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WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN AGRICULTURE ASSESSMENT INDONESIA 2013

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WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN AGRICULTURE ASSESSMENT

INDONESIA 2013

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AVRDC	Asian Vegetable Research and Development Center
BPTP	Research Institute for Agricultural Technology
BUMN	State owned enterprise/corporation
CBO	Community based organization
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
Demplot	Demonstration Plots
FIELD	Farmers' Initiatives for Ecological Livelihoods and Democracy
GM	Gender mainstreaming
GOI	Government of Indonesia
HH	Household
ICBDA	Indonesia Cooperative Business Development Alliance
INKAPA	Industrialization of Village Cocoa and Program to Empower Women Farmers
INPRES	Presidential Instruction
LBI-Makassar	Lembaga Bumi Indonesia
MHK	Karo Peoples Horticulture Association
MOA	Ministry of Agriculture
MWE&CP	Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection
NGO	Non-Government organization
NTT	<i>Nusa Tenggara Timor</i> is a province in the eastern part of the Lesser Sunda Islands. The provincial capital is Kupang in West Timor.
PIKUL	Society PIKUL, the mandated to strengthen local capacity and institution in Eastern Indonesia.
PKK	Family Welfare Movement (name changed from Family Welfare Guidance to Empowerment to reflect political change post-Suharto)
PNPM-Mandiri	National Community Empowerment Program (nation-wide poverty alleviation project by the World Bank)
PNS	Civil Servant
SPP	Women's savings and loans (part of PNPM-Mandiri project)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VEW	Village extension workers are Dinas affiliated field trainers
WEIA	Women's Empowerment in Agriculture

Glossary

Agriculture	The science and practice of activity related to food, feed, and fiber production, processing, marketing, distribution, utilization, and trade and includes family and consumer sciences, nutrition, food science and engineering, agricultural economics and other social sciences, forestry, wildlife, fisheries, aquaculture, floriculture, veterinary medicine, and other environmental and natural resources sciences.
Commodity	A raw material or primary agricultural product of high value that can be bought and sold, such as coffee, beef, cocoa, rice.
Decentralization	Is the transfer of administrative, political, and fiscal authority to lower levels of government to make policy making and implementation more responsive to the needs of rural people. It is a political process that shifts power and authority that has been underway in Indonesia as a response to the Suharto era's (1966-1998) centralization of control policy.
Empowerment	Refers to the process of increasing the opportunity of people to take control of their own lives. It is about people living according to their own values and being able to express preferences, make choices and influence – both individually and collectively – the decisions that affect their lives. Empowerment of women or men includes developing self-reliance, gaining skills or having their own skills and knowledge recognized, and increasing their power to make decisions and have their voices heard, and to negotiate and challenge societal norms and customs.
Food Security	Food Security, at the individual, household, national, regional, and global levels [is achieved] when all people, at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for a healthy and active life.
Gender	Gender can be defined as the set of characteristics, roles and behavior patterns that distinguish women from men. These characteristics are constructed not biologically but socially and culturally. The sex of an individual is biologically determined, whereas gender characteristics are socially constructed: a product of nurturing, conditioning and socio-cultural norms and expectations. These characteristics change over time and vary from one culture to another. Gender also refers to the web of cultural symbols, normative concepts, institutional structures and internalized self-images which, through a process of social construction, define masculine and feminine roles and articulate these roles within power relationships.
Gender Equality	Means women and men have equal rights, freedoms, conditions and opportunities to access and control socially valued goods and resources and enjoy the same status within a society. It does not mean that the goal is that women and men become the same, but rather that they have equal life chances. This applies not only to equality of opportunity but also to equality of impact and benefits arising from economic, social, cultural and political development
Gender Equity	Means fairness of treatment for women and men according to their respective needs. A gender equity goal often requires measures to rectify the imbalances between the sexes, in particular to compensate for the historical and social disadvantages of women. Equity can be understood as the means, where equality is the end. Equity leads to equality.

Gender Mainstreaming	This term may be conceptualized in two different ways: on the one hand it is an integrationist strategy which implies that gender issues are addressed within the existing development policy, strategies and priorities. Hence, throughout a project cycle, gender concerns are integrated where applicable. On the other hand, mainstreaming also means agenda-setting, which implies the transformation of existing development agenda using a gendered perspective. These two concepts are not exclusive and actually work best in combination.
Gender-neutral Policies	These are policies that are seen as having no significant gender dimension. However, government policies seldom if ever have the same effect on women as they do on men, even if at first sight they may appear to exist in a context where gender is irrelevant. Thus, policies which may appear to be ‘gender-neutral’ are often in fact ‘gender-blind’, and are biased in favor of males because they presuppose that those involved in and affected by the policy are males, with male needs and interests.
Gender Relations	Gender relations are interweaving relationships of power, economic arrangements, emotional relationships, systems of communication and meaning, etc., between men and women. Gender roles and relations, ideas and perceptions are repeated from one generation to the next.
Gender Training	Gender training is a systematic approach to sharing information and experiences on gender issues and gender analysis, aimed at increasing understanding of the structures of inequality and the relative position of men and women in society. It goes beyond awareness-building to actually providing people with the knowledge and skills that they need in order to change personal behavior and societal structures.
Horticulture	The cultivation of garden plants—generally fruits, vegetables, flowers, and ornamental plants
Income	WEIA Domain - Sole or joint control over finances earned and expenditures
Leadership	WEIA Domain - Membership in economic or social groups and comfort in speaking in public
Monoculture	The cultivation or growth of a single crop or organism especially on agricultural or forest land
Production	WEIA Domain - Sole or joint decision-making over food and cash-crop farming, livestock, and fisheries as well as autonomy in agricultural production
Resources	WEIA Domain - Ownership, access to, and decision-making power over productive resources such as land, livestock, agricultural equipment, consumer durables, and credit
Sex Disaggregated Data	This is data collected – via questionnaires, observation or other techniques – that reveal the different roles and responsibilities of men and women.
Value Chain	Describes the full sequence of activities (functions) required to bring a product or service from conception, through the intermediary process of production, processing, marketing, and delivery to final customers.
Time	WEIA Domain - Allocation of time to productive and domestic tasks and satisfaction with the available time for leisure activities

Triple Burden	Women typically take on three types of roles in terms of paid and unpaid labor. These roles are: the <i>productive</i> role, i.e., market production and home/subsistence production undertaken by women which generates an income; the <i>reproductive</i> role, i.e., the child-bearing and child-rearing responsibilities borne by women, which are essential to the reproduction of the workforce; and the <i>community management</i> role, i.e. activities undertaken by women to ensure the provision of resources at the community level, as an extension of their reproductive role. Usually the <i>adat</i> or religious responsibilities of the community are borne more by women than men.
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Indonesian Terms Used

Adat	Customs or traditions that vary in each region
Ani-ani	Small palm-held reaping knife for cutting rice stalks
Arisan	Community based savings club administered for women through PKK
Desa	Village
Dharma Wanita	A once-compulsory organization for wives of civil servants, where women's roles in the hierarchy match those of their husband's.
Dinas	Sub-national government office
Dusun	Hamlet
Jajan	Snacks, usually those bought by street venders, noted for being non-nutritious.
Kabupaten	District
Kecamatan	Sub-District
Kedai	Working class coffee shop where men go to meet other men and talk freely about politics, farming, life. Wage laborers are sought here, which justifies men 'hanging out' for long hours.
Kelompok Tani	Farmers group
Kelurahan	Urban Village
Keraton	The palace of a Javanese sultan.
Ketua	Head/Chief
Simpan Pinjam	Savings and Loans
Sekolah Lapang Petani	Farmer's Field School/FFS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

*“Economic indicators and social well-being indicators do not correlate”
(Bissio, 2012).*

Gender equality and empowerment are core development objectives, fundamental for the realization of human rights and key to effective and sustainable development outcomes. As a basic human right, a gender perspective and a strong commitment to women’s rights must be central to any development framework. Women’s empowerment means a space is created in which women can freely interact with men in constructive dialog. Development models focused on income generation, as most of the women in agriculture projects are, must also recognize the absolute need for a gender strategy that does not instrumentalize women to achieve productivity goals, but that strategically and intentionally opens such spaces for women to gain the knowledge, access, voice, and respect that helps them to achieve more power at productive, reproductive, and community levels. There is no simple answer to the question of empowering women farmers in Indonesia. Women indeed have access to economic resources, and are often important income earners for their households. Despite statistical increases in income or access, women face significant structural and cultural obstacles to becoming effective leaders and to gaining access to significant roles in society. The questions at the heart of much of this report are: does increasing productivity lead to increased income and does increased income automatically increase power?

In order to answer these questions, the research team examined multiple facets of women’s lives in order to see the disjunction between economic autonomy and actual status, from the level of individual gender ideology, as well as the division of labor in and outside the household. We also examined women’s involvement in village social activities, particularly state-controlled welfare organizations.

The assessment team found that most USAID partner interventions increase women’s already high work burdens. The income generating project is often an addition to her **productive** work, paid or unpaid outside the household in the so-called ‘public sphere’ in the fields, and her **reproductive** work in the household or so-called ‘private sphere’, where she is responsible for feeding, clothing, cleaning, and maintaining a family on a daily basis. There are also **community** demands on women for their voluntary efforts, the ‘traditional’, social and religious demands, which all together take up her entire day from early morning to late at night.

Following interviews and FGDs with nearly 400 women farmers in seven provinces from North Sumatra to Papua, the team found no opportunities for ‘self-improvement’ since 1) she had no time, and 2) she had no concept of a different life. Women in all FGDs and discussions in all areas saw their daily burdens as *normal*. If they have no idea of what empowerment would be, or look like, or feel like, or how it will improve her and her family’s life, then it is not going to happen. It is a myth that an organization can ‘empower’ rural women. Women can only make the decision to empower themselves if the knowledge, awareness and the decisions are hers to take and supported within the context of her family and community life.

In short, women’s empowerment can only occur if the context allows it and if it is part of a broader social, economic and political change in the region. This will require further and continuous education and training through long-term, multi-level initiatives that recognize the holistic nature of women’s roles within the contexts of the social, economic and political world she inhabits and not simply target one facet of it. There is a vast disjunction in Indonesia between economic autonomy and actual status that needs to be better understood by project designers.

Within this context, gender considerations need to be given serious attention in any development initiative in Indonesia. The Government of Indonesia (at all levels) needs to remedy its standardized instrumentalization of women and the blockages that exist between the good ideas at the center and their lack of implementation in regional Dinas offices. Bilateral or multilateral international donors need to take more lessons from the Indonesian private or non-governmental sector. Gender mainstreaming (GM) regulations may be more of a threat to gender equity than a benefit because it is being implemented to reach quota or statistical goals without concern for women's improvements. The focus on commodity farming and short term economic gain over sustainability or food security raises concerns over the safety of a mono-culture approach in a farming system with no safety net in case of failure.

Most project interventions observed were based on gender-blind or gender-neutral policies that may be enforcing women's "traditional" roles, and threatening to create a situation where women are instrumentalized as cheap, reliable labor but without recognizing or changing the excessive burdens they face. Further complicating women's empowerment was the basic fact that smallholder farmers in all areas visited could not earn enough income from farming to cover the daily basic needs of their families. Men had to find additional income through wage labor jobs in commercial farms, on construction sites, or illegal logging. Almost all women interviewed had additional income generating work processing and/or selling goods and produce through small kiosks or local markets. In all locations, families were one failed harvest or natural disaster away from absolute poverty. Further, a gender ideology that marginalizes women from power persists despite social changes that might seem to challenge it. The assumption that economic development automatically empowers women is widespread, despite being proven wrong by many scholars and project evaluations. Research does help show why we must delve far more deeply to understand how development brings change to some while it reproduces the more disempowering aspects of life at the same time.

The WEIA Assessment Team visited 45 agricultural project implementers from USAID partners to GOI, NGOs, and CBOs and interviewed over 350 female and 100 male beneficiaries in 32 field visits in seven provinces across Indonesia: North Sumatra, South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, East Java, Bali, West Timor (NTT), Papua. The WEIA assessment team found that the pursuit of economic growth as the ultimate project goal has induced a movement away from farming multiple crops to a mono-culture commodity approach. This has broad implications for farmers' risk, food security, sustainable land use and changes in attitude and behavior. The team also found that between poor access to markets, lack of capital, lack of a fair price for their goods, the lack of any insurance or safety net, and the lack of broader knowledge of or access to information meant that farmers remain relatively poor. Gains achieved at one level of a project were gone by the next. For example, buyers were ready to buy processed chips from lower quality bananas, a by-product of project fostered high quality banana production, but lack of capital and machinery for banana chip processing meant the supply chain was broken. Also, projects encouraged maximizing orange production in North Sumatra, but had no answers to preventing the fruit fly infestation that devastated the crop. So, a question is raised as to what support farmers receive when a project or a harvest fails.

Only in North Sumatra did informants want their children to continue the family tradition of farming – something that was not shared by their children. Everywhere else we visited, farming was seen by farmers as a worst possible choice, ensuring their children remain poor, dirty, and with no chance of "getting an attractive spouse". Such attitudes show how negatively farming is viewed by farmers themselves and bodes poorly for the future of the sector – as well as the food supply. National history, government policies, low prices, and far too much risk for far too little reward have marginalized and even terrorized male farmers into an oppressive silence. Such stressors in the sector bode far worse for the empowerment of women, since it is she who must be flexible enough to find alternative sources of food or income when their men cannot.

Recommendations:

- All projects need to include gender awareness elements that assist women and men to recognize and respect women's roles rather than maintain a gender blind, patriarchal status quo that is indifferent to women's (and farmers') rights.
- Since gender issues in the agricultural sector are many and often inter-related, a package of complementary interventions is needed that seeks to empower both women and men. These can include legal reforms that promote gender equalities, social safety nets, support to the creation of farmers, women and youths' organizations that are capable of negotiating political, legal, economic, and social terms, child care programs, female education, sustainable farming techniques, instruments to improve access to information and labor markets.
- Income generating should not be considered the goal of a project but rather one of its outcomes as part of a package of interventions that empower farmers in general and women in particular. Income generation is not equal to empowerment.
- Project beneficiaries need to gain control over resources and means of production (including technology), access to information and knowledge, and control over decisions affecting their personal life, family and community. These rural farmers can only achieve the necessary changes if interventions recognize that such changes are a process that must begin with awareness first, then skills and capacities.
- To encourage women to be more vocal in terms of decision-making beyond her household, examples of open dialog and the benefits of broad participation need to be provided. Negotiating project design openly and equitably would be a good start for such training.
- No single intervention can address the many challenges mentioned in this report. Partnering with various government agencies and other projects to improve education and health, infrastructure and technology are essential to providing the skills that broaden the range of informed choices available to women.

I. Introduction

It is widely accepted that women play a key role in agriculture in Indonesia. However, this study will show that their role seems to be little more than a statistic, an *instrument* through which to raise production, a reliably pliant cohort for testing a new cultivation or processing method. Smallholder farmers and landless farm laborers also are arguably some of the most impoverished groups of workers in Indonesia today. These two categories of farmers include both men and women. But of the two, the effects of poverty hit women the hardest because of the responsibilities she assumes in her productive, reproductive and community roles¹. While economic growth and rising incomes reduce gender inequality on some levels, they do not break down all barriers to women's participation and development – nor do they automatically lessen the burdens she bears. To do so, requires a far broader approach than simply raising incomes.

Projects that attempt to **empower** women as a goal, need to recognize the **gendered roles** that are socially constructed in daily life, the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors that are **learned** and influenced by the social class, ethnicity, age, sexuality, ability, disability and culture in which people live. These roles can enhance and inhibit a person's ability to access and control resources. And they can determine why and how people are targeted for development projects. For example, all our informants, from beneficiaries to project managers and facilitators, acknowledged that women are “more diligent”, “more detail oriented”, “more reliable”, “more honest”, “more hard working than men”². Yet, we found women still ‘rightly’ earned a lower wage, and remain largely absent from decision-making in the projects that focus on them, and in their own farming communities, if not in their households. Despite the widely published fact that more women work in agriculture than men, they work longer hours, and they earn less money, women farmers interviewed for this study referred to themselves as “*penganggur*” the unemployed. In nearly all locations visited by the WEIA team, both men and women farmers devalued her input based on the fact of less or no income.

For projects to successfully tap women's potential contributions there must be a thorough understanding of the complex and dynamic challenges women and men face on a daily basis. Income generation projects target her productive role, but her reproductive role was largely absent from most projects observed in our fieldwork. Indeed, the quality of the care mothers give to their children and other household members contributes to the health and productivity of whole families and communities and improves prospects for future generations. Our study will show that increased income did *not* directly improve equality, or a family's welfare and that, in fact, higher income may lead to under nutrition as women work more to earn more.

Without thorough knowledge and understanding of the highly complex factors that affect men and women, it is highly unlikely projects will sustainably change farmers' lives for the better.

Gendered Vocabulary

In general use, there are two words in Indonesian that mean woman. *Perempuan* differs from *wanita* in not just definition, but the expression of ideology. *Wanita* means adult woman with its related roles, especially in the household as wife and mother. *Perempuan* comes from the word *empu* meaning an expert or a great achiever in a particular field, which has a far less narrow meaning, and is the word of choice for Indonesian feminists.

¹<http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2002/presskit/english/summary4.htm>

²Field notes.

I.I. The State of the Agrarian Nation

“Governments, donors and development practitioners now recognize that agriculture is central to economic growth and food security – particularly in countries where a significant share of the population depends on the sector,” (FAO, 2012:4).

The statement above does not seem to hold true for Indonesia. In the last 10 years, technical and agricultural schools at all levels are closing because of a lack of student enrollments³. The marginalization of farmers and the shift toward industry and away from agrarianism may also be identified in the state budget. In 2011, merely 4.1% of the budget went to agriculture. In 2013, that number is reduced to 3.5%⁴.

TABLE I: INDONESIAN DEMOGRAPHY

Indicator	Value	Year
Population, total	242,325,638	2011
Population density (people per sq. km of land area)	132.41	2010
Rural population	111,060,243	2010
Rural population (% of total population)	45.83	2010
Agricultural population (% of total population)	36.95	2010
Total economically active population	117,370,000	2011
Total economically active population in agriculture	49,513,000	2010
Total economically active population in agriculture (in % of total economically active population)	42.18	2011
Female economically active population in agriculture (% of total economically active population in agriculture)	61	2011
Female informal population in agriculture (% of total rural female population working part time or unpaid)	39.38	2010

As Table 1 shows, agriculture remains one of the highest sources of employment for Indonesians. While the majority of rural women still work in agriculture (61%), less than 40% of active farmers are women⁵. The statistics do not show what percentage of male farmers have migrated to urban areas and overseas in search of a more livable wage than they could get as a farmer, leaving women to take on activities which were traditionally dominated by men. With over 90% of those we met in 7 provinces not wanting their children to become farmers, the statistics in Table 1 will clearly change to reflect more and more shifts away from agrarian life.

³ <http://www.balipost.co.id/BaliPostcetak/2008/3/23/kel1.html>; <http://pemerintah.atjehpost.com/read/2013/06/04/54381/0/17/Dinas-Pendidikan-Aceh-Utara-Peminat-SMK-Pertanian-minim>; <http://www.harianjogja.com/baca/2013/05/04/santri-di-gunungkidul-ucapkan-ikrar-cinta-pertanian-403097>.

⁴<http://www.anggaran.depkeu.go.id/dja/acontent/NK%20dan%20APBN%202013.pdf>

⁵ It must be questioned if the term ‘active’ under-represents women. None of the sites clarifies what active means or how it is determined.

In terms of this report, it is significant to recognize the long history of marginalization of smallholder farmers. Land reform, farmers' insurance and social supports were major issues starting in the 1920s, taken up primarily by the Indonesian left in the 1950s and early 1960s, but never fully implemented. Land reform, social safety nets, and the issues of women farmers in particular were a central part of the Indonesian Communist Party political program⁶. As a result, in the New Order era (1966-1998), any mention of these issues risked political suspicion, effectively shutting down meaningful discussion of farmers' reforms and gender issues in agriculture for over 30 years. The same issues that spurred large-scale peasant unrest fifty years ago remain today: access to land that can be taken away at any time⁷, lack of infrastructure, lack of any security measures or safety nets, plus social and structural gender discrimination. The Green Revolution policy of 1968⁸ addressed a world hunger problem but not the local need for reforms for farmers. The current desire for children to not become farmers and the lure of quick cash to provide the education their children need to ensure a better future too often translates into migration⁹ in search of better wages or selling land to palm oil or other conglomerates¹⁰. It also warns of the potential food security crisis caused by rising food prices and the shifting of farming land. In short, with the smallholder-farming sector under threat, the risks for women will be that much greater¹¹.

Empowerment Defined

Empowerment refers to the process of increasing the opportunity of people to take control of their own lives. It is about people living according to their own values and being able to express preferences, make choices and influence – both individually and collectively – the decisions that affect their lives. Empowerment of women or men includes developing self-reliance, gaining skills or having their own skills and knowledge recognized, and increasing their power to make decisions and have their voices heard, and to negotiate and challenge societal norms and customs.

1.2. Empowering Whom?

Since gender issues in the agricultural sector are many and often inter-related with other power-related issues, a package of complementary interventions is needed that seeks to empower both women and men. These can include legal reforms that promote gender equalities, social safety nets, support to the creation of farmers, women and youths' organizations that are capable of negotiating political, legal, economic, and social terms, child care programs, education, sustainable farming techniques, instruments to improve access to land, information and labor markets. Concerns that will be raised in this report include questioning why women are the main targets of agricultural projects when men are also broadly disempowered and the entire sector is suffering; and how gender mainstreaming (GM) regulations are being implemented to reach statistical goals without concern for women's improvements may be more of a threat to gender equity than a benefit. The focus on commodity farming and short term economic gain over sustainability or food security is another question raised

⁶ Seminar, 1961; Weiringa, 1995. Thank you to Charley Sullivan for providing the insights and sources.

⁷ See <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/features/identity-and-resistance-in-yogyakarta-chili-farmers/>; <http://kulonprogotolaktambangbesi.wordpress.com/2009/10/21/ribuan-petani-kulon-progo-melawan-kejahanatan-korporasi-hingga-bertempur-terhadap-polisi/>; <http://kulonprogotolaktambangbesi.wordpress.com/page/2/>; <http://politik.kompasiana.com/2013/01/08/nasib-petani-di-kulonprogo-dipertaruhkan-517695.html> for a current conflict over a foreign mining firm leasing kraton land that has been farmed collectively for generations.

⁸ See <http://eclectic.ss.uci.edu/~drwhite/Anthro129/balinesewatertemples.JonathanSepe.htm> for a paper on how this policy destroyed social, cultural, environmental, and irrigation systems by placing economic gain above all else.

⁹ As reported by Economics Minister Hatta Rajassa, smallholder farmers' numbers have dropped by 4 million in the past year. <http://www.indonesiarayanews.com/news/nasional/02-10-2013-22-10/ini-tekat-pemerintah-kurang-jumlah-buruh-tani-di-indonesia>

¹⁰<http://www.fao.org/docrep/010/ai411e/AI411E04.htm>; <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/news/green-activists-sound-warning-on-foreign-investments-in-oil-palm-estates-2/>

¹¹ See also <http://www.fao.org/sd/wpdirect/wpan0027.htm>

here. These project interventions were based on gender-blind or gender-neutral policies that may be enforcing women's "traditional" roles, and threatening to create a situation where women are **instrumentalized** as cheap, reliable labor but without recognizing or changing the excessive burdens they face.

Empowerment in development programs is often misunderstood as women's **income generation** and **presence** rather than as a critical step towards reshaping economic, political, and social conditions to allow for equality in opportunities and results for both women and men. While studies prove that women's increased income has a direct impact on a family's welfare, more so than increasing a man's income, few of these studies look further at the actual **benefits** of their programs on women. It is striking to note that very few projects observed and in desk reviews included indicators of women's actual empowerment in monitoring and evaluation systems. We saw instead how these projects can be adding to women's already triple burden without making positive changes in the other conditions that shape women's lives.

1.3. Defining Empowerment

The term **empowerment** is widely used in development policy and program documents, in general, but also specifically in relation to women. However, the concept is highly political and its meaning contested for many different reasons. Evidence of the use and misuse of the term was apparent throughout our assessment. Therefore, it is absolutely essential that all stakeholders share clear definitions, linked to clear purposes and program goals.

As a development strategy, empowerment should promote development as the process where people themselves define and control their own development. Empowerment is a dynamic concept pointing to a process of change which can bring people from a state of being relatively powerless within a certain socio-cultural, socio-political and economic context, into a state of acquiring power as in gaining control in shaping their own development process, able to give direction to their lives and future.

This implies that people need to gain control over resources and means of production (including technology), access to information and knowledge, and control over decisions affecting one's personal life, one's family and community. These rural farmers can only achieve the necessary changes if they can broaden their **awareness** first; only then can skills and capacities be targeted.

To achieve empowerment as a development strategy, the level or degree of active participation of people in the development process must play a decisive role. Active participation in decision-making processes is a prerequisite for empowerment.

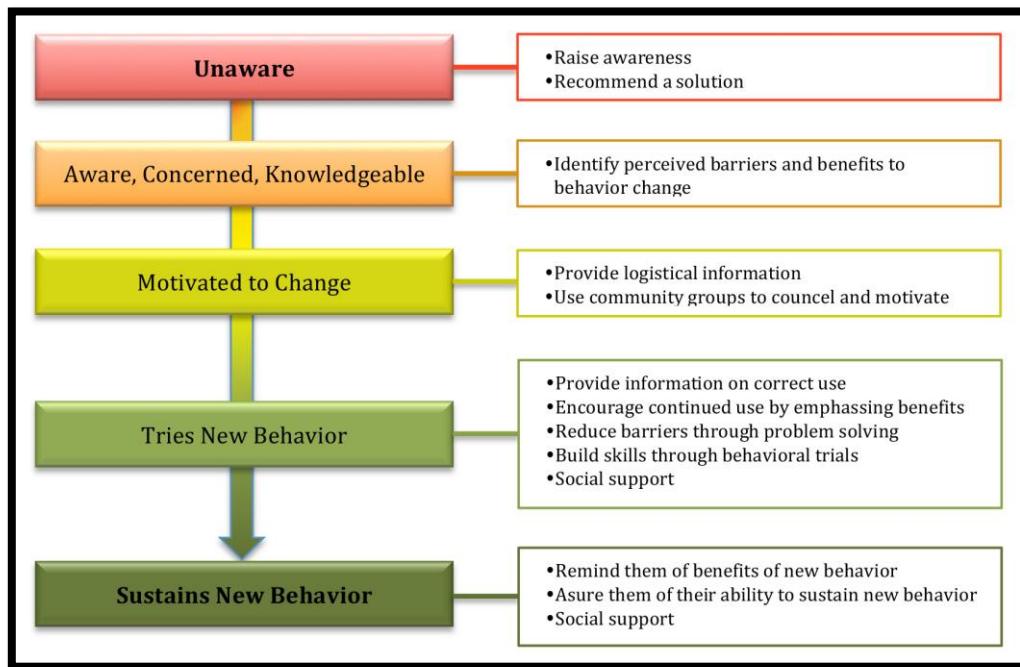
1.4. Empowerment as Behavior Change: Shaping the Assessment

Empowerment is not a project goal in itself but a long, complicated process of behavior change through which power structures in society and how they interact can be altered so that more effective and equitable goals can be reached. In project design, empowerment should be a 'bottom-up' process of transforming power relations through individuals or groups developing awareness of their own subordination and building their capacity to challenge it. A clear concept of what empowerment means and what steps individuals must pass through in this process of change is essential to program design. Yet, we found in our research that project beneficiaries and staff, women and men, lacked a clear concept of what empowerment was. None had a **vision** or concept of what empowerment would be in practical terms.

Based on Behavior Change theory (see Figure 1), scales of empowerment were designed through which to assess where individuals, organizations and communities are in the process of increasing

power and how to maintain and sustain the changes sought. Each section of the report opens with a five-point scale that describes levels of empowerment in terms of the topic of the chapter. The scale begins with unaware and develops up through to an ideal, sustainable new behavior.

FIGURE I: LEVELS OF BEHAVIOR CHANGE



Changes in individuals are unlikely to change structures; but people acting together as a group can be a powerful force for change, thus supporting the use of groups through which to focus an intervention. The use of only women's groups, however, is not enough. Men's attitudes and behavior towards women will be critical to the kinds of change women are able to achieve. Thus, the **scales of empowerment** used in each section attempt to reflect gender relations as a **system** of knowledge, behavior, and socialization that must include men as a significant aspect of the ideal goal for empowerment. The scales are an attempt to address a lack of materials and frameworks that assist agencies to generate assessment and orientation tools. The scales assist the visualization of **gender relations** as a process of knowledge development and behavior socialization, deeply embedded in cultural routines, in religious and legal concepts, and in the taken-for-granted arrangements of people's lives. Moreover, if **gender relations** are interweaving relationships of power, economic arrangements, emotional relationships, systems of communication and meaning, etc., gender roles and relations, ideas and perceptions are repeated from one generation to the next. Societal views and values are internalized, shaping our attitudes, perceptions, behavior and decisions later in life. But we also know that gender systems are diverse and changing – they arise from different cultural histories in different parts of the country, have changed in the past, and are undergoing change¹².

¹²See also <http://menengageasiapacific.wordpress.com>

1.5. Scope of Work & Methodology

The gender assessment Statement of Work specifies the following goals:

- Provide analysis of institutional structures and socio-economic and cultural trends/practices within the community, political sphere, farming practices, and household in Indonesia that determine gender roles, relationships and gender-based constraints to women's empowerment in agriculture.
- Provide recommendations on how women's empowerment can best be promoted by USAID/Indonesia's agricultural portfolio.
- Identify where agriculture programs are succeeding or failing to empower women, and what onward affects that is having on food security and agricultural development.

The assessment findings are based on a review of documents by USAID/Indonesia, partners, NGOs, CBOs, Government of Indonesia (GOI), academic scholars, web sites, blogs, and news media. The team met with government and non-government stakeholders and interviewed partners, implementers, academics, and beneficiaries of USAID and non-USAID funded projects in seven provinces (North Sumatra, South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, East Java, Bali, West Timor (NTT) and Papua. See Annex 2 for a complete list). Beneficiaries of USAID partner and non-partner projects included almost 400 women farmers, 100 male farmers and 50 children. Interviews took place in villages, fields, schools and homes. Men, women and children were interviewed in groups and individually.

The analytical approach included gender analysis tools (contextual analysis; gender gap analysis; gender check-lists; Participatory Rural Appraisal) that focused on constraint and strategic opportunity identification. The gap analysis process examines how a project or intervention manages issues that impact gender equity. These include gender differences (gaps) and social relations to identify, understand, and redress inequities and inequalities. The process also identified **practical gender needs**: conditions needed to bring about improvements for men and women; and **strategic gender interests**: actions and strategies to bring about structural changes and women's empowerment. Our gender analysis can be broken down into the following types of activities:

TABLE 2: METHODOLOGY

Steps to the Analysis	Guiding questions	Data collected
Activity profiles	Who does what and what are the practical implications of this labor distribution?	What men and women do on a daily basis, where, when and how they take place. Gendered use of time based on value systems; Benefits, level of knowledge and awareness of activities and their impacts.
Access and control profile	Who has what? How are they shared?	Who has access to resources, services; who controls these assets, and makes the decisions on their use.
Analysis of factors and trends	What is the socioeconomic context? What political issues affect farmers?	Identify the structural factors that shape activity, access, and control patterns (demographic, political, economic, and institutional, including religious and cultural 'traditions'). Identification of obstacles and opportunities.
Program cycle analysis	What gender considerations exist or are needed in the project? What is the strategic potential of the project for enhancing the status of women and promoting gender equity?	Gender-sensitive project planning, design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. Level of community participation in project cycle as an example of power relations. Level of awareness of empowerment as a project goal and what it is to achieve.
Scales of Empowerment	Where are they now? Where have they been? Where do they want to go?	Identify the advancements made toward empowerment, what communities understand as empowerment, where they could go given the circumstances.

After noting that a main obstacle to empowering women was simply the lack of an idea or vision of what empowerment would be in practice, the assessment team designed such a ‘view’. Each section in the report begins with a **scale of empowerment** from which to gauge at what level in the process of change a community, an implementer, or a project is currently located. These scales additionally provide a vision of what improvements in empowerment would look like, a window through which a current position can be assessed and a project goal can be recognized. Based on these scales, each section provides a **score of empowerment** that should assist in recognizing a current position and providing a guide for future goals.

These methodologies and innovations provide a unique approach to identifying gender considerations from different angles and perspectives in the hope that future work can be better targeted and more effective in the striving for a more equitable world.

1.6. Limitations of the Assessment

This evaluation followed a qualitative study approach where findings were compiled from various sources: implementing partners, government agencies, NGOs, beneficiaries and other stakeholders. Due to the usual time limitations, information collected is limited to the responses of select individuals, groups and institutions that were met and observed in the process of this study. Local partners selected who would be included in focus groups, making random sampling difficult and verification a challenge for a research team with only a matter of hours in each location. Thus, empowerment scores and other findings need to be recognized as limited to only the areas in which assessment was done and should not be generalized to cover a regency or province. The majority of these projects targeting income generation and based on business models tend to be implemented in relatively successful, accessible regions with all available resources in which to build a good business. Beneficiaries were not the poorest in each region. Thus, analytical results may not fit in more challenged or challenging areas of the country.

2. Overview of Indonesian Gender Policies and their Implementation

Scales of Empowerment: Measuring Gender Policies

1. Government workers do not see the importance of women's equal involvement in agricultural, income generating, and political activities.
2. Government workers follow Gender Mainstreaming quotas and a few processes but have little understanding of its qualitative meaning or relevance.
3. Government understands the significance of women's roles in improving family conditions but uses them to further a target rather than encouraging a change in relative positions between men and women.
4. Government recognizes that the more empowered women are, the better the outcomes for families, communities, and the nation, such that women and men are encouraged to fully participate in and influence decision-making in institutions.
5. Government actively defends women's empowerment through not just their involvement and ideas, but also requires support from others in community institutions, in effect leading to sustainable changes in gender relations

Gender mainstreaming, in its broadest sense, is an attempt at advancing gender equality and equity through government policy in a society that in most regions rejects any notions of equality. It is a major up-hill battle as this huge, complex country attempts to design a future that is better than its past. At the level of national government, the discourse and intentions are well documented, well researched, well planned – but they are not striving for **equality**. No one wants to “change the world”, but they do want to include women because it is obvious that to do so would improve their outcome statistics. Women here are positioned as object rather than subject and are instrumentalized for political purposes – as they have been for a long time¹³.

GM, as national policy, is very different from women's empowerment programs in terms of scope and impact. In terms of scope, all ministries and dinas have designated GM policies, laws, definitions, plans for organizing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating GM goals to carry out in their programs. The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (MWE&CP) is tasked with implementing women's empowerment programs and training gender focal points in each government office. While GM is positioned at the center of all government activities, as a defining approach, **empowerment** is very much at the periphery, in an agency with the smallest budget of all GOI offices and no Dinas through which to carry projects into the community. In terms of actors, all bureaucrats at all levels and in all sectors have a responsibility to implement GM. But GM must not be misinterpreted as empowerment. As seen in the main policies below, only MWE&CP describes the behavior changes required to achieve empowerment, equality, and improved gendered relations.

The others are aimed at project goals that require women's involvement, but nowhere state what quality of involvement, or what benefits women will receive from this involvement:

¹³See also Sears, L., ed. Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia. Duke University Press. 1996. Suryakusuma, J. Sex, Power and Nation. Metaphor. 2004.

- Presidential Instruction No 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development instructed all government departments and agencies at the national, provincial and local level to adopt the principles of gender mainstreaming in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development policies and programs.
- National Development Master Plan for Women's Empowerment (RIPNAS) 2000- 2004 was created by the State Minister for the Empowerment of Women. Its goal is “improving the life quality of women in any strategic sectors; rising the socialization of gender equality and gender equity; eliminating any forms of violence against women; enforcement of Human Rights for women; and empowering and increasing the independence of women institutions and organizations.¹⁴”
- Internal Affairs Ministry Decision No. 15/2008on General Guidelines for implementing gender mainstreaming for regional governments through the act of governing, developing, and serving the community with a gendered perspective through planning, implementing, budgeting, monitoring, and evaluation of policy, programs and all regional development activities.

Despite the gender rhetoric, for many years now, mass state-controlled programs, especially *Dharma Wanita*, the Family Welfare Program (PKK), and school texts at all levels, reinforce a version of womanhood that promotes domestically oriented skills such as cooking, sewing and childcare for women. Men are officially the head of the household and women are *pendamping suami* or assistants for their husbands and providers of secondary incomes, regardless of reality. Men make important decisions in the community. In all interviews and focus groups with project implementers and beneficiaries, it was very clear that this latter definition of “traditional” woman far outweighed and undermined any notions of a striving for equality.

2.1. Assessment Findings: Women's Empowerment Scores

In terms of where in the scale government agencies are, the Team found that the GM Unit of the Ministry of Agriculture (MOA), created a well defined **Gender Responsive** approach to Planning and Budgeting, that includes gender gap analysis for assessment, monitoring and evaluation. As director Dr. Suwandi admits however, their goal is “not to empower women, but to increase rates of production. Women are the key to food security and women are the easiest means through which to achieve increased production goals”. The MOA then scores a 3 in our **scales of empowerment**. The potential for improvement is strong through high placed aware individuals. But since GOI agencies shift staff every few years, sustainability of approaches, knowledge, or leadership is never assured. The various Agricultural Dinas we visited had not been informed of these MOA innovations and had quotas alone as their goals; they continue to focus most of their trainings on men and target women's farmers' groups for trainings only where they already exist – but without concern for quality or purpose of the group. The Dinas scored 2 in our scales since their focus was **presence** only not quality **participation**, revealing how activities at the center are not filtered out into the regions as a flaw of decentralization. Women's Empowerment Board had exceptionally bright, well-intentioned women on its staff, but their frustration with all the limitations of their peripheral role was tangible in discussions. No gender-disaggregated data is collected to assist in clarifying statistics collected by the various ministries or agencies despite the call for such in state policy.

¹⁴http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADH334.pdf

TABLE 3: STATE APPARATUS AND APPROACHES TO EMPOWERMENT

Agency	MOA	DINAS	MWE&CP	PKK
Target	Goverment bodies, farmer organisastions, cooperatives, private sector	farmer organisastions, cooperatives, private sector	Government bodies	Women nationwide
Approach	Build women farmers groups, training /capacity building; Gender Responsive M&E tools; Gender Budgeting	VEW training in line with focus of Dinas (agriculture, food security, small business, health)	Train gender focal points to implement GM and other policies	Monthly meetings for all community women; arisan; 'motherly' activities: nutrition, cooking, beauty training.
Empowerment Issues	Supports women's role in agriculture. Admits to instrumentalizing women for production goals. No concerns with equality.	Support women's groups through quota. Trainings mainly reported as uninteresting, unuseful. Aim for presence not participation.	Very concerned with equality but smallest budget of all agencies and no Dinas for outreach. Limited to training focal points but cannot monitor progress.	Maintain and reinforce 'traditional' roles: women as dependent, housewives, providing 'free' labor, deprived of political power
Empowerment Score	3-4	2	5	3

Translating the intellectual and more globalized views of MOA Jakarta into methods that can be understood and implemented at regional levels has not been successful, or attempted. Women's empowerment remains an *external* issue, fully understood by MWE&CP but sidelined with little budget or opportunity for outreach. MOA has adapted a great many Gender Responsive tools that go a long way in assessing gendered positions. This is a huge step forward. But these advances remain pilot projects, centered in the MOA, and top-down. They cannot be adapted in the regions because of the limited capacity of staff and limited political will. Institutional capacity on women's rights and gender equality is still a challenge and in-depth knowledge on gender equality often remains with "specialized" staff only. Mainstreaming is understood as a "checking the gender box" exercise, or inviting a few elite women (usually the wives of high ranking officials) in order to fulfill requirements – a practice that has negatively impacted advances in gender equality and women's rights. As witnessed by the team in the field, men or elite women head many women's farmers' groups¹⁵. These groups are more often than not formed through existing PKK groups, PKK being a national program to mobilize women for development purposes, that is headed by the village chief's wife, who speaks for the mainly silent poorer women under her care.

¹⁵See section 3.2. for more discussion about farmers groups and their use.

3. Gender and Agricultural Production Trends: Commodities versus Food Security

It is a mistake to think of agriculture as simply about productivity. Agriculture provides employment and livelihoods, it underpins food quality, food safety and nutrition, and it allows food choices and cultural diversity. It is also necessary for water quality, broader ecosystem health, and even carbon sequestration. Agriculture, concluded the IAASTD, should never be reduced merely to a question of production. It must necessarily be integrated with the many needs of humans and ecosystems (IAASTD, 2007¹⁶).

Scales of Empowerment: Farmers' Dependency

1. Men are highly dependent on projects and buyers for selling their produce. They have no negotiating power. Women assist on all levels.
2. Men are dependent on buyers but they are starting to organize to demand a fair price for their goods. Women are providing productive support and sharing ideas for organizing.
3. Women and men share various field-based tasks and are able to receive a price that covers their expenses and household needs. Women still shoulder the bulk of the burden but men are aware and sympathetic.
4. Women and men share various productive and social tasks and consult one another on sustainable methods including what to grow and experimental new techniques. Buyers assist farmers in forming cooperatives that provide crop insurance.
5. Women and men share tasks to meet all family needs in a sustainable manner, defend their price demands and ideas and gain support from others in public decision forums. Farmers' organizations demand and receive public services.

Poverty in Indonesia is still an enormous challenge where the bulk of a family's income is spent on food (see Table 4). This means that even small fluctuations in food prices can have devastating impacts¹⁷. Thus, the vast majority of agricultural projects aim to increase income as the key to improvements. Projects use an **affirmative action**

approach by targeting women as those who have a highly **productive** role in the agricultural sector while also being most at risk from its fluctuations. Women as main beneficiaries may be a common starting point in most projects, but by not recognizing her **reproductive** and **community** roles also, these projects are at risk of further increasing women's burden. No program we visited had a baseline assessment of women's multiple roles from which to monitor the actual benefits a project is providing her. Without a good baseline understanding of her world, the only indicators of a project's success are those that measure income or production increases.

We argue here that productivity is not an appropriate indicator of the success of a project, and most definitely not an indicator of empowerment. More tangible **benefits** to a woman, her family and her

Distribution of Agricultural Labor

Men open new fields, fell trees, irrigate, and prepare land for planting. **Women** cultivate, seed, plant, transplant, fertilize, weed, harvest and engage in post-harvest processing activities.

Where mechanization has not yet eliminated women's roles (see 4.2.), they shoulder the majority of rice cultivation work.

¹⁶ <http://www.unep.org/dewa/Assessments/Ecosystems/IAASTD/tabid/105853/Default.aspx/> and <http://www.greenmedinfo.com/blog/how-agriculture-can-provide-food-security-without-destroying-biodiversity>

¹⁷ <http://www.fao.org/docrep/010/ai411e/AI411E04.htm>

community also need to be measured. These include: how she manages that extra income, how it was spent, a project's impact on her time (increase or decrease), changes in the distribution of tasks between her and her husband/family, the level of voice she has in her home and in her community. Is she able to maximize the changes brought by the project to improve her relative positions, her *use* of time, her *ways* of feeding her children and her *understanding* of nutritional needs? In terms of her group as basis for targeting a project, does the women farmer's organization (FO) encourage community participation and participation in project socialization, planning, targeting, and management? Without such moves to strengthen the women's group, as well as the men they live with, changes may occur but they will not be *empowering*. Questions like: has the project led to any incidences of violence in the community or household, and has the project increased or decreased farmers' risks also need to be asked.

3.1. Project Design: Food Security or Commodities?

Farmers face many problems that can be exacerbated by economic approaches that encourage increased productivity and profits over longer-term sustainable gains. Issues raised by farmers themselves include: a move toward mono-culture/commodity farming, increased risk of crop failure, water shortages, diminishing land for agriculture, soil depletion, overuse of chemical pesticides. In addition, farmers described other factors that the projects observed did not take into consideration. These included poor infrastructure, natural disasters, lack of safety nets or farmers' insurance, the lack of clear forest, water and land conservation movements, the related threats of global warming, all of which disproportionately affect smallholder farmers. Further, the team found that the lack of a collective voice meant farmers were subjected to the whims of more powerful project managers and buyers. In all locations visited, income from farming alone was never enough to cover basic HH needs. Both men and women needed to find day wage labor work in fields or in construction and women very often also sold goods they processed, grew or were given on consignment at market. These issues are all contributing to two potential crises: the overwhelming desire for smallholder farmers to move out of farming into anything more stable and the increased potential for food insecurity.

TABLE 4: HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES¹⁸

Region	N. Sumatra	S. Sulawesi	C. Sulawesi	E. Java	Bali	NTT	Papua
HH expenses	Kedai ¹⁹	Food	Cigarettes	Food	Food	School ²⁰	School
	Food	School	Food	School	School	Food	Food ²¹
	School	Cigarettes	School	Cigarettes	Adat	Adat	Cigarettes/Beetlenut

Poverty in Indonesia is increasingly concentrated in rural areas, where 70 percent of the population

¹⁸As reported to the team in FGD in each region. The list includes the top three reported expenses.

¹⁹Kedai is a local coffee shop where men gather to talk. Recruiters also seek laborers through kedai, which justifies his daily visits as 'job-seeking'.

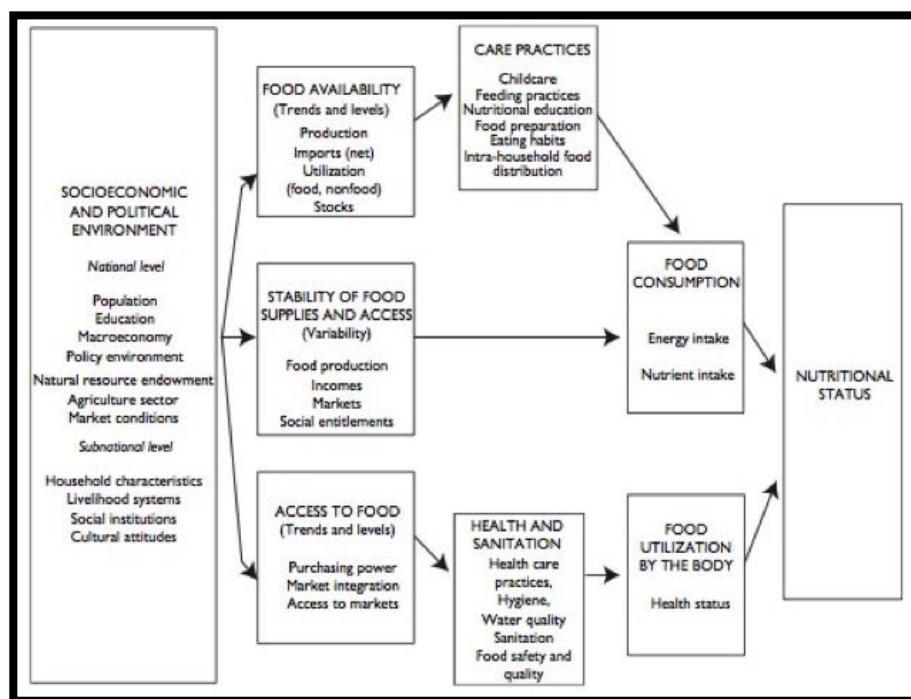
²⁰NTT and Papua have school as the highest expense because of the need to ride buses to and from school as none are located near their homes. Also, the 'tradition' of giving children money to buy *jajan* (snacks, usually non-nutritious junk food) can range from IDR2,000-5,000 (USD0.20 - .50) a substantial part of daily income.

²¹See footnote 21 and food costs include rice. While women grow most of their own food and beetlenut, their incomes are so low that any change in weather or crop failure can be disastrous.

lives. Compared with 9.9 percent of urban populations, 16.6 percent of rural people are poor²². Provinces such as NTT and Papua have been classified as chronically food insecure by the Indonesian government²³. Food insecurity and under-nutrition are persistent challenges, and the country's stunting levels are alarmingly high at over 30% in most districts²⁴ (see section 5.1. below).

With awareness of such chronic food issues in Indonesia, it is increasingly essential to assess the gendered dimensions of poverty in the agriculture sector and the impact of all USAID funded projects on these issues. As Figure 2 shows, food security involves a great deal more than income generation. Discussions with women and men revealed little understanding of child nutritional needs and feeding practices. How the trend toward mono-culture high value commodities impacts smallholder farmers and farm laborers needs to be more intensely analyzed to ensure it is not causing more harm than good in the longer term given to the extensive impact of under nutrition on all development indicators.

FIGURE 2: ELEMENTS OF FOOD SECURITY



Source: World Bank 2009:12

Projects that focus on commodity products for local and export markets depend on two basic concepts: 1) consistent markets and 2) an assumption that increased income means increased economic security, including food. The assessment has shown that neither is guaranteed.

The dilemma over project design involves the conflict over the issue of **high-value agriculture**, which does increase income and allows a family access to a better lifestyle. But at what cost? When

²²<http://www.foodsecurityportal.org/indonesia/resources>; <http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/en/country/statistics/tags/indonesia>

²³The fact of NTT and Papua being so prone to food insecurity (see WFP, 2009; websites for WHO.or.id; UNICEF.or.id), and projects observed all being located in very safe, non-food-insecure regions, may need to be considered in terms of the ultimate goal of USAID funded projects.

²⁴<http://www.wfp.org/countries/indonesia/overview>; and footnote 24.

these national and international projects influence farmers' decisions, local people appear very responsive to such economic opportunities. They readily change their 'traditional' livelihood system from intercropping the new cash crop with upland rice and food crops that maintain food security to more monoculture plantations if it can increase their income²⁵. The lure of a promised high income resulted in many farmers shifting away from a variety of crops to monoculture so that they could reap as much financial benefit as possible. But this also places farmers in exceptionally high risk positions that are beyond their capacity to manage – *if* problems arise. Without direct links to markets themselves and without infrastructure and capacity to move their harvests, smallholder farmers are dependent on local buyers who control prices.

None of the projects visited offered any type of safety nets or insurance for farmers. Where farmers are at risk, women farmers face far higher risks.

Following the introduction of cocoa to Indonesia around 1980, the value of cocoa steadily increased to the point where Indonesia is now the third largest cocoa producer in the world. Disease and export taxes (levied in 2010) on cocoa beans have weakened the once high-value commodity, leaving smallholders, who own about 95 percent of cocoa plantations, in very difficult positions (Reuters, 2012). Farmers alone bear the burden of these taxes²⁶ as prices for their produce drop to maintain buyers' profits. International players are concerned that if farmers do not receive better prices, they will switch to palm oil or coffee (Reuters, 2012, 2013).

3.1.1. Field Narratives

Cocoa: From around 1999, men in North Sumatra, Central and South Sulawesi decided to clear any other crops from their fields and focus on the current cocoa boom²⁷. Women described to us how extra cash was translated into 'luxury' items such as TVs, scooters on credit, fancy hand phones, rice cookers²⁸. But trees have become vulnerable to disease that has seriously damaged the crop. Prices to farmers have dropped to \$1.60/kg, which all but wipes out any profit²⁹.

Oranges: Following the fly infestation that destroyed over 50% of the orange crop in North Sumatra³⁰, men were told by agricultural 'experts' to destroy their trees. The fly was impossible to kill³¹.

It was women who filled the income gaps following crop failure by quickly growing vegetables for both personal consumption and market. Meanwhile, whatever savings they had dwindled and loans were impossible because they could not follow monthly repayment schemes. In Central Sulawesi, community women formed a horticulture cooperative to maintain the family's income, albeit much smaller than the cocoa crop had provided. When such threats to a family's security hit, men look for migrant or more wage labor work, sometimes beyond Indonesia's borders. Women are the ones left to find solutions that maintain her family's survival.

²⁵ Personal communication from farmers and project managers. See also Feintrenie, et al. 2010.

²⁶ <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/archive/indonesian-cocoa-industry-warns-that-new-export-tax-will-cost-growers/>

²⁷ Personal communications, cocoa farmers in N. Sumatra, S and C Sulawesi. The financial appeal of palm oil, while not supported by USAID, needs to be considered, as farmers told us that quick cash for the sale of land is far more attractive than the subsistence life of the rural farmer.

²⁸ Field notes, FGD with women farmers in N. Sumatra, S & C Sulawesi.

²⁹ Personal communication, FGD, and <http://www.bisnis-jatim.com/index.php/2013/03/11/petani-kian-tergencet-indonesia-importir-kakao-pada-2014/>; <http://yansulaeman.com/index.php/sample-sites-2/85-mengapa-petani-kakao-sultra-tidak-sejahtera>

³⁰ http://www.medanbisnisdaily.com/news/read/2013/02/14/12604/rp_4triliun_habis_untuk_impor_jeruk/#.Ub7tqutWpz8

³¹ <http://kliniktniorganik.com/?p=13616>; and personal communication, Karo farmers.

3.2. Project Implementation: Farmers' Groups and Strategies

TABLE 5: PROJECT APPROACH

Partner	AMARTA II	IPM-CRSP	INKAPA	AVRDC	ICBDA
Beneficiaries	Farmers Groups and Women's Farmers Groups	Farmers Group (women and men mixed groups)	Women Farmers Groups	Farmers: 30% members are women	Whole communities
Commodity	Cocoa		Cocoa	Vegetables	Cassava
Approach/Goals	Income generating, top-down approach. Implementer advises strategy, finds buyer, connections – not farmers. Strengthening of commodity for market.	FFS: Political approach based on democratic principles including topic selection. Collaborative research in natural pest management.	Improve post-harvest technology and quality of cocoa to meet domestic and export market needs; expand access to financing for cocoa farmer groups.	Build demand-driven capacity for vegetable production and marketing. School gardens to encourage youth interest in farming, food security.	Increased income for families through cassava cultivation for flour. Credit cassava seeds provided.
Empowerment Strategy	Women's groups targeted for training	Women as equal to men in all FFS activities	Women's groups targeted for training	Men trained first. Then they train women. Quota achieved.	'Gender-neutral' approach.

Established **farmers' organizations** (FO) or groups based on the Mass Guidance system (see Farmers' Organization Box) are the targets for all projects. The traditional approach to agricultural extension services was and remains based on a top-down model, which consists of encouraging farmers to adopt varieties and practices aimed at increasing productivity. The role of women in these projects was originally neglected. Technology transfer largely focused on male farmers, with few measures to address women's technology needs or social conditions³². Women have shifted to a more central position now through the use of PKK and the creation of women's self-help groups as particularly important, especially given the necessity of meeting gender quotas in all extension activities. Agricultural, Small Business Support, and Transmigration Services (*Dinas*) as well as academic think tanks, NGOs and CBOs all use this system of working with established groups. As Dr. Suwandi (GM Unit MOA) informed us, "for every nine men's groups, there is one female farmers' group. We always use that one." Where a women's FO does not exist, PKK groups are always available.

Village extension workers (VEW) present government policies and standard trainings that, based on FGD reports, have little to offer to rural communities (see Table 6). But communities are told that unless they are organized into cooperatives, associations or groups, they will not get government subsidies or access to credit and technical services. As a result, FOs are established on paper in the hope that something useful will come. Yet of all regions visited, only the PKK groups in the transmigration areas of Central Sulawesi (Torono, Sausu Trans) received services and resources that

³² Pingali, P. 2012. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3411969/>

were effective in creating a livelihood³³. One group was trained by the Small and Medium Business Agency to process cocoa into powder for instant drinks and another group was trained by the Agency for Food Security in horticulture for personal consumption and market.

TABLE 6: GOVERNMENT AND OTHER PROJECT STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

Region	N. Sumatra	S. Sulawesi	C. Sulawesi	E. Java	Bali	NTT	Papua
Government Extension Services	None reported	FO; home garden (MOA project)	SMBA: process cocoa powder; FS: horticulture	BPTP – IVEGRI FS	FS, SMBA: all projects failed to produce.	Agri: fertilizer – “immediately forgotten”	None reported; Health services strong – good child care
Commodity	Coffee; oranges destroyed by infestation;	Cocoa	Cocoa diseased. Vegetables as interim crop	Experimental vegetable cultivation	Presents govt (MOA) home garden project	Cattle	Poisonous cassava for flour; Vanilla
Project selection	External	External	External	External	External	External	External
Bargaining position?	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
Strengths	Increased HH income; Fertilizer home industry.	Increased HH income; guaranteed buyer; crop improvements	Crop improvements ; women more knowledgeable > control of cocoa. Processing skills increased.	Improves seedling techniques; Village nurseries and School Gardens	Improves home garden food security; Reduces food costs	Prestige stock, brings financial boost at sale	Discipline for farmers; pen their stock to prevent poisoning.
Weaknesses	Do not eat their own vegetables > boring. Prefer instant noodles. Veggies grown for market only.	Cooperative membership based on men. Fermenting cocoa beans increased burden and risk of failure without increase in profit.	Men move away from cocoa to rice and day labor jobs. Women's burden increased > no free time.	New techniques introduced to men only, who in turn teach women.	Increase women's burden.	No money mgmt. skills. Increase women's burden; Causes sanitation problems, no composting	NON prestige crop > considered foolish by non-participants.

Key: FS: Food Security Agency (Dinas); SMBA: Small and Medium Business Agency (Dinas); BPTP: Research Institute for Agricultural Technology

Each project observed has strong and weak points. Financially they increased income, even if it was in kind through home industry fertilizers that cut production costs or vegetable supply that cut food costs. Each project focused on women as beneficiary to ensure its success, but all projects had men in positions of leadership as facilitators or managers. All projects maintained a top-down perspective

³³ It can only be assumed that PKK groups are targeted because they are existing women's groups. Why a transmigration region is effectively serviced by VEW while others are not would require far more research than this team was able to provide.

from selection of project to implementation to market contacts. Beneficiaries had no bargaining positions from which to determine their own involvement, or the price of their produce. These are problematic areas that follow in the footsteps of the ‘old paradigms’ (see Farmers’ Organizations Box) that maintain positions of dependency and disempowerment.

Farmers’ Organizations – Then and Now

Large-scale agricultural programs really began with the introduction of the ‘Mass Guidance’ (INMAS/BIMAS) programs in 1968. These ‘Green Revolution’ programs still exist today in one form or another. And these programs still cause the same problems in terms of disempowerment of farmers, dependency on outside/Government inputs, cropping regimes that strain soil fertility, over application of chemical inputs, disrupted environment due to pesticides and subsequent pest and production problems because the ‘old paradigm’ of ‘technology transfer’ still reigns and has not been replaced by farmer-led science at the field level. (Hidayat, 2000)

Significant strengths were seen in projects that improved women’s **knowledge** of farming (technology, see also FFS 3.3. below), which seemed to have wider impacts on gender relations than those that focused on **skills** (processing). Improved **knowledge** led to improved respect that crossed several gender barriers. We were told of men taking on more of her domestic burden and asking her opinions about non-domestic issues. Projects that focused on **skills**, such as food processing, led to no such changes even where there was increased income, since food processing is a ‘woman’s domain’. **Crossing boundaries** then seems to be a significant step in shifting into a more equitable society.

Cross cutting issues including health and gender, however, were not addressed in any projects. Thus the majority of Food Security Elements are ignored (see Fig. 2). Gender awareness training with partner organization field staff has been conducted sporadically, if at all. As a result, field offices usually do not perceive gender issues as a priority area in their work even though their target beneficiaries are women. In some cases, gender is simply understood as meaning women. In other cases, the recognition of ‘gender’ as a relational concept is not backed-up by a clear understanding of what this means in practice. Very often, working on gender issues is merely seen as ensuring that women’s groups are targeted. In most areas, men are still the ones invited to training activities and men are advisors and leaders of women’s groups. Elite women, who themselves have office or PNS jobs during the day, were found to be heads of women’s farmers’ groups.

There are three main pitfalls that explain why so little real empowerment has reached women smallholder farmers:

- 1) Adherence to traditional women’s roles as secondary support to men (a fact that results in ‘self-stigma’ and women holding themselves and each other back based on what they perceive to be ‘cultural’ norms and values);
- 2) Ignoring women’s unpaid work in the home and community in project design and implementation;
- 3) Instrumentalizing women – exclusively or primarily focusing on women as a means to deliver broader economic gains rather than for reasons of gender equality or women’s empowerment in their own right.

These three pitfalls result in women smallholder farmers facing a series of distinct challenges, the most significant being the burden she takes on in terms of unequal distribution of tasks, the absolute lack of free time, and the unquestioned **triple burden**.

3.3. Farmers' Field School

The one approach found to be most successful in starting to alter relative gender positions was the **Farmer Field School (FFS)**. The FFS uses well-trained facilitators, not extension workers, and shifts from a top-down ‘technology transfer’ mindset to stimulating discussions and learning processes among both men and women together. All participants are trained to become facilitators in their own community, thereby creating a peer system of extension. In the FFS, farmers are enabled to identify their priorities, problems and possible solutions through a continuous process of discussion and self-reflection. The learning methodology adopted is based on a learning-by-doing approach, which is an effective means to build farmers’ capacity to achieve self-determined goals.

FFS is the only approach recognized through this field research to have a positive impact on women’s self-esteem, strengthening her knowledge and capacity to use new farming practices and technologies right along-side men. This in turn resulted in increased respect, trust, reliability and cooperation between men and women. The FFS, then does not fall into the first and third policy pitfalls named above: women are very pointedly not forced into traditional roles, nor are they anything but equal to men in all activities. The second pitfall, which requires the most gender relational change, also takes the most time to understand and monitor as it lies outside of the FFS immediate sphere of influence.

The FFS approach led to increased productivity but not increased ability to identify and negotiate with buyers³⁴.

