

# Salasika

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CHILD, AND SOCIAL INCLUSION'S STUDIES**



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# Understanding Women's Roles in Agriculture (Study of Women in Dairy and Shallot Farming in East Java)

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## ABSTRACT

This research studied the roles of women in dairy farming in Ngantang and Karangploso and shallot farming in Pare and Probolinggo, East Java. The objectives were to identify the role and function of women farmers in all stages of dairy and shallot production and to examine the role and level of involvement of women farmers from social and economic aspects, local wisdom and knowledge used on the farm as well as the driving and inhibiting factors of women farmers' participation. Applying Harvard Analytical Framework, this study identified the division of labor between men and women on the farm, women's access and control over the benefit of the farm and its influencing factors. The results confirm that women have significant and vital roles in almost all stages of dairy and shallot farming although their roles are mostly related to the construction of women's roles held generally within Indonesian traditional societies. However, women still have limited access and control over the process of production results from the farm. The inhibiting factors for women's participation in farming is dominated by psycho-cultural aspect that hinder women's access to knowledge, information, networks and control over family's income. Nevertheless, women also show their potential to empower themselves through women groups that can encourage women's awareness in accessing economic resources and knowledge as well as helping them to gain more control over the process of production from the farm.

**KEYWORDS:** *gender and agriculture, women's role in agriculture, gender equality in agriculture*

## INTRODUCTION

It is estimated that, by 2050, global population will expand to 9.7 billion and 11.2 billion in 2100 (UNIDESA, 2015). With this number of people, food demand is projected to increase enormously. Most countries in South East Asia, South Asia, East Asia and Sub-Saharan need to accelerate agricultural

production to end poverty and hunger to reach the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This requires a well-performing agriculture sector to ensure food security. However, strategies for agricultural development do not always benefit the whole population and women in particular. Women are discriminated against the access

to resources needed to develop this sector. Globally, due to legal and cultural constraints, only 20% of women can be the landholders (FAO, 2012). Only 20% of total aid for agriculture, forestry and fishing goes to women. Female farmers receive only 5% of all agricultural extension services in 97 countries. In the meantime, 79% of economically active women in developing countries spend their working hours producing food, working in agriculture (FAO, 2017). They provide 60 to 80 percent of the food for household consumption in most developing countries, mainly as unpaid laborers (UNIDO, 2012). Women are responsible for half of the world's total food production, but have less access to assets, credit, services, markets and information on new technologies and consumer preferences. This limited access reduces their development opportunities. According to its report, FAO also claims that if women had the same access to productive resources as men, they could increase yields on their farms by 20%-30%. This could raise total agriculture production by 2.5% to 4% in developing countries, which could contribute to reducing hunger by 12% to 17% in the world (FAO, 2011).

Based on the background above, it is necessary to conduct more in depth studies of the role and contribution of women farmers in agriculture. This research studied the role of women in dairy and shallot farming in East Java, particularly in Ngantang and Karangploso, Malang (for dairy farming) and Pare and Probolinggo (for shallot farming). Two objectives were formulated. First, this study aimed to identify the role and

function of women farmers in all stages of dairy and shallot production. Second, it examined the role and level of involvement of women farmers from social and economic aspects and local wisdom on the farm as the driving and inhibiting factors of women farmers' participation in both sectors. This research is expected to contribute to provide a more comprehensive overview of gender issues in agriculture sector in East Java in general. To optimize the role of women in agriculture, they need intervention through increasing women's knowledge and awareness so that women have greater access to production process and greater control over the produced products.

Women make vital contributions to agriculture and rural economies in most developing countries. Their roles in agriculture vary in each region and may also change over time due to changing demands in agricultural production markets. However, almost everywhere in developing countries, women in agriculture suffer from discrimination and marginalization resulting in limited access and control over resources and benefits they obtain from their work in agriculture. Roshan Lal and Ashok Khurana (2001) in their research entitled "*Gender Issues: The Role of Women in Agriculture Sector*" reveals that in rural India women are the major contributors in agriculture and its related sectors, such as harvesting, post-harvesting, storage, processing and marketing. The role of women ranges from household and family maintenance activities, water, fuels and fodder transporting activities, to their household reproductive activities, including

caring for children, the sick and the elderly. However, all of this involvement has not been recognized and, therefore, women's dignity has not been respected. Women still have low status in every aspect of their social economic and political life. According to this study, men are easily threatened by women's achievement, particularly their wage, and this causes women to be paid below standard. Women in rural areas are exploited by landlords and often treated as sub-servant or personal property.

