis for gender inequality in forest distribution. Women do not have any territory in their customary lands nor access to forest products. In Ogoney's customary rules, women cannot directly access forest products, let alone take and sell them. Yustina stated that customary lands are only inherited to sons or male relatives, so women could only take or manage the products if allowed by their brothers.

"There are no other functions for women in accessing customary forests. Men are in charge. For example, at the time of harvesting nutmeg, brother and sister go together to harvest, but it is up to the brother to share the sale

proceeds with the sister. So, women only receive what men give. They do not know the selling price or the profit and so on" (Yustina 2022, interview, 9 February).

In terms of land ownership, women have been excluded from the patrilineal kinship system. The same goes for access to trees and forest products. Furthermore, the mobility and participation of women in Indigenous communities is very limited.

According to Yustina, the lack of women's participation in customary forest management is not due to the lack of motivation from women, but because they are prevented/restricted from being involved.

"The refusal (of Indigenous women's involvement in organizations) comes from husbands who are not supportive. If the wife comes to activities in the district hall, after returning home, she will surely be beaten or scolded. The husband usually asks why the wife is involved in activities while the children at home are starving. This is the reason for the refusal" (Yustina 2022, interview, 9 February).

When women organise and participate in public affairs, they are considered irresponsible women because they neglect their household. Similar to De Beauvoir's view about women being trapped in domestic work (Veltman 2004) and that is why a strategy is needed to bridge this situation. One of Yustina's strategies is to prepare a day care room in the place where she conducts trainings for Indigenous women. Yustina also took a family approach to husbands by asking their permission so that the wives could be invited to activities.

In the context of SF, Ogoney Indigenous peoples are still fighting for the Customary Forest Decree from KLHK; however, an important result that they have achieved is the issuance of Regent's Decree No. 188.4.5/ H-10/2021 concerning the Recognition of Ogoney Indigenous Peoples. This Decree signifies the legal recognition of the existence of the Ogoney tribe, its customary territory, territorial boundaries with customary territories of other tribes, recognition of customary territory map, and recognition of customary law in the Ogoney tribe.

After the recognition of Ogoney Indigenous Peoples, the community has the legal right to manage their customary territory. Unfortunately, the benefits of equitable distribution of welfare and transformative participation have not yet reached Moskona Indigenous women's group. In general, the community has the awareness of preserving the environment since the issuance of the Decree, but there has been no significant change in the form of women's participation in forest

management. They remain marginalised and still have no rights to the forest. The position of women in society does not become more empowered or recognised.

Another interesting thing in the process of obtaining the Decree on the Recognition of the Ogoney Indigenous Peoples by Yustina is how customary law is used as a strategy to press for the issuance of the Decree. In the process of submitting the Decree, initially Yustina and the Indigenous peoples were not treated seriously by the local government. The application process was made unclear and confusing until Yustina burst into tears on one occasion. At that time, Ogoney Indigenous peoples imposed customary sanctions on the village government in the form of customary fines for treating their sister with disrespect, mocking, and/or neglecting them. Based on these customary rules, Yustina succeeded in pressuring the local government to take them seriously, until finally the Decree on the Recognition of Indigenous Peoples was issued.

Unfortunately, customary law does not generally apply because the same rules are not applied to fellow Indigenous peoples who discriminate and assault Yustina. In the process of submitting the Decree for Recognition of Indigenous Peoples, Yustina often received inappropriate comments and death threats from fellow Indigenous peoples. The customary law unfortunately was not enforced to punish the perpetrators of the violence against Yustina. According to Yustina, customary law only applies when there is a violation against a customary member who has a position or customary nobility, while she is not a noble. This has often been the concern of feminists such as Okin (1999) that in the cultural group or Indigenous peoples' movements, women are a sub-marginal group. They are often at the forefront of the struggle but injustice against women in culture is not intervened. In the context of Indigenous peoples, with the justification of customary authorities and in the interest of maintaining traditions, gender inequality continues to be reproduced and the exclusion of women continues. Therefore, gender-sensitive policies should also integrate cultural revitalisation efforts and/or meaningful affirmative efforts so that women can be fully involved in forest management.