Barangan Bananas – Case Study of a Poverty Trap

(*Musa Paradisiaca sapienteum, L*)

In 2008, Barangan Deli Serdang banana farmers and Julian Veles, consultant with AMARTA I, introduced a new cultivation and harvesting technique for Barangan bananas called “double-row”. This resulted in a 100% increase in density per hectare and increased all-round production by 80%.

Traditional farmers do not do post harvest processing even though it can bring significant returns. This reluctance is one reason for farmers’ limited cash resources. Then again, financial needs for re-cultivation and the costs of daily life cannot wait for post harvest production.

“Ripening, washing, sorting, packaging are problems for us. Barangan banana farmers supply 4 tons per day to local markets (63% of banana demands for North Sumatra). Meanwhile, we can only supply 5 tons every 2 weeks for markets beyond North Sumatra because of their higher standards. We have been certified by Carrefour, but 20 to 30% of our supply is rejected. Our cooperative funds are very low and they take a long time to pay us. We need to be paid right away”—Co-op Head, Barangan Farmers Cooperative Alliance, Deli Serdang.

The problem of payment also affects the Women Farmers’ Group, *Rahjilena*, facilitated by AMARTA II, where poor quality or rejected Barangan bananas are processed into Banana Chips, Flakes and Cake. This innovative experiment is a potential success, admits buyers at Carrefour. But continuation cannot be assured because equipment used is inadequate for commercial production. Further, with payment for product long after delivery, these women have no capital reserves for daily living costs.

Both the Barangan Farmers Cooperative Alliance and *Rahjilena* need capital reserves, not just to maintain their bargaining position with the markets that want their products. They simply cannot afford to feed their families and cover increased production costs required to meet market needs. Loans are impossible, as the cycles of planting and harvesting simply do not match with loan cycles and a monthly repay plan. Special loan systems for the longer-term needs of farmers are required – as well as insurance safety nets if a harvest fails.

³⁴FIELD is aware of this issue and is currently developing a curriculum for Farmers’ Business School. Personal communication, Simon HT, FIELD.

The FFS methodology clearly stimulated active participation, group work and had a visible empowering effect within the circle of those involved, which was then carried over into homes – but not as wide as the community. While very effective, it is a long-term strategy and must be facilitated by very experienced trainers.

3.4. Assessment Findings: Contributions to Empowerment

The various projects assessed all had benefits that can be basic capital for empowerment.

- 1) The formation and **strengthening of existing groups** (FO or PKK, etc., achieved in all cases observed) are basic needs for the start of any empowerment project, although it is clear that single and mixed gender groups each have different strengths and weaknesses. Women tend to remain silent where men are present but with good facilitation, men and women can be given a model of interaction as equals that is not possible in single sex groups.
- 2) Groups can be used as media for studying issues of importance to farming communities based on their suggestions, prioritized through inclusive means of negotiating men and women's positions³⁵: integrated pest management and sustainable agriculture (FFS, N. Sumatra); experimental crop selection (IPM CRSP, AVRDC). Other ideas could include: communication and negotiation to demand better working relations with banks, buyers, and government services. Farming insurance and improved infrastructure have potential to empower farming communities by undermining the elements that threaten them the most.
- 3) **Project or group scale-up** to include other farmers not members of the original groups or to combine several groups to form a cooperative. Train members in leadership and negotiation skills, to manage the expanding group, gender awareness and the benefits of equity, to use their collective voice for the benefit of male and female farmers (Non-USAID partners: MHK, Medan; LBI, Makasar; Bina Desa, Bogor; PIKUL, Kupang).
- 4) **Market access** is the ultimate goal but it needs to be on terms that better support farmers. Partners that made buyer connections did not look beyond the simple indicator of access achieved to see how or if the contact actually provided a sustainable benefit for farmers³⁶.

Many other studies have found that monoculture-based rural development models and their social impact on rural communities, leads to increased poverty and gender inequality (Lopes & Jomalinis, 2011; FAO, 2008). Our assessment found that the cocoa scramble in North Sumatra and South and Central Sulawesi led to the elimination of kitchen gardens and vastly increased women's free time because HH incomes were increased. But even if the boom was sustained, are increased income and time sufficient indicators of a sustainable success?

Projects claimed success based on statistical increases in income or production. They did not look further at what women did with their free time or increased income – the issues we claim here are those linked more realistically to empowerment. They also did not evaluate for changes in relative gender positions, the level of women's burden, how and where her voice was heard. Where the commodity boom did not last (N. Sumatra and Central Sulawesi), it was the women who had to find alternative incomes.

³⁵ Experience from PNPM (Scanlon, et al, 20012) shows that men's ideas tend to focus more on prestige, whereas women's on practical community needs. Facilitators need to assist negotiations so that these different perspectives are mutually understood to list the most disempowering elements of farming life. Selection by vote without elite domination should provide examples of gender and status equality in community dialog previously unknown.

³⁶ If the goal is women's empowerment in the agriculture sector, this will be in conflict with a business orientation held by most USAID partners.

Rather than farmers reaping maximum benefits from a boom in cocoa, we found instead, buyers that were arranged through project partners bought low and sold high. The risk of crop failure increased dramatically when women farmers were trained in cocoa fermentation. Yet the increased time, labor, and potential risk was rewarded by a very negligible price increase (see Table 7). In another case, a good product was identified and promoted by a project, but the farmers were too poor to wait for delayed payment for goods delivered. Instead, they were forced to sell only to local markets and the banana processing was abandoned (see Box Barang Bananas 4.4.). Levels of dependency on projects for market access, technical knowledge, crop seedlings and livestock tended to increase, burdens on women tended to increase, but the income received was not in line with the risks.

Dependencies of this type undermine any attempts at empowerment.

TABLE 7: FARMER DEPENDENCY SCORES

Partner	AMARTA II	IPM-CRSP	INKAPA	AVRDC	ICBDA
Beneficiaries	Farmers Groups and Women's Farmers Groups	Farmers Group (women and men mixed groups)	Women Farmers Groups	Farmers: 30% members are women	Whole communities
Commodity	Cocoa; oranges destroyed by infestation	None - Creative means of analyzing own needs	Cocoa diseased. Vegetables as interim crop	Experimental vegetable cultivation	Poisonous cassava for flour
Project selection	External	Group-based	External	External	External
Bargaining position?	None	Yes	None	None	None ³⁷
Results Score: Dependency	1-2	3-4	2	1-2	1

If a project's goal is to empower, several factors must be considered. Beneficiaries must be the ones who decide on what they will receive and they must be the ones to negotiate their own demands. Only among the IPM-CRSP (FIELD) activities, the only non-business or commodity-based approach among partner projects, were beneficiaries provided with options to select their own interventions and control the direction of their collaboration. With other partner projects, difficulties arose over the simple fact that most farmers taking part in our FGDs had no notion of their options, how to make decisions, how to improve their lives. The only viable option they saw was to invest in their children's education as an investment in their own futures – and insurance that their children do *not* become farmers³⁸! Projects, then, must begin by showing farmers what possible choices there are for them, the strengths and weaknesses of each choice, and then allowing them to decide for themselves what is their best choice.

³⁷ As reported by project director, farmers will not negotiate for their produce or labor. They will be paid based on fair market prices.

³⁸ Keep in mind too that only in N. Sumatra did beneficiaries want their children to continue the farming tradition. More research is required here before we can link this more empowered position for farmers to their desire to remain in farming.

4. Access and Control over Resources

Women are increasingly targeted in agriculture projects in Indonesia, ‘because women play a prominent role in agriculture yet face economic constraints’ that reduce both their agricultural

Scales of Empowerment: Access to Resources
1. Women and men do not have access to the resources needed to improve their production
2. Men have access to resources but do not share it with women
3. Women have limited access to resources but they do not influence decision-making
4. Women make use of resources to make decisions that improve a family's well-being
5. Women and men collaborate in expanding resources that together form the basis for decisions that improve a family's well-being

production and productivity, compared with that of their male counterparts³⁹. Agricultural interventions have been about achieving positive economic outcomes, with the assumption that positive social outcomes such as empowerment or equity would follow automatically. Thus, projects have concentrated on filling the ‘gender asset gaps’, by targeting women with credit or seeking changes in women’s land or other natural resource rights⁴⁰. Analysis of gender domains, however, does not capture social change processes, or how individuals, either separately or with others, use – or are used by – agriculture and agricultural projects and policies to meet their needs. Many of the positive economic outcomes have not

resulted in significant changes in women’s relative positions in society and equalizing access does not lead directly to empowerment.

The economic approach used by most projects is based on an instrumental view of women’s participation that recognizes the importance of working with women farmers and laborers, but leaves unchallenged the most difficult area of how to promote their agency and empowerment. HH and farming decisions need to be seen in the context of people’s economic and social lives as a whole. Men and women are inter-dependent. Households are composed of individuals who negotiate within a general framework of cooperation in order to ensure their survival. In that respect, projects need to view the shifts people undergo, the changes in how they engage each other. As became very clear in the assessment, **access** to credit, or any other measure of economic success, without the education, information, knowledge, or vision with which to develop herself and her husband and invest in a sustainable future, is an incomplete indicator of power.

4.1. Land Ownership and Inheritance

Land is the most important asset for many HHs because it confers direct financial benefits through production and income, and as collateral for credit. Most rural women get their **rights to land** through their relationships to males, who are also the decision makers or custodians of lineage and family land. Where land is bought after a marriage, in all cases it was registered in the husband’s name. In case of death or abandonment of the head of the household, women can lose those rights. While women’s

³⁹ See <http://feedthefuture.gov/article/release-womens-empowerment-agriculture-index>

⁴⁰ <http://www.future-agricultures.org/blog/entry/measuring-womens-empowerment-a-retrograde-step-#.Uav3ROtWpz8>

land rights are often less secure than men's, it is absolutely critical to state that men's rights may not be very strong either, and not all men have equal land rights⁴¹.

Inheritance too continues to benefit males rather than females who, in most areas, upon being married and moving to her husband's village and family, are considered now part of his family. Informants justified no share of inheritance for women through an assumption that she would be taken care of in her husband's family and thus needed nothing from her own. Where women stayed in their home village, however, she did receive a share of inheritance, though not equal to her brothers'.

Land rights and inheritance can have serious implications for women in terms of distribution of wealth, patterns of production, development of markets, access to credit, and acknowledgement of her as an individual with rights. These *adat* decisions are based on a view of women as becoming the responsibility, the property, of her husband. Those areas in Eastern Indonesia where a bride price is still paid to her parents to cover costs of raising her are those same areas where women receive no inheritance. None of our informants saw this as an issue. They all held their trust in *adat* and the Indonesian legal system that divides property equally between husband and wife in case of divorce⁴². Polygamy, childlessness and other such issues were not discussed.

TABLE 8: RIGHT TO INHERITANCE

Region	N. Sumatra	S. Sulawesi	C. Sulawesi	E. Java	Bali	NTT	Papua
Land ownership	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M	M	M
Inheritance	F<M	F<M	F<M	F<M	M	M	M

Key: M = male; F = female

4.2. Agricultural Technology Transfer

Agricultural technology transfer and capacity development are main instruments for increased agricultural productivity. Targeting technology development and dissemination to women farmers is especially important because women provide most of the agricultural labor in the country and are increasingly heading rural households, especially where her husband has looked for migrant labor work. Evidence suggests that the development and dissemination of new technologies fails to take gender specific characteristics and requirements into account. For instance, we heard of no instances where women were trained in using heavy equipment such as tractors and little is invested in technology research into food processing, which is women's domain. We did hear many examples of how mechanization has reduced labor costs and improved productivity, but always at the expense of women's farm jobs⁴³. The Barangian Banana women's group is a good example of how a little input could have led to vast benefits for banana chip processing. But we did hear how long tree-pruning shears were developed to help women trim their cocoa trees without the need for ladders or men. The Integrated Pest Management approach by the FFS provides another example of where women given access to technology resulted in women creating their own bioagents that improve harvests in North Sumatra.

⁴¹ A left-over from colonialism, many rural families do not have certificates to the land they have farmed for generations, making it quite easy for conglomerates to purchase land directly from village heads or other officials.

⁴² The divorce law applies only to Muslims. In cases of other religions, the law is not clear. If a marriage is not legal, no rights apply to the woman – despite the fact that most rural marriages do not follow legal processes due to high expenses.

⁴³ World Bank, 2009; FAO, 2010; Field notes.

Technology should not only pertain to production. Women's reproductive roles could be enhanced and time saved through improved home technology – areas that have been ignored by projects. Introducing kerosene or fuel-efficient stoves and water pipes would save time she spends gathering firewood and water. Electricity, rice cookers, and refrigerators could vastly reduce the drudgery associated with rural life.

4.3. Access to credit

Access to credit was not generally a problem for the women we met, which raised new questions that the team did not have time to investigate. FGD results showed that some government banks provide accessible loans and many cooperatives are set up to access credit. The PNPM-Mandiri project offers microcredit loans to more women than any other micro-finance project at this time. The PNPM SPP program requires women to be members of a group and to have an active business in order to acquire a loan. Thus, farmers, day laborers, and women with no assets or knowledge for setting up a small business cannot access these loans, ultimately meaning that the poorest residents of a village are omitted from poverty reduction programs. The fact that all informants in this assessment had no problem accessing credit is also a sign that projects are not targeting the poorest of the poor and that many women farmers had alternate income sources. Most loans require monthly repayment, something that would be near impossible for farmers who access funds only following a harvest.

Access to credit and to financial management support more generally, needs to accompany projects in which relatively large amounts of cash become available but only at select times per year. Can families manage their monthly costs without regular income? Access to credit without good ideas on how to expand economic opportunities is insufficient. Are the standard monthly terms of credit suited to farmers' non-standard, non-monthly incomes?

4.4. Access to markets

Women were said by all informants to be in control of the *local* markets where they sell their own and others' produce. But little work is done to organize women's groups to enable them to interact with buyers and take control over negotiations and conditions of sale on a broader basis. Where distance between rural farm and urban markets are far and transport difficult, women have fewer opportunities to participate in the sale of produce. Marketing is strongly affected by the weak development of rural infrastructure and the movement of produce inter-island. Women are further disadvantaged as they have less access to transport facilities, such as scooters, trucks and boats. Despite this, women were overwhelmingly the ones to sell products at markets as "only women know the value of a product and can manage the money"⁴⁴. However, this access is limited to local markets or buyers because of her limited access to capital (see Barang Bananas above) and limitations in terms of transport and infrastructure.

In all locations, however, men and women farmers admitted that they simply cannot earn enough money through farming alone to cover daily living expenses (see Table 9). Farming is far too unpredictable and irregular. All male farmers earned cash through wage labor work in commercial fields or as construction workers. In Papua, informants all said that men earned needed cash through illegal logging. Women too all had alternative ways of earning cash through wage labor, food processing, weaving, or market sales. This means that in addition to their daily farming chores,

⁴⁴ Field notes. While this was not further investigated, it could be an issue of halus/kasar or refined/vulgar behaviors where haggling and managing money are kasar (vulgar, unrefined) activities and best left to the more down-to-earth realms of women. See Tickamyer et all, 2012.

smallholder farmers must find additional wage-earning activities. Women are still solely responsible for her reproductive tasks.

