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Sustainable Agriculture in Rural Indonesia



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(Eds.)

Gadjah Mada University Press

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Preface

Ensuring food security and conserving the environment are subjects of global concern. It is particularly important to evaluate the role of agricultural production in tackling these issues, especially in developing countries. Our study focused on Java, Indonesia, and examined measures for establishing a sustainable agricultural production system while conserving the fragile natural environment. Java has a high population density, and there is much conflict between agricultural development and environmental conservation. The conflict has become more serious since the economic crisis in Southeast Asia started in 1997.

To study the issues, we established four study groups of natural and social scientists, who carried out field research in rural areas of Java. The groups had the following research topics: (1) studies of environmental change and sustainable development; (2) studies of sustainable use of botanical resources on arable land; (3) socioeconomic studies of sustainable development in rural Indonesia; and (4) landscape-ecological studies of sustainable bioresource management systems in rural Indonesia. These four topics are of course interrelated and will be later integrated in this study.

The first group assessed the current status of environmental degradation due to recent land use changes. The main study area was the Cidanau Watershed in West Java. Land use changes were analyzed by using remote sensing and GIS, and examples of environmental degradation such as water shortage, soil erosion, and eutrophication of lakes were measured in a field survey. The group proposes a system of sustainable land use and integrated basin management through the improvement of infrastructure for agricultural production.

The second group identified local botanical resources and evaluated multiple agricultural functions for sustainable resource use. It focused on locally distributed botanical resources, evaluated their traditional uses, and investigated the possibility of introducing biotechnology into improvement of botanical resources. In particular, it studied the genetic diversity of plants grown in traditional cropping systems, varietal differences in shade tolerance, and the relationships between shade tolerance and photosynthetic characteristics.

The third group studied the social structure supporting agricultural production, and proposes an institutional framework of rural society that guarantees environmentally friendly sustainable development based on an understanding of recent changes in social structure. It presents a way to overcome the problems caused by modernization in agriculture and offers a view of a new sustainable society. The group combined macro-analysis of the rice marketing structure with micro-analysis of the farm household economy, focusing on selected hamlets in Central and West Java.

The fourth group investigated the possibility of restructuring the rural

ecosystem, including the introduction of a material cycling system for bioresources such as plants, animals, fish, and biological wastes. It focused on the integration of landscape elements and proposes a new, sustainable bioresource use system at the local level. Landscape structure and functions were investigated on different spatial scales, and a detailed material flow in hamlets based on nitrogen flow is presented. The group suggests that the reconstruction of a sustainable system can be achieved only by restructuring the watershed-based biomass recycling system.

This study was conducted with the support of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science and the Directorate-General for Higher Education of Indonesia. It started five years ago (1998) as a Core University Program in applied bioscience. The Graduate School of Agricultural and Life Sciences of The University of Tokyo and Bogor Agricultural University have played key roles in Japan and Indonesia, respectively. Many researchers have joined this study from other partner universities: Tohoku University, Utsunomiya University, Kyoto University, Okayama University, Kyushu University, and Kobe University (Japan); and Gadjah Mada University, Padjadjaran University, Bandung Institute of Technology, and the National Atomic Energy Agency (Indonesia). We would like to express our gratitude to those who helped us in conducting this study.

This book has been compiled to show the progress of the Core University Program, which will continue for another five years. We selected outstanding papers by the four groups for inclusion; these papers have already been published in academic journals. We hope that this book will increase the reader's understanding of the current state of rural Indonesia, and that it will thus help to establish sustainable rural societies in highly populated developing countries, in particular Indonesia.

February 15, 2003

Editors

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III-11 Gender in Sustainability of Local Organizations and Institutions (A Case In Two Upland Villages of West Java)

*Siti Sugiah Machfud Mugniesyah and Kosuke Mizuno**

1. Introduction

1-1 Background

Our experience, which is supported by agricultural research and extension, shows that conventional rural/agricultural development was dominated by some of the following characteristics: (1) it neglected upland agricultural resources, (2) it neglected the indigenous farmers' knowledge and local technology, (3) it was not human resource based and neglected the local institutions, and (4) it was gender biased (Reintjes et al, 1992; Uphoff, 1993; Chambers, 1993). This old paradigm was not successful for sustainable agricultural and/or rural development programs, as reflected the poverty and environment degradation as well as women marginalization. Moreover, as the emphasis was on top-down and centralized approach, it resulted in the degradation of farmers' creativity and their dependency on government aid as well as the degradation of the local institutions (Anonymous, 2001a).

Besides the physical-technical and the economic-financial dimensions, the agricultural development has another dimension, that is, the institutional-human dimension, which is related to the other two (Goldsmith and Brinkerhoff, 1990). In other words, local institutions are one of the integral parts of human resources, which determine the sustainability of agricultural/rural development.

In terms of human resource, as the fourth most populated country in the world, Indonesia has approximately 210 million people, more than 50 per cent of whom are women (Ministry of Women Empowerment, 2001). In relation to the role of men and women in development, the stereotype that still exists is that men are dominant in the public domain and women are dominant in domestic/reproductive roles. This stereotype has led to gender inequality in the sharing of power and decision making at all levels, households, communities, and nations (United Nations, 1995).

The previous studies on sustainability of agricultural/rural development paid more attention to the ecological and economic aspects but they were lacking in the aspect of local institutions. In cases where the studies were concerned with local institutions, the gender perspectives were neglected. As stated by Stamp, there has

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been little emphasis in the development literature and in development policies on the distinction between those organizations generated from within the community's own customs and the need of those imposed from outside. Nor has there been much attention to the relationships between the structure of local organizations and the way in which gender shapes access to and participate in them (Thomas-Slayter and Rocheleau, 1995).

In the Indonesian context, there has been some study related to women's participation in local organizations and institutions. A study that was conducted by Tjondronegoro (1987) on social organizations and planned development in rural Java, intensively reported about leadership in various organizations and institutions. However, in general, he did not mention the gender relation in the matter, and there is not enough information available on women's participation and leadership in rural development. His explanation on women's social organizations mainly focused on the role of wives of the sub-district heads (*camat*) as the appropriate patrons of Program *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (Family Welfare Education Program) or PKK at the rural level. Meanwhile, a recent study that was conducted in Central Java by Megawangi et. al. (2000), mainly focused on the relationship between the degree of mothers' participation in PKK and the family resource aspects, not on gender perspectives.

