

## PERAN PEREMPUAN DALAM SISTEM KEBUN TALUN DI DESA KARAMATMULYA, KECAMATAN SOREANG, KABUPATEN BANDUNG, JAWA BARAT

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**ABSTRAK.** Ketika figur seorang petani digambarkan, seringkali gambaran yang diperoleh adalah seorang laki-laki dengan pakaian penuh lumpur sedang membajak sawah atau mencangkul. Jarang sekali seorang petani digambarkan sebagai seorang perempuan yang sedang mencangkul lahan pertanian sambil menggendong anak kecil di punggungnya, seorang perempuan yang sedang mencari dan mengumpulkan kayu bakar, atau seorang perempuan muda yang sedang memotong rumput untuk memberi makan ternaknya. Untuk dapat mengetahui bagaimana peran perempuan, kerja yang mereka lakukan, dan faktor-faktor apa yang mempengaruhinya dalam kegiatan pertanian di lahan kering dalam hal ini di kebun talun maka dilakukan penelitian tentang permasalahan tersebut di Desa Karamatmulya, Kecamatan Soreang, Kabupaten Bandung, Jawa Barat. Penelitian ini dilakukan secara kualitatif melalui wawancara mendalam dengan informan kunci dan *focuss group discussion* dengan kelompok petani perempuan yang melakukan kegiatan pertanian dengan sistem kebun talun. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perempuan terlibat di hampir semua kegiatan kebun talun, termasuk pada kegiatan yang termasuk kategori sangat berat dan berat. Ini ditunjukkan dengan tidak ada jenis tanaman yang ditanam di kebun talun yang termasuk kategori tanaman laki-laki (*men's crop*). Hasil penelitian juga menunjukkan bahwa perempuan memberikan kontribusi yang tidak lebih kecil dibanding laki-laki pada kebun talun. Namun, tidak sebanding dengan peran dan kontribusi perempuan terhadap kebun talun, pengambilan keputusan dalam sistem kebun talun masih didominasi laki-laki. Perempuan dapat memberikan saran, namun keputusan akhir tetap pada pihak laki-laki. Faktor utama yang mempengaruhi relasi (hubungan) antara laki-laki dan perempuan atau relasi gender di lokasi penelitian adalah kondisi ekonomi.

**Kata kunci:** peran perempuan, gender, relasi gender, kebun talun, pembagian kerja, akses, pengambilan keputusan

### ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE KEBUN TALUN SYSTEM KARAMATMULYA VILLAGE, SOREANG, KABUPATEN BANDUNG, WEST JAVA

**Abstract,** *When we close our eyes and imagining a figure of a farmer, what we imagine is a man working on a farming land, covered with mud --- hoeing a field. Rarely we imagine that the farmer is a woman, with a baby on her back hoeing a field, a woman collecting firewood, or a young girl cutting grass on the farming land. Like the envisions of farmer, our common notion of gender relation, including division of labor between men and women, is usually incorrect. It seems to be rather unchangeable or rigid. To find out roles of women, what kind of works, and factors that affected in kebun talun system, a research with this subject is conducted in Karamatmulya Village, Soreang, Bandung, West Java. The qualitative research conducted using depth interview and focuss group discussion with female farmer that practice kebun talun. The Research result showed that women plays role in every activities in kebun talun, in both demanding and very demanding work. These are also confirmed with the result that not one crop in kebun talun considered as men's crop. The result of study also showed that contributions of women in kebun talun are not smaller than men. But decision making process is a different thing. Contributions of women are not followed with their role in decision making process. It is still dominated by men. These conditions are affected mostly by economic condition.*

**Key words:** *roles of women, gender, gender relation, kebun talun, labor division, access, decision making.*

### INTRODUCTION

When the figure of a farmer described, often picture obtained is a man with muddy clothes were plowing or hoeing fields. Rarely portrayed as a peasant woman who was hoeing fields, carrying small children on his back, a woman who was throwing nets on the fish pond, or a young woman who was cutting grass to feed cattle, although the picture is a general overview commonly found in agricultural areas. This suggests that although women had a role in the farm system, but they often overlooked.

Various studies have shown that the role of women in agriculture is becoming increasingly important as the role of men in the sector is increasingly reduced. For example, research results *Futureharvest* (2004),

that in the 1950s which showed that women do nearly 40% of farm work, then increased to almost half of the agricultural work done by women in 2004. According to the results of these studies, the diminishing role of men in agriculture, mainly because men do other work outside the agricultural sector and rural areas to leave for work in urban areas. Women also produce 60-80% of food crops in developing countries, for example in sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean, women supply more than 80% for staple food crops, while in Asia more than 90% agricultural work performed by women in rice fields. Not surprisingly, when it later emerged saying that the women who feed almost the entire population of the world (*Women feed the world, futureharvest, 2004*).

