

Women's Multiple Roles and Social Pressure in Agrarian Society

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Abstract: Since 1960, the transmigration program between Java Island and Lampung Province has been massive. Some of the transmigration players are impoverished farmers seeking fresh farmland. The financial conditions of transmigrants motivate women to work in both the domestic and productive sectors. This study aims to determine women's roles and the effect of social pressure on women's roles in the agricultural region of the transmigration area in Pringsewu Regency, Lampung Province. The study was performed between November 2021 and March 2022. The research employed a qualitative case study approach. Forty respondents serve as both housewives and productive agricultural workers. The results of the study indicate that women in the Pringsewu transmigration area have three roles: housewife (domestic work), productive work (farming), and social work. Women play these equivalent roles as men in agricultural work. Women who do not engage in productive work (farming) are considered unproductive among their family and neighbors who make up stories about them. In agrarian societies in transmigration areas, a low level of education encourages the persistence of inequality. To achieve gender equality, numerous stakeholders must collaborate and maintain their efforts, particularly in agricultural communities in transmigration areas.

Keywords: agriculture; poverty; social pressure; transmigration; women

Abstrak: Program transmigrasi dari Pulau Jawa ke Provinsi Lampung dilakukan secara masif sejak tahun 1960. Beberapa pelaku transmigrasi adalah petani miskin yang sedang mencari lahan baru untuk bercocok tanam. Kondisi ekonomi para transmigran mendorong perempuan melakukan pekerjaan rangkap di sektor domestik dan produktif. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis peran perempuan dan tekanan sosial terhadap peran perempuan di kawasan pertanian Transmigrasi Kabupaten Pringsewu Provinsi Lampung. Penelitian dilakukan pada bulan November 2021 hingga Maret 2022. Penelitian menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Jumlah responden adalah 40 orang ibu rumah tangga yang melakukan peran ganda sebagai ibu rumah tangga dan pekerja produktif di bidang pertanian. Hasil penelitian menggambarkan bahwa perempuan di kawasan transmigrasi Pringsewu memiliki rangkap tiga peran sebagai ibu rumah tangga (pekerjaan rumah tangga), pekerjaan produktif (bertani), dan pekerjaan sosial. Perempuan memiliki peran yang sama dengan laki-laki dalam menggarap lahan pertanian. Wanita yang tidak terlibat dalam pekerjaan produktif (bertani) dianggap sebagai wanita yang malas dan menjadi bahan pergunjungan keluarga dan

tetangganya. Rendahnya tingkat pendidikan mendorong ketimpangan terus terjadi pada masyarakat agraris di kawasan transmigrasi. Perlunya upaya kolaboratif dan berkesinambungan dari banyak pihak untuk mewujudkan kesetaraan gender, khususnya pada masyarakat pertanian di kawasan transmigrasi.

Kata Kunci: pertanian; kemiskinan; tekanan sosial; transmigrasi; perempuan

A. Introduction

Population inequality and overcrowding on Java island result in optimal development in Indonesia.¹ In addition, the large population on the island of Java has the potential to produce economic, social, and environmental issues, resulting in the implementation of the Indonesian transmigration program.² Transmigration is the migration of people from densely inhabited to sparsely populated areas. In the meanwhile, Transmigration Law No. 29/2009 defines transmigration as the voluntary movement of people to improve their welfare and settle in government-organized transmigration areas.³

The implementation of transmigration in Indonesia began during the Dutch colonial era in 1905, beginning with the relocation of 155 family heads from Kedu, Central Java, to Lampung Province. From 1905 to 1941, 44,687 families (175,867 people) from Central Java (5,839 families or 25,25,718 people), East Java (19,567 families or 62,782 people), and other areas, as well as 19,281 families or 87,367 people, participated in the colonization program of Lampung Province.⁴

In 1950, the Indonesian government maintained the transmigration program following independence. From 1950 to 1960, there are 46,966

¹ Nurlatifah Hartojo et al, "A Growing Light in the Lagging Region in Indonesia: The Impact of Village Fund on Rural Economic Growth," *Economies* 10, no. 9 (2022): 217, <https://doi.org/10.3390/economies10090217>.

² Ayu Pratiwi, Petr Matous, and Kirsten Martinus, "Transmigration Programs and Migrant Positions in Rural Community Knowledge Networks," *Journal of Rural Studies* 95 (2022): 391–401, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2022.09.019>.

³ Ridayat Ridayat, Saefur Rochmat, and Laode Ali Basri, "Social Phenomena between Local Transmigrant Communities and Regional Transmigrant Communities (1994-2020) in Kasimpa Jaya Village, Kec. South Tiworo, Kab. West Muna," *Budapest International Research and Critics in Linguistics and Education (BirLE) Journal* 4, no. 2 (21, 2021): 798–806, <https://doi.org/10.33258/birle.v4i2.1852>.

⁴ Kemenakertrans, *Transmigrasi Masa Dulu, Kini dan Harapan Kedepan* (Jakarta: Kementerian Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi RI, 2013).

people participated in the Java-to-Lampung transmigration program.⁵ As a result of transmigration, the Javanese population of Lampung is greater than the native population (the Lampung tribe) does. The native population of Lampung, according to the 1961 Indonesian population census, was 554,848, while the immigrant population (Javanese) was 1,114,152.⁶ Furthermore, the 2020 Population Census illustrates that the population of Lampung is 9.01 million people,⁷ and as many as 64% of the population of Lampung are Javanese.⁸

Due to the abundant agricultural land and business opportunities in Lampung, the community is eager to participate in the transmigration program, either through the General Transmigration (government-initiated Transmigration) or the Self-help or Independent Transmigration (in which the community bears costs).⁹ In contrast, the area of agricultural land in Java Island has decreased as a result of the island's large population.¹⁰ In 1905 the population density in Lampung was 5 people/kilometer (area 35,376.50 KM) so Lampung got the nickname "*the empty land*."¹¹ The availability of extensive and fertile agricultural land is a factor that attracts people to migrate.¹² As an

⁵ Aan Budianto, "Ketegangan Sosial di Lampung Akibat Program Transmigrasi di Era 1950an," *Candi* 20, no. 1 (2020): 18–31, <https://jurnal.uns.ac.id/candi/article/view/41327>.

⁶ Sukanto Sukanto, *Masalah Penyediaan Lokasi Tranmigrasi dalam Rangka Pembangunan Daerah di Lampung* (Jakarta: FE UI - BAPPENAS, 1973).

⁷ BPS Provinsi Lampung, "Hasil Sensus Penduduk 2020," 2021, <https://lampung.bps.go.id/pressrelease/2021/01/21/943/hasil-sensus-penduduk-2020.html>.

⁸ Suyanto Suyanto, "Dominasi Pemakaian Bahasa Jawa di Provinsi Lampung Berdasar Data Sensus Penduduk 2010: Ancangan Demografilinguistik," in *Prosiding Seminar Internasional PIBSI XXXIX*, 2017, 366–76, http://eprints.undip.ac.id/60001/1/62_Suyanto_DOMINASI_BAHASA_JAWA_DI_LAMPUNG.pdf.

⁹ Santun R.P. Sitorus, "Transmigration Area Development and Its Community In Indonesia," *Sumatra Journal of Disaster, Geography and Geography Education* 3, no. 1 (2019): 94–106, <https://doi.org/10.24036/sjdgge.v3i1.189>; Bondan Widyatmoko and Rosita Dewi, "Dynamics of Transmigration Policy as Supporting Policy of Palm Oil Plantation Development in Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities* 9, no. 1 (2019): 35–55, <https://doi.org/10.14203/jissh.v9i1.139>.

¹⁰ Andrea Emma Pravitasari et al., "Spatiotemporal Distribution Patterns and Local Driving Factors of Regional Development in Java," *ISPRS International Journal of Geo-Information* 10, no. 12 (2021): 812, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijgi10120812>.

¹¹ Budianto, "Ketegangan Sosial di Lampung Akibat Program Transmigrasi di Era 1950an."

¹² Yanyan Liu and Futoshi Yamauchi, "Population Density, Migration, and the Returns to Human Capital and Land: Insights from Indonesia," *Food Policy* 48 (2014): 182–93, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodpol.2014.05.003>; Colin P. Kelley et al., "Climate Change in the Fertile Crescent and Implications of the Recent Syrian Drought," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112, no. 11 (2015): 3241–46, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1421533112>.

agricultural country, the land is the primary factor in increasing the income and welfare of farmers.¹³ However, not all people who have engaged in transmigration have had a prosperous life.¹⁴ Some transmigrants believe that the transmigration program offers opportunities for a more prosperous life because housing and land facilities are supplied. Unfortunately, a large number of transmigrants are unaware of the geographical and social conditions of their destination, therefore the likelihood of failure at the transmigration areas is very significant.¹⁵

The expectation of a prosperous life in those purposed transmigration areas motivates farmers to maximize resource utilization.¹⁶ People in transmigration areas typically have restricted access to roads, water, electricity, and other necessities.¹⁷ This condition encourages women to participate in farming activities in order to increase farm productivity and household income.¹⁸ Women's involvement in farming (productive work) has become a social norm and is institutionalized. Women's participation in agriculture is a need, not an option. As far as farming (productive labor) is concerned, women have the same responsibilities as males, despite the fact that domestic work (home

¹³ Joko Mariyono, "Stepping up from Subsistence to Commercial Intensive Farming to Enhance Welfare of Farmer Households in Indonesia," *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies* 6, no. 2 (2019): 246–65, <https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.276>; Eva-Marie Meemken and Marc F. Bellemare, "Smallholder Farmers and Contract Farming in Developing Countries," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 117, no. 1 (2020): 259–64, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1909501116>.

¹⁴ Deki Wibowo et al., "Conflict Resolution of Javanese Transmigrants and Indigenous Peoples in Melawi Regency, West Kalimantan," *International Journal of Research and Review* 7, no. 5 (2020): 293–301.

¹⁵ Sri Palupi et al., *Privatisasi Transmigrasi dan Kemitraan Plasma Menopang Industri Sawit: Resiko Hak Asasi Manusia dalam Kebijakan Transmigrasi dan Kemitraan Plasma di Sektor Industri Perkebunan Sawit*, ed. Sri Palupi (Jakarta: The Institute for Ecosoc Rights & Norwegian Center for Human Rights (NCHR), 2017).

¹⁶ Elok Mulyoutami, Betha Lusiana, and Meine van Noordwijk, "Gendered Migration and Agroforestry in Indonesia: Livelihoods, Labor, Know-How, Networks," *Land* 9, no. 12 (2020): 529, <https://doi.org/10.3390/land9120529>.

¹⁷ Mas Wedar Haryagung Adji et al., "Transmigration as a Strategy for Strengthening National Food Security," *The Journal of Indonesia Sustainable Development Planning* 2, no. 1 (2021): 86–107, <https://doi.org/10.46456/jisdep.v2i1.110>.

¹⁸ Firafis Haile, "Factors Affecting Women Farmers' Participation in Agricultural Extension Services for Improving the Production in Rural District of Dendi West Shoa Zone, Ethiopia," *Journal of Culture, Society and Development* 16 (2021): 30–41; Fatimatul Muzakiyah and Hartoyo Hartoyo, "Woman Economic Contribution, Livelihood Strategies, and Family Well-Being of Farmer Families in Cimanuk Watershed," *Journal of Family Sciences* 2, no. 1 (2017): 42–58, <https://doi.org/10.29244/jfs.2.1.42-58>.

work) is primarily the duty of women. Women who do not labor in the garden are viewed by the community as "lazy women" who do not respect their husbands and earn a negative evaluation.¹⁹ In agricultural villages in the transmigration areas, social pressures generate inequality and a weak position for women.

There is very little research on gender roles in transmigration communities that addresses the division of labor in the domestic, productive, and social sectors. Only two gender-related research were conducted in the transmigration areas. First, study into the factors of gender equality in South Sulawesi²⁰ and empowerment of the gender-based poor in Sumenep Regency, East Java.²¹ This study will examine the dual role of women in the transmigration areas with a case study approach. Therefore, the results of the study can accurately and precisely represent gender relations in the transmigration sector. It is anticipated that the outcomes of this study would provide fresh information on the vital role of women in agricultural communities in transmigration areas in promoting the welfare of farmer households.

In the area of study, women have two and three roles, including those of household (domestic work), farmers (productive work), and social roles. On the productive side, women have the same responsibilities as males, while men have restricted roles in domestic duties. Women who work not equal to men on productive work become an "unusual" phenomenon in society, setting a bad precedent for these women. A result of social pressure, women have a high burden. This study seeks to understand the connection between migratory patterns and societal pressures on women, different roles of women in society, and social prejudices regarding women's roles and places in agricultural communities in transmigration areas.

¹⁹ Lukitaningsih Lukitaningsih and Soegijanto Padmo, "Buruh Perempuan di Pekebunan Karet Sumatera Timur 1900-1940" (Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, 2003).