Research by Mahadeo Yadav (2014), *"Inequality Between Male and Female in Agriculture Sector in Maharashtra (Pre & Post Reform)"*, tried to measure work participation and wage difference between men and women in agriculture in rural area in Maharashtra in pre-reform and post-reform era as part of the new economic policy that has been implemented since 1991 to eradicate population growth, poverty, economic disparity and gender bias issues in India. Women have always been neglected in the agricultural sector in India and received lower wages than men. One objective of the new economic reform is to create equality in agriculture work and wages between men and women. By using comparative method to study pre- and post-reform era, the result shows the new economic reform, which has focused on advancing technology, has created limited access to scientific advancement and technology for poor, illiterate farm women and, failure to give higher wages. There has been no significant change in women's wage in pre- and post-reform era. Women agriculture workers, who represent the majority

of all rural women workers, continue to receive lower wages than men. Most of these workers are those who do not own assets and are seasonal workers. Furthermore, women in rural sector of Maharashtra are discriminated and disadvantaged in many aspects of employment, such as diversification, quality employment and wage earnings.

Jacqueline Gicheru (2013) also conducted a research on *"Gender Equalities in Agriculture in Gatanga Division, Muranga County"*. The research aimed to identify what factors promoted gender inequality in agricultural production in Gatanga Division, Muranga County, Kenya and what challenges that men, women and the youth faced in agricultural production. Gender equality has been considered a dominant issue in Gatanga for decades. This inequality has been caused by the low access of women to assets, productive resources and education. This condition leverages into a wider range of other issues such as poverty, unemployment, lack of access to agricultural land, poor infrastructure, lack of education and even HIV/AIDS pandemic. By using Longwe framework, Gicheru tried to understand the practical meaning of empowerment and equality of women and evaluate whether development initiatives supported empowerment in Gatanga Division. The study concluded that women were greatly involved in farming, especially in weeding, harvesting and drying of crops, while men undertook the role of value addition as well as marketing. Women had no control over pricing because men were the ones who were more informed about market conditions,

product demands and prices since they were responsible for marketing activities. These findings showed that gender inequality in agriculture was evident in the disparities in roles of men and women undertaking the activities.

The ARISA funded research used a descriptive, qualitative analysis to objectively understand the role and function of women farmers in dairy farming using a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) method to gather information on particular issues. In the FGDs, a group of women were asked about their activity on the farm: production, processing, responsibility on the farm and in the family, workload distribution, challenges on the farm, the way they addressed the challenges, the intervention implemented by themselves or other parties, and any other factors. The purpose of the FGDs was to obtain feedback or information about local and specific issues. The analysis of these issues was determined by other parties after the information was successfully compiled and analyzed. The FGDs were conducted in four sites of dairy farming, two were from the Sub District of Ngantang (Sumber Mulyo and Sumber Gadung villages) and the rests were from the Sub District of Karangploso (Bocek Village). For shallot farming, FGDs were carried out in two sites, one was in Pare and the other was in Probolinggo, East Java. For each FGD site, 10 local women involved in the sector were asked to participate in the research.

The collected data were analyzed using the Harvard Analytical Framework designed to demonstrate that there was an economic case for allocating resources to women as

well as men. The framework helped planners design more efficient projects and improve overall intervention identification by mapping the work of and resources for men and women in a community and highlighting the main differences (March, 2010). The framework has 4 tools consisting of: Activity Profile, Access and Control Profile, Influencing Factors, and Project Cycle Analysis. The first tool identified all relevant productive and reproductive tasks and answered the question of who does what (i.e. role division). The areas of activity in which ARISA project would be directly involved in required the greatest detail. The second tool enabled the users to list what resource people used to carry out the task identified in the activity profile. It identified whether women or men had access to resources, who controlled their use, and who controlled the benefits of the use of resources. The third tool allowed the user to chart factors that influenced the differences in the gender division of labor, access and control of resources as listed in the two previous tools. The last tool was designed to assist users to examine the area of intervention from a gender perspective and capture the different effects of social change on both gender (March, 2010)