As rural development programs in Indonesia faced a new and complex situation, especially after the collapse of the New Order in mid of 1997, it was important to conduct a study on gender in local organizations and institutions. The importance of this study was also related to the change in political atmosphere in Indonesia since the step down of President Suharto. When Habibie's administration promoted the decentralization policy by legitimizing Act No. 22/1999 on Regional Autonomy, which was later followed by an issuance of government regulation, the provincial government had the authority to coordinate the implementation of women empowerment programs at the sub-national level (Anonymous, 2001b; Mizuno et.al., 2002). Moreover, in December 2000, Abdurrahman Wahid issued Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 on the Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. The Presidential Decree instructed all Ministries, Local Governments and other Government institutions to conduct gender mainstreaming within their development programs. As an implication, the provincial government had to develop a minimum service standard that elaborate a minimum service of effort that should be conducted regarding women empowerment (Anonymous, 2000). This meant that it was important to consider how organizations and institutions worked at the community level, to explore their connections to ascertain ways in which organizations are shaped by gender-defined roles and relations. This paper tried to point out the gender relations in sustainability of local organizations and institutions.

1-2 Objectives of the study

In general the study was concerned with gender in local organizations and institutions sustainability, especially in upland rural areas. The objectives of the study were: (1) to identify and analyze the gender relations in terms of men and women's participation in various local organizations and institutions, (2) to compare whether there were any differences on gender inequality and equity in the development of local organizations and institutions under the New Order and the Reform Era, (3) to identify problems and constraints concerning the sustainability of local organizations and institutions.

1-3 Conceptual framework and field methodology

As women and men are members of a family as well as members of various organizations and institutions in their community, the effectiveness of institutional responses is linked to the roles of both women and men within the local community. This is supported by Slayter and Rocheleau (1995), who stated that gender is an important key factor in division of labor and rights and responsibilities and that it affects the management of local systems for sustainable livelihood and equitable development. Furthermore, in communities around the world, women as well as men are resource users and managers, and they have different roles, responsibilities, opportunities and constraints in managing natural resources both within the household and in the community.

Local organizations as well as institutions are widely regarded as critical ingredients in the development process (Uphoff, 1986). To identify the type of local organizations and institutions that exist in rural areas, we have referred to Tjondronegoro's (1983) and Uphoff's concepts. Tjondronegoro (1983) stated that we could differentiate between the institution and organization based on a number of important variables in compliance with institution-organization continuum; they are: (1) the degree of felt needs vs. set goals, (2) the nature and degree of socialization, (3) the degree of involvement, (4) the degree of compliance with norms vs. rules and regulations and (5) the degree of paternalistic vs. hierarchical authority. Uphoff (1993) stated that in general, organizations or not are complexes of norms and behaviors that persist over time by serving collectively valued purposes. Meanwhile, he also stated that the terms of local levels refer to three levels: locality, group, community and group. Locality level is a set of communities having cooperative/commercial relations; this level may be the same as the sub-district level. Community level is relatively self-contained, socio-economic-residential unit, while group level is a self-identified set of persons having some common interests such as a small residential group like hamlet, neighborhood, an occupational group or other groupings. In addition, he also mentioned about the importance of gender-based in the decision making process in local organizations and institutions.

Feminist scholars agreed that gender is a social construction that shapes the roles and relationships of human beings across all dimensions of activities. This means that gender refers to social differences and relations between men and women studied, and varies widely among societies and cultures and change over time (Anonymous, 2000). In terms of gender relations (Agarwal, 1994) stated that it refers to power relationship between women and men as it is revealed in a range of practices, ideas, and representations, including division of labor, role, and resources. She also stated that gender analysis emphasizes the importance of analyzing women, as well as men, in relation to each other rather than in isolation, and of understanding gender relations at all levels of social organizations. Based on these terms, we used the gender analysis, as a tool to diagnose differences between men and women regarding their access to and control over local organizations and institutions, especially by analyzing their participation in decision-making and activities. On the contrary, Moser (1993) differentiated gender roles in community levels into community managing and community politics. The community managing role comprises of activities undertaken primarily by women at the community level as an extension of their reproductive role; in contrast, the community politics comprises of activities undertaken by men at the community level which are organized at the formal political level and this is usually paid work, either directly or indirectly, through wages or increase in status and power.

Based on the explanation above, this study has tried to argue that as women are dominantly stereotyped as housekeepers or responsible for reproductive roles, their participation in local organizations and institutions is dominant in the community and group levels (Uphoff, 1993). In contrast, as men are dominantly stereotyped as breadwinners or responsible for productive roles, their participation in local organizations and institutions is dominant at local levels and in what Moser stated as community politics activities. In addition, as the political atmosphere changed, it would be interesting to compare gender in local organizations and institutions, under the New Order and the Reform Era.

This study was conducted at two upland villages of West Java, Kemang Village in Cianjur District and Cisarua Village in Sukabumi District¹⁾. The research methodology that is used in this study is qualitative approach using the Focus Group Discussion, in-depth-interview and in some cases, participatory observation

2. A Glance of the Research Site

Kemang village is located in the southern part of Cianjur District, West Java and lies at an elevation of between 400 – 800 meters above sea level, and the topography ranges from slightly sloping, hilly, to steep sloping, with an average rainfall of around 1,945 mm per year (Anonymous, 1997). As an isolated village, it is about 7 km from the sub-district capital, 25 km from Cianjur city and 122 km from the capital city, Jakarta (Anonymous, 1998b). The second case village,

Cisarua village, is one of the villages in Sukaraja sub-district which is located in the mountainous area at 900-1300 meters above sea level and the average temperature is between 18 to 30 degrees Celsius and the average rainfall is between 2,000-4,000 mm per year (Anonymous, 1998). Compared to Kemang Village, Cisarua Village is more accessible due to relatively good road conditions and public transportation. The distance to the village from the sub-district and district capital is around 12 km, 96 km from Bandung (provincial capital city) and 119 km from Jakarta (Anonymous, 1999).

In terms of the village area, the total area of Kemang Village is larger than that of Cisarua Village, 2,518.6 hectares and 766 hectares respectively. Of the total area in the two case villages, the largest area is the forest, which belongs to the *Perum Perhutani* or National Forest Land. In Kemang Village, the *Perhutani's* Land covers around 1040.55 hectares; representing 55.7 per cent of the total area. Meanwhile, in Cisarua village it is around 247.32 hectares, representing around 32.3 per cent of the total village area. In addition, Cisarua Village has around 127.6 hectares of tea plantation land that belongs to PT. Goal Para (National Plantation Corporation). As an upland village, the percentage of rice-fields in the two case villages is very low, 3 per cent in Kemang and 4 per cent in Cisarua. Sloping land or dry land is the majority agricultural land that belongs to village inhabitants. In Kemang the size is 900 hectares or 36 per cent of the total area, while in Cisarua it is around 307 hectares – one third of that in Kemang Village—or 32 per cent of the total land in Cisarua.