²⁰ Jasruddin Jasruddin and Hidayah Quraisy, "Kesetaraan Gender Masyarakat Transmigrasi Etnis Jawa," *Equilibrium: Jurnal Pendidikan* 3, no. 1 (2017): 87-95, <https://doi.org/10.26618/equilibrium.v3i1.516>.

²¹ Dedy Arfiyanto, "Analisis Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Miskin dalam Meningkatkan Kesejahteraan melalui Program Transmigrasi Umum," *Performance: Jurnal Bisnis & Akuntansi* 2, no. 1 (2012): 76-82.

B. Methods

Location and Time of Research

The research was conducted in the Indonesian province of Lampung. The investigation took place specifically in Enggal Rejo Village, Adiluwih District, the agricultural hub of Pringsewu Regency. Due to the fact that it is one of the oldest transmigration areas in Indonesia, the location of the research was chosen with great care. The people of Enggal Rejo Village are predominantly Javanese and speak Javanese in everyday life. The research employed qualitative approaches. Five months of data collection occurred between November 2021 and April 2022. To comprehend the interactions and roles of women in the household, work, and social sectors, researchers lived and engaged with the local community at the research site.

Data Collection and Sampling

The research method employed a case study approach with a variety of data gathering techniques, including observation, historical tracing, key informant interviews, and household surveys.²² The aim of the household survey was to determine the domestic, productive, and social roles of women. The sample consists of forty married women. The sampling of households using the approach of incidental sampling.²³ Because it was difficult to find respondents who worked in the garden or fields from morning to night, the approach of incidental sampling was adopted. Key informants involved 12 people consisting of village heads, community leaders, heads of women farmer groups, and other parties who were considered to have the ability to explain the role of women by determining significant informants through the snowball sampling method.²⁴ The researcher plays himself as the main instrument (key

²² Zainal Zainal, "Case Study as a Research Method," *Jurnal Kemanusiaan* 5, no. 1 (2007): 1–6; Yasir Rashid et al., "Case Study Method: A Step-by-Step Guide for Business Researchers," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 18 (2019): 1609406919862424, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919862424>.

²³ Ilker Etikan, Sulaiman Abubakar Musa, and Rukayya Sunusi Alkassim, "Comparison of Convenience Sampling and Purposive Sampling," *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics* 5, no. 1 (2016): 1–4, <https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ajtas.20160501.11>.

²⁴ Lawrence A. Palinkas et al., "Purposeful Sampling for Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis in Mixed Method Implementation Research," *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research* 42, no. 5 (2015): 533–44, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10488-013-0528-y>; Julian Kirchherr and Katrina Charles, "Enhancing the Sample Diversity of Snowball Samples: Recommendations

instrument) who goes directly to the field to collect in-depth data. This is in accordance with the opinion which states that "Qualitative research has the natural setting as the source of data and researcher is key instrument".²⁵

Research Design and Data Analysis

This research employed a qualitative approach. Qualitative research is defined as a research method in which conclusions are not derived from statistical procedures or other forms of calculation.²⁶ Qualitative research use observational techniques, in-depth interviews, and document collecting to collect data in the form of the words and actions of individuals or groups.²⁷ The objective of qualitative research is to produce a systematic, factual, and accurate description, picture, or painting of the facts, characteristics, and relationships of observed occurrences.²⁸ Qualitative analysis is employed in data analysis. Analysis of qualitative research is the process of assembling data (by classifying it into topics or categories) in order to understand or interpret it.²⁹ In qualitative research, data analysis was conducted before to entering the field, during research, and after conclusion of the field research.³⁰ In a cyclical process, data collection and analysis are performed simultaneously³¹ and uses

from a Research Project on Anti-Dam Movements in Southeast Asia," ed. Timothy C. Guetterman, *PLOS ONE* 13, no. 8 (2018): e0201710, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0201710>.

²⁵ Mengxuan Xu and Gail Storr, "Learning the Concept of Researcher as Instrument in Qualitative Research," *The Qualitative Report* 17, no. 1 (2012): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2012.1768>.

²⁶ Julia Corbin and Anselm Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 3rd ed. (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Inc., 2008).

²⁷ Afrizal Afrizal, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Sebuah Upaya Mendukung Penggunaan Penelitian Kualitatif dalam Berbagai Disiplin Ilmu* (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 2015).