By using the Harvard Analytical Framework, this research identified :

- 1) women's activities in every stage in agriculture production process, both in dairy or shallot farming that indicated the division of labor between men and women and their workload in productive and reproductive areas;
- 2) women's access and control over resources and benefits from the production

activity in dairy and shallot farming; 3) influencing factors that constrained and provided opportunities for women to gain more access and control over the process and benefits from the production activity in dairy and shallot farming, as well as productive assets; and 4) the impact of any previous intervention program undertaken through a project-cycle analysis for both men and women in farming.

To achieve its objectives, this research developed an interview guide based on Harvard Framework Analysis with several adjustments regarding locus of research and objectives limitation. The interview guide was composed to cover general condition of women in dairy and shallot production and women's role in every part of production process on the farm. To assess access and control aspects, the women were also asked about their access and agency in the production process. To understand the influencing factors of women's activities, access and control, women were asked about their workload and problems they encountered during production cycle and the solutions they developed to address the problems. The women were also asked about what interventions they thought could help them enhance the quantity and quality of shallots and dairy farm production.

### **ACTIVITIES - DAIRY**

Dairy cattle ranching activities ranged from animal raising and feed delivery, livestock management, milk production, livestock health, livestock safety, and dairy product sale. Generally, at all sites, men and

women shared responsibilities for the farm. There was no strict division of labor between women and men in conducting dairy production activities. In many processes, they worked together, and the division of labor was very interchangeable. Nevertheless, men were usually responsible for work that required physical strength, while women were responsible for work that allowed them to continue with their reproductive activities, such as livestock maintenance. However, women in Ngantang were more active in almost every stage of production than those in Karangploso. They were even responsible for work that was often considered to be too hard for women in Karangploso, such as milking, which could only be done by men. Ngantang women's involvement in more production activities was driven by women's groups formed in the village. The women's group encouraged women to be active in almost all stages of work and identify more efficient ways to do the activities. The discussions also revealed that women in Ngantang had a better understanding of their farm work than women in Karangploso because they acquired their knowledge not only from their husbands, but also from the elderly women. Women had the same knowledge as men in doing their work. Women's activities on dairy farm can be categorized as follows:

Table 1  
*Activity Profile of Men and Women in Dairy Farming*

Activities	Ngantang		Karangploso	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
<b>I</b> Feeding				
Planting fodder		√		√
Finding fodder		√		√
Mixing feed	√		√	√
Feeding animals	√		√	√
<b>II</b> Livestock Maintenance				
Cleaning cage	√	√	√	√
Cleaning livestock	√		√	
<b>III</b> Milking				
Preparation	√		√	
Milking	√			√
<b>IV</b> Livestock Health				
Vaccination	√	√	√	√
Artificial Insemination	√	√		√
Disease identification	√	√	√	√
<b>V</b> Livestock Safety				
<b>VI</b> Milk Selling	√			√

### ACTIVITIES - SHALLOTS

In shallot farming, activities ranged from land preparation, seed selection, planting, watering, fertilization, pest and disease control, to harvesting and marketing. As is the case with dairy farming, men in both shallot farming sites were responsible for work that demanded physical strength, such as preparing the land for cultivation and watering, while women undertook work that required more precise and meticulous skills, such as seed selection, manual pest control or weeding. Specifically in Probolinggo, women seemed to have good knowledge about all stages in shallot farming. This was because women were directly involved in almost all stages of activities compared to those in Pare. Tradition background factors seemed to influence their involvement. They inherited

cultivation tradition from their elders. For example, in preparing the seeds, they dried the seeds in their kitchens using traditional fumigation techniques. Men and women's division of labor in shallot farming was listed in the following table:

Table 2  
*Activity Profile of Men and Women in Shallot Farming*

	Activities	Pare		Probolinggo	
		Women	Men	Women	Men
<b>I</b>	Land Preparation				
	Ploughing		√		√
	Barrowing		√		√
	Hoeing	√	√	√	√
<b>II</b>	Seed Selection				
	Purchasing seed	√	√	√	
	Determining the number of seeds	√	√	√	
	Pre-planting treatment	√		√	
<b>III</b>	Cultivating				
	Timing	√	√		√
	Seed selection	√		√	√
	Preparation for planting		√		√
	Planting	√		√	
<b>IV</b>	Watering				
	Watering		√	√	√
	Weeding	√		√	
<b>V</b>	Fertilizing				
	Determine the type of fertilization		√		√
	Fertilization		√		√
	Subsequent fertilization		√		√
<b>VI</b>	Pest/Disease Control				
	Knowledge about pest/disease		√	√	√
	Knowledge about pesticide/insecticide and their risk		√	√	√
	Provision of insecticides/pesticides		√		√
<b>VII</b>	Harvesting				
	Determining the timing		√		√
	Harvesting	√	√	√	√
	Post-harvesting	√		√	
<b>VIII</b>	Marketing				
	Determining the amount to sell	√	√	√	√
	Determining the buyers	√	√		√

## **ACCESS AND CONTROL - DAIRY**

At both dairy farming sites, women had access to natural (agricultural and livestock) resources. However, the level of access and control was different in each phase of production for each site. The division of labor was relatively fluid and flexible and this affected women's access and control over the benefit of these resources. Women in Ngantang might have more access to natural resources than those in Karangploso because they were involved in almost all production stages. Women in Ngantang even had great access to income since they were involved and dominant in the process of selling their dairy products. Women also had greater control over their income from dairy production because the proceeds were held by women, and they decided the allocation of the money. However, women had no control over the price of their own dairy product. The price had been pre-determined by KUD in agreement with company; women were not part of the negotiations.

The lack of farmer's bargaining power in determining the quality and selling price of their dairy product should be regarded as a more crucial issue than the extent of the involvement and division of labor between women and men in the process of dairy production. An appropriate and fair milk price is the culmination of both women and men's involvement in the whole

process of dairy production. When farmers do not have the bargaining power to determine the quality and selling price, they become alienated from the value of their production. In other words, involvement - both women and men in dairy production process is an alienated involvement. Thus, the status of their involvement is basically not as farmers, but as workers.

One aspect that women might have less access to was knowledge, particularly those in Karangploso. One indication of the lack of access to knowledge for women was that education was never given directly to women (wife), but only to men (husband). Extension services provided by other parties such as KUD could never be accessed by women. No information was available to explain why the services provided by KUD were restricted to men only. There was a potential psycho-cultural obstacle that prevented women from participating in any program provided by KUD. Most women felt embarrassed to attend such programs. Their ignorance about livestock health could be traced from this. This same reluctance to participate in training sessions hindered women in their role as the agents of knowledge.

The following tables show women and men's access and control over resources and the benefits of their work in dairy farming at both selected sites:

Table 3  
*Access and Control of Women and Men in Ngantang*

RESOURCES			BENEFITS		
	Women	Men		Women	Men
<b>Livestock</b>	A/C	A/C	Milking	A/C	A/C
<b>Loan</b>			Training		A/C
<b>Feed</b>	A/C	A/C	Selling	A/C	A/C
<b>Vaccine</b>	A	A/C	Dairy Income	A/C	

Note. A = Big Access                      C = Big Control  
a = Limited Access                      c = Limited Control

Table 4  
*Access and Control of Women and Men in Karangploso*

RESOURCES			BENEFITS		
	Women	Men		Women	Men
Livestock	A/C	A/C	Milking	A/C	A/C
Loan			Training		A/C
Feed	A/C	A/C	Selling	A/C	A/C
Vaccine	A	A/C	Dairy Income	A/C	A/C

Note. A = Big Access                      C = Big Control  
a = Limited Access                      c = Limited Control

### ACCESS AND CONTROL – SHALLOTS

In shallot farming, both men and women had direct access to the land. As the land they cultivated was their own property, they did not only have the same access, but also control over the management of land resources, in the sense of land as production capital. As production capital, their land was cultivated and managed by the farmers' themselves. Even if they rent the land, the money was an income source. However, the discussion in Probolinggo revealed that farm area was relatively small (0.2 ha). This made it difficult to obtain financial capital to develop their shallot farming. There was no farming credit that could be accessed by shallot farmers there or they did not have access to any information about it. Thus, their access to

financial resources was also limited. Both men and women had to be able to allocate their money appropriately in order to continue the operation of their farms in subsequent years.