Women's Participation and Empowerment

Over the last few decades, the issue of women's participation has become the basis for development

and research programs in every sector. The concept of participation becomes the foundation for ensuring the empowerment of vulnerable and marginalised groups, the basis for inclusivity practices as well as good democratic practices and promotes efficiency. In many approaches, women's participation is used as a measure of success or an objective of a program. The Gender Mainstreaming Program (PUG), for example, is translated into technical regulations to ensure the involvement of women in development and as beneficiaries of a program. Nonetheless, Agarwal (2000) believes that participation has many faces. Often, participation is used and misinterpreted to obscure the fact that women remain a marginalised vulnerable group. In the concept of participation, the issues of inequality in power relations and cultural and structural challenges are considered to have been fully answered only by proving that there are women involved in a program or there is evidence that a number of women are present in an activity. The broad concept of participation often obscures the situation of inequality that remains rooted in the community and does not bring about transformative change. Agarwal (2000) in her typology divides various forms of participation that can be applied to the practice of involving women in SF program at the village level.

Various typologies show the types and levels ranging from the least effective, namely nominal participation, which emphasises on numerical/physical presence to the most effective participation, namely interactive participation and empowerment where female subjects are able to take the initiative and show their influence in the community. Various practices of women's participation encouraged by both CSOs and/or the State often only focus on numerical strength than women's ability to fully participate in decision-making. This is evident from the practices of involving women in village level meetings or discussions but without any efforts or assurances that women's voices are guaranteed to be considered and accommodated. In an effort to promote transformative participation, a number of companions from CSOs have identified barriers for rural women to participate. These challenges include the lack of organizational experience, the lack of self-confidence, and the lack of skills to engage in public spaces. Another challenge faced in the research area is strong gender norms that assume that it is men who have the capacity to talk about forests and that women's interests are/or can be represented by men.

Table 3. Typology of Women's Participation in Five Provinces

Participation Level	Participation Characteristics
Nominal Participation	Nominal participation is the initial form of participation. In the creation of women's organizations supported by CSOs, the first way to ensure participation is to target women's involvement in a certain quota. Almost all villages involved are trying to ensure a certain number of women involved in village institutions managing SF (LPHD and LPHA).
Passive Participation	Papua Province shows passive participation because Indigenous women generally have no space in village discussions. They only accept and follow the decisions made by their brother who is the representative of the family. Customary rules do not allow them to participate.
Consultative Participation and/or Active Participation	West Kalimantan Province is in the consultative and active typologies. Rural women both in LPHD and LPHA schemes have been involved in village meetings and village policy making processes even though the main subject in the discussions are men. Women have also given their aspirations, although they are not always or completely accommodated in the RPJMDes. However, women already have certain tasks in social forestry management, such as planting tree seeds, managing medicinal plants, and joining the Fire Care Community (<i>Masyarakat Peduli Api</i>) as a form of environmental care.
Interactive participation (empowerment)	Interactive participation is found in women's practices in Aceh, Bengkulu, and also Central Sulawesi. The three regions show the practice of substantive involvement of women in forest management. This is evident from the presence of women in strategic positions in LPHD organizations in Aceh and Central Sulawesi Provinces and TNKS Conservation Partnership Forests. In the three provinces, women hold a chairship position in the organizational structure of SF management. As a result, the interests of women's groups are genuinely asserted and realised in the SF management program. These three provinces have not only presented successes in ecological transformation, but have also strengthened women's political status in society. This is evident from the fact that women have been involved in forest planning and management.

Source: FGD data which was processed and analysed using Agarwal's (2000) typology

Women's participation in SF has proven to be important because it improves the management and distribution of resources in an effective and sustainable manner. This research found that the participation of women in SF offers them empowerment. According to Agarwal (2000), empowerment is a process that enhances the ability of disadvantaged and powerless individuals or groups to challenge and change existing power relationship that places them in subordinate economic, social, and political position. Empowerment can also be defined as a situation where women's capabilities and interests are considered in forest governance. Therefore, the main condition for generating empowerment is the presence of women's voices (Colfer 2016). The research in the five provinces above shows that the emergence of women's voices has become the engine/power for various innovations in environmental management. Women have the knowledge, skills, and concerns for various issues that may go unnoticed by men.