²⁸ Dedi Royadi, Nancy Susiana, and Fina Andhara Khumaida, "Effectiveness Management of Qualitative Research in Writing Scientific Papers," *Aptisi Transactions on Management (ATM)* 3, no. 1 (2019): 84–90, <https://doi.org/10.33050/atm.v3i1.848>.

²⁹ Kirsty Williamson, Lisa Given, and Paul Scifleet, "Qualitative Data Analysis," in *Information, Systems, and Contexts*, ed. Kirsty Williamson and Graeme Johanson (Pahran: Tilde University Press, 2013), 417–39.

³⁰ Jane Sutton and Zubin Austin, "Qualitative Research: Data Collection, Analysis, and Management," *The Canadian Journal of Hospital Pharmacy* 68, no. 3 (2015): 226–31, <https://doi.org/10.4212/cjhp.v68i3.1456>; Mariette Bengtsson, "How to Plan and Perform a Qualitative Study Using Content Analysis," *NursingPlus Open* 2 (2016): 8–14, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.npls.2016.01.001>.

³¹ J. W. Creswell and J. D. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 5th ed. (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2018).

interactive model data analysis through three activity, namely: 1) data reduction, 2) data display, and 3) drawing conclusions/verification.³²

C. Results and Discussion

Overview of Research Sites

Since the 1960s, the people of Enggal Rejo Village have participated in self-help transmigration initiatives (Transmigrasi Swakarya Mandiri/TSM). In 2020, there will be 1,403 people in Enggal rejo Village, with 732 males and 663 females. The village of Enggal rejo in Lampung Province is one of the areas in Indonesia where transmigration occurs. The people of Enggal Rejo Village come from Javanese ethnic groups in the provinces of Central Java and East Java and speak Javanese daily. Residents older than 50 comprehend Indonesian but lack proficiency in the language. People exclusively participate in informal and educational activities in Indonesia. Javanese is frequently used for school communication in the Elementary School (SD), Junior High School (SMP), and Senior High School (SMA) levels. The majority of residents under 60 years old were born in the site of the study, although the community still practices Javanese culture.

Farmers provide a living for the people of the Research Location. The majority of the population is comprised of farmers. Not just males but also women (the wives) carry out the duties of a farmer. Women who are married are required to work in gardens/fields/rice fields. Corn, chilies, cassava, coconut, rubber, rice, and horticultural crops are the mainstay of the commodities market. The majority of farmers choose seasonal crops since they are easier to harvest and can be grown in a smaller area. The types of seasonal goods have an effect on the labor-intensive nature of farming. This places significant pressure on women to work like males do.

Patterns and Motives of Transmigration and Pressure Against Women

The implementation of Transmigration in Indonesia began during the colonial period (Dutch colonialism) in 1905, when 155 Heads of Families from Kedu, Central Java, were relocated to Gedong Tataan, Lampung Province. On December 12, 1950, the Indonesian government formally resumed the Dutch

³² Matthew B Miles, A Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldana, *Qualitative Data Analysis* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publication, Inc, 2014).

colonization program that the Dutch colonial government had launched under the more nationalistic name of transmigration.³³

The Transmigration Program in Pringsewu Regency was initiated in 1936 as an irrigation project under the Dutch rule. About 10,000 Javanese families are relocated to fertile, irrigated rice fields. The effectiveness of transmigration has inspired several individuals to engage in self-help transmigration. This sort of transmigration is conducted at their own expense, but with government-provided assistance and facilities.³⁴ Self-help transmigration is in great demand by the public due to two factors, namely, pull factors and push factors. The pull factor for transmigration is that people perceive life expectancy to be higher in transmigration locales due to the availability of huge acreage and low population density, allowing for abundant farming options. The high population on the island of Java, which results in limited land and difficulty finding non-agricultural employment, is the primary driver of transmigration.

The self-help transmigration accrues extremely significant expenditures because the community must pay its own fees. This motivates the community to collect fees with greater diligence. People transmigrate mostly for economic reasons, therefore the societal pressure to obtain a better life in the area of transmigration is intense. The enormous social pressure of transmigration and the impoverished background of the community motivate farmers to work diligently and maximize their resources. Ultimately, this pressure is the belief that all family members (including women) are required to work as hard as males. This viewpoint has become profoundly ingrained and institutionalized in people's lives. Women who are married should shoulder the same workload as males. In addition to productive work, women are accountable for domestic work (taking care of the house and family).