Socio-economic study of cultural and physical aspects of farm management pattern is pretty much

done. Similarly, the study of gender in the pattern of wetland management (paddy). But not so with study on gender in the management of dry lands, especially in the Kebun Talun system, although it was many gender-related issues in the management of this farming system. Based on this, the study of gender - the role of women in Kebun Talun system management becomes an important thing to do.

Start from this, study on the issue of gender in the management pattern of dryland farming systems (kebud talun) in the village of Karamatmulya Soreang District were done, which includes how the gender division of labor, how the role of women, and what factors are affecting the role of women in agricultural management pattern with Kebun Talun system. Research on women's role in the system is carried out in the Kebun Talun at Karamatmulya Village, District Soreang, Kabupaten Bandung, West Java Province.

## METHOD

The important question when started a research on women is what differentiates such research with other research. Research on women originated from experience about the difference between the reality with what is expected. Basically the greatest proportion of research conducted on women is intended to listen to women's voice about their experiences.

Based on these considerations, the method used in this study is a qualitative method with semi-observation techniques, in-depth interviews with informants, and *focuss group discussion* (FGD).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Administratively, the village is a village Karamatmulya in Soreang subdistrict, Bandung regency, West Java. Karamatmulya village is located about three kilometers from the center district and two kilometers from kabupaten/regency. Karamatmulya village were located next to Sadu Village in the west and Panyirapan Village in the east, Pamekaran village in the north, and Sukajadi Village in the south. Karamatmulya Village is one of the villages in the region Citarum River. Hence most of the topography of the Village Karamatmulya is hilly area with an altitude above 700 meters above sea level and slope of about 15 - 40 ° (Monograph Village, 2005).

The population of the Village Karamatmulya in 2003 (Monograph of the Village) is 6303 people. Comparison of the population of men and women fairly balanced, the 3240 men and 3063 women, with about 1690 head of the household (Kepala Keluarga/KK). While based on religion, almost all the inhabitants are Islam (99.6%).

Like other villages in West Java, Karamatmulya population is dominated by Sundanese ethnic, and the source of livelihood are from farming. Based on the 1992 village potential data, 53% of households

in the village of Karamatmulya is the farmer household, while based on data Monograph of the Village of 2003 the number of families with the main livelihood of farming dropped to about 51%. Based on these data, the decrease in the amount of agricultural labor force of 5.4% per year over the period 1985-1992 (Sub Soreang, 1992) and 2% in the period 1992-2003. While based on the percentage of the workforce as much as 1203 people in 2006, the main livelihood of farmers is only about 39%. Nevertheless, based on observations and interviews, agriculture and other activities related to agriculture is still the main activity in Karamatmulya.

The area of the village about 209.693 hectares, includes approximately 192 acres of farmland. Talun commonly found in the research area, especially Talun bamboo (*bamboo dominated Talun*), although there are also Talun with particular tree species (*tree dominated Talun*) like albasiah and cloves.

## Division of Labour by Gender in Kebun Talun System

Gender division of labor is seen as a system of gender division of labor performed on the Kebun Talun system. Stages of activities in the Kebun Talun found at the sites are not much different from the phase of activity according to Alexander (1981).

Based on the data, almost all types of work in the Kebun Talun system can be done by women. These conditions contrast with the results of research Christanty, et.al. (1989). According to research results, there is some type of work was not done by women. The types of jobs are hoeing, cut/ slash and burn, collecting the burning ashes, cutting and preparing bamboo, set up and tear down fences, menggemburkan soil, and cultivating. Even in the second year in a cycle of Kebun Talun, all kinds of work done by men. Consideration of why the kinds of work was not done by women is because most of the types of work are included in the category of severe and very severe (Uhl 1980 in Christanty 1989). The division of labor by gender in most societies, based on the weight or lightness of a job. The work includes weight category or requires considerable energy (Christanty 1989), such as cutting down and cultivate land (*macul*), usually categorized as men's work. Woman was asked to just do the jobs that are considered minor and require a high level of accuracy, such as weeding and planting seeds. The division of labor is based on a *stereotype* that says that women are gentle creatures, and no woman should have a solid muscle like a peasant boy (Laksono, 2000; Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000; Shiva & Mies, 2005; Simatauw, 2001).

Changes in the types of work performed by both men and women in the Kebun Talun system over a period of approximately 20 years also shows that the division of labor by sex is part of the production process that can be changed. This is in line with the opinion who argued that the division

of labor based on gender, as well as other economic categories which include production systems such as profit, rent, wages, exchange, values, and competition, is not absolute but merely an expression abstracts of production relations among people. Marx also stressed that the transformation that occurs between the tenant farmers, the difference between capital and land, between profit and rent, and so are the differences that are not found in nature. Exchange of labor (people) are associated with certain production methods associated with economic class differences.

**Table 1. Type of Work In Kebun Talun at First Year by Gender**

Type of Work	Labor	
	Male	Female
<b>Opening Phase of Land</b>		
Clean grass and dry leaves	√	√
Collect grass and leaves	√	√
Burning of grass and dead leaves ( <i>ash</i> residue collected)	√	√
Taking and collecting small twigs and leaves of bamboo	√	√
Cutting down bamboo	√	√
Reversing the ground with a hoe	√	√
Collecting bamboo leaves in bamboo <i>stumps</i> , twigs used for firewood)	√	√
Collecting and sorting bamboo	√	√
Transporting bamboo to house/market	√	√
<b>Gardening Preparation Phase</b>		
Soil preparation	√	√
Prepare the seeds of vegetables: <i>cegek</i> / <i>leunca</i> /tomato	√	√
Make holes for <i>tuturus</i>	√	√
Plugging <i>tuturus</i>	√	√
<b>GardeningPhase</b>		
Planting	√	√
Loosen the oil	√	√
Make holes to plant roay seeds	√	
Making sewers	√	√
Giving manure	√	√
Fertilizing	√	√
Weeding	√	√
<b>Harvest Stage</b>		
Harvest the cucumbers	√	√
Harvest <i>cegek/leunca</i> /tomato	√	√
Harvest <i>roay</i>	√	√
<b>Post-Harvest Stage</b>		
Transporting the crop	√	√
Pod <i>roay</i>		√
Sell the harvest	√	√
Cooking the harvest		√

Sources: Primary Data

Regarding gender roles and responsibilities, the nature and character of women and men who can basically change and / or exchanged (Laksono,

2000; Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000; Shiva & Mies, 2005; Simatauw, 2001). Division of labor in farming practices with Kebun Talun system, include slash and burn annual plants (eg bamboo) and hoe the ground, which is known and based on research results Christanty (1989) is the work of male farmers, are remain change. Roles and responsibilities of men in the Kebun Talun are change. The types of work are now no longer considered taboo to be done by women. Shifts or changes are greatly influenced by various factors, including the social and economic system.

### Role of Women in the Kebun Talun System Tenure by Gender

As is known in the study site, not all owners of agricultural land also conduct agricultural activities. Therefore, many farms still owned / controlled by men does not necessarily indicate that agricultural activities are also is mostly done by men.

**Table 2. Tenure is based on Gender (N = 106)**

Type of Land	Gender			
	Female		male	
	Number	%	Number	%
Homegarden	37	39.22	70	74.2
Paddy Field	21	22.26	67	71.02
Garden	19	20.14	12	12.72
Kebun Talun	A	1:06	26	27.56
Bamboo Talun	11	11.66	41	43.46
Mixed Talun	11	11.66	36	38.16

Source: Adapted from Census Data, 2004

These conditions indicate that access to land resources is not determined by the status of land ownership. Agricultural activities inKebun Talun, usually influenced by the distance of the location of the Kebun Talun with farmer's house to meet the needs of subsistence of farmers, such as the need for vegetables and firewood. The open of access to the Kebun Talun makes opportunities for women farmers to manage the Kebun Talun. Women can stay involved in any kind of work in the Kebun Talun, though they did not have land.

### Decision Making Based on Gender

In the Sundanese people who adhered to the lineage of two sides (bilateral), the decision making process can be done by the father, mother, or both. For example, for children's education decision-making, the family (father and mother) will decide together. Usually in this case, the father was the one who determines the final decision. Another case to determine the diet of the family, although the mother considering proposals to father or other family members, but the final decision is usually made by the mother.

The interesting findings in the field of women in decision-making to save money from the sale of agricultural crops. These conditions indicate that there is still important role played by women in the domestic

sector. Again, the issue of women's multiple roles reappear in the case of the increasing role of women in the public sector. This condition occurs because of the increased role of women in the public sector is not accompanied by a reduction in the role of women in the domestic sector, or in many cases, not accompanied by the willingness of men to get involved in activities in the domestic sector.

**Table 3. Decision Making in Determining Type of Land Use (N = 106)**

Decision Makers	Total	%
Women Only	13	12.26
Men Only	31	29.25
Dominant Women	7	6.60
Dominant Male	55	51.89

Sources: Primary Data

### Factors Affecting the Role of Women in the Kebun Talun System

Relations between men and women or gender relations are affected by many things, among them are the religious / belief system, economic system and economic institutions, legal system, the system of political institutions, educational institutions and systems of knowledge (Simatau, 2002 ).

Scholten noted that in dryland farming systems, the role of customs is not too large compared to wetland farming systems (rice). According to her, the economic motives are more coloring practice of dryland agriculture (Scholten, 1987: 82-84). It is also apparent in the results of this study. Economic motives, to meet the needs of food and energy (firewood) to sold or for households, are the main factors for women to spend more time in managing the kebun Talun.