TABLE 9: FARMERS' EARNINGS FROM PARTNER PROJECTS⁴⁵

Commodity	Price to Farmer	Local Market Price	Gross/Farmer	Notes
Rice, Unhulled/Kg ⁴⁶	\$0.44/kg	\$0.88/kg	6000 Kg/hectare x 0.44 = \$2,640	Net = Subtract cost of production = 40% ⁴⁷ = \$1,584. 2 harvests/year = \$3,168/year
Cocoa, dry/Kg	1.65/kg		500 kg/ hectare/yr. x 1.65 = \$824.50	Net = Subtract cost of production (approx 45%) = \$453.47/year
Cocoa, fermented ⁴⁸	1.85		500 Kg/Hectare per yr x 2 harvests = \$1,547	Net = subtract costs of production ⁴⁹ at 45% = \$844/yr. Net = \$703/yr.
Oranges, Karo/Kg ⁵⁰	0.62/kg	1.55/kg	80 kg/tree @ 200 trees = \$1,649/yr	Net = subtract costs of production (0.21/Kg) = \$656/yr.
Beef, live cattle/Kg ⁵¹	2.47	7.22 – 8.25/kg	1 cow @ 250 kg weight = \$617.50 ⁵²	Cost of labor and feed is not considered in the project. IF cattle feed is purchased, 8 kg/day @ .25/day each cow plus time to collect foliage. 10 months for fattening. .50/day x 300 days = \$150. Net = 617.50 – 150 = \$467.50/10 months work, doubled if 2 cows.

Projects need to take a more holistic view of their impacts on beneficiaries' economic and time resources to be sure that participation is not causing harm. Easily managed problems like those affecting the Barangan Banana cooperatives must be recognized to avoid failure. Links with infrastructure development through public works programs or partnering with other projects could ensure better outcomes for farmers.

4.5. Access to Equitable Wages

When farming families need cash, they most often hire themselves out as day laborers in other people's fields. Despite generally accepting that women work harder, longer, more diligently and do not take cigarette breaks, no informants thought the wage difference was unfair. "Men are the main wage earners. This is our way."

⁴⁵ All prices and incomes are approximations based on current market rates and yields. Land access is also approximate. Many farmers interviewed have less than 1 hectare, most with .5. Only a few had more.

⁴⁶ <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2013/04/01/090470562/BPS-Harga-Gabah-Petani-Turun>, <http://www.antaranews.com/berita/361138/bps-catat-harga-gabah-petani-turun-156-persen>

⁴⁷ <http://pertanianjanabadra.webs.com/apps/blog/show/16029845-tren-baru-pertanian>

⁴⁸ <http://bisniskeuangan.kompas.com/read/2011/07/11/04093422/twitter.com>

⁴⁹ <http://epetani.deptan.go.id/budidaya/usaha-agribisnis-kakao-1939>

⁵⁰ <http://regional.kompas.com/read/2010/10/29/04180078/Hidup.Bergantung.pada.Jeruk>

⁵¹ <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2013/06/03/090485537/Harga-Daging-Tinggi-Pemerintah-Tinjau-Harga-Sapi>

⁵² http://koperasisolusikemiskinan.blogspot.com/2008/12/puskud-gandeng-ncba-ubah-penggemukan_30.html

TABLE 10: DAILY FARM LABOR WAGES

Region	Women's daily wage	Men's daily wage
Sulawesi (South & Central)	35.000	50.000
North Sumatra	50.000-60.000	70.000-75.000
East Java	50.000	60.000-70.000
Bali	Rice Field: 50.000 Field: 75.000-100.000	Rice Field: 70.000 Field: 75.000-100.00
NTT (West Timor)	30.000-50.000	50.000-70.000
Papua	75.000 – 100.000	75.000 – 100.000

4.6. Access to Decision-making Forums

Women's confidence and self-esteem increase when they have greater knowledge, economic assets and respect, and they are more likely to participate in public decision-making forums. Low participation is often due to role stereotypes, where men are the heads of the household and act in the public realm. In most villages, invitations to attend a community meeting are sent to the head of the household, by default the man, and held evenings when women need to mind the children. In Bali, women are not permitted to take part in village discussions. The use of quotas to increase women's participation in decision-making bodies as found in the PNPM-Mandiri model is not enough to ensure their participation, but is an important first step.

There is no evidence of a linear relationship between asset control and voice/empowerment – an issue that requires further investigation into what the enabling conditions are. For one thing, we did not investigate how men's voices can also be constrained by status, age, religion, and other categories that may include or silence him in these same forums. Only women involved in the FFS intervention reported an increased involvement in agricultural and HH decision-making. This was based on two points: increased **knowledge** (with all the related confidence this brought) and **equality** of roles within the group interaction. Outside of her field group, however, no changes were noted. The men in these groups all commented on how much broader their own observations were once they started listening more to women.

The example provided above leads to 2 points:

- Critical thinking, accepting diverse opinions, and negotiating skills are important skills to be taught to project beneficiaries.
- To encourage women to be more vocal in terms of decision-making beyond her HH, examples of open dialog and the benefits of broad participation need to be provided. Negotiating project design openly and equitably would be a good start for such training.

4.7. Time

Time is a valuable resource and one our assessment found overwhelmingly was not one women could control. Daily division of activity profiles between women and men exposed major discrepancies that women themselves had never considered. On average, women wake up far earlier than men, have far less time during the day to rest, and go to bed later than their husbands. While men do take over

women's tasks when she is ill or unable, this is limited strictly to specific times. Overall, it is essential that projects ask:

- Did the project increase the time spent by women in production-related activities? Is this fair to women? How can the project, or her husband/family, help by compensating for some of this time?
- Did participation in the project take time away from her other income generating activities and negatively impact family income?
- What technologies could be added to the project to help save women's time and make their labor more productive?

Time is important, as are changing relationships in what men and women, girls and boys do and can be expected to do on a daily basis. Projects must consider time as another resource that has value. But as we found in our FGDs, women were unaware of a value for her time. When she did have some to spare, it was used to watch TV or attend to community activities related to gender, religion or *adat*. Ways of self-improvement or personal expansion, study or accessing new knowledge or technology were simply not options – ones she either could never access or could not even imagine were available. This lack of choice or vision is one of the biggest obstacles we found to changing women's situations.

4.8. Assessment Findings: Empowerment Score:

Gender differences in access, control and use of assets have a profound effect on household welfare and agricultural development. But while focusing on gender issues, it is important to recognize that this does not mean just **women's disadvantages**. We would be neglecting the very real contextual issues of disadvantages felt by rural poor farmers (small landholders and wage laborers) in general. Treating gender simply as economic and social difference is problematic here because it focuses attention on the separate characteristics of women and men rather than on the way institutions work together to create and maintain advantage and disadvantage.

This section has tried to identify how women and men experience and value relational and on going changes in access and control over resources brought about by projects and policies in general. Have these inputs met beneficiaries' interests? Have they helped to address long and short-term concerns for HH survival? What exactly are the changes a project brings that impacts on family and community relations? Are they strengthened or weakened? Does a project increase or decrease risk for farmers?

Despite designing the scales of empowerment for resource access ourselves, we are not able to reach consensus on scoring for this section. This is mainly because both men and women suffer limitations, and the act of survival, much less empowerment, requires more information than a short assessment is able to collect. If we added *sustainable* to resources in the scale of empowerment, then all locations would score 1. In Papua, HH cash is earned through illegal logging. In no areas did we see concerns for sustainable agriculture, land, water, and forest conservation, mainly because people had no time to learn about these needs. In all regions, women may not have a voice in community decision-making forums, but neither did many men. Age, religion, status and education also marginalize just as much, if not more so, as gender. Both men and women did not have a voice in most of the projects designed and implemented for them. This lack of voice provides a poor example of participation and empowerment for all beneficiaries.

Future projects that seek to empower will need to look closely at processes of change. Designers will need to collaborate closely with beneficiaries in identifying the circumstances or barriers that limit or support access to opportunities for rural farmers. Both women and men will need support if they are to benefit from and/or adapt to change in policy, technology, markets, climate etc.

5. Gender and the Family

“Women do not see their roles as choices, which means she removes her own autonomy as a human being from the discussion,” Leya Cataleya, Indonesian feminist activist, 2012.

The lack of women’s equality in Indonesia is often presented as an aspect of *adat* or ‘tradition’ and a rejection of equality as a Western concept of ‘modernity’, that is not in line with Eastern values. As is commonly found elsewhere, Indonesian religious, ethnic, and conservative forces as well as various traditions and cultural practices dictate that women should occupy the private sphere—the home and motherhood—and men should occupy the public sphere where they can control and shape their community’s economic, political, and social landscape. In the field we heard definitions of wife as *konco wingking* Javanese for wife, literally, friend from the back, or kitchen, located in the rear of the house. In Bali we heard *turut menjadi pembantu, tuntut menjadi hantu* or obey and be a servant, rebel and be a ghost, a rather threatening expectation that a wife will faithfully serve her husband and his family. Such gender inequality is based on what Indonesians refer to as *kodrat* or ‘nature’, which defines women as mothers and caregivers and effectively limits her primary role to that of housewife.

Scales of Empowerment: Household Income

1. Women do not have access to family resources and funds, leaving decisions to her husband.
2. Women are given a portion of family income; they are involved in making household decisions over funds, but her husband has the last word on all decisions.
3. Women manage most of the family income and expenses but have limited influence on expenditure decision-making
4. Women manage the family’s money and are involved in and influence decision-making at the family level
5. Women and men manage the family funds and are actively involved in all expenditure decisions

Government, PKK, Dharma Wanita, partner and non-partner NGOs, CBOs, facilitators, men and women alike tend to maintain the very deeply engrained emphasis on activities linked to women’s traditional roles that for decades have been defined literally as a supporting role in the family (*pendamping suami*) and devoid of political voice. Men are the legal heads of the household; they own the assets; they do the ‘heavy’ or technical work. Men are the leaders or advisors for women’s groups. Women told us they were “unemployed” despite spending many hours laboring in fields and rice paddies, and in her group work processing a crop into snacks. The making of cakes and snacks, which rarely vary from one group to the next, limits the opening of new opportunities for women that could more effectively lift families out of poverty. These stereotypes exist and were repeated to the team regularly and efficiently. In most regions, it was *wajar* (natural) that a woman shoulders the majority of responsibilities or that a man should receive a higher wage for equal work. This deeply ingrained accepted inequality shows how all projects need to include gender awareness elements that assist women and men to recognize and respect women’s roles rather than maintain a gender blind, patriarchal status quo that is indifferent to women’s rights. Awareness is the key to helping men and women improve relative positions – something that only they can do together.

Information collected from MOA, Dinas, partner field staff, VEWs, and men and women farmers themselves revealed how deeply ingrained such positions were. Statements such as “we don’t want to up-end our world”, “men are the heads of families”, “of course we *ngalah* (give in) if we have a different opinion than our husbands”, and the relative silence in groups when a man is present show how such patriarchal gender roles are broadly accepted as the norm. “It is our culture,” they told us. None of our informants from government or farming communities expressed how such positions must

be changed because they are ultimately unfair. Instead, the opposite emerges: women need to be included because they are easier to work with, more disciplined, more willing to work harder for less pay. Women are defined as those who carry, birth and feed babies, protect children, manage the home, manage the money, ensure harmony. These roles are not seen as *choices*, such that her autonomy as a human being is removed from the discussion. When such challenges to these roles emerge, the standard response is a rejection of gender movements as “feminist” and “Western”, two terms that can shut down a discussion immediately.

Because of this triple burden of the productive, reproductive, and social/community demands on women, they also have less time to attend to their own personal needs (Jakarta Globe 10 May 2013). The lack of a broader vision and possibilities means she has few options with how to fill her time, if she had any. The team found no instances of women ‘improving’ herself. The few cases where rural women were selected and trained as NGO facilitators demonstrates how the capacity is certainly there, but these were limited to the few elite daughters.

5.1. Women, Time, and Family Nutrition

According to UNICEF⁵³, Indonesia has the fifth highest number of stunted children in the world—more than 7.6 million children. The number of wasted children is 2.8 million, and 3.8 million more are underweight. Further, there is a growing percentage of children who are overweight (12.2% nationally). The immediate causes of maternal and child under nutrition are poor dietary intake (Dickey et al, 2010). Our own discussions with women from Sumatra to Papua confirmed such practices were widespread.

Child Malnutrition

USAID study (Dickey 2010) showed that less than 10% of Indonesian children were fed properly. Most babies between 4–5 months are fed instant baby food that often contains high amounts of sugar, little or no fat, and little or no protein, thus putting a child at risk for deficiency if other foods are not added. Older children fill up on ready-to-eat, non-nutritious snacks bought from street vendors (costs \$.05 – 2.00/day). Mothers often complain that their children will not eat more complete, nutritious meals and instead demand more snacks – which they are given. Active, healthy feeding is a key nutrition behavior for promoting good growth.

While it is clear in the literature and in our own fieldwork that Women’s Farming Groups are the main targets for all kinds of interventions, we did not see educational or general improvement activities to coincide with any of these income-generation activities. Large numbers of studies have linked women’s income and greater bargaining power within the family to improved child nutritional status, which in turn influences health outcomes and educational attainment (FAO, 2012:45). We saw no such evidence. Women had no understanding of nutritional needs, dietary requirements. They only knew that instant porridge and snacks (*jajan*) are what everyone uses and most importantly, they save time (see Child Malnutrition box).

Given the rapidity with which traditional diets and lifestyles are changing, it is not surprising that food insecurity and under nutrition persists. The root cause of malnutrition is not just poverty. It is ignorance and the absolute lack of time in which to prepare nutritious foods. Marketing and modernization have convinced many that anything modern, quick and easy is good. Eliminating these causes requires political and social action of which nutritional programs can be only one aspect. Sufficient, safe and varied food supplies not only prevent malnutrition but also reduce the risk of chronic diseases. But if her days are filled with production demands for income that barely covers a family’s basic daily requirements, she has little choice but to take short cuts where she can.

⁵³ http://www.unicef.org/indonesia/media_12591.html; <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/archive/reversing-the-ravages-of-child-malnutrition-in-indonesia/>

As basic as such knowledge should be, only Papuan women seemed to know the best ways of feeding a baby⁵⁴. Elsewhere women reported that they rarely breast-fed for more than a few months and introduced instant porridges within weeks of birth. Time is clearly a huge issue where women chose time-saving methods that may have highly negative impacts on the health and safety of their children – choices that in turn impact her again, as she must be the care-giver for the ill and infirmed. The power to change such gender relations does not lie in individuals but rather in the community as a whole. There is strength in numbers and men and women need to openly support one another in order for gender relations and reproductive practices to make the kinds of shifts that will benefit them all.

5.2. Empowerment Scores: Women's Roles

Based on findings from activity analysis (gender distribution of daily activities) from each of 25 USAID partner and 21 non-USAID partner locations across seven provinces, it is clear that women typically take on at least three types of roles in terms of their paid and unpaid labor. The team identified four roles described as follows:

- **Productive role:** market production and home/subsistence production undertaken by women that generates an income (whether financial or ‘in kind’);
- **Reproductive role:** child bearing and child rearing responsibilities borne by women as well as her mainly sole responsibility to manage the household, cleaning, washing, cooking, etc.;
- **Community/social role:** activities undertaken by women to ensure the provision of resources at the community level, as an extension of their reproductive role, as well as fulfilling peer pressures to attend religious training, women’s groups (PKK, Dharma Wanita, Koran readings, etc.), and other *adat* requirements (births, deaths, marriages, making offerings).
- **Religious role:** Specifically in Bali, only women prepare the offerings provided twice a day to ensure the wellbeing of the family (past, present, and future).

An understanding of these roles in terms of their wider social contexts with gender, age, class and other identities that influence interpersonal relations can inform gender-aware planning that takes into account the differential impact of programs and projects on women and men because of women’s triple role. When under-estimations and under-valuations of rural women’s work are found, as they so often are in development planning, the consequences are serious. Failure to acknowledge the importance of women’s multiple contributions to rural survival means that practical policy interventions are frequently damaging to women themselves and to their communities.

