

INDEPENDENT WOMEN FARMERS: BETWEEN MINORITIES AND THE POWER OF WOMEN BY FARMER WOMEN GROUP

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between men and women is dominated by men. Likewise in village communities, in all spaces women are *second class*. This paper describes the group's activities to fight against the concept that has been perpetuated so far as a real form of feminist ideology. This activity was carried out by the Karya Tani Women Farmers Group (KWT) located in Pengalusan Village, Mrebet District, Purbalingga Regency, Central Java. In about one month with this group, you can find out the activities up to the achievements that have been achieved. So the study approach uses qualitative (ethnography) because it is more to do a more comprehensive in-depth study. KWT Karya Tani's agricultural products are several types of organic vegetables. Some of them are processed into chilli chives, gethuk (cassava) and peuyeum. From the results of group production and management, KWT won 1st place at the national level from the Ministry of Agriculture, which previously won 1st place in Purbalingga Regency in a competition regarding yards. As subordinated subjects, women in this group can create solid integration. In addition, the environment at the KWT location is a Christian group where most of the village community is Muslim. There is a stigma that tends to provide social boundaries based on trust. This further strengthens solidarity and social integration. Finally, at this point KWT Karya Tani has carried out resistance as well as efforts to undermine patriarchal and majority power.

Keywords : *Women, Women Farmers Groups, Minority.*

ABSTRAK

Hubungan antara laki-laki dan perempuan didominasi oleh laki-laki. Begitu juga di masyarakat desa, di semua ruang perempuan adalah kelas dua. Tulisan ini memaparkan aktivitas kelompok untuk melawan konsep yang selama ini dilanggengkan sebagai bentuk nyata dari ideologi feminis. Kegiatan ini dilakukan oleh Kelompok Wanita Tani (KWT) Karya Tani yang berlokasi di Desa Pengalusan, Kecamatan Mrebet, Kabupaten Purbalingga, Jawa Tengah. Dalam waktu sekitar satu bulan bersama grup ini, Anda bisa mengetahui kegiatan hingga pencapaian yang telah dicapai. Jadi pendekatan penelitian menggunakan kualitatif (etnografi) karena lebih melakukan kajian mendalam yang lebih komprehensif. Produk pertanian KWT Karya Tani adalah beberapa jenis sayuran organik. Ada yang diolah menjadi kucai, gethuk (singkong) dan peuyeum. Dari hasil produksi dan pengelolaan kelompok, KWT meraih juara 1 tingkat nasional dari Kementerian Pertanian yang sebelumnya meraih juara 1 se-Kabupaten Purbalingga dalam lomba tentang pekarangan. Sebagai subjek yang tersubordinasi, perempuan dalam kelompok ini mampu menciptakan integrasi yang kokoh. Selain itu, lingkungan di lokasi KWT adalah kelompok Kristen yang sebagian besar masyarakat desanya beragama Islam. Adanya stigma yang cenderung memberikan batasan sosial berdasarkan kepercayaan. Hal ini semakin memperkuat solidaritas dan integrasi sosial.

Terakhir, pada titik ini KWT Karya Tani telah melakukan perlawanan sekaligus upaya melemahkan kekuasaan patriarki dan mayoritas.

Kata Kunci : Perempuan, Kelompok Wanita Tani, Minoritas.

PRELIMINARY

Feminism emerged as an effort to resist patriarchal power. Moving on from the period of modernity, (feminist-liberal) became widespread. Beginning with the dominance of male groups (patriarchy) in ladder politics. Then the patriarchal system is filled with men who tend to have masculine characteristics in perspective, perspective, paradigm, and logical framework (Husaini & Husni, 2015) . On the other hand, women are labeled as inappropriate to enter the world of politics because of dirty situations, and recognition of elimination as the umpteenth class. At that time women were described as human beings with gentle feelings, easily carried away by emotions/feelings, and therefore it was unethical to enter politics which was full of cunning (Zulaiha, 2016) . Opportunities for women are described as being like waiters/waiters who inhabit bars, cafes, discotheques, and the like (Mahfud et al., 2017) .

After the wave of liberal feminism swayed every country in the world, an understanding emerged that brought a message of lawsuits by radical feminists. They do not hesitate to carry out a coup d'etat against the patriarchal system which has suppressed equal opportunity and brought about justice. Various efforts have been made to support the presence of equality for women on various occasions (Ramadhan & Ma'sumah, 2018) . These efforts start from the right to regulate the female reproductive system such as contraception to delay pregnancy, to the right to enjoy a career in the public space without dependence on the patriarchal system. The opportunity to obtain higher education is equal to that of men, without stereotypes that men are considered easy to go to school while women are stupid and are prohibited from receiving higher education. Meanwhile, men are given the freedom to get jobs according to their wishes, skills, and competencies and women are limited to an illusion (Dhewy, 2017) . At least women will get guarantees of inclusive life compared to the inferiority of men in the range of obtaining the rights to prosper and be independent.