The total population in Kemang Village was 4,335 people, among whom females slightly outnumbered males. The former was 50.7 per cent in 1998, and the number of households was 1,020 (Anonymous, 1998). Meanwhile, the population in Cisarua Village was higher than that in Kemang, that was around 5,754 people with 49.2 per cent female (Anonymous, 1998b). Regarding employment, as upland villages, the majority of rural inhabitants worked in agriculture. Furthermore, as the altitude of the two case villages was different, the commodities cultivated in the two villages are different, too. Kemang Village farmers practice the *huma-talun* pattern where the cultivated commodities are varied, depending on the land succession stage that is chosen by the farmer's household - usually from paddy huma, legumes, vegetables such as cucumber, eggplant and snake bean. Meanwhile, in Cisarua Village, farmers cultivate horticultural commodities such as tomatoes, green beans, Chinese cabbage, red chilies, strawberries and some others. As Cisarua Village is also located in the tea plantation area (PT. Goal Para), the majority of the people, especially the poor households – the landless and small farmer households – work as laborers in the tea plantation.

3. Gender Representation in Local Organizations

3-1 Gender in village organization

3-1-1 Gender in village government officials

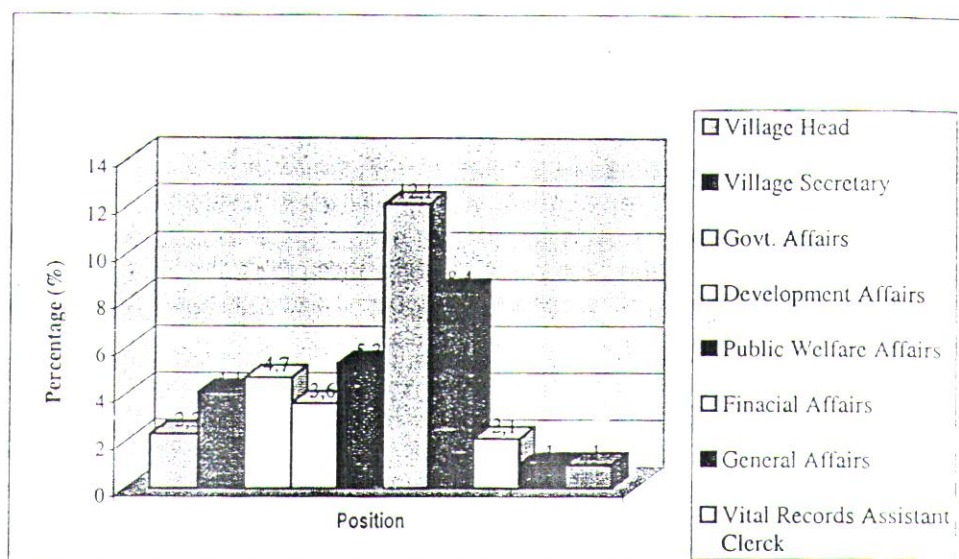
Based on Act No. 5 of 1979 regarding Village Administration, village government officials consisted of a village head, a village secretary, and 5 heads of affairs/sections – government, development, public welfare, financial and general affairs/sections – and a vital record assistant clerk. As gender ideology strongly influenced the village community in the election of the village government officials at the national level, it was found that the majority of village administrators were male dominated as shown in Figure III-11-1 and Figure III-11-2. As can be seen in these figures in 1999, of 444,138 village government officials throughout Indonesia, only 22,049 (5 per cent) were women. However, this figure represented 3 per cent increase from 1996. From the position, it can be seen that representation of women as village head and clerk were the two lowest percentages (2 per cent), while the highest percentage was in financial affairs (12 per cent). In terms of village head, in 1999, of 68,347 villages in Indonesia, there were 1,559 women holding the position of the village head, which means that only 2.3 per cent of the women shared the job. This represents a 0.3 per cent increase from the 1996, as in this year, of 66,045 villages, there were 1,306 women holding village head positions (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2000).

The figure in the national condition was not reflected in the two case villages, Kemang and Cisarua villages since none of the women held village government official positions. However, as the President of Indonesia is a woman, Megawati, according to the village heads as well as the respondents in the two case villages, women could potentially perform the duties as village government officials, but the women resources in their villages was not as high as those in other villages, especially in cities. Another reason was that women participation in the village administration required total commitment, which meant that women should be available 24 hours to do the job, and that was impossible as women are more expected to perform their reproductive roles in their family. However, as it is also stated by a lot of informants, women and men, in the future a woman could hold the position as long as the rural inhabitants choose her in the head village election in a democratic process.

3-1-2 Gender in *Badan Perwakilan Desa* (village representative body)

As reported by Mizuno et. al. (2002), *Badan Perwakilan Desa* (Village Representative Body) was established to replace the *Lembaga Musyawarah Desa* (LMD) or Village Consultative Body in line with Act Number 22 of 1999 under the Reform Cabinet regarding Local Institutions. Different from the LMD, which was elected by a strong influence of the head of the village, the BPD was established

to the District Head to sack the Village Head. This is because the Village Head, at the two villages always avoid interaction with the chairperson as well as the member of the BPD or according to the BPD officials, men and women, the leadership of the Village Leaders are *laissez faire*.



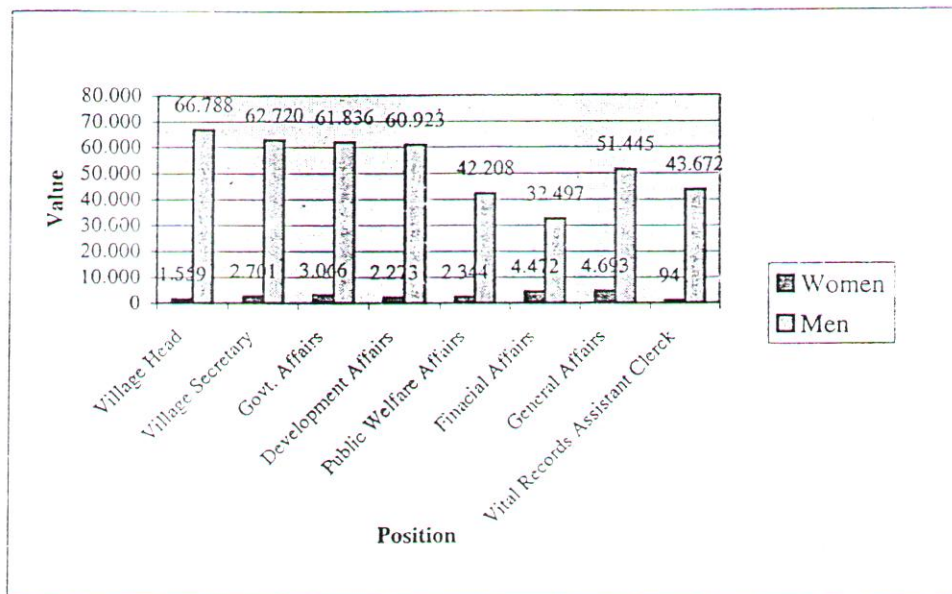
Source: BPS Statistics Indonesia and United Nations Development Fund for Women, Gender Statistics and Indicators 2000; Jakarta