A number of empowerment strategies from CSOs have proven to have strengthened the capacity of rural women in four provinces, namely Aceh, Bengkulu,

West Kalimantan, and Central Sulawesi to express their opinions and to be actively involved in dialogues regarding the determination of the governance of their SF areas. Meanwhile in Papua, due to customary culture, women have not been significantly involved in the management of SF nor do they get a fair distribution of the customary forest SF program. Nevertheless, Yustina still strategises and fights so that women have a safe space in the women's community and learn to voice their opinions. In the case of West Papua, the authors note that SF policy must further identify and intervene in the structural and cultural barriers experienced by women. Through facilitation from the government and CSOs, a patriarchal culture revitalisation program must be carried out. Gender-based perspective and analysis in forest governance aim to promote interactive engagement that creates social transformation. Empowerment should not only stop at economic and ecological empowerment. Furthermore, gender-sensitive SF programs should also intervene in issues of cultural norm and cultural essentialism in rural areas that are used to justify women's exclusion. If not, women will not get a fair distribution of meaningful resources.

Closing

The Social Forestry program has a good vision and mission, namely a fair and inclusive distribution of resources with the principle of maintaining the sustainability of forests. Social forestry policies do not prevent women's participation and open up opportunities for women to be involved. However, the existing policies are not sensitive to seriously respond to concrete situations that occur in the field, especially in the village forest scheme model. However, good achievements have been seen in the participation of women in TNKS, Rejang Lebong Province. TNKS has encouraged women's participation through KPPLs which are managed and run entirely by women's groups. What is missing from the policy intervention is the existence of masculine hegemony in the forest and gender hierarchy. Social norms, gender perceptions, and attribute limitations on women have prevented them from having equal access to resources from the beginning.

The five provinces demonstrate that collective actions and group organising are essential to empowering women—to make women's voices heard. This research also shows the importance of disseminating the understanding of gender justice to village officials given that they are the face of government in rural areas. The absence of a gender justice perspective from village officials ultimately becomes an obstacle to women's participation in SF. Women still have to work hard to simply get their rights as villagers and citizens.

The responsibility of policy makers does not stop at the concept of equality or the assumption that women and men have an equal access. The special needs of women who experience layered marginalisation due to cultural and gender norms need to be recognised and intervened. Hence, to achieve gender justice in SF, the policies should not only be at the gender-neutral level that focus on equality or parity. Gender transformative policies are policies that are based on equity; policies that recognise and accommodate marginalised voices—women's voices. If not, the gender mainstreaming effort will fail to reach the target group.

This research also found that accompaniment was the most effective form of empowerment and responded to the challenges of women's participation. The accompaniment process carried out by CSOs included empowerment so that women are able to speak in public and have the knowledge of forest management, approval administration, as well as the values of gender equality. The success stories of women in rural areas cannot be

separated from the various strategies carried out by the companions and *champions* to ensure that gender norms no longer become a barrier to women's participation in forest management.

The key role of companions is to build awareness and encourage women to have legal access to forests. In addition, policies related to forest management and their implementation must have a gender perspective. If not, women will remain a marginal group that does not get a fair distribution of resources. Based on the practices and challenges experienced by the resource persons from the five provinces, things that need to be considered in resource management are women's collective actions, women's knowledge of the environment, economic empowerment, women's participation in decision making, and the dismantlement of unfair gender structures at the village level. In the context of Papua, although the Decree on the Recognition of Indigenous Peoples was successfully obtained, in the end women remained a marginal group. This is the risk that needs to be noticed and intervened up front. In involving women in SF, cultural aspects and gender norms of society must also be the target of intervention. Local culture also needs to be revitalised to achieve social and ecological transformation. Without a feminist-based analysis, in the end women are only used as a tool to achieve group interests, but the ideals of gender equality are not touched, let alone pursued.

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AUTHOR GUIDELINES

Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is a quarterly interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. JP invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships.

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