The next period entered radical feminism as a women's movement to control sexual function, reproduction, and self-identity as the most heinous form of oppression (Intan, 2018) . They call radical-libertarian feminists a solution to alleviating oppression by realizing the birth of androgynous individuals who have masculine traits like men and feminine like

women. Androgyny is an equal division of roles between masculine and feminine characters at the same time. Each individual who is born with androgynous traits will effectively merge male control over women because gender will not be associated with specific (gender) traits. Patriarchy will label women as soft, emotional creatures, weak, and easily cry to women before indications of the appearance of androgynous women's groups (Aisyah, 2014) . On the other hand, the androgynous group shows the general characteristics of men inherent in women without dramatically shifting gender. In contrast, radical-cultural feminism views reducing deprivation of individual freedom by forcing the perpetrators of oppression to take action as a perspective that needs to be fought for (Sumiyatiningsih, 2013) . Through the way when society adopts values that are often associated with women (emotions, peace, life). They even let go of values that are often labeled as males, such as domination of space, war, conflict, hierarchies, and others.

Questioning the study of feminism then enters the third wave, namely global feminism. This movement is based on the importance of a sense of seeing women being oppressed by the related system. The tendency to focus on colonialism, socio-political, economic, health, and cultural issues has local and national reach (Fraser, 2017) . Then came the ecofeminism movement, which is a movement that has the ambition to create and preserve nature and the environment. The basis of this movement begins with the private space capital owned by women with feminist characteristics considered to play a more strategic role than men (Gaard, 2015) . There is a relationship in the production context that is pinned on women so that it rejects the notion that humans are weak. Continuing with postmodernist feminism which has an emphasis on the study of texts as a basis for thinking. Constructions built on reality are in the form of text, spoken, written, or pictures/paintings to undermine the "language" of men. They are supported by interpretations of pluralist rather than subjective character and the thoughts that are promoted reject fanaticism and traditionalism (McRobbie, 2004) .

Then, the ideology of feminism is considered not to have answered all the problems regarding women in the global era. Along with postmodernism in the 1990s, many critical, tough, and sexy women appeared in public. They are still victims of power and want that power. For example, a woman who regularly exercises to show her style can finally assert that she is more empowered in public (Brook, 2009) . Postfeminism illustrates that an independent woman begins in the mind. This means that all of its activities do not depend on patriarchal discourse and power.

In reality, women are still under the power and strict control of men. This also occurs in rural areas. Women who do not gain power do not recognize urban or rural spaces. The village as the coefficient area of the regency in terms of the government system has strong power to marginalize women in many aspects. Women who are always dominated by patriarchy also occur in village development. Indonesia through the issuance of the presidential instruction (Inpres) of the Republic of Indonesia No. 9 of 2000 which was strengthened by Law no. 17 of 2017 concerning the 2005-2025 National Long-Term Development Plan. One of the goals in the sustainable development goals is to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.

The process of marginalizing women in development, one of which occurs in agriculture. Indonesia as an agricultural country has a wealthy population, most of whom work as farmers or grow crops. This is part of the potential if there is a commitment to sustainable development or even leads to a weakening of women. Farming activities mostly occur in rural areas. Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) for 2018, the number of farmers in Indonesia is 35.70 million farmers engaged in all agricultural sectors. Even though compared to 2019 it experienced a significant decrease in numbers, the remaining number of farmers that year reached 34.58 million farmers. Coherently in 2020, the number of farmers experienced an alarming decline of 33.4 million farmers.

Throughout its history, farmers have had a place and are grouped into several organizations, including political phenomena during the old order which made farmers the fifth generation. After the reform, the institutions that housed farmers in Indonesia were initiated by the central to regional governments. Some of them are GAPOKTAN (Farmers Group Association), KTH (Forest Farmers Group), and KWT (Women Farmers Group). Even the presence of this group changed the social structure (skipper-labor) in society.

According to the Decree of the Minister of Agriculture of the Republic of Indonesia Number: 273/Kpts/OT.160/4/2007 explains the meaning of the Association of Farmers Groups is a collection of several farmer groups who are united and work together to develop the efficiency of agricultural business and increase the higher economic scale. Gapoktan is known as a group unit whose members are professional farmers who have a shared vision and mission (Ningsih, 2013) . Meanwhile, the Forest Farmers Group (KTH) is a group of individual farmers and their families who have the right to manage forestry businesses inside and outside forest areas. Judging from the gender of participation, it consists of men and women who are farmers who are willing to manage the forest according to the distribution

of rights and obligations from the government (Rimbawati et al., 2018) . Therefore, the Forest Farmers Group was formed to increase the capacity of forest farmer groups in managing institutions, areas, and businesses.

Apart from Gapoktan and KTH, the Women Farmers Group (KWT) also has an important role in the dynamics of Indonesian agriculture. KWT as a forum for handling agricultural problems specifically for women requires support from many parties such as the government which has regulatory authority, good uniformity of farming knowledge for proper information in land management, increasing farmer participation to foster individual solidarity, and even application of farming knowledge and knowledge that has been obtained in activities every day according to work (Fatmawati, 2018) . The essential foundation of women is not only as housewives who play a multifunctional role in the domestic sphere (Read: Wells, Kitchens, and Mattresses in Javanese). However, women also play a role in making a real contribution to the family's financial income apart from men's work. The existence of this group will slowly shift the women's paradigm to find esoteric gaps where only women themselves know the position, level, and strength of social relations.

This study discusses agriculture which focuses on the agricultural system by the Women Farmers Group (KWT) Karya Tani in Pengalusan Village, Mrebet District, Purbalingga Regency. The geographical condition of Pengalusan Village, which is located in the highlands, makes the soil tend to have a high level of fertility. Most of the people in this village work as field farmers. Most of these types of agriculture are tappers, namely producing brown sugar.

This general condition has been going on for a long time. The reality of field farmers runs with all its dynamics. There is one thing that is unique when you see Pengalusan Village. One point with the highest location shows a slightly different description of the community. The location is in the Klawu Katel Hamlet. With the majority of the people being tappers, the people here are mostly vegetable farmers. This condition is supported by its location at an altitude. In addition, other differences also occur. If the majority of the village community is Muslim, this will not happen here. Christianity is a religion embraced by the people of Dukuh Katel Klawu.

Two minority spaces appear in the Dukuh Katel Klawu group. This makes social bonds between individuals stronger. The proof is that the women of the Klawu Katel can form a Women Farmer Group (KWT). KWT is the only women's farming group in Pengalusan Village. The Women Farmers Group is a forum that provides opportunities for

women to participate in advancing through the agricultural sector. The KWT is called Karya Tani. KWT Karya Tani has appeared since the beginning of 2020. The types of plants planted are organic plants by utilizing manure from the manure they own. During its development, KWT has provided achievements from the district to the national level. Finally, the achievement was 1st place at the national level in the yard competition from the Ministry of Agriculture in 2020. This achievement has raised the name of the village as well as its people on the national stage.

However, a problem arose when the people of Pengalusan Village thought that the Katel Klawu people were a "different" group, separate and marginalized. This starts from the difference in religion that is adhered to. The responses and actions of the village community from the relationships that have been built are as if they are not one unit and it is difficult to become one part. With the basis of religion as if social relations cannot be created to achieve order. In addition, KWT as a forum for women farmers is a subject that has been marginalized so far. The condition of KWT Karya Tani, which is a marginalized subject, is increasing, when its position is in a religiously marginalized area. However, this did not become an obstacle for them by proving several achievements. With the activities and achievements achieved, this KWT provides evidence of satire against men as an illustration of equality. Women who are in minority areas struggle to achieve gender equality. The relations that are created try to return women to an equal position with men. So this research will prove, behind the minority (religion) and its marginalization (women), KWT Karya Tani can create a space of power in undermining the hegemony of majority discourse and patriarchal power.

METHOD

This research is research conducted directly with the community. Researchers will use a qualitative research methodology. However, these basic concepts are not sufficient to carry out research with a deeper and more comprehensive complexity, namely the ethnographic method. According to Malinowski, the purpose of ethnography is to understand the perspectives of indigenous people in research locations, and their life relationship, and to get their views on the world (Spradley, 2007). So this study uses a qualitative approach with the main method of ethnography. So in displaying data it does not always use standard and formal sentences.

In this study, interviews were conducted with informants from the village government and local elites of Pengalusan Village. In addition, village women will be the main informants. In making observations, researchers try to find and find initial symptoms to further deepen and sharpen the problem under study. In-depth interviews were conducted with several informants. As well as the stages of data analysis through three procedures, namely first, data reduction, including summarizing data and coding. Researchers record and classify factually and objectively as reflective. Second, the presentation of data is in this phase the researcher is especially concerned with presenting or presenting the data collected and analyzed previously because qualitative researchers write a lot of narrative texts. Third, concluding, that the evidence is strong, in the sense that it is following the conditions observed when the researcher returns to the field, the conclusions drawn are reasonable (Creswell, 2014) .

PENGALUSAN VILLAGE: A DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION AND POTENTIAL

KWT Karya Tani is located in Pengalusan Village, Mrebet District, Purbalingga Regency. Understanding the demographic and socio-cultural picture of the village is an effective entry point for a deeper understanding of KWT. According to data from the Mrebet District, the travel time if using a motorized vehicle from downtown Purbalingga is around 30 minutes. If heading to Mount Slamet, this village is about 45 km away. Pengalusan Village has a height of 308 meters above sea level. The area of Pengalusan Village is divided into 5 hamlets, 3 RW and 21 RT. The five hamlets include Brengkol, Biting, Goa Lawa, Kecomberan, and Kracak hamlets. The explanation and village boundaries can be seen from the simple map of Pengalusan Village as follows.

Figure 1. Map of Pengalusan Village Area



Source: Pengalusan Village Hall, 2020

According to the Central Bureau of Statistics in 2017, Pengalusan Village has an area of 390.5 Ha. Of this amount, 37.18 Ha is paddy land and 353.17 Ha is dry land (Purbalingga, 2018) . The following is a table of the area of the villages in the Mrebet District.

Pengalusan has the form of a village administration structure, not kelurahan. So the village head is elected through direct election. The village head of Pengalusan has been elected since 2016 through village head elections (local elections) with 6 village head candidates. Meanwhile, the head of affairs and head of the section have served since January 2020. The following is the composition of the village head and Pengalusan Village apparatus.

Village Head	: Bambang Khaerudin
Village Secretary	: Harnanto
Head of Hamlet 1	: Samyono
Head of Hamlet 2	: Wartoyo
Head of Hamlet 3	: Mustioo
Head of Hamlet 4	: Suwitnyo
Head of Hamlet 5	: Wakyo
Head of Services	: Abu Nawas
Ka. Sie Welfare	: Sri Murtiningsih
Head of Government	: Anggun Musgaerta C.
Head of Finance	: Citra Dewi
Kaur. Administration	: Aris Pamuji
Head of Planning	: Arifudin

Of the 13 village governments, the positions of head of affairs and head of section were obtained from the selection results. The selection of village officials was carried out in early 2020. 5 out of 6 Head Affairs of and Head of Sections had a bachelor's level of education (stratum 1), while the remaining 1 person was still pursuing a bachelor's degree. When viewed from gender, there were 3 women in the village apparatus people (23%). The village head and village apparatus usually receive salaries and allowances from the Village Fund Budget (ADD), as well as the right to manage yard land. The crooked land is in the form of land that can be used as agricultural land.

The Pengalusan Village Government in its duties provides services to the Pengalusan Village community. The total population of Pengalusan Village is 6596 people. The following is data on the population of the Pengalusan Village community by gender.

Table 2.
Total Population of Pengalusan Village
Based on Gender in 2019

RW	Woman	Man	Amount
I	1243	1273	2516
II	1298	1331	2629
III	721	730	1451
Total	326	3334	6596

Source: Pengalusan Village Profile 2020

Based on these data it can be seen that the largest population is in RW II. While the smallest population is in RW III. Of the total population of Pengalusan Village, namely 6596 people, the number of women is less, namely 3262 people, and men 3334 people. This number is the same as the female population 49% and the male population 51%.

Rural communities have agricultural characteristics. Likewise Pengalusan Village with a large number of farmers. The following is the livelihood data for the people of Pengalusan Village in 2016.

Table 3.
Livelihoods of Villagers Over 10 Years of Expansion

No	Type of work	Amount
1	Farmer	658
2	Farm workers	1026
3	Industrial Worker	589
4	Construction workers	310
5	Fisherman	0
6	Businessman	68
7	Trader	388
8	Transport	98
9	civil servant	25
10	TNI/POLRI	2
11	Retired	6

12	TKI	5
13	Other	1075
Amount		4250

Source: Pengalusan Village Profile 2020

The condition of the data that is quite old does not only occur in Pengalusan Village, but in several other villages the conditions are not much different. The data shows that the livelihood of farmers is the highest in Pengalusan Village, namely 1684 people out of a total of 4250 people. This number consists of farmers and farm laborers. The second highest number is other than the type of work above, namely 1075 people.