Multiple Roles of Women in Rural Communities in Transmigration Areas

The study results provide exciting findings related to the role of women in agricultural communities, especially in transmigration areas. Women in Enggal Rejo Village have three roles, namely the role of housewives (domestic), breadwinners (productive), and roles in society (social). Men have dual roles as

³³ Kemenakertrans, *Transmigrasi Masa Dulu, Kini dan Harapan Kedepan*.

³⁴ Wika Hardika Legiani, Ria Yunita Lestari, and Haryono Haryono, "Transmigrasi dan Pembangunan di Indonesia (Studi Deskriptif Sosiologi Kependudukan dan Pembangunan)," *Hermeneutika: Jurnal Hermeneutika* 4, no. 1 (2018): 25–38, <https://doi.org/10.30870/hermeneutika.v4i1.4820>.

breadwinners (productive) and social (social). In social activities, the involvement/role of women is still limited. Social activities related to self-development and self-actualization are only followed by men. For example, only men participated in development meetings at the village level, joined farmer groups, and participated in agricultural extension activities. In village development, women's involvement is minimal due to the assumption that women cannot lead and give opinions in meeting forums. An overview of multiple roles in Enggal Rejo Village is shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Division of Tasks by Gender in Transmigration Areas

No	Role (Sector)	Men	Women
1	Domestics	Very Limited	Yes
2	Productive	Yes	Yes
3	Social	Yes	Limited

Sources: Primary Data (2022)

Based on Table 2, it is found that women have a role in three fields (triple role) and are heavier than men. Domestically, women participate almost exclusively in all activities. Then, in terms of the productive aspect (livelihood), women's duties are comparable to men's (husbands). From a sociocultural perspective, women continue to have a subordinate position to men. The chance for women to acquire equal rights in social and social circles clashes with the belief that women are not deserving of participation in the development process due to their inferior capacity.

Stereotypes and Social Pressures on the Role and Position of Women

The plethora of responsibilities that women carry raises the question of how this state can exist and how women can accept this obligation. Since the phenomenon of women's enormous responsibilities has existed for more than 50 years, it is seen as a social norm (stereotype). The development of stereotypes deprives women of the potential to be autonomous, and women are doomed because they were born "as women." Women of Enggal Rejo Village must understand that the heaviness of life is their fate and must be endured without complaint or protest. Five misconceptions are prevalent and harmful to women in the area of study. This stereotype places societal pressure on women to conform to the prevalent "style of life" in society. If women do not

adhere to the tradition, society will subject them to "scorn/gossip" or other "social punishments."

Table 2
Domestic, Productive and Social Work Division in Agricultural
Communities in Transmigration Areas

No	Division of Work/Activities	Information
A	Domestic Work	
	1. Cleaning the house	Women
	2. Parenting	Women
	3. Cooking	Women
	4. Washing clothes	Women
	5. Washing dishes and household furniture	Women
	6. Accompanying children to learn	Women dominated
	7. Pick up and drop off school children	Equal
	8. Shopping for cooking and household needs	Women dominated
B	Productive Work (Case on Corn and Red Chili Farming)	
B1	Corn (<i>Zea mays</i>)	
	1. Land preparation	Equal
	2. Fertilization	Equal
	3. Pest and weed control (Pesticide and herbicide spraying)	Equal
	4. Harvest	Equal
	5. Harvest transportation	Men Dominated
	6. Corn drying	Equal
B2	Red Chili (<i>Capsicum annuum</i>)	
	1. Seedling and maintenance of chili seeds	Equal
	2. Land preparation	Equal
	3. Early fertilization (organic fertilizer)	Equal
	4. Mulch installation	Equal
	5. Planting seeds (transplanting)	Equal
	6. Regular fertilization (weekly)	Equal
	7. Pesticide spraying (weekly)	Equal
	8. Herbicide Spray (weekly)	Equal
	9. Harvest (every 3-4 days)	Equal
	10. Harvest transportation	Men Dominated
C	Social Work Division	
	1. ROSCA (Rotating savings and credit association)	Women
	2. Join in farmer group	Men
	3. Involved in agricultural extension	Men
	4. <i>Hajatan</i> (Help neighbors celebration)	Women dominated
	5. Regular religious studies	Equal
	6. Involved in Village Meeting	Men Dominated

Sources: Primary Data (2022)

Stereotype 1: Taking care of the house is a woman's responsibility

This stereotype means that all household matters are the responsibility of women. Men should not be involved too much in taking care of the house. In some cases, men take care of the house (e.g., sweeping, washing, and so on.), and women will get reprimands from in-laws, family, and neighbors because women are considered unable to take care of the household properly. In the customs and views of society, the primary obligation of men is to earn a living, not do household chores.

Stereotype 2: Taking care of children is the responsibility of women; husbands only help

Taking care of children (especially babies) is not an easy job. Husband and wife should work together to take care of children. Unfortunately, this was not the case at the study site. Taking care of children (including bathing children, playing with children, feeding, and others) is dominated by women. Men generally help to take care of children in the morning before work. The man looks after the children because the wife prepares breakfast for the family and finishes the housework.

Stereotype 3: Women are obliged to do productive work like men

There is an assumption that women should be fully involved in productive work (livelihood) in society. The better women do men's work, the higher society's praise. On the other hand, women who are not involved in productive work are called "*lumoh*" women (Lazy: in the Javanese language).

Stereotype 4: Women should not "go beyond" the role of men in society

Women have limited access to be involved in social activities. For example, men (husbands) are prioritized to participate in agricultural extension activities in agricultural extension activities. Likewise, men are invited to attend the meeting in village meetings (*Musrenbag*: Village Development Planning Deliberations). In the household, women (wives) cannot make decisions independently. They have to ask for answers/decisions from their husbands. A wife who is more prominent than her husband in social and community activities is considered a wife who "disrespects" her husband.

Stereotype 5: Women's destiny is to live in the kitchen, bed, and well, so women do not need a high school

There is a proverb that has developed in the community, namely "*Wong Wedok Iku Tugase Nang Dapur, Sumur karo Kasur. Ora Perlu Duwur-Duwur, engko juga Tugase Ngulek Bumbu*" (Javanese Proverb) which means "Women must work in the kitchen, wells and beds or mattresses," so there is no need for high school because, in the end, they only live to serve their husbands and families." This proverb develops and is taught from one generation to the next. This proverb indirectly affects women's subconscious, so they do not need to go to school and dream as high as possible because women's destiny is only as housewives. This proverb is passed down from generation to generation by mothers to their daughters. Gradually, girls do not dare to dream of getting a higher education and achieving their desired goals.

Many social pressures and stereotypes do not favor women, causing them to be powerless in making life choices. Since childhood, girls have been given the doctrine that the essence of a woman is to be a wife, take care of the house, take care of her husband and children, and help with her husband's work. Because women's nature is to be housewives, women do not need to achieve dreams and ideals. Being a woman with high education and a career can cause the household and husband to be neglected. The stereotypes that exist in the research location are very detrimental to women, which makes it difficult for women to obtain equality compared to men.

Discussion: The Life of Women in Transmigration Areas: A "Blessing" or "Curse"?

Institutionally, gender inequality occurs due to traditions or habits that have been repeated for several generations. From the point of view of researchers or outsiders, injustice against women in Enggal Rejo Village might be called extraordinary. However, when viewed from the local community's point of view, this phenomenon is normal. Culture and customs formed over more than half a century have caused women to accept this injustice sincerely. Researchers can guarantee that women in Enggal Rejo Village live happily and full of enthusiasm. Compared to the beginning of the transmigration program (in the 1950s), women in Enggal Rejo Village currently have much better gender equality. Many women have worked as teachers and entrepreneurs, and women have equal rights when obtaining an education. However, at the university level, men are often still given priority over women.

The life of the people in Enggal Rejo Village is not easy because they depend on farming, and the selling price of agricultural products is often low. The high population causes agricultural land to become increasingly narrow and livelihoods increasingly difficult to obtain. Generally, the people in the research locations only rely on one type of work (as farmers) and are reluctant to look for other jobs. This is due to the lack of opportunities and limited capital for entrepreneurship. When agricultural production declines, it is difficult for men to find additional income. This makes it difficult for women to manage their limited amount of money. Farmers have to wait three to six months for the harvest. The strategy taken by women due to low income is to use vegetables from the garden or yard and replace staple foods, from rice to cassava. This effort is made to meet household needs until the next harvest. Generally, men are not involved in household food management.