Figure III-11-2 The Women Representation in Village Officials by Position in Indonesia in 1999 (in Percentage)

3-1-3 Gender in village community security organization (*Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa*) and *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* (community empowerment institution)

The LKMD was established in 1984 and originated from the *Lembaga Sosial Desa* (Village Community Council), an undertaking of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs, inherited from the Ministry of Social Affairs. It is a village institution where the village people participate in village development planning and executing (Tjondronegoro, 1983; Hoffsteede, 1994). The LKMD usually consists of three chairmen: Ketua Umum or General Chairman, Ketua I or Chairman I and Ketua II or Chairman II and ten sections. The General Head is responsible for 4 LKMD Sections: Religion, the *Program Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila* (P4) or the Internalization and the Implementation of Pancasila Ideology, *Kamtibmas* (community defense), and Education and Information. The Head I is responsible for 5 sections that consist of: (1) Environment, (2) Development, Economics and Cooperatives, (3) Health, Population and Family Planning, (4) Youth, Sports and

through a democratic process, a general election. The interesting thing is that under the New Order, none of the women were elected as members of LMD, but with the change into BPD, some were chosen as its members. The result of the election shows the number of BPD members in the two case villages is the same, 13 persons, with 2 persons holding 2 positions in Cisarua. By sex, only one female (7.7 per cent) was elected in Kemang Village, and she holds the position of BPD's secretary, while Cisarua Village has 2 females (16.7 per cent) who were chosen as professional and women representatives. One of these is holding the secretary position as well as a member of the economic and development section. The role of women in the case of village of Kemang is similar – women hold the stereotype position, the secretary. However, as she is the head of an elementary school in Riung Gunung, her opinion is heard by the BPD as well as the other local organizations/institutions. Meanwhile, in Cisarua Village, since the Village Head's attitude was not supported, one of the BPD members – who is also a PKK activist, and women participation in BPD activities is not so active.



Source: BPS Statistics Indonesia and United Nations Development Fund for Women. Gender Statistics and Indicators 2000; Jakarta

Figure III-11-1 The composition of village government officials by position and sex 1999

According to the chairpersons and the members of BPD in the two case villages, since the BPD was established, it has been difficult to perform the role of BPD. It is due to the response of the village head, which is not cooperative with the BPD person. As reported by Mizuno et al. (2002), the BPD has the right to propose

Art, and (5) Social Welfare. Meanwhile, Head II is responsible for Family Welfare Programs (Anonymous, 1993). During the new Order, the LKMD was male dominated because there was only one section, PKK section, allocated for women, and the wife of the village head usually held the position.

As an implementation of Act No.22 of 1999 regarding the Local Administration, the President of the Republic of Indonesia launched Decree No. 49 of 2001 on the reorganization of LKMD, which was followed by Decree of the Ministry of Internal Affairs No. 63 of 1999 regarding directions and adjustment of the naming of village government executives. Except for Sukabumi District, the regional government of Cianjur decided to abolish the LKMD and established a new institution called Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat or LPM (Community Empowerment Organization). Different from the LKMD that was established by top-down approach, the members of the LPM were to be elected by involving the *Badan Perwakilan Desa* (Village Representative Body).

In Kemang Village, the LPM was established in November, 2001 by a consensus meeting (*musyawarah*) with the Head of the village and village officials, head and members of the BPD, the head of RTs and RWs and the members of LKMD, community leaders and religious leaders (39 persons). Of these participants, there were only 3 women, all of whom were members of PKK and two were elementary school teachers. The LKMD in this village was dismissed soon after the LPM was established.

The LPM structure consists of head, vice head, secretary, vice secretary, treasurer and vice treasurer, and 10 sections. The general stereotype is that the secretary and treasurer are usually women's positions and the rest are for men, while in LPM case both positions are given to men. Furthermore, due to President Decree No. 5 of 1999 regarding the Gender Mainstreaming in Development Program, under the LPM there was one section for Women Empowerment, which replace the PKK Section. The interesting thing is that the P4 Section was abolished and the section of the Development, Economics and Cooperatives was changed to the Peoples Economic Empowerment section, while the section of Health, Demographic and Family Planning was changed to the Health and Demographic section. If the LKMD provided only one position for women, LPM gave two sections, the Women Empowerment and Health and Population. Although the women representation in the LPM was raised, their participation in the decision-making process seemed to remain the same (as during the LKMD time). This was because the increase in gender awareness was not in line with the capacity of women to perform their responsibilities.

Unlike the case in Kemang Village, the village government administrators and informal leaders in Cisarua Village, Sukabumi District decided not to change the LKMD into LPM. Nevertheless, the sections under the LKMD decreased into 7 sections, and the section of P4 still exists, while the Women Empowerment section has not been established. By sex, there are 2 positions that are held by women, the Economics & Cooperative section and the Health section.

3-1-4 *Dewan Sekolah* (school council)

Dewan Sekolah or School Council in an elementary school is a new system that replaced the former organization called Badan Pembina dan Penyelenggara Pendidikan or BP3 (the board that was established to support the education budgeting). This school council was established as an implication of the regional/local autonomy in conducting the education program in the district region. The School Council is different from the BP3 in the sense that the council consists of stakeholders that are chosen to be responsible to support elementary school programs that exist in the village, in terms of the activities and the budget. Furthermore, as reported by Mizuno et. al. (2002), the School Council has the authority to decide the candidates for the school Principal who will be appointed by the District Head.

