

# GENDER RELATIONS ON GOAT-FARM HOUSEHOLDS IN CENTRAL JAVA, INDONESIA

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## ABSTRAK

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Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis hubungan jender pada rumah tangga peternak kambing di daerah Jawa Tengah. Penelitian ini didasari oleh suatu teori rumah tangga petani yang kegiatan rumah tangganya diatur berdasarkan perbedaan umur dan jender dari anggota keluarga. Penelitian ini dilakukan di Desa Klirong, Kabupaten Kebumen, Jawa Tengah pada bulan Mei 1995. Sebanyak duapuluh empat orang petani peternak kambing dipilih dan dibagi menjadi dua kelompok berdasarkan luas pemilikan lahan. Metode observasi partisipan digunakan untuk mendapatkan informasi curahan waktu yang dilakukan oleh setiap anggota rumah tangga untuk kegiatan pemeliharaan rumah tangga, kegiatan pertanian dan kegiatan non-pertanian. Karena beternak kambing merupakan kegiatan sampingan untuk dua tipe rumah tangga, maka tanggung jawab pemeliharaannya banyak dilakukan oleh anak-anak, terutama anak lelaki dalam rumah tangga, sedangkan anggota rumah tangga dewasa baik pria maupun wanita waktunya lebih banyak dicurahkan untuk kegiatan yang langsung mