

Kelompok Wanita Tani Suka Makmur as Medium of Communication and Empowerment of Women Farmers: The Case of Subak Guama, Tabanan-Bali

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Abstract

Women farmers of Subak Guama Tabanan are hegemonized by male farmers. To fight for their rights, they formed a group, namely female farmers group of Suka Makmur, "Kelompok Wanita Tani Suka Makmur (herein after abbreviated to as KWT Suka Makmur). This paper is discussing; (1) why is the female peasant member of *Subak* Guama hegemony? How does KWT Suka Makmur become a forum for communication and empowerment of local women farmers? This study uses a qualitative approach whose data is obtained through the process of observation, document study, and in-depth interviews with 8 competent informants. Data analysis was done descriptively-interpretive by applying social practice theory (Bourdieu), theory of knowledge / power (Foucault) and post feminism theory. The results showed that the hegemony of women of *Subak* Guama farmers in the management of social capital economy *Subak* Guama. These hegemonic practices are, among other things, actualized in the application of local policies (*awig-awig and perarem*) related to the management of *Subak* Guama's social economic capital. KWT Suka Makmur has played a role as a medium for communication and empowerment of local women farmers. Empowerment is done by providing education and training on household business skills for local women farmers. Through KWT Suka Makmur, female *Subak* Guama members are able to run entrepreneurship to support their family's economy. Increased participation of women farmers of *Subak* Guama requires support of *Subak* Guama's board, accompanied by the Agriculture Office and related sectors.

Keywords: KWT Suka Makmur, communication, empowerment of women farmers

I. INTRODUCTION

Women's conditions in the political, socio-cultural, and economic contexts tend to be weaker than men. Therefore, women's empowerment should continue to be fought. The 1994 International Congress of Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo recommended that women's empowerment be undertaken. The essence of this empowerment strategy is not just to make women equal to the male, but also to improve their capacity, quality, independence and internal strength to gain the right to make choices in their lives.

The struggle of Balinese women in achieving gender justice continues to be dynamic. Gender equity is related to the concept of poverty alignment in GBHN (1993) that fostering the role of women as male equivalent partners is aimed at increasing the active role in development activities, including the efforts to achieve healthy, prosperous and happy families. Women need to have the opportunity and rights as human beings to be able to participate in political, economic, social, cultural, defense and national security activities, and equality in enjoying the development result. With this policy, gender justice is expected to be a process to be fair to men and women.

In generally, the figure of Balinese women is known as a tenacious person, responsible to the family and able to maintain the cultural traditions of the community. The Balinese still maintain the tradition, although he has lived a modern life such as the generation of Goesti Ajoe Amba (1930s), a well-known female North Balinese warrior who can drive cars, play tennis, dress in a modern and Dutch way. Although he leads a modern life, educated women in the Dutch era is considered as a figure who still keep the tradition of Hindu Bali (Putra, 2007: 58).

Balinese Hindu women continue to seek gender equality in both the domestic and public fields. The equality in public sphere is embodied in the development of professionals in various fields of work and the role of women in community life (Sunasri, 2004). Some Balinese Hindu women have been involved as politicians, working as government officers, working in the tourism sector, educators and so on.

Until the end of 2014, in Bali there are 2272632 workers aged 15 years and over, consisting of 1248588 male workers and 1024044 female workers. A total of 36667 female workers (3.58%) work in the agricultural sector (BPS Bali, 2016). Balinese women working in the *Subak* agriculture sector experienced hegemonic behavior and gender inequality. Astiti Studies (2012) showed that women farmers of *Subak* Guama Tabanan-Bali still experience marginalization, marginalized in economic activity.

In generally, Balinese people still receive hegemonic treatment by men. Moreover women of Balinese farmers who on average still berpendidikan low. They tend to be marginalized and undergo various discriminatory actions by men. This paper discusses; (1) why is the female peasant member of *Subak* Guama

hegemony? How does KWT Suka Makmur become a forum for communication and empowerment of local women farmers? This study uses a qualitative approach whose data is obtained through the process of observation, document study, and in-depth interviews with 8 competent informants. Data analysis is done descriptively-interpretive by applying Bourdieu social practice theory, Foucault's theory of knowledge / power and post feminism.