In terms of human resources, men and women also had direct access to labor/worker market. Access is defined as having two meanings: first, men and women have the same opportunity to be workers or employees; second, men and women have the same access in obtaining workers they need. As an example, at the harvesting stage, almost all workers were women. They were cutting, cleaning and drying the seeds. Men were employed in fertilizing and pest and disease control stages. However, men were dominant in controlling the number of workers they needed to help them in the fields as they had

the knowledge of volume and labor requirement based on the extent of their land under cultivation and crop volume. Women tended to find workers from their neighborhood.

Women had limited access to information. For example, this could be seen in their relatively limited knowledge about fertilizer, insecticides/pesticides, and the latest planting system. Even if they had the access, they did not get the knowledge directly from the source, but from their husbands. Men, especially in Pare, had freedom to access information and technology. Men could have direct access (i.e. face-to-face) or access to the internet to obtain information. By doing this, men had the capacity to update and improve their knowledge of shallot farming. Men also had access to social media like Facebook and could build connections with wider communities that had the same interest. As an example, they were connected via Facebook and could join Indonesian Shallot Farmers group. In this group, they did not only share information and experiences, but also developed work and knowledge of networking and creating social capital, which in turn provided them with the potential to empower themselves.

In the meantime, farmers in Probolinggo had minimum access to technology. Women farmers were even worse off. It was difficult for them to get information since they did not have any association or group where they could communicate their challenges. One source of information that the farmers could access was the companies that produced fertilizers and pesticides. Those companies provided a variety of services such as

promoting their products by providing free chemical treatments for the land on the side of the highway and overseeing the process of their product usage by providing extension officers. Those companies then erected advertising billboards about their products on the streets near the assisted land. Other farmers were informed about good agricultural product and how to eradicate pests from the marketing activities of those companies. The absence of professional extension officers from the government who provided assistance for farmers had resulted in limited direct access for women to obtain information and better knowledge. In terms of delivery of information, the extension officers did not provide much information to help farmers. If there was any socialized information, they only invited men, not women. Women's long hours in domestic work and their duty in the shallot fields also prevented them from participating in such forum.

An interesting note about access and control gained from this research is the experience of women in Probolinggo. In the post-harvest stage, men and women worked together. The wife kept the money in post-harvest stage. The husbands decided how to use the money they had jointly earned from the shallot cultivation although the women were involved in the decision-making on how the income was used. The husband still dominated in determining how the money would be used. Interestingly, women from richer farmer families tended to have less control over their family income compared to women from poorer farmer families. The poorer ones had control over their family

income even though it was a small amount. These facts show that there are two contrary construction about women and their control over money. In scarcity, women are constructed as a party that has better managerial skills in finances. They are expected to be more efficient and able to manage expenditure

better than men. On the other hand, in abundance, women are constructed as consumptive, so there is a limitation of their control over finances.

Women and men's access and control over resources and benefits in shallot farming at both sites can be seen as follows:

Table 5  
*Access and Control by Women and Men in Pare*

	RESOURCES		BENEFITS		
	Women	Men		Women	Men
<b>Land</b>	A/C	A/C	Harvesting	A/C	A/C
<b>Workers</b>	A/C	A/C	Training		A/C
<b>Information</b>		A/C	Selling	A/C	A/C
<b>Group/ Association</b>	A	A/C	Income	A/C	A/C

Note. A = Big Access                      C = Big Control  
a = Limited Access                      c = Limited Control

Table 6  
*Access and Control by Women and Men in Probolinggo*

	RESOURCES		BENEFITS		
	Women	Men		Women	Men
<b>Land</b>	A/C	A/C	Harvesting	A/C	A/C
<b>Workers</b>	A/C	A/C	Training		a/c
<b>Finance</b>			Selling	a/c	A/C
<b>Information</b>		a/c	Income	a	A/C
<b>Group/ Association</b>					