Women, usually go to the kebun Talun after completing the work in their house. For women who

worked as a laborer, they usually started working in the Kebun Talun after they are done working in the fields owned by others at around 12:00. Whether to clear the land, picking leunca (*Solanum nigrum*) or other plants, or just to look for firewood. This is similar to the results of research by Ahmad, et al. (1978). Where both farmer working in the homegarden after completing the work in the fields.

Still from the economic side, the other factors that influence the role of women in the kebun Talun is Karamatmulya Village is the economic development that can not be detached from Regions Soreang development in general. Soreang region is a transition region that is expected to support the economic development area of Bandung. This are shown in the increasing types of work *off farm* which more commercial. The types of work *off farm* is basically accessible to the labor of men and women. But for women farmer who do not have adequate education and skills, then they can not enter the *off farm* area. For those women, seemed to be no other choice but to manage the resources around them --- Kebun Talun.

On the other hand, the economic system in this economic development, has a pattern of two-way relationship with gender (Simatau, 2002; World Bank, 2005). That is could be positive as well negative. Similarly, government policies in the economic field, on the one hand could have a negative impact on women and on the other hand it can increase the role of women. For example the policy of kerosene to gas conversion and policies to raise fuel prices (BBM). Surely the policy burden households, especially women. Women have to adjust to the changes caused by these policies. However, because kerosene and gas are scarce and expensive, instead of using gas as an energy source replacement for kerosene, Karamatmulya women prefer to use firewood. This condition adds to burden women with

**Table 4. Decision Making in the Kebun Talun (N = 27)**

Type of Decision Taken	Women Only		Men Only		Dominant Women		Dominant Men	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Type of plant	1	3.70	6	22.22	NA		15	55.56
Time of planting	1	3.70	6	22.22	NA		15	55.56
Division of labor between men and women (who does what)	1	3.70	6	22.22	NA		15	55.56
Solving problems that arise (if any)	1	3.70	4	14.81	NA		17	62.96
When to harvest	1	3.70	3	11.11	NA		18	66.67
Designated harvest (stored, consumed, and / or sold)	1	3.70	3	11.11	3	11.11	15	55.56
Where / to whom the harvest is sold	1	3.70	8	29.63	NA		13	48.15
Who is selling the harvest	1	3.70	9	33.33	NA		12	44.44
Who save money from the sale of crops	8	29.63	3	11.11	10	37.04	A	3.70
Who is using money from the sale of crops	2	7.41	3	11.11	12	44.44	5	18.52

the task to gather more firewood. On the other hand, the condition makes women allocate more time in Kebun Talun. That is, the contribution of women's time in the Kebun Talun becomes increased.

Government policy to increase fuel oil prices also have an impact on rising prices of basic commodities. These conditions require women as 'responsible' for the family food providers, to be more creative in providing food menu. Based on the results of research, before the policy is set, it was customary for women to not ever go into the garden to pick vegetables (*ngundeur*) and then cooked to feed the whole family. These customary activities changes into the 'must' activities to be done, in an effort to save family budget for basic commodities. Seeing this, again we are faced with conditions in which women are the most affected when a policy set. And like the need for firewood, which increased due to the scarcity and rising prices of kerosene, the need for Kebun Talun to cultivate vegetables, fruits, and spices are also increasing. These conditions require women to further improve the maintenance of the garden (no longer with the minimum management, for example by more frequent cleaning of garden soil and plant more crops that can be consumed by the family) and ultimately requires women to allocate more time in the garden.

Under these conditions, it is clear that in addition to the kinds of work in the kebun Talun that ultimately done by both men and women; motives, conditions, and economic policies are the main factors that caused the role of women in the Kebun Talun increased. Kebun Talun is no longer the *domain* of men, because women become a partner in managing the Kebun Talun.

## CONCLUSION

Conclusions from the findings of the field are: first, women were involved in almost all activities in Kebun Talun, including the categories of activity that extremely heavy and heavy. Indicated by the increasing involvement of women in the Kebun Talun (women's time allocation) and no crops are the category of *men's crop*. This condition is very different from the results of the study Christanty (1989) and Doss (2000).

The second conclusion is that women do not contribute less than men in the kebun Talun. Although the study did not calculate the quantitative contribution of time, but of the cases were found, it appears that the role of women in the kebun Talun are increased. Third, different with the role and contribution of women in kebun Talun, decision-making in Kebun Talun system is still dominated by men. Women can give advice, but the final decision is the men's part.

Another conclusion of this study is that the relations between men and women or gender relations at the sites affected by the 'blur' of the division of labor between men and women in Kebun Talun management, as well as the motives, conditions, and economic policy.

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