TABLE II: HOUSEHOLD FINANCES

Region	N. Sumatra	S. Sulawesi	C. Sulawesi	E. Java	Bali	NTT	Papua
HH income management	women	Women	women	women	men	women	women
HH income control	men	Men	men	men	men	men	men
Empowerment score	3	3	3	4	2	3	4

⁵⁴ This was caused by her close proximity and relations with Health services such as Posyandu. Women in other areas also took their young children to the Posyandu but this did not have the information transfer effect we saw in Papua. Why this is so merits further research.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

“The conclusions are clear: (i) gender equality is good for agriculture, food security and society; and (ii) governments, civil society, the private sector and individuals, working together, can support gender equality in agriculture and rural areas” (FAO, 2011:61).

“Don’t be like us, a slave to others”, advice from a female farmer to her children, North Sumatra, 6 May 2013.

For the assessment team, the results were not as clear as often reported in FAO, WB and other donor agency reports. Throughout our analysis, we felt conflicted over several issues:

- Is it acceptable to focus on women’s empowerment when male farmers were also marginalized?
- If we start from the belief that women need to be empowered because they have fewer assets and opportunities than men, are we not making antagonistic assumptions about family life that may or may not be true? Is marriage a struggle for control?
- Where does the bigger picture fit in here? Are other social, political, economic relations of power and control in the wider historic and modern context of farmers’ lives to be removed from the analysis? If we ignore history are we destined to repeat the same mistakes?

These issues, plus the lack of choice or vision beneficiaries seemed to have regarding their own lives, became increasingly apparent as our fieldwork continued. Beneficiaries did, however, have choices regarding their children’s lives. These became some of our most difficult challenges in undertaking this assessment. What will be the impact on farmers and their children if they do leave the fields, or switch to palm oil, or sell their land to conglomerates to pay for a university education that provides absolutely no guarantees for good jobs? Finally, historical awareness and the legacy of violent suppression for any support systems for farmers periodically emerged when we asked why farmers never demanded more rights. “Fear”, was the reply.

6.1. What is Empowerment?

Empowerment is not a goal, but a foundational **process** that enables marginalized people to construct their own political agendas and form movements and struggles for achieving fundamental and lasting transformation in gender and other power structures.

The main challenge to future project design and implementation is to clearly define guidelines based on a shared vision of what women’s empowerment really means and who is to be targeted. Power is not a bonus that can be bestowed upon women regardless of the broader context in which she lives. Rather, projects need to recognize the extent to which development interventions are supporting or hindering empowerment as a ‘foundational process’. To do this, the measurement focus would need to shift away from individual women, their access and control, etc., and towards an approach that could better capture the dynamics of power and change involved in that process. Taking control; making informed decisions based on choice; self-reliance; respecting skills and knowledge; negotiating positions; and, challenging societal norms and customs are indicators of empowerment – not increased productivity or income.

As found throughout our fieldwork, rural women and men (as well as project and GOI designers and facilitators) had little understanding of what women’s empowerment means and how it benefits

everyone. Because many of the constraints faced by women are socially determined, they can change. But donors, implementers, women, men and communities need to understand that empowerment means significant changes will take place in relations and institutions. The danger is in projects that encourage women to take on new roles and responsibilities to improve their productivity but do not alter their status in other facets of life.

6.1.1. Recommendations

- **Long term process.** Women's empowerment through agriculture will require a long, difficult process that cannot be realized in a short term or a narrowly focused project. It is based on a radical change in social behavior that will require support in a holistic manner.
- **Gender awareness.** All projects need to include gender awareness elements that assist women and men to recognize and respect each other's roles rather than maintain a gender blind, patriarchal status quo that is indifferent to women's rights.
- **Project goals:** What exactly is the goal of a project needs to be clearly articulated because empowerment can be defined as many things, not all of which are easily translatable into different contexts. This clarity during project preparation is a necessary first step that must then be reflected in clear performance indicators against which progress can be monitored.
- **Staffing.** All projects must be facilitated by staff with strong commitments to gender equity and the understanding of empowerment as a process, not a specific end goal.
- **Empowerment at all stages.** If a project's goal is to empower, several factors must be considered. Beneficiaries must be the ones who decide on what they will receive and they must be the ones to negotiate their own demands. Projects, then, should begin by helping farmers to recognize what possible choices there are for them, the strengths and weaknesses of each choice, and then allowing them to decide for themselves what is their best choice.
- Projects need to promote self-sustainability and the formation of clusters and associations capable of reaching out to decision-makers and expanding their influence. Further, younger women, poorer women and women with time constraints can often be excluded from groups, so it is important to monitor and promote inclusion.
- Provide an equal opportunity legal framework for agricultural laborers (and others) and ensure its application, including support for gender-equitable wages.

6.2. Empowering Whom?

The assessment has provided considerable qualitative evidence that Indonesia's smallholder farming sector is under threat. This is perhaps due to a long history of intentional and unintentional manipulation that has caused current smallholder and wage earning farmer poverty. The empowerment and disempowerment of women and farmers are links in a chain that is part of a national development strategy with identifiable political roots. Farmers' independence and the culture of farming are increasingly threatened because farmers have little voice in production or markets. Smallholder farmers are positioned as objects or participants in strategies to industrialize agricultural production to meet export quality and needs. Government agencies and political processes targeting agriculture do not protect or even support smallholder farmers. Agency goals are to industrialize, increase production and lower costs – all of which damage smallholder farmers. Where men have little opportunity for negotiating or decision-making, women have even less.

6.2.1. Recommendations

- **Community approach:** Recognize that men and women and their communities are in it together and need to be approached as a community. It is impossible to separate women's economic activities from their household and community roles and responsibilities. Gender-related constraints deeply affect both men and women as do age, ethnicity, religion, and status. Changing these realities requires multiple intervention levels as well as broad partnering.
- The roles of men and women at village and other levels are defined and constrained by norms and attitudes shaped by factors such as 'tradition', religion, state ideology on gender, age, and status. Project rules and requirements can help to change these and open new opportunities for women and men.
- **Technology:** Introduce smart phone and computer technology for rural farmers to investigate world market prices as a basis for negotiating the value of their crops. FOs should have designated members who can be trained in such technology and capable of making fair demands on buyers and exporters. Technology could also assist farmers in identifying several buyer options and select the one that best meets their requirements.
- **Farmers' Organizations:** Making use of existing women's groups such as PKK speeds up the group focus process but the hierarchical nature and 'traditional' gender values they embrace will need to be addressed for empowerment in a broader sense to be achieved. Projects must recognize the nature of such groups and address the power imbalance between women.
- Groups can be used as media for studying issues of importance to farming communities based on their suggestions, prioritized through inclusive means of negotiating men and women's positions. Other ideas could include: communication and negotiation to demand better working relations with banks, buyers, and government services. Farming insurance and improved infrastructure have potential to empower farming communities by lessening marketing and climate variability risk.

6.3. Mainstreaming Gender in 'Development'

Research on gender and gender relations is not about a new method of looking at communities, but rather about the research questions we ask. The Ministry of Agriculture has a well-defined gender strategy referred to as Gender Responsive that on paper looks very supportive of empowerment issues. In practice, however, the approach is geared toward a goal of increased production, not women's empowerment. As MOA staff said, "changing our culture is too difficult and not our job". However, MOA does recognize that women's roles in agriculture are fundamental for family and community food security. Showing how more inclusive approaches can provide wider benefits for all can alter such attitudes. GM based on quotas or numbers of women involved can be undermining empowerment and enforcing a traditional role.

6.3.1. Recommendations

- **Partnering:** As a main partner for agricultural interventions, MOA needs to further understand how improving women's situations in general will improve welfare, production, food security, and the status of farmers all round. Instrumentalizing women as cheap, reliable labor will not improve the sector in the long run.

- **Formalizing gender strategies:** When gender strategies are reflected in project guidelines and implementation manuals they are more likely to be followed. Progress also needs to be monitored by including gender indicators and disaggregated data in reporting systems
- **Women's participation:** Implement a policy of project management, field staff and other positions to be filled at village level and set targets for women's participation at 50%. Provide extra capacity building and training to women and facilitators so that they will manage group interactions in a way that encourages all women to succeed and prove themselves without the threat of elite women or male domination.
- **Project or group scale-up** to include other farmers not members of the original groups or to combine several groups to form a cooperative. Train members in leadership and negotiation skills, to manage the expanding group, gender awareness and the benefits of equity, to use their collective voice for the benefit of male and female farmers.
- **Political influences:** Always look beyond symbols and potential sources of independence and influence to identify how they can be tightly circumscribed by a culturally prescribed, state-reinforced, patriarchal gender ideology that limits women's autonomy and mobilizes their labor for particular political ends.

6.4. Project design

Projects and more gender-sensitive approaches should be seen as mutually reinforcing strategies. Approaches that emphasized men and women working together as equals, such as the FFS, provided a clear example to more gender equitable relations than women only group approaches. Women were vocal in their all-women groups, but in no cases did this translate to being more vocal outside of the group. USAID can offer strategic entry-points for policy dialogue activities on gender equality through projects that are effectively designed to introduce innovative approaches for reaching and empowering farmers at the field level, which can then feed into the Government strategies and actions. These all depend on beneficiary participation at all stages of the project process. Empowerment must be learned. Examples can start with the planning and design of an intervention.

6.4.1. Recommendations

- **Promoting empowerment:** The case of the FFSs is an example of how a project-type of intervention can promote a new, pro-community/women extension approach by creating capacity among extension agents and mobilizing a critical mass of support. Yet, for scaling-up processes to be effective, a strong gender policy must be considered from the beginning of the design process. It will require commitment, leadership, and long-term investments in research and capacity building.
- **Strategic indicators:** No program we visited had a sufficient baseline assessment of women's multiple roles from which to monitor the actual benefits a project is providing in terms of her ability to manage extra income, how it was spent, how a project affects her time, the distribution of tasks between her and her husband/family, the level of voice she has in her home and in her community, whether she was able to maximize the changes brought by the project to improve her relative positions. New and more directed indicators are required to assist the strengthening of M&E.
- Strategies need to be carried through into project documents and implementation manuals with indicators and action plans. Monitoring indicators need to be designed at all levels, from planning to impact as a means of continuously assessing participation, gender relations and the behavior changes that lead to empowerment.

- Both women and men need to be consulted in the design and implementation of projects. Thorough assessments must be done so that project designers have a full understanding of gender roles, rights, and responsibilities and do not neglect the triple burden she already carries.
- **Continuous monitoring:** It should not be the aim of organizations to increase women's burden to achieve a good project outcome, where outcomes alone (increased production, income, etc.) are incorrectly described as achieving empowerment. These problems can be avoided through simple gender gap analysis tools and stakeholder mapping that should be part of continuous monitoring strategies.
- **Activities:** The activities in which the groups were engaging were limited in scope and rarely managing to change the overall economy of the family. More usually, the activities were very small scale and enabled women to manage their household expenses better, or invest in very low return activities. Women instead should be trained in market analysis and business planning to decide on their own course of action.
- To encourage women to be more vocal in terms of decision-making beyond her HH, examples of open dialog and the benefits of broad participation need to be provided. Negotiating project design openly and equitably would be a good start for such training.

6.5. Women's Needs

Projects were able to improve income through improved cultivation or processing but this was an additional burden to women. Project procedures and processes seem to build on and reinforce a more traditional role. In all but the most intensively facilitated cases, poor women do not participate actively.

6.5.1. Recommendations

- **Infrastructure supports:** The most valuable asset most poor people have is their own labor, but many women are compelled to spend too much of their time in drudgery: fetching water, carrying wood, and processing food by hand. Introducing kerosene or fuel-efficient stoves and water pipes would save time she spends gathering firewood and water. Electricity, rice cookers, and refrigerators could vastly reduce the drudgery associated with rural life. Improved roads and transport to markets, access to technology that speeds up food processing would also save her time.
- **Under nutrition:** Less than 10% of Indonesian children are fed properly, from breast-feeding to solid foods, showing how lack of information can lead to malnutrition and all the disastrous effects it has on future generations. Under nutrition among children is caused by two factors: women's excessive burden and the need to save time and lack of information. This alone shows how essential it is for projects to provide knowledge and time saving measures.
- **Women's benefit:** Projects must be more aware of daily activity distribution between men and women as well as how a new activity impacts on that division of labor. By focusing exclusively on women through which to reach a goal, her daily burden of work increases. Projects are then instrumentalizing women, which certainly improve a project's own outcomes. But none of the projects actually monitored what the real impacts of her increased burden were on women themselves. Is she gaining enough benefit to justify the increased burden? Is this increase in her time requirements having negative impacts on her life at home? How are her husband and children adapting to this increase?
- **Participation:** Capacity building or project procedures need to ensure poor women's participation. Focus on group building rather than working with established women's groups

can significantly help include marginal women.

- **Credit and its use:** Credit was easily accessible to all women met through government loans, but mainly through PNPM-SPP. Women did not, however, have new ideas on how to use the fund. We found a loan was more often than not used for paying debts, HH fees. The only livelihood use of a loan was found in NTT and Papua to purchase feed for pigs that would be later sold during holidays. Credit for women is much needed and appreciated, but should be linked to other resources (small business training, money management, marketing) for more effective poverty reduction outcomes.

ANNEXES

A. Suggested Empowerment Indicators

Gender equality and female empowerment indicators⁵⁵ are based on developing learning communities that are inclusive, place-based groups that solve governance problems through collaborative, iterative processes of learning by doing. This annex provides examples of empowerment indicators, a table identifying Feed the Future (FTF) standard performance indicators that are sex disaggregated, a brief review of USAID's Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI), suggested FTF standard indicators that speak to women's empowerment issues identified in this assessment, and some suggested men and women empowerment indicators in line with USAID's WEAI.

Empowerment projects begin through a process of collaborative project negotiations, design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation as a means to provide an alternative model of life that breaks through the barriers of unequal gender, status, role, politics, age, religion and other barriers. Although there is often a temptation to apply universal templates and frameworks, it is important to adapt gender and power indicators that are relevant as well as part of the specific *empowering* needs of a given community.

Project design, inputs, outputs, outcomes, and impacts, as well as indicators and M&E systems should be based on participatory methods. *Empowering* people means that men and women should be the agents of their own development, contributing to decisions about what should be measured and what indicators should be used, and participating in the research themselves.