In fact, until the field study ended, only the School Council in Kemang Village, Cianjur District had been established (4 elementary schools). In Beber and Cikupa hamlets, there was one elementary school, which was called SD Beber. Based on SK No. 36/SD/55/III/2002, the School Council of SD Beber consists of the Head, Vice Head, Secretary, Clerk and 4 sections: *Penggalian SD Sekolah* (School Resource Exploration), *Pengelolaan Sumberdaya Masyarakat* (Community Resource Management), *Jaringan Kerjasama dan Sistem Informasi* (Joint Networking and Information System), and *Pengendalian Mutu Pelayanan Pendidikan* (Educational Service Quality Control).

By sex, only 2 of the 17 School Council members of SD Beber are women, one of whom is a teacher and the other one is the parents' representative and they are responsible for the quality control of educational services. It is significant that the School Council is also male dominated. None of the council members who are pupil parents as well as informal leaders, (economic, religious, opinion leaders) are women; even the pupil representative is also a boy. Furthermore, although women hold the position to control the quality of educational services, in practice they are very much involved in the committee for the consumption service activities or in reproductive roles, the stereotype role.

3-1-5 Gender in *Karang Taruna* (youth club)

Like other village organizations, Karang Taruna is a youth organization that was established under the Ministry of Social Affairs through a top-down approach. Karang Taruna is expected to be an organization where young generation can participate in its activities, sports as well as economic activities. The Head of Karang Taruna in Kemang Village is the Village Head's son, who is an elementary school teacher, while in Cisarua Village it is the Village Secretary. According to the heads of Karang Taruna in the two villages, the organization is not active because they are very busy with their main duties/responsibilities. Meanwhile, according to the members, the non-active condition happened because the

management of the budget was not transparent. However, an activity was to be conducted by the Karang Taruna sub-groups located in several hamlets that are close to the Village Office, especially in Beber, Cikupa, Kalapa Condong and Cimenteng. Due to the lack of guidance from the community senior members, the predominantly conducted activities were sports, both traditional and non-traditional. One of the traditional peoples' sports is Pencak Silat, while the non-traditional sports include volleyball, badminton and soccer. As it is shown in Figure III-11-3, the women's participation in Karang Taruna in Kemang Village, especially in Beber and Cikupa Hamlets, is 30 per cent.

3-1-6 The PKK: rural women 's organization

Historically, the PKK originated from a concept that was introduced by the Ministry of the Education, Teaching and Culture (*Kementrian Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan*) in 1961, when this ministry established a program called *Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or PKK (Family Welfare Education), a national program whose objective was to improve the family welfare level based on the family capacity itself. The assumption was that if the family as the smallest unit of the community is well being, the community would be well being, too.

Under the New Order, the diffusion of the PKK concept was through two kinds of educational programs, the formal educational programs – the vocational education programs, and the non-formal educational programs – trainings. The pilot project was conducted in the Central Java province in 1967 and it was a success story. Based on the Central Java experience, the program was disseminated throughout Indonesia by establishing the *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or Family Welfare Movement or PKK organization under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Structurally, the PKK organization co-exists with the government organization, and the person who holds the leader position of the PKK is the wife of the area administrator, from the central to village levels. The PKK organization was under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In the village level, PKK is one of the sections of the *Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa (LKMD)* or Village Development Security Organization or it is called the tenth section of the LKMD.

At the beginning the PKK was recognized as a movement to improve the level of family welfare and it supported the community welfare by disseminating *Sepuluh Program Pokok PKK* or the 10 main programs of PKK²⁾ as determined by the central government. In the implementation of its programs, there are values that are introduced through the PKK. They are called the Panca Dharma Wanita values, which consist of 5 aspects, and state that wife is the husband's escort, the household manager, the generation forebear and children educator, the subsidiary worker and the member of the community. It is obvious that the gender ideology strongly influenced the PKK values and its main programs. The PKK movement strongly reinforced the status of women as a housekeeper as well as the women's role in the reproductive domain. The UNICEF recognized that the role of PKK has

been crucial in organizing and implementing Posyandu (integrated service posts) and in motivating as well as educating mothers in the village level. The PKK activities have significantly reduced the mortality rates of infants and children and improved the situation of women in the country (Anonymous, 1993). However, politically speaking, the PKK is subordinated by the village head since the head of the village is the patron of the PKK, as it is automatically appointed as Tim Pembina PKK (the "Educator" Team of PKK). Since all the programs were determined by a top-down approach, only the executors conducted the PKK in the village level, not the decision makers. The programs remained heavily dependent on the national blueprint programs as well as dependent on the village head leaderships, since he was the super-coordinator in implementing the PKK programs (Mugniesyah, 1986).

As can be seen in Figure III-11-3, the number of PKK personnel in the two case villages was so high, 24 persons in Kemang and more (32 persons) in Cisarua Village. The number of personnel usually depends on the organization structure of the PKK as the national blueprint and the local conditions such as the number of the administrative areas (RTs, RWs, as well as hamlets and sub-villages that exist in the village). In fact, the head of the village predominantly determined the PKK personnel and the wife lead the PKK organization. During the period of field research, the activities of the PKK in the two villages were not so dynamic. Besides the lack of funds to support the activities, according to the personnel was also due to the low quality of leadership in the PKK and of the village head.

In 2001, based on the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Local Autonomy Decree No. 53 of 2000 regarding *Gerakan Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK)* or Family Welfare Empowerment Movement and the Decree of the National Tasks Meeting (Rapat Kerja Nasional) V of the PKK in 1988, there was a change in terms of vision, mission as well as the organization mechanism of the PKK.

Previously the PKK emphasized on enhancing women's role in reproductive activities, and now the vision is to achieve a family who is faithful and obedient to God, well-behaved, healthy, well-being, progressive and self-sufficient based on the gender equity and equality as well as based on the law and environment awareness (Anonymous, 2001b).

The implication is that every level of the PKK organization from the central level to the village basically has its own autonomy. This means that the instruction line in the PKK organization from the upper layer to the lower one no longer exists. Nevertheless, an image of a hierarchical relation still exists, as there is a reporting line within the organization, where the lower level should submit a report to the upper one. Furthermore, the term *Tim Pembina PKK* (the PKK Educator Team), which was previously called *Tim Pembina LKMD*, is changed to *Badan Penyantun* (Advisory Council) where the heads of regional areas (the governor, the heads of regency, district and village) act as the Heads of *Badan Penyantun*. The structural relation between *Tim Penggerak PKK* and the *Badan Penyantun* at each level is

consultative (in one way), where the Tim Penggerak PKK is assumed to need some advice from the Badan Penyantun. Meanwhile, the relation between the Ketua Badan Penyantun in the lower level and the one in the upper level is coordination as well as consultation lines. In other words, the potential of gender inequality still exists in the new structural organization of the PKK.