II. HEGEMONY PRACTICE OF FEMALE FARMER MEMBER OF SUBAK GUAMA

Subak Guama has a rice field area of 174 ha which consists of six smaller group in *Subak*, the *tempek*. The six *tempek* are *Tempek* Guama (43 ha), *Tempek* Belusung (40 ha), *Tempek* Kekeran Carik (40 ha), *Tempek* Kekeran Desa (25 ha), *Tempek* Pekilen (12 ha), and *Tempek* Manik Gunung (14 ha).

Sub group of farmers *Subak* Guama including a group of farmers who are quite advanced and innovative, contributed to realize the District of Tabanan as a rice granary in Bali. The success of Tabanan Regency became rice granary in Bali because most of its work force, 111,835 people (43,96%) work in agriculture sector, the rest work in trade sector as many as 44,250 people (17,39%), industrial sector 35,313 people (13.88%), and the rest work in other sectors (Sakernas, 2010).

The progress of *Subak* Guama Farmer Group is supported by traditional agriculture irrigation institution, *Subak* Guama. According to the concept of Bourdieu (1986), *Subak* is a cultural capital, social capital as well as an economic capital for the Balinese farmer community. As a cultural capital, the existence of *subak* is based on cultural values of Balinese Hindu society, *subak* as social capital because it has social network, social norm and trust by its members (Putnam, 1993; Bourdieu, 1986).

First, social network as an element of social capital is reflected by the intensity level of interaction between member farmers and *Subak* executives and outsiders have a high average. The interaction between *Subak* members has occurred long ago and evolved for various activities based on mutual trust and norms owned by *Subak*.

Secondly, the power of social norms (*awig-awig Subak*, *perarem*) is high. *Subak* social norms are very binding guidelines for farmers and *Subak* administrators in every activity of the community. The main function of these norms is as a controller of various forms of social interaction among farmers with *Subak* administrators. In the *Subak* system, the norms it possesses are value values that have developed since the first based on the teachings of Hindu Bali, namely *Tri Hita Karana (THK)*. *THK* philosophy emphasizes that in the process of life towards a prosperous life, human beings are emphasized to maintain harmony or harmony between man and his creator, namely God Almighty (*parhyangan*), man with nature / environment (*palemahan*), and man with his neighbor (*pawongan*) as A unified whole (Mantra, 1996).

Thirdly, the confidence contained in the *Subak* system is good among farmers, *Subak* administrators are high. This high trust is a very important basic capital in conducting collective activities related to agriculture, irrigation, social culture and agribusiness (Astuti, 2012, Sedana, 2013).

Furthermore, *Subak* Guama is also an economic capital, because it is able to develop the economy of local farmers. Efforts to develop the economy of farmers of *Subak* Guama members are done through an Integrated Agribusiness Cooperative (KUAT) established since 2002. The existence of power is important in driving the economy of local farmers. Until 2016, KUAT manages about 6 billion assets to support the economic activities of local farmers. KUAT has distributed several types of farming credits: Integrated Crops Management (ICM), credit for crops Livestock System (CLS), and strengthening of Micro Business Loans (MBL)

Subak Guama's socio-economic capital management actually belongs together for all of *Subak* Guama members. However, in practice, women farmers tend to be marginalized. They receive a hegemonic treatment. This was clearly reflected in the application of local insanity (*awig-awig* and *perarem*) related to the implementation of socio-economic governance of *Subak* Guama. First, the practice of hegemony against women farmers *Subak* Guama due to the strong ideology of gender. Gender ideology is an idea or belief that defines men and women as gender roles, which are gender roles in socially-shaped mind, speech, and social behavior.

The management of *Subak* Guama is characterized by the division of tasks between female farmers and male farmers. At the time of planning activities *Subak* management for planting season is done by male farmers while women are only involved in the planning of ritual activities. Furthermore, planning for other activities, such as planning in the development of economic units and planning for extension activities in *Subak* is predominantly done by male farmers. Women farmers only do what male peasants decide to do.

In addition to gender ideology, the practice of hegemony against the meeting of *Subak* Guama farmers is the result of the dominance of patriarchal ideology. According to Bhasim (1996: 1), patriarchal ideology emphasizes the power of men against women, the power of men's power over women, and the system used to keep women in various ways. Women should be controlled by men and women are part of the property of men. *Subak* management is dominated by men. While women have almost no power in managing *Subak*. This, however, is fairly accepted by women farmers because patriarchal ideology has dominantly dominated women, so gender imbalances are preserved and acceptable to women and society at large.