The weight of women's responsibilities raises the question, "Do women have no other choice, for example, divorce or work?" Unfortunately, the answer is "no." The divorce rate in the study area is very low or even zero. Economic factors cause no divorces; divorces occur because of infidelity. In the last 60 years, there have been almost no divorce cases due to economic reasons. "Divorce" is a taboo subject in society. No matter how heavy the problem is in a household, divorce is not a solution. In the study, researchers found several cases of violence committed by husbands against wives, and these did not cause divorce because divorce was "unusual" for society. Couples who divorce for economic reasons will get a negative stigma from society.

Another factor that drives inequality and the weak position of women is due to the post-marriage culture of patrilocality. After marriage, women will live close to the husband's family, which causes women to have limitations in obtaining equality. Patrilocality after the marriage has been proven to cause inequality in women's rights in various developing countries (Jayachandran, 2015; Mutolib, Yonariza, Mahdi, 2016).³⁵ Locality culture is supported by local marriage patterns in which generally men and women come from one village or neighboring villages. It is very rare for marriages between men and women

³⁵ Seema Jayachandran, "The Roots of Gender Inequality in Developing Countries," *Annual Review of Economics* 7, no. 1 (2015): 63–88, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-080614-115404>; Abdul Mutolib et al., "Gender Inequality and the Oppression of Women within Minangkabau Matrilineal Society," *Asian Women* 32, no. 3 (2016): 23–49, <https://doi.org/10.14431/aw.2016.09.32.3.23>.

from different districts or provinces. This marriage pattern encourages a stronger post-marriage locality culture.

The gender inequality that occurs in Enggal Rejo, one of the transmigration areas, illustrates how difficult women's lives in rural areas are. The culture and customs of society have limited equality and justice for women. The complexity of the problem of women's injustice in agricultural communities in transmigration areas is a warning to policymakers about the need to realize gender equality, especially in rural areas. Often, cases of gender equality in rural areas do not get serious attention, and this is due to the passive character of rural women, who receive unfair treatment compared to women in urban areas, who are generally more reactive. Other factors that cause low gender equality are low levels of education and limited opportunities for women's self-development. Therefore, efforts to realize gender equality in rural areas can start with equal distribution of access to education and involving women in counseling and self-development activities, both in formal and informal settings. Women must be given space to develop themselves, learn to express their opinions, and become leaders. This can increase women's self-confidence and reduce gender inequality, especially in rural communities.

D. Conclusion

The pattern of self-help transmigration encourages transmigration people to work hard to pay for transmigration costs and encourages all family members (including women) to work at the same level as men. Women play a variety of roles including housewives (domestic), breadwinners (productive), and social roles. Men play a small involvement in domestic work (household duties). Six of the eight household duties are performed by the wife (female), one is performed by the husband (male), and one is performed jointly. From a productive perspective (a case study of corn and chili farming), the wife (woman) and husband carry out 16 tasks in a balanced manner (male). In contrast, the two jobs are performed concurrently but under the control of the husband (male). Women perform one of the six types of work in social work, whereas men perform two. One task is performed jointly, whereas the other is performed collaboratively but is dominated by women.

Women have a greater burden than men do. In contrast to men, women's status and position are inferior. The public perceptions and preconceptions about women's rights and obligations encourage injustice and inequality

between the rights and obligations of women and men. Five stereotypes apply and harm women, including: taking care of the house is the the exclusive responsibility of women (Stereotype 1), taking care of children is the sole responsibility of women, husbands only help (Stereotype 2), women are required to do productive work like men (Stereotype 3), women should not "go beyond" the role of men in society (Stereotype 4), and women's destiny is to live in the kitchen, in the well, and in the bed, so they don't need (Stereotype 5).

Limitations and Recommendations

Excitingly, the research findings potentially give a comprehensive account of how women feel unfairness in their lives. The lives of women who reside in farming communities in transmigration areas are fraught with stress. This motivates women to participate fully as breadwinners. In terms of rights, women are unable to achieve the same rights as men. This has been occurring repeatedly and has become a habit. The low level of education and restricted access to formal and non-formal training have weakened the status of women. Inequality and injustice against women are worsened by the local culture in which women accompany their husbands or reside with their husbands' families after marriage, so limiting their ability to achieve gender equality in the household and in society. However, the findings of this study are limited to cases that happened in research locations and cannot be utilized to generalize the status of women in other Indonesian transmigration areas. The outcomes of this study indicate that various stakeholders must make passive and ongoing efforts to achieve gender equality, particularly in agricultural communities in transmigration areas.[s]

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