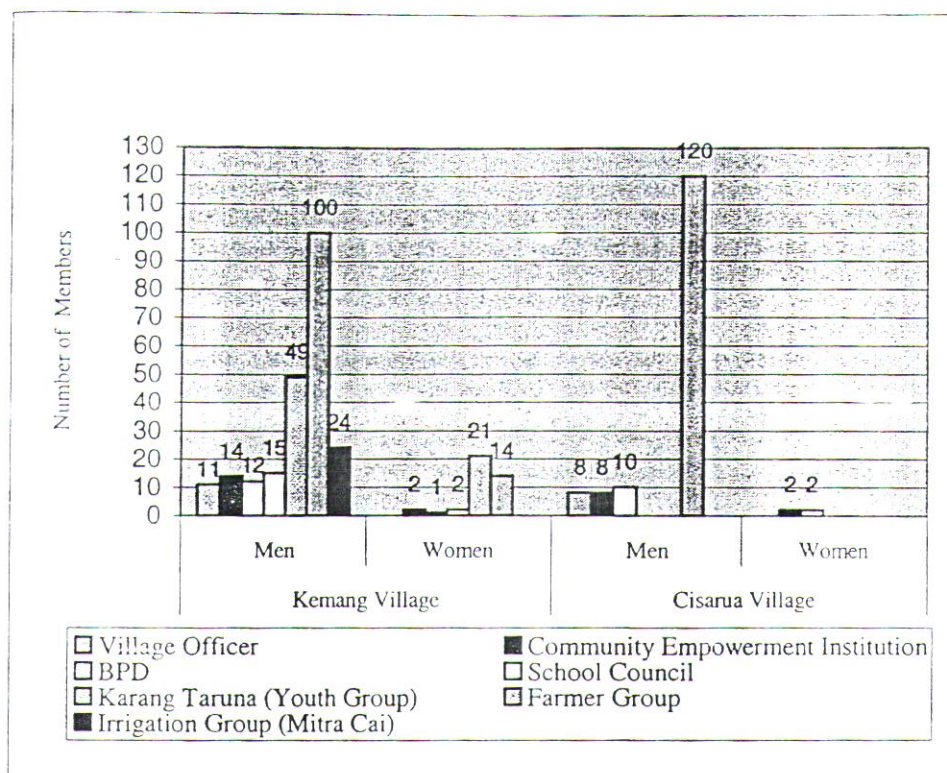


Figure III-11-3 The number of formal organization members in two villages by sex in 2002

Based on the explanation above, it is not uncommon that at the village level the Tim Penggerak PKK in the two case villages stated that there was no change in the implementation of the PKK programs, as the execution of the PKK programs still refers to the guidance from the central. This is also reflected in the information of the allocation of the PKK budget. Out of Rp. 1,500,000 of the PKK budget, about Rp. 100,000 is used for administration books and about Rp. 300,000 for the name board of the PKK. Both are decided and managed by Tim Penggerak PKK in the sub-district level. It is apparent that even in the Reform Era, the change in the abbreviation of the PKK and its meaning does not seem to influence the implementation of the PKK programs as they do not seem to be so different from the previous ones. In the two case villages, the PKK personnel still conduct the activities by referring to the blueprint in the local government (the district level).

4. Gender in Agricultural Group Level

The *Kelompok Mitra Cai* consists of 8 sub-groups, which are determined by the residence of the head of the sub-groups, namely: Kopeng, Cimenteng, Kawungluwuk-Kemang-Mujit, Beber-Cibuluh, Beber-Kalapa Condong, Jaringao, Cibentang and Cikoneng. Each sub-group has its own *pengurus* (committee), which consists of the head of the sub-groups and a secretary. Meanwhile, the area of the rice fields is spread out in 23 rice field areas. An irrigation group was established because the farmers needed to water their rice fields as well as to maintain the irrigation canals regularly. There are 5 irrigation sources for the rice fields in Kemang Village, namely Cihea River, Citanggul River, Sirangkong River, Cikupa River, Cisarua River and 3 water springs: Lebak Baranangsiang, Ciawitali, Ciparanje, Cimenteng and Lebak Gunung Julang. The members of each sub-group consist of farmers (land owners and/or sharecroppers) who cultivate the rice-fields in the rice field area. All the members are men. The sub-group activities are so dependent on the condition of the water availability and canal, and the activities of the members are voluntarily. There is no formal sanction to the member who is not involved in the activities.

According to the Department of Agriculture, there are 3 types of farmer groups, the *kelompok tani* (all the members are men), *Kelompok Wanita Tani* (the entire members are female) and *Karang Taruna-Tani* (youth farmers). In the two case villages, only the farmer group exists, even in Cisarua village, although the extension worker is a woman, there are no women farmer groups. There are 2 farmer groups in Kemang Village, "Giri Mukti" and "Tunas Mekar", each of which covers the total area of rice fields of 25 Hectares. The two farmer groups were established in 2000, as suggested by Dinas Pertanian or the Agricultural Office in Cianjur District, especially due to the distribution of the agricultural input production through the Ketahanan Pangan or Food Security program. With regard to the guidance on the establishment of farmer groups as issued by the Agricultural Development, the farmer group should consist of 20 members (Anonymous, 1995). Apart from the guidance, Tunas Mekar farmer group consists of 114 farmers as its members, while Giri Mukti consists of 120 farmers. Of the total members of Tunas Mekar, only 12 per cent are female farmers, while the Giri Mukti members are men. The head of the farmer groups is male, even the secretary and the clerk are, too. On the contrary, the committee (*pengurus*) stated that the head and the other two positions were not elected in a democratic way, since they were not involved in the decision-making. Moreover, as the farmer group was established only to distribute the agricultural input production, many of the farmer group members felt that they did not have any obligation to hold regular meetings as long as they paid the credit.