Due to hegemonic treatment, women's participation in the management of Subak Guama was low. In accordance with Foucault's theory, women are more dominant in ritual activities, especially their participation in the procurement of banten as a ritual activity. Men only help in the making of ritual means, namely banten in Subak Guama. Women's participation in ritual activities in *Subak* Guama reached 59.62% of the time spent for ritual activities per planting season in *Subak* Guama, and men involved 40.38% of the time required. Men play their power in Subak management activities, ie by hegemony of women so that women do what is decided by men, without any rejection (Astuti, 2012). This means that women make all male decisions without any compulsion from men (Gramsci, in Simon, 2004: 19).

The practice of hegemony in women farmers of *Subak* Guama members was also the result of the application of *awig-awig* and *perarem* which placed the position of women as the defeated party. *Awig-awig* is one of the customary law in Bali. Subak has rules, norms that apply to *krama* Subak either written or unwritten called *awig-awig* Subak. *Awig-awig* Subak Guama is made by Subak administrators who are male in this case and are designated for their members and agreed upon and implemented by Subak members. *Awig-awig* Subak Guama generally contains rules about; (1) *sukerta tata pakraman* (*krama*, *prajuru*, *paruman*, *kulkul*, ownership Subak facility, and violation in Subak); (2) religious *sukerta* (Subak ritual facilities and the sanctity of Subak area); (3) *sukerta* governance arrangement (Subak area, irrigation water flow, cropping pattern, pest / disease control, Subak bans); (4) disputes in Subak and sanctions / fines granted.

In addition to *awig-awig*, the life of Subak Guama farmers is also arranged with *perarem*, the rule made according to need, based on the agreement between Subak *krama* and Subak *prajuru*. *Perarem* is made based on the needs or interests that refers to *awig-awig* Subak. In 2002 the government through the Ministry of Agriculture made a policy to increase rice production through Increased Integrated Rice Productivity (P3T). The strategy pursued in P3T activities is to synergize between technological components and biophysical environment in one package by taking into account the socio-economic conditions of local farmers. The P3T's activities are developed through an Integrated Crop Management (ICM) approach, Crops Livestock System (CLS) and the Integrated Crops Livestock System (SIPT) and micro business loans (MBL). The P3T policy is gender neutral as female farmers and male farmers have equal rights.

This P3T program is implemented as a Community Direct Loan Aid (BPLM) grant of 843,200,000.00 which is managed entirely by KUAT (Sub-Guided Agribusiness Cooperative) *Subak* Guama. In managing of BPLM, Subak Guama establishes a rule or *paragem* based on an agreement between the village leader, the village head, and the manager or manager of Subak Guama that does not involve female Subak members. The result of the decision of Subak Guama (2002), among others, contains the allocation of BPLM to support some economic efforts of Subak Guama members (see Table 1).

Table 1 Types of Economic Business Loans Channeled Through KUAT

Economic Business	Unit Price Rp	Receiver
Integrated Crops Manajement/ICM),	98.000.000,00	male
Crops Livestock System/CLS,	663.500.000,00	male
Micro business loans (MBL)	81.780,000,00	female dan male
Jumlah	843.200.000,00	

Table 1 shows that the total amount of BPLM funds is Rp 843,200,000.00. This fund is allocated for CLS credits of Rp 663,500,000.00, and for ICM credits of Rp 98,000,000.00 (accessed by male farmers only), and micro business loans (MBL) of Rp 81,780,000.00, which may only be accessed by Women farmers. Distribution and management of social economic capital, namely BPLM is done by Integrated Agribusiness Business Cooperative (KUAT).

In the allocation of funds BPLM this happened injustice. Male farmers receive a larger share of relief funds from women. Most of the venture capital support is for men. Women farmers are only given the right to access micro business loans (MBL).

Subak managers have full power to make a policy without regard to the interests of women farmers in Subak Guama. Here the practice of hegemony that tends to marginalize women. In 2005, through Subak Guama *perarem* it was decided that male farmers were also entitled to get MBL capital assistance, whereas previously MBL capital support was only given to women.