TABLE 12: EXAMPLES OF EMPOWERMENT INDICATORS

Region	N. Sumatra	S. Sulawesi
Self-worth	Knowledge of rights and structure of gender inequality Equitable access to quality, gender sensitive education Changes in self-images and belief in the ability to influence future Equitable changes in HH roles and time-saving mechanisms Efforts made to improve or increase knowledge, capacities	Level of participation in political processes Equitable structure for women's organizations (PKK, etc.) Level of support in the HH (more equitable activity/time charts) Equal opportunity ownership/control of strategic assets Reduced incidences of violence through community support and prevention Changes in male attitudes regarding gender roles and norms

⁵⁵ USAID. 2012. USAID Policy on Gender Equality and Female Empowerment. USAID: DC

Control and Influence	<p>Equality in power relations (gender, political) so that increased women's access or productivity translates to improved welfare of women or families</p> <p>And</p> <p>Cross-scale linkages, e.g., coalitions and alliances that cross decision-making levels, e.g., co-management, regional governance.</p>	<p>Level of women and men's voice in projects and use of their time.</p> <p>Do projects increase women's burden? How does a project impact on her reproductive/social roles?</p> <p>Implementing organization (or the on-the-ground implementer) is clear about what how a strategy or activity is or will affect people's daily lives.</p> <p>Participants are clear about what possible options they could have.</p> <p>Local government supports economic opportunities for farmers.</p> <p>Farmers negotiate or discuss their needs with their leaders – reach agreements that are acted upon.</p> <p>Alliances or coalition-building groups are formed to strengthen farmers' voice/positions, with demands presented and met.</p>
Participation	<p>Equality in involvement of women and men in bodies that make decisions or policies affecting them; treatment of women/farmers as active beneficiaries</p>	<p>Women actively participate in project design, activities, decision-making, etc. with positive impacts on results.</p> <p>Decisions about priorities are made openly and equitably with all stakeholders involved (including marginal poor, elderly, disabled)</p> <p>Project continuously provides an example of power, equality and respect for all participants.</p> <p>Community members of various ages, gender, position, etc. able to articulate a project's goals or effects.</p> <p>Community members recognize themselves as part of the organization's constituency, as part of a broader, more equitable, learning community.</p>
Adat/Culture	<p>Notional or belief on the nature of gender differences and relations; political status of farmers in general</p>	<p>Awareness of local power structures and their formation: Does the project reinforce them or provide alternatives?</p> <p>Quality of interaction between community members demonstrates mutual respect and care. Level of engagement of community members is broad and diverse.</p> <p>Elements of reciprocity present: To what extent are local resources and/or in-kind contributions being mobilized to support the program?</p> <p>Participants begin to recognize, discuss, and challenge inequitable social norms.</p>
Access	<p>Gender/status/knowledge/security in the amount and quality of resources women and men can have access to</p>	<p>Beneficiaries are aware of these differences and increasingly committed to altering them.</p> <p>What obstacles do men face? Same or</p>

		<p>different from women?</p> <p>The extent to which the project/program you are working on functions in collaboration with other neighboring organizations or government officials to meet the diverse needs of the community.</p> <p>The story you are presented about a community's or population's "problems" is adequately balanced with the story of the community's strengths and endeavors to change this.</p>
Welfare	<p>Equality in the material and physical well-being of women and men; food security and nutrition; safety nets; disaster response/prevention; climate warming preparation; conservation (soil, water, environment)</p>	<p>The project actually benefits families in many ways (not just income or productivity).</p> <p>Time-saving devices are used that allow more opportunities for women.</p> <p>Nutritional and social needs for babies and toddlers are well met by cooperative efforts in child minding, food preparation.</p> <p>Increased use of time for productive improvements, access to knowledge, research to make informed choices.</p> <p>Knowledge increase regarding conservation (water, soil, forests) issues.</p> <p>Disaster risk reduction plans shared and followed.</p>

USAID's Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index⁵⁶

USAID's Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) was developed to track the change in women's empowerment levels that occurs as a direct or indirect result of interventions under Feed the Future. The WEAI is composed of two sub-indexes: one measures the five domains of empowerment for women (5DE), and the other measures gender parity in empowerment within the household (GPI). The WEAI is an aggregate index reported at the country or regional level that is based on individual-level data on men and women within the same households.

The 5DE are:

- Decisions over agricultural production: This dimension concerns decisions over agricultural production, and refers to sole or joint decision making over food and cash-crop farming, livestock and fisheries as well as autonomy in agricultural production.

⁵⁶ IFPRI, 2012, The Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index for Bangladesh's Feed the Future Zone of Influence; Esha Sraboni, Agnes Quisumbing, and Akhter Ahmed

- Access to and decision-making power over productive resources: This dimension concerns ownership, access to, and decision-making power over productive resources such as land, livestock, agricultural equipment, consumer durables, and credit.
- Control over use of income: This dimension concerns sole or joint control over the use of income and expenditures.
- Leadership roles within the community: This dimension concerns leadership in the community, here measured by membership in economic or social groups and comfort in speaking in public.
- Time use: This dimension concerns the allocation of time to productive and domestic tasks and satisfaction with the available time for leisure activities.

The indicators used to measure the 5DE are provided below:

TABLE 13: WEAI 5DE MEASUREMENT INDICATORS

Domain	Indicators	Definition of Indicator	Weight
Production	Input in productive decisions	Sole or joint decision making over food and cash-crop farming, livestock, and fisheries	1/10
	Autonomy in production	Autonomy in agricultural production (e.g. what inputs to buy, crops to grow, what livestock to raise, etc.). Reflects the extent to which the respondent's motivation for decision making reflects his/her values rather than a desire to please others or avoid harm.	1/10
Resources	Ownership of assets	Sole or joint ownership of major household assets	1/15
	Purchase, sale, or transfer of assets	Whether respondent participates in decision to buy, sell or transfer his/ her owned assets	1/15
	Access to and decisions on credit	Access to and participation in decision making concerning credit	1/15
Income	Control over use of income	Sole or joint control over income and expenditures	1/5
Leadership	Group member	Whether respondent is an active member in at least one economic or social group (e.g. agricultural marketing, credit, water users' groups)	1/10
	Speaking in public	Whether the respondent is comfortable speaking in public concerning various issues such as intervening in a family dispute, ensure proper payment of wages for public work programs, etc.	1/10
Time	Workload	Allocation of time to productive and domestic tasks	1/10
	Leisure	Satisfaction with the available time for leisure activities	1/10

The Feed the Future (FTF) monitoring and evaluation approach is committed to rigorous measurement of the direct impact FTF programs have on beneficiary populations, with a critical focus placed on women. Through sex disaggregated data, FTF can track the impacts of investments on women and men and measure the progress of women's achievements as compared to men's.

Below is a summary of these indicators currently found in the FTF Indicator Handbook and Summary of FTF Indicators Table located on the FTF website that are either sex-disaggregated or women specific:

TABLE 14: STANDARD FTF INDICATORS

	FTF Indicator Title	Disaggregates	Category	Ind. Type
1	Prevalence of Poverty: Percent of people living on less than \$1.25/day*	Gendered HH type	Required	impact
2	Prevalence of underweight children under five years of age	Sex	Required	impact
3	Per Capita Income (as proxied) by expenditures or assets) of USG targeted beneficiaries.	Gendered HH type	Required	outcome
4	Prevalence of stunted children under five years of age	Sex	Required	impact
5	Prevalence of underweight women	None	Required	impact
6	Prevalence of wasted children under five years of age	Sex	Required	impact
7	Prevalence of households with moderate or severe hunger	Gendered HH type	Required	impact
8	Prevalence of anemia among women of reproductive age	None	Required if Applicable	outcome
9	Prevalence of anemia among children 6-59 months	Sex	Required if Applicable	outcome
10	Prevalence of children 6-23 months receiving a minimum acceptable diet	Sex	Required if Applicable	outcome
11	Women's Dietary Diversity: Mean number of food groups consumed by women of reproductive age	None	Required if Applicable	outcome
12	Prevalence of exclusive breastfeeding of children under six months of age	Sex	Required if Applicable	outcome
13	Gross margin per unit of land or animal of selected product (crops/animals selected varies by country)	Commodity, Gendered HH type	Required if Applicable	outcome
14	Value of incremental sales (collected at farm- level) attributed to FTF implementation	Targeted commodities / Sex	Required if Applicable	outcome
15	Number of jobs attributed to FTF implementation	Sex, Job location (Urban/Rural)	Required if Applicable	outcome
16	Number of additional hectares under improved technologies or management practices as a result of USG assistance	Sex	Required if Applicable	outcome
17	Number of farmers and others who have applied new technologies or management practices as a result of USG assistance	Sex	Required if Applicable	outcome
18	Number of households with formalized land	Sex of landholder	Required if Applicable	outcome
19	Number of rural hectares mapped and adjudicated	Sex of registrant	Required if	outcome

			Applicable	
20	Value of Agricultural and Rural Loans	Sex of loan recipient	Required if Applicable	outcome
23	Number of individuals who have received USG supported short-term agricultural sector productivity or food security training	Sex	Required if Applicable	output
21	Number of people with a savings account or insurance policy as a result of USG assistance	Sex	Standard	outcome
22	Number of individuals who have received USG supported long-term agricultural sector productivity or food security training	Sex	Standard	output
24	Number of members of producer organizations and community based organizations receiving USG assistance	Sex	Standard	output
25	Number of stakeholders using climate information in their decision making as a result of USG assistance	Sex	Standard	output
26	Number of rural households benefiting directly from USG interventions	Gendered HH type	Standard	output
27	Number of MSMEs receiving USG assistance to access bank loans	Sex of MSME owner	Standard	output
28	Number of MSMEs receiving business development services from USG assisted sources	Sex of MSME owner	Standard	output
29	Number of USG social assistance beneficiaries participating in productive safety nets	Sex, Type of Asset	Standard	output
30	Number of vulnerable households benefiting directly from USG interventions	Gendered HH type	Standard	output
31	Number of people trained in child health and nutrition through USG-supported health area programs	Sex	Standard	output
32	Number of children under five years of age who received vitamin A from USG-supported programs	Sex	Standard	output
33	Number of children under five reached by USG-supported nutrition programs	Sex	Standard	output

With reference to the above table here are standard FTF output and outcome indicators in line with the WEAI and this assessment's findings. (Note that the actual FTF numbers for these indicators are found at <http://www.feedthefuture.gov/>.)

TABLE 15: SELECTED FTF INDICATORS IN LINE WITH ASSESSMENT

	FTF Indicator Title	Disaggregates	Ind. Type
14	Value of incremental sales (collected at farm- level) attributed to FTF implementation	Targeted commodities / Sex	outcome
16	Number of additional hectares under improved technologies or management practices as a result of USG assistance	Sex	outcome
17	Number of farmers and others who have applied new technologies or management practices as a result of USG assistance	Sex	outcome
23	Number of individuals who have received USG supported short-term agricultural sector productivity or food security training	Sex	output
24	Number of members of producer organizations and community based organizations receiving USG assistance	Sex	output
31	Number of people trained in child health and nutrition through USG-supported health area programs	Sex	output

Suggested custom men's and women's empowerment indicators include:

TABLE 16: SUGGESTED WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT INDICATORS

	FTF Indicator Title	Disaggregates	Ind. Type
C1	Number of farmers reporting increased control over productive decision making.	Targeted commodities / Sex	outcome
C2	Number of farmers reporting increased autonomy in decision making.	Sex	outcome
C3	Number of farmers reporting sole or joint ownership of major household assets.	assets/Sex	outcome
C4	Number of farmers reporting increased participation in decisions to purchase, sell or transfer assets.	assets/Sex	outcome
C5	Number of farmers reporting increased access to and decisions on credit.	Sex	outcome
C5	Number of farmers reporting sole or joint control over use of income.	Sex	outcome
C6	Number of farmers who are active member in at least one economic or social group (e.g. agricultural marketing, credit, water users' groups).	group/Sex	output
C7	Number of farmers who say they are comfortable speaking in public concerning important issues (agricultural commodity prices received, donor or GOI intervention design, appropriateness of technology).	Sex	outcome
C8	Number of farmers that are satisfied with the control they have over allocating time to productive and domestic tasks.	Sex	outcome
C9	Number of farmers that are satisfied with the amount of available time for leisure activities.	Sex	outcome

B. List of Respondents

Organization/Farmer Groups – USAID Partners	Respondents	
	Female	Male
NORTH SUMATRA		
AMARTA II		
Penen Village, Biru-Biru Sub. District, Deli Serdang District,	6	2
Merdeka Village, Merdeka Sub. District, Karo District (AMARTA I)	1	2
FIELD (IPM-CRSP)		
FIELD Office, Jl. Teluk Peleng No. 87 A Rawa Bambu, Pasar Minggu, Jakarta Selatan	5	2
Tangkidik Village, Barusjahe Sub District, Karo District	3	4
Batu Layang Village, Sibolangit Sub. District, Deli Serdang	10	5
SOUTH SULAWESI		
AMARTA II		
Tapporang Village, Batulappa Sub. District, Pinrang District	13	4
CENTRAL SULAWESI		
SAINS-INKAPA		
INKAPA Office	10	6
Mataue Village, Kulawi Sub. District, Sigi District	16	1
Toronu Village, Sausu Sub. District, Parigi Moutong District	13	1
Sausu Trans Village, Sausu Sub. District, Parigi Moutong District	7	0
WEST JAVA		
IPM CRSP & SAINS		
Plant Protection Department, Faculty of Agriculture, IPB, Bogor	4	1
EAST JAVA		
AVRDC - Malang		
AVDRC-IVEGRI Office, Jl. Raya Karangploso KM.4, Malang	1	1
Women Farmer's Group, Puhjarak Village, Plemahan Sub. District, Kediri District	10	11
School Garden, SMP Negeri I, Plemahan Sub. District, Kediri District	12	0
“Makmur Rahayu” Horticulture Nurseries, Puhjarak Village, Plemahan Sub. District, Kediri District	4	3
Kebun Uji Coba Tanaman Bibit AVDRC, Menang Village, Pagu Sub. District, Kediri District	0	3
BALI		
AVRDC – Bali		
BPTP/AIAT Office, Jl. By Pass Ngurah Rai, Pesanggaran, Denpasar Selatan, Denpasar	4	7
School Garden, SMA Negeri I, Sukawati Sub. District, Gianyar District	16	2
Women's Farmer Group, Pakraman Village, Tengipis Sub. District, Gianyar District	42	3
Women's Farmer Group & Horticulture Nurseries, Kesiut Village, Kerambitan Sub. District, Tabanan District	20	5
Women's Farmer Group & Horticulture Nurseries, Landih Village, Kintamani Sub. District, Bangli District	29	4
PAPUA		
NCBA		
NCBA Jayapura Office, Jl. Kembili II, No. 5 Sentani Kota, Jayapura	1	3
Cassava & Vanilla Farmer's Group, Kwansu Village, Kemtuk District, Jayapura	15	4
Cassava & Vanilla Farmer's Group, Besum-Village, Namblong District, Jayapura	21	9
Cassava & Vanilla Farmer's Group, Imestum Village, Namblong District, Jayapura	16	3

Organization/Farmer Groups - <u>Non-USAID Partners</u>	Respondents	
	Female	Male
NORTH SUMATRA		
CHIKAL, Amarta II Partner, University of North Sumatra	0	1
Dinas Pertanian, Karo District	0	4
Masyarakat Hortikulatura Karo (MHK), Karo District	1	4
SOUTH SULAWESI		
Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan, Pinrang District	0	1
PT OLAM Indonesia, Pinrang District	1	2
Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Keluarga, Makassar	2	0
Lembaga Bumi Indonesia, Makassar	1	1
CENTRAL SULAWESI		
Village Head. Sausu Trans Village, Sausu Sub. District, Parigi Moutong District	5	0
JAKARTA & WEST JAVA		
Gender Mainstreaming Division, Ministry of Agriculture, Jakarta	4	3
Bina Desa Foundation, Jakarta	1	0
ELSPAT Foundation, Bogor	1	3
NASTARI Foundation/KKRP, Bogor	0	5
EAST JAVA		
Women Study Center, Brawijaya University, Malang	5	0
LPKP Foundation, Malang	1	0
BALI		
VECO-Indonesia, Denpasar	0	2
ACCESS II (AusAid Project), Denpasar	0	2
Bali Organic Associate, Denpasar	1	2
Bali Sruti Foundation, Denpasar	1	0
NTT – West Timor		
ALFA OMEGA Foundation, Kupang	2	2
AO Women's group	8	1
PIKUL Foundation, Kupang	10	2
NCBA Kupang Office, Jl Sam Ratulangi Gang 2 No 13 b Kupang	1	3
NCBA-ICBDA Cattle Groups, Taloetan, Wakamese Sub. District, West Kupang District	24	16
NCBA-ICBDA Cattle Groups, Banbiu Village, Wakamese Sub. District, West Kupang District	13	6
NCBA-ICBDA Cattle Groups, Bone Village, Wakamese Sub. District, West Kupang District	7	12
PAPUA		
Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Keluarga, Jayapura	1	0
FOKER	1	0
Sub. Total Respondents (USAID and Non-USAID)	370	158
Total Respondents	528	

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