Farmers in Pengalusan Village are divided into land-owning farmers and farm laborers or land cultivators. The land here is mostly used as a garden for coconut trees which are the main ingredient for making brown sugar. The sap water from the coconut is taken to be used as an ingredient for making Javanese sugar. Usually, if a farmer does not have a large area of land, he will use land owned by other people with a lease system.

Javanese sugar-making farmers are commonly referred to as lenders. The system of division of labor is usually men (husbands) as sap seekers and women (wives) as raw material processors into palm sugar. Processed palm sugar is usually sold to collectors for IDR 18,000 per kg. In one day, the average tapper family can produce 10 kg of brown sugar (Wahyuni, 2019).

Palm sugar in Pengalusan Village is a local potential that has existed for a long time. The location of the village which is in the highlands makes the community unable to cultivate agriculture with rice fields such as rice. The alternative has long been that people prefer to plant coconut trees to make palm sugar. The quality of the palm sugar produced is high and can be used as brown sugar (derivatives) of lower quality.

Most of the plantation area is planted with coconut trees. Even when walking around the village, as far as the eye can see only coconut trees meet the eye. However, this did not happen in one of the areas in Katel Klawu Hamlet (Hamlet 5). Its location in one hamlet is somewhat separated from the others. The land in this area is mostly planted with vegetables. It's not a paddy field, because the availability of water is insufficient. Its location which is in the highest (plain) position of Pengalusan Village, makes the people here prefer to cultivate vegetables. In its development, the Women Farmers Group (KWT) emerged to accommodate farmers, especially women farmers.

KWT WORKS OF FARMING: FROM APPEARANCE TO SUCCESS

As a forum for the association of women farmers, KWT aims to increase the solidarity of women farmers. The short story of its establishment began with the activities of the Working Group (Pokja) III for Family Welfare Empowerment (PKK) in Pengalusan Village. Before 2020, Working Group III had activities on family plants, which were centered in a location in RT 05 RW 03 Dukuh Katel Klawu, Dusun Biting. The choice of this place is because most of the people (including women) are vegetable farmers.¹

Continuing these activities, at the end of 2019 the women of Dukuh Katel Klawu through the PKK Group took part in the Yard Land Utilization (PTP) competition held by the Agriculture, Plantation and Forestry Service (Dinpertan) of Purbalingga Regency. The result was that they won 2nd place. The prize given was in the form of an agricultural grant of 50 million rupiah with the condition that it was realized in agricultural activities. To realize this, KWT Karya Tani was established in January 2020. Apart from that, the establishment of KWT Karya Tani was also motivated by the routines of women, most of whom are farmers. Support from agricultural extension workers is also important in the process of establishing KWT Karya Tani.

As a follow-up to the awarding of grants for the achievements obtained, KWT has produced an agreement. The grant was realized in the form of groups, namely for planting on agricultural land, and in individual form by providing 200 vegetable plants with *polybag planting media* in each house. The agricultural land (group) used is land belonging to the head of the KWT which has not been planted recently. What's interesting is that he did not set a rental fee or in other words, the land was voluntarily loaned out to be managed by KWT.

Figure 2 . KWT Karya Tani group land



Source: Research Documentation August 12, 2020

¹After this activity, the Karya Tani Women Farmers Group (KWT) appeared in this place.

The head of KWT Karya Tani who donated his land is Murwati. A good impression was given when we first met. Even though she is 51 years old, her enthusiasm as a female farmer remains high. For him, farming is a profession that has been practiced for a long time. Apart from the land managed by the group, she and her husband also have land planted with chives, chili peppers, spring onions, and tomatoes. She and her husband started their routine activities at 03:00 WIB in the morning. Busyness at that time is caring for and picking crops. Then, from morning to noon, he takes care of the KWT plants with other group members. His dedication to KWT is high enough to create a group that is quite effective. The following is the composition of the management of KWT Karya Tani.

Composition of KWT Karya Tani Management

Chairman	: Murwati
Secretary	: Endah Elector
Treasurer	: Supriani
Demonstration Section	: Praise Asih
Post Harvest Section	: Subekti
Gardening Section	: Christian
Village Nursery Section	: Asih Ambarwati

Several types of vegetables grown by KWT Karya Tani are chives, eggplants, soybeans, green onions, pineapples, and chilies. The fertilizer used is organic (cage) fertilizer produced from livestock manure owned by each member. In the implemented farming system, chemical fertilizers are never used. So the agricultural products obtained are organic vegetables. These organic agricultural products have been processed into products such as tape (peyeum), gethuk, and chili chives. Agricultural products and processed products have not yet received a high enough market. Meanwhile, until now marketing has only been running at the individual level.