Note. A = Big Access                      C = Big Control  
a = Limited Access                      c = Limited Control

## INFLUENCING FACTORS - DAIRY

This section explains the factors that influence women and men's activities, access and control in dairy production. The role of women in dairy production process in Ngantang was greatly influenced by the presence of women's groups established in the two villages. The groups organized women in dairy

production process ranging from information sharing to collecting dairy products in groups. These women's group allowed women to be more aware and promote a desire to move forward, for example, their openness to programs that empowered women to develop their dairy products. The existence of these groups enabled women to play roles that were more dominant in

dairy production process and in crucial stages. The women's groups also encouraged women to have access to and control over public services provided by KUD to manage income from dairy product sale.

The most influencing factor that hindered women's activities, access and control in dairy production process in Karangploso was psycho-cultural aspect. Traditionally, dairy cattle breeding culture was apparently more relegated to men, so that women's knowledge in raising dairy livestock was not handed down by the elders and, as a result, inadequate. This had an impact on their engagement and limited their access and control at every stage of dairy production process. Psychologically, women felt reluctant and embarrassed to be involved in those processes, including gaining access to knowledge about raising cattle through services provided by KUD. Women were only involved in the activities when their husbands asked for help.

### **INFLUENCING FACTORS - SHALLOTS**

Factors that influenced women's involvement in shallot production process, access to resources and control over the benefits derived from shallot farming were socio-cultural and information technology aspects. Cultural factors influenced the planting decisions, especially in determining good days for planting. Women did the calculations of which days were good for starting the planting based on Javanese tradition. This traditional habit was firmly held by farmers, especially

women. This encouraged women to be involved in the process that was considered essential for the success of their harvest. Their faith in this tradition resulted in women taking part in planting decisions.

Another factor that affected women's involvement was social construction of gender roles. For example, women's role in shallot farming was mostly at the weeding and "petan" (manual pest/disease control) stage. This comes from the consideration that women are more meticulous and patient in controlling specific pests. On the other hand, men deal with work that requires strength such as watering and fertilizing, which women do not do.

Meanwhile, in Probolinggo, women's activities, access and control over resources and benefits of shallot farming were influenced by cultural, structural and economic factors. In Madura culture, a strong woman is one who is active and hardworking. Even if their work in the domestic area and in the farm fields consume their time and energy, they do not regard it as a burden. They also inherit customs from their elders regarding how cultivation is conducted. These customs, which have been handed down from generation to generation also create women specific work, which is unchangeable. Economic factors also influence women's access and control over family income from the farm. Women who come from poor farmer families may have more control over the family income from shallot farming, while women from rich farmer families have limited control over the family income. In Probolinggo, shallot farmers in general had to

accept that the government did not provide appropriate services needed by farmers to improve their productivity. Farmers' access to information was very limited, so they could not obtain the latest information about the most effective techniques in shallot farming, how to choose the best fertilizer and the most effective means to control pests and diseases.

### **PROJECT CYCLE ANALYSIS - DAIRY**

There were no specific programs from other parties to improve the quality and quantity of dairy products in addition to that given by KUD that intervened dairy production process in Ngantang. However, women in Ngantang were very open to any programs offered that could help them improve the quality and quantity of dairy products they produce. As they played quite a dominant role in the production process of dairy and dairy production management income, they expressed an interest in obtaining training that would allow them to differentiate their dairy product. This might allow them to have better bargaining position. In contrast to Ngantang, women in Karangploso were not too enthusiastic when offered programs that could assist them improve their family farm milk production. No ideas emerged from them on what interventions other parties could assist them with. However, they were willing to be involved if they were given specific training as long as it did not interfere with their time doing domestic work.

### **PROJECT CYCLE ANALYSIS - SHALLOT FARMING**

In shallot farming, particularly in Pare, farmers had already had contact with an intervention program for integrated pest management. They had joined the group that had planned to conduct regular meetings to facilitate farmer discussions about their challenges and obtain the latest information about shallot farming. However, at the time of the research, the number of farmers participating in this program was very limited. Based on FGD, only 2 out of the 10 women interviewed were aware of and acknowledged the intervention program directly. According to those women, they did not have enough time to attend the meetings since their domestic and farm duties had already consumed their time and energy.