The *Kelompok Tani Hutan* (Forest Farmer Group) in Kemang village was established along with the Social Forestry Program. It was introduced to the poor farmer households by the *Perum Perhutani* (National Forest Corporation) in 3

stages, 1988, 1991 and 1992; and covered around 215 households in 1998, 100 and 76 households in 1991 and 1992 respectively. There were 17 Forest Farmer groups, consisting of 8 groups that were established in 1988, 6 and 3 groups that were established in 1991 and 1992 respectively. The chairpersons as well as the members were men dominated, like the other agricultural organizations that were established through a top-down approach, female-headed households were excluded. Besides, the Perum Perhutani also encouraged the Kemang Village to establish the village cooperatives by developing an "embryo of cooperatives", that is a saving and loan association that was established by a banana trader, Mr. HA, and an elementary school teacher, Mr. H. The name of the cooperative was *Koperasi Sukarela Wana Mukti*. The initial number of cooperative members was 25 people and now the members have increased significantly to 225. The cooperative committee consists of the chairperson, vice chairperson, secretary and clerk. Of the 25 per cent female members, one, Mr. HA's daughter, holds the position of a clerk. She is also responsible to take care of the shop, one of the cooperative businesses. The members of the cooperative are individuals, usually couples (husband and wife) and their grown up daughters/sons. However, the majority are still men, as most of the banana traders and banana harvester are men. The women members are usually those who manage small shops, brown sugar traders, teachers and small farmers. The Perum Perhutani gave about Rp. 25 million grants to Wana Mukti Cooperative, especially to construct the Cooperative building, which is located on the village government land. The Perum Perhutani also gave an opportunity to the committee and other cooperative members as well as other village leaders, traders and teachers to participate in various training, such as the honeybee, mushroom, banana chips, and pepper production; and the training on cooperatives in IKOPIN (Indonesia Cooperative Institute) in Jatiningor, which is located in Bandung District. In addition, the Perum Perhutani also gave about 2000 young banana trees, which were then cultivated by the Mr. HA in his own land.

In Cisarua Village there is a *Gabungan Kelompok Tani* (GAPOKTAN) or the Farmer Group Association of Goal Para (the name of the region and also the name of the tea plantation that is located in Cisarua Village), which was established in November 1997. Its member consists of 19 farmer groups. Two farmer groups are located in Cisarua (Goal Para and Cisarua), while the other 17 farmer groups are sited in several villages, which are located surrounding the Cisarua Village, but still within the same sub-district, such as in the villages of Kuta, Cipaku, Sukaraja, Sukamekar, and Limbangan. The GAPOKTAN is an association whose members are not only farmers but also the owners of the agribusiness. It was established based on the togetherness principle, especially to develop their profession as horticultural farmers. The Vision of the GAPOKTAN is to change traditional agriculture into the modern one, which is necessary to improve their bargaining position in the domestic and international markets, which in turn could increase the level of living of all members. To achieve this vision, the GAPOKTAN developed an organization structure that consists of head, secretary, and 5 divisions:

production, marketing and processing, financial, research and development, and cooperative. Besides, the Gapoktan also has expert groups that are assumed to be able to help them develop their business. As the farmer group members who join the Gapoktan are men, none of the Gapoktan committee is female, except for the pest disease specialist, who is responsible for giving advice to the farmers who buy agricultural input in the Gapoktan kiosks.

Based on the explanation above, except for the cooperative in Kemang Village, women's participation in agricultural organizations is low since the agricultural extension programs are gender biased. It is due to the assumption that the member of a group/organization is the head of the farmer households, and throughout Indonesia *de jure* it is assumed that man is the head of the household. It is not fair, as in practice both women and men are equally very much involved in agricultural activities, not only as workers and laborers but also as decision makers since women also get access of land (Mugniyeh and Mizuno, 2002).

5. Gender in Community Level

The gender representation in informal organizations or institutions is shown in Figure III-11-4.

Different from the formal organization where women's participation was so low, women's participation in informal institutions in the two case villages, especially in the groups that are related to religion and economic activities are

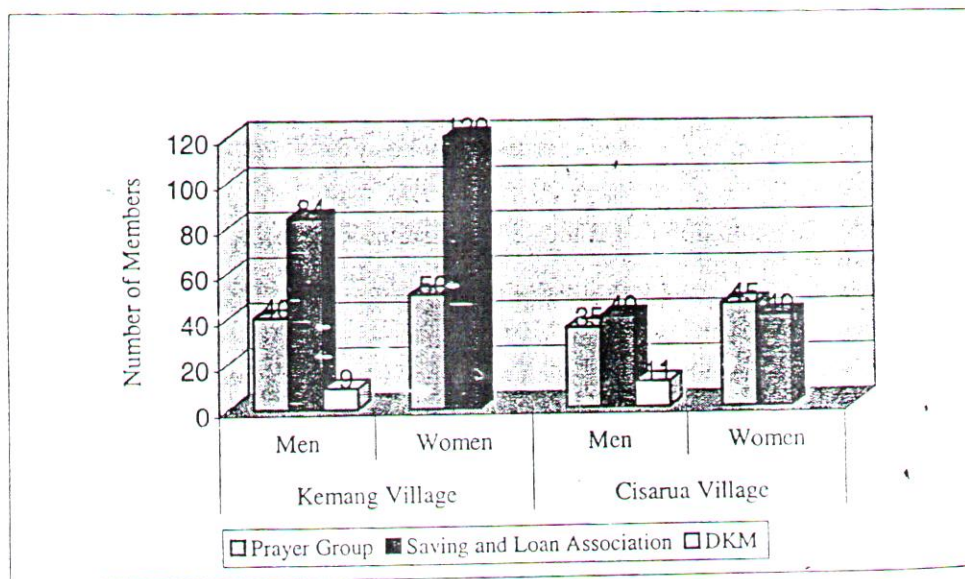


Figure III-11-4. The number of informal organization members in two villages by sex in 2002

significant. The data from the two villages show that praying group and Dewan Kesejahteraan Mesjid (Council for the Welfare of the Mosque and Its Religious Community) are the common informal groups that are related to religion of the rural inhabitants who are Moslem. Meanwhile, arisan as well as saving and loan association are the common informal groups that are related to the needs of household members in economic aspects.

The existence of praying group in every hamlet is usually related to an existence of a mosque and a religious leader, who is the patron of the hamlet people, except in Cisarua Village, where the praying group reflects the *mazhab* (sect) that exists in the village. There are 3 groups existing, "Ahli Sunnah wal Jamaah", Persis (Wahabi) and Habib. As each group has its own characteristics, which is considered to be different by the leaders and followers (patron-client), the followers of one group do not usually attend the other praying group's activities. The Persis, which was established around 1984, has developed several activities: the *Baitul Maal*, the saving group, the DKM is called *Masjid Al-Islamy*, Koran Chanting group that hold their activities at dawn/early morning every day (*Kuliah Subuh*) and *Madrasah Diniyah* (the informal Islamic elementary school) as well as youth prayer groups. The DKM of Persis also manages the *beras parelek*, where the members of DKM contribute a small amount of rice – about a quarter or a half mug of rice—that is sold to earn money, especially to be donated to the poor people.