The group organic farming model is also carried out in the Mekar Tani Jaya Farmer Group, Cibodas Village, West Bandung Regency. Starting from conventional farming systems that trigger negative impacts that are so sporadic and massive. One effort to overcome this problem is by changing conventional farming systems to organic ones. The model for implementing organic farming systems in this group is based on the Indonesian National Standard (SNI) 6729:2016. Government regulations for organic farmers, guarantee that the products produced are guaranteed organic that have been certified by the Organic Certification Institute (LSO) or by creating trust in consumers using local attributes (Imani et al., 2018) .

KWT was able to improve the image of Pengalusan Village. After winning 2nd place at the district level, KWT and Murwati seemed to have suddenly gone "viral" at the village level. Even the next achievement followed, namely winning 1st place in a yard plant competition from the Ministry of Agriculture towards the end of 2020. Finally, the central government provided a grant of funds which was decided as the start of the establishment of ecotourism in Dukuh Katel Klawu.

Several achievements have added to the popularity of KWT and the hamlet among the village community. This can be seen when we conducted interviews, and positive responses from the community emerged about KWT. However, one thing that has also been in the spotlight of the village community for a long time is that the people of Dukuh Katel Klawu are Christians. This reality is in the spotlight because the majority of the village community is Muslim. So that the rising popularity is also followed by marginal assumptions that have existed for a long time.

The people of Pengalusan Village, who are mostly Muslim, actually have no problem with the people of Dusun Katel Klawu. But starting from religious differences, and making boundaries in social relations. In the most basic terms when visiting or inviting village people to activities, many people don't finish the food and drink they are given, they don't even touch it at all. The initial consideration was not religion, but the people of Dukuh Katel Klawu who kept dogs whereas for Muslims dogs are considered unclean.

This marginalization is not motivated by religion, but keeping dogs has become a habit because they are not Muslim². Another view emerged that eventually followed that building social relations with the people of Dukuh Katel Klawu should be avoided, because of Christianity. This is further strengthened by its geographical location which is separated, namely at the very end and height of the village location.

Apart from the response from the community behind the success story, it was also not in line with the village government's concern. Regarding development allocations originating from village funds, the Klawu Katel has not received more attention. One of them is the road around the church, where the funding for the construction was not from village funds, but from Christian religious foundations.

²We will not enter into the debate whether it is permissible in Islam or not. This article focuses more on socio-cultural issues. This means that a course on this matter is more appropriate if it is discussed in an article with a different focus.

"Ohh, that's not it, bro, the one who (walks) in the church is from the church itself. Not from the village. We also don't know how it used to be. Man, it's been a long walk." (Murwati, Head of KWT Karya Tani, 13 August 2020).

The results of observations and interviews at the Klawu Katel, especially at KWT Karya Tani, concluded that there were different views by the government and the village community when discussing the Klawu Katel. As stated earlier, there is a factor of religious differences that is the cause. Based on information from the village head, in the past, there had never been a village head who agreed to attend a Christmas celebration when invited. Before the village head who took office, elements of the village government represented the village head for the Christmas celebration.

Although the (religious) minority Murwati and KWT can provide something that other residents have not been able to do. Even though the village government has not paid much attention to it, a positive response emerged from the local government with the visit of the Purbalingga Regent to the Klawu Katel on August 29, 2020. This could at least somewhat compel the village to pay further attention to the Klawu Katel Hamlet.

One of the main causes and supporters of KWT Karya Tani's achievements is the strong solidarity among members. This power has existed for a long time, before KWT existed. After KWT appears, this can be observed when they do the planting, maintenance until harvest. Solidarity also appears when all members do not want financial benefits. This shows strong *social capital*.

Coleman argues that the dimension of social capital creates a variety of social obligations, a culture of mutual trust and determines norms and sanctions in society. Social capital often appears in farmer groups (Cahyono, 2014). Social capital has been created for a long time where all KWT members prioritize togetherness and group unity. This is evidenced by the fact that almost all members are not too aware of the benefits that have been obtained. Although on the other hand, the core board has reported the circulation of money on a regular basis. This shows that being a member of KWT is not for profit, but togetherness and group progress.

This social capital often appears in farmer groups, such as in Minahasa. In the Tincep Village farmer group, social capital is created from a series of values and norms which are a concrete manifestation of a dynamic institution. This form of social capital is in the form of trust, social networks, responsibility and cooperation (Wuysang, 2014). This means that actually social capital has grown in rural communities, especially farmer groups.

Almost all farmer groups are male farmers. However, KWT Karya Tani demonstrated different things with quite strong social ties and social capital. Social capital for women's farmer groups is based on *trust*. Besides Coleman, Fukuyama sees that social capital is automatically formed from norms that guide behavior. Social capital starts from norms generated by *trust*. This *social capital* prioritizes togetherness in achieving goals, so that it requires the development of values (Fukuyama, 1996) .

THE ACHIEVEMENTS BEHIND "MINORITIES": WOMEN AND RELIGION

The type of agriculture in Dukuh Katel Klawu is dry land in the form of dry fields and plantations. Broadly speaking, agricultural land is divided into two types, namely dry land and paddy fields. While the types of agriculture in Indonesia, seen from the way they are managed, are divided into five types, including: Paddy Fields, Fields, Moors, Gardens and Agriculture food crops. The types of rice fields consist of various types that are used by the community to plant rice, namely irrigated rice fields and non-irrigated rice fields. Usually irrigated rice fields rely on sources of irrigation from water systems originating from infrastructure built by the government or the private sector. Meanwhile, non-irrigated rice fields receive irrigation from rainwater, river water, and a short distance from the coast (Irawan & Ariningsih, 2015) .

Furthermore, this field system farming utilizes dry land (moor) through the technique of clearing forest land. The type of dry farming is a dry land farming system that utilizes rainwater as irrigation, usually planted with crops. According to the FAO dry land includes a classification with a planting period of 1-59 days (arid), 60-119 days (semi-arid) and 120-179 days (wet arid). So dry land (moor) is agriculture with a planting period of 1-179 days without irrigation, but rainfed rice fields are not included in it (Kasryno & Soeparno, 2013) . Then the garden farming system is carried out by the community planting fruit, vegetables and flowers which are located around the house.

This type of plantation and dry farming is under the location of the Klawu Katel which is in the highlands and the weather is cool. Looking at the land managed by the group with an area of about 1 hectare, actually it doesn't provide a big enough profit. However, with the condition of KWT which is still running for 2 years, it has not become a crucial problem. For KWT, the most important thing is activities that can always run consistently.

During the data collection process, Murwati as the head of the KWT said that the land managed by the group had been able to produce several types of vegetables. Tomatoes,

chives, soybeans, spring onions, chilies, and eggplants are vegetables that can be produced. The results that have been obtained are relatively effective, even though the land area is only about 1 hectare.

One day, upon arrival at the group's land, all KWT members were harvesting soybeans. After being peeled and weighed, it produces approximately 16 kg. With this amount, the group is considered to have met the target. After harvest together, all group members can still chat warmly while enjoying the drinks and snacks served. The merrymaking is voluntary and is usually prepared by the core board.

The results that have been obtained, henceforth are not sold to middlemen. The main reason is that the price given by the middleman is considered low and not as expected. So KWT prefers to market directly to individual consumers.

With land that is not too large, plus the variety of types of plants that are managed, the yield is relatively small. The production results obtained by the group are not too market-oriented. So that their products do not enter the market in a wide range. The alternative is processing crops to increase economic value. Processed products that have received a positive response from consumers are chili chives.

Knowledge about making chili sauce is obtained from the results of training with agricultural assistants. At that time, trainers were brought in to improve the ability of KWT Karya Tani members in processing their agricultural products. Of the several processed products taught, chili chives are the product with the highest demand.

As previously discussed, KWT Karya Tani has been able to show its achievements from the regional to central levels. This achievement was achieved through group solidarity efforts. The results obtained are managed again for the benefit of the group. This means that members do not prioritize personal interests which can sometimes lead to conflict. For all members of KWT Karya Tani, solidarity, collective relations and social bonds are top priorities. This solidarity at least has proven that Durkheim's concept of mechanical solidarity still exists.

Since its establishment, KWT Karya Tani has been able to carry out routine activities and be consistent in its production results. Apart from carrying out agricultural activities, other activities carried out are training on processed products, marketing and group meetings. All these activities have been carried out regularly. As a women's farmer group, they have divided the roles with men proportionally. In terms of the division of labor roles

(agriculture), the people of Dukuh Katel Klawu tend to be balanced, not being fully controlled by men.

KWT with its production results and achievements, what needs to be underlined is that everything is done by women which so far has not been shown by men in Pengalusan Village. Men with their power are nothing more than always dominating and marginalizing women. The postulates for feminism occur here. Rosemarie Tong in the book *Feminist Tough* explains that feminism is formed through a liberal view which views that the placement of rights must be a priority. Around the 18th century during the industrial era, women were in a subordinated position, namely only in the house and at that time they were married to professionals, so they had no power. So women must be able to become autonomous decision-makers (Tong, 2009) .