### **CONCLUSION**

In dairy farming, there was a significant difference between women at both sites. Women in Ngantang were more engaged in the process of dairy production than those in Karangploso. This was because of the influence of women's groups that encouraged women to develop their knowledge and ability to be engaged in dairy production process. Through this group, women even sought alternatives to process dairy products so that they could develop their own dairy produced on their farms. The organization leveraged women's access to knowledge and information and empowered women's control over the benefits from the farm.

Different characteristics were also shown by women in shallot

farming. Unlike the women in Probolinggo, women in Pare were not involved in the whole process of shallot farming even though they played a significant role in determining shallot planting day through traditional practices. The lack of involvement limited their access to knowledge and information that resulted in limitation on access to networks and control over benefits of shallot production.

On the other hand, women in Probolinggo had inherited their strong Madura cultural character, which resulted in them being actively involved in almost every stages of production. However, their robust and strong tradition, which provides traditional knowledge that helps them manage their farms, hinders them as it reduces their willingness to change and obtain access to new knowledge and information. Women in Probolinggo also tended to have limited control over the earnings from shallot farming due to cultural norm of male domination. However, there was a paradox arising from this cultural norm. In the conditions of scarcity, the sanction was psychological, namely the demand for the better ability to manage money, which was done by women. In abundance, the sanction was economic by closing women's access to use economic resources.

This research confirms that women are still marginalized in agriculture and do not enjoy the optimal benefits of their work in dairy and shallot sectors. While women play important roles on the farms and their traditional knowledge contributes greatly to the agricultural production process,

women's access to new knowledge and their control over the benefits are limited. Cultural construction remains a major constraint for women and affects them psychologically. Women become passive, and they accept the paradox construction that make them responsible for the management of family finance under any circumstances. On the other hand, this study also shows that women have the potential to make breakthrough through their collectivity. Women's collectivity encourages them to be more progressive and demand greater access and control over resources and benefits of their work on the farms. However, women who already have awareness, as indicated by increased knowledge and involvement in women's group to support their progress, still construct their role not as the primary role in agriculture, but as complementary to the role of men. They still believe that their primary role is in the reproductive sector. Women still have not seen themselves as parties who hold strategic roles in agricultural sector, who play significant roles in developing the society, especially in rural areas.

Another interesting finding in this study is the absence of government in providing adequate services for farmers. The services provided by KUD were not easily accessible, especially for women. Particularly in shallot farming, the agricultural extension services were almost unavailable. The inexistence of government in supporting farmers resulted in many challenges for farmers to develop their farming activities. Also, farmers had very limited access to financial support,

affordable means of production and information on how to improve their productivity. The increasing private sector played a role in providing extension services. Nevertheless, government should focus on enabling the environment so that the private sector can do direct engagement and scale out.

Any intervention program should be aware of and consider variable conditions of and challenges for farmers in terms of differing sites as well as how potential interventions could impact women differently from men. Women's limited access to information can become a structural trap for women in empowering themselves. Access to information and knowledge that has been focused on and/or handed by men can cause men to become more hegemonic over women in society. Information is a fundamental and strategic resource that needs to be mastered. Opening wider information access for women will provide them with opportunities to develop networks and social relations with broader societies and allow them to better manage their farming resources for income generation.

Any intervention program should engage the government and/or private sector to encourage them to become more active in providing services to farmers, including provision of affordable means of production, support in accessing production capital and provision of extension officers who regularly assist farmers in their production activities. The lack of services provided for farmers can become a problem that can pull farmers into a structural poverty trap or retain them in this trap. For

other perspectives, this recommendation may imply that government should provide subsidies that distort the markets and make it hard for the private sector to be involved. On the contrary, government's presence is not solely linked with subsidies, but it would be more beneficial to encourage public partnerships with private sectors.

Any intervention programs should also encourage the strengthening of farmer groups to help farmers solve their problems in the field. Whenever possible and where women are supportive, women's farmer groups should be formed so that they are able to obtain better knowledge and contribute more in the production decision-making process. Providing women with knowledge about financial management is also important. This will improve their bargaining position and control over family income, both in shallot and dairy farming

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