Except for the adult prayer groups, the followers of other activities consist of men and women. There are 4 religion teachers, 3 of whom are women, while the pupils consist of 25 girls and 15 boys. Except the Persis, other prayer group leaders are men. However, in the Persis woman is allowed to lead the praying activities only for women and children. The other prayer groups are sex-discriminated – women and men have their own separate groups, with women's prayer groups usually conducting their activities during the day or afternoon, while the men's conduct theirs at night.

In Kemang Village, only the circular prayer groups in Beber and Cikupa hamlets have female leaders, while the others are led by men. The participatory observation revealed that the relationship between the ustadz and his followers during the praying activities was not in face to face communication although in daily activities they know each other or they belong to the same nuclear and or extended families. The mixed praying group in the two case villages usually holds mixed activities during the national Islamic Day, such as in the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday (*Mauludan*) and *Isra-Miraj* day (*Rajaban*).

In the two case villages, the *arisan* (rotating credit association) also exists in the hamlet, sub-hamlet (RM) and sub sub-hamlet RT, but the members tend to decrease, because they now prefer to be a member of *Kelompok Simpan Pinjam* (Saving and Loan Association). In Kemang Village there are 2 Saving and Loans Associations: *Simpay Wargi* and *Riung Gunung*. *Usaha Bersama Simpan Pinjam* (UBSP) of Riung Gunung was established in 1985. In 1988 the number of group

members were only 6 persons but there were about 99 members in 2002 with the proportion of 38 per cent men and 62 per cent women. In theory the membership of these associations is individual, but in practice anyone - children, pupils as well as parents and teachers become members. The Simpay Wargi belongs to SD Beber - the Elementary School of Beber - and was established on 7 August 1988 by 6 persons: the principal, 4 teachers and one maintenance staff member. By sex, this consisted of 2 women and 4 men. The main saving for the member of SD Beber is Rp. 5,000 per month, while for the SD Riunggunung it is about Rp. 10,000. The meeting is held once a year, usually in August, as August is the time when new classes begin and this is also the first month of *huma* paddy cultivation, when the farmers are busy in land preparation, especially for the dry land.

By employment, most of the members are farmers, followed by laborers, teachers and pupils, even children. In SD Riung Gunung there are farmers (peasants) consisting of 36 per cent women and only 13 per cent men; non-farm laborers (10 per cent men and 13 per cent women), teachers (8 per cent men and 5 per cent women), traders and farm laborers (all or 4 per cent women), 3 per cent pupils (boys), and the rest are children under 5 years old (4 per cent boys and 3 per cent girls). Meanwhile, in SD Beber, of the total UBSP, especially based on the data in August 15, 2002 the member is about 126 persons, consisting of all the teachers (9 per cent men and 5 per cent women), farmers (12 per cent men and 33 per cent women), non-farm labors (8 per cent men and 10 per cent women), pupils (1 per cent), children (9 per cent boys and 13 per cent girls), the rest of less than 2 per cent worked as traders.

The interesting part is that some of the members of Simpay Wargi are also members of Riung Gunung association. There are at least 38 persons who are the members of the two, consisting of 8 men and 30 women or 21 per cent and 79 per cent of men and women respectively. This happens since the committee members of *SD Beber* are also teachers of *SD Riung Gunung*. Every year they have a meeting to allocate the saving and the interest of the saving as well as loan. In terms of the amount of saving and loan, the association set the rules in a democratic process involving all the members, especially in determining the interest for loan and as saving. According to the member who is the member of the two associations, the membership in this association is a strategy for them to save their income or as a strategy for a capital formation (through loan activities). The high number of women in the two saving and loan associations shows that women are the channel of the rural households to access on capital or money that they need for the education and agricultural production.

6. Conclusion

This study found that under the New Order, there was a sex-segregation in local organizations as it could be seen in their rural/agricultural development

programs. As women are stereotyped predominantly to be housekeepers, they are never involved in the local organizations, except in the *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (the PKK). Although women as well as men are very much involved in productive roles, in agricultural and non-farm sectors, women are neglected in agricultural development programs that are introduced through the agricultural extension as well as the Social Forestry programs. As a result, the rural development programs reinforce women's roles in domestic roles or reproductive roles, but do not empower women in productive and community politics managing roles. In contrast, as the impact of Law No. 22/1999 on Regional Autonomy which was later followed with the issuance of the President Instruction No. 9/2000 on the Gender Mainstreaming in National Development, there is an opportunity for rural women to engage in new local organizations such as Badan Perwakilan Desa (BPD), Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (LPM) and School Council in Kemang. This means that now women are entering what Moser called as community politics managing, although their representation in the two villages is not as much as men. In terms of PKK, there is a change in the structural organizations, from the hierarchical to more egalitarian structure in decision-making. However, as the experience of the PKK personnel under the New Order was so inferior (subordinated), while their social and political power is still weak, the implementation of the PKK activities still refers the district and sub-district blueprint, or in other words the degree of involvement of the personnel in decision making is still low.

Apart from the local organizations, women's participation in the two villages as decision makers as well participants in local institutions in the community level is dominant. It is supported by Tjondronegoro (1983), who stated that women in rural Java villages participated at hamlets or even lower levels such as neighborhoods, where relations can be very intimate. Their participation was not only in informal institutions that are related to the traditional ones (religious activities), but also in economic activities, as the activities of such kind can meet their needs such as capital to run their business, for farming, and even for schooling.

As the sustainability of the local institutions that are supported by men and women in rural areas is higher than that of local organizations that are introduced by the government, it would be better if the rural/agricultural development programs are integrated in the local institutions as the forum media to distribute/allocate the development resources (capital, credit, knowledge, technology as well as the training to enhance leadership).

Notes

- ¹⁾ This study is a part of the Socio-economic Studies on Sustainable Development in Rural Indonesia, Japan Society for Promotion of Science (JSPS)-Directorate General of Higher Education, Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of Indonesia

(DGHE) Core University Program between University of Tokyo and Bogor Agricultural University (IPB) conducted in 1998-2002.

- ²⁾ The Ten PKK Programs consist of: (1) *Program Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila* or the internalization and the implementation of the Pancasila Ideology, (2) *Gotong-royong* or mutual-help, (3) *Pendidikan dan Ketrampilan* (Education and Skill), (4) *Perkembangan Kehidupan Berkoperasi* or the expanding of the Cooperative life, (5) *Sandang* or clothing, (6) *Pangan* or Food, (7) *Perumahan dan Tata Laksana Rumah tangga* (Housing and the Household Maintenance), (8) *Kesehatan* or Health, (9) *Kelestarian Lingkungan Hidup* or Environment Sustainability and (10) *Perencanaan Sehat* or Healthy Planning (Anonymous, 1993).

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