The phenomenon of hegemony is coloring the management of social capital economy of Subak Guama. The customary policies of both *awig-awig* and *perarem* have hegemonized women in "losing positions" in the management of Subak Guama's social capital economy (farm capital) channeled through strong. Women's right to access Subak Guama's social economic capital is limited. Women's opportunities to increase roles in the public sector are constrained by several factors, such as: (a) opportunities and rights of marginalized women, (b) the existence of attachment to the family, which is bound up in the domestic work in accompanying husbands and caring for children who are preferred From working diligently; And (c) the existence of attachment to adat in their residence, and (d) relatively limited social network of women (Astuti, 2011 and Karmini, 2011).

III. KWT SUKA MAKMUR IS A FORUM FOR COMMUNICATION AND EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN FARMERS

In general, Balinese women are a resilient personal figure, contributing to the bone to assist in meeting the needs of his family's economy. This is also demonstrated by women farmers of Subak Guama. They desire to promote and prosper the family and society. However, they feel their rights are limited. To that end, in 2004 they set up a container, namely Kelompok Wanita Tani (KWT) Suka Makmur. The formation of KWT Suka Makmur was initiated by women farmer activist, Mrs. Made Priyawati and Selanbawak Village Chief. In generally, the objective of establishing this group is to empower local women farmers (see Table 2).

Table 2 KWT Suka Makmur as a forum for Empowering Women Farmers

No	The Function of KWT Suka Makmur	Description
1	Media information / communication	Member activities, Subak Guama program
2	Media experiences between members	Sharing experiences on rice plant care, family business
3	Sharpen the skill of the family business	Skills in: production development, distribution, marketing of entrepreneurship etc.
4	Containers Empowering local women farmers	Through KWT Suka Makmur, women farmer Subak Guama: a. A form of women's emancipation b. Become more efficient to support family welfare

Source: Processed from field data, 2016

KWT Suka Makmur has become a medium of information and communication among women farmers, an event to share experiences among members, honing the skills of family businesses and become a forum for empowering women farmers Subak Guama. Through KWT Suka Makmur, female farmers of Subak Guama members are able to show their actualization by honing their knowledge, various skills of home industry, and realizing their business activities. Their home business activities are: making traditional snacks for ritual ceremonies, raising pigs, pig breeding, making coconut oil (klentik oil) for food trade, wood carving business and weaving business. The produce is marketed in stalls, the nearest traditional market. For the sale of kelentik oil directly at the farmhouse of women.

To realize its business activities, women farmers are given capital support from the Micro business loans (MBL) managed by KUAT. In 2014, MBL's capital assistance received by female peasants Subak Guama is Rp.81.700.000 (Suamba, 2015). In addition to accessing MBL, some women farmers of Subak Guama also access business capital from other sources (including cooperatives, local LPDs). One female peasant member of Subak Guama said:

"We are members of KWT Suka Makmur very feel the benefits of MBL, With the help of venture capital, our family's family is very helpful (Made Priyawati, interview October 1, 2016)".

By running various household businesses, a Balinese women farmer member of Subak Guama can help her family's economy. MBL's capital support has empowered women farmers of Subak Guama members. In addition to the capital factor, as well as the existence of KWT Suka Makmur container, the empowerment of Subak Guama farmers' meeting happened because they adhered to the principle of embarrassing culture. According to Mantra (1993: 17) embarrassed is the dynamic nature possessed by that culture, a spiritual movement that became the base of all changes in people's lives. The sense of embarrassment that most Balinese women (especially married) generally do to avoid a negative impression. KWT Likes prosper proven to empower women farmers Subak Guama. This is in accordance with the Movement of feminism which requires that women achieve their rights in accordance with their competence (Lerner 1986: 235).

IV. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

4.1 Conclusion

Women Subak Guama farmers terhegemoni in the management of social capital economy Subak Guama. These hegemonic practices are, among other things, actualized in the application of local policies (*awig-awig and perarem*) related to the management of Subac Guama's social economic capital. KWT Suka Makmur has played a role as a medium for communication and empowerment of local women farmers. Empowerment is done by providing education and training on household business skills for local women farmers. Through KWT Suka Makmur, female Subak Guama members are able to run entrepreneurship to support their family's economy.

4.2 Suggestions

Empowerment of women farmers Subak Guama through KWT Suka Makmur should be continued. In the effort of women empowerment of Subak Guama farmer needed support of Subak Guama management, accompaniment of Agriculture Department and related sectors.

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