In another respect, KWT Karya Tani is not only second-class as a woman but also in terms of religion. The entire community of Dukuh Katel Klawu is Christian. The two marginalizations that women farmer groups receive can become prolonged discrimination if there are no transformative efforts. Even village women are willing to work anything as long as they can provide income. This happens because women do not have bargaining power and end up facing overlapping pressures. So their traditional role is still running, but they also have to work to earn income (Suryakusuma, 2012) .

In the context of women in religion, Geertz sees religion as establishing sexuality and rationalizing social rights. In a patriarchal culture, religion serves to legitimize the normality of sexuality. Consequently, the status of women will never be normal for men (Dzuhayatin, 2006) . This stems from religious doctrines that marginalize women.

As a minority group, the people of Katel Klawu still do not have equal social relations. The minority that Capotorti interprets as one of the reasons for religion has experienced a lot of discrimination. In the context of the Indonesian constitution, article 28J provides restrictions on religion aimed at respecting freedom. This article has the potential to limit human rights regulations, especially regarding religion and belief (Ikhwan, 2020) . The limitation of rights that occurs here has not yet reached the prohibition of religious rituals, but there has been a "different" view and has been going on for a long time.

Perceptual marginalization by the village community is one of the concrete manifestations of social restriction behavior in the name of religion in Indonesia. Differences in ethnicity, race, religion become weapons to create horizontal conflict. In 2015 alone Komnas HAM recorded violations of religious freedom increasing to 87 complaints (Fauzi,

2017) . Likewise, cases of identity-nuanced violence occurred in Yogyakarta in 2000-2016 with a total of 71 cases (Ahnaf & Salim, 2017) . All of these cases started with the perception that there was no difference. Everyone who is not the same is considered not entitled to carry out (religious) activities, plus if it is considered "disturbing". This happened unnoticed in Pengalusan Village in the context of a women's farming group.

Patriarchal power has brought women to subordinate positions in the political and economic sectors. In addition, this power has created negative *labeling* , *double-burden*, and *violence*. So we need a women's transformation movement. It can be interpreted as a process of creating fundamentally new, better and fair relationships (Fakih, 2008) . This hope has been somewhat realized with KWT Karya Tani. All of his activities and achievements have placed women no longer under men.

Efforts to achieve equality, if connected with nature, then here ecofeminism can work conceptually. This group of women farmers with their organic plants shows a closer connection with nature and the environment. The view of ecofeminism sees women and nature as the same, because both are objects without power behind patriarchal power. Rather thought women had to go out to meet ecological demands. So solving environmental problems must involve women. One view of ecofeminism argues that actually women can be liberated without having to liberate themselves from nature (Tong, 2009) . This means that as a marginal class, women and nature ecologically can become subjects that are no longer subordinated.

Accordingly, the concept of postfeminism continues ecofeminism. Post-feminism deconstructs women's culture by appearing tough, sexy and indifferent and wanting power. Women are moving towards transformation by changing power relations. Discourses and texts constructed by men are understood by women in post-feminism (Brook, 2009) . Referring to this concept, the KWT led by Murwati had not fully realized it directly. But the theoretical perspective, will say the ability, quality and achievements that have been produced are evidence in changing power relations. Even though this power can only be exercised within the group itself, it can add to the "toughness" and "sexiness" of the women's group.

The concept of feminism and postfeminism wants the collapse of all powers that marginalize women. In the view of postfeminism, oppression is not always the result of male power. This applies if women can judge themselves as subjects (Sofyan, 2018) . Village communities, such as what happened in Pengalusan Village, form discourse constructions that tend to marginalize certain groups. It has met with real resistance with evidence of

KWT's sustainability and productivity. Once again, behind this "inability", the women of KWT Karya Tani managed to show their power as subjects whether it came from male power or not. Ultimately dismantling the narrative, the reality of the patriarchal system must be accepted in the relationship between men and women. In turn, this will result in the reconstruction of women forming their language and power of sexuality (Pierre, 2000) . Women as marginalized subjects have made many efforts to achieve equality and justice.

CONCLUSION

Women have long experienced injustice and marginalization. KWT Karya Tani with all its activities and achievements has demonstrated efforts to achieve equality. Effective production results and achievements at the regional and national levels can be seen as a power to deconstruct patriarchal power. Patriarchal power in rural-communities places women as domestic subjects who have no power over anything. However, for KWT Karya Tani this does not always apply. All group members have strong social bonds which are also due to religious minorities, so they can provide counter-power to male domination and the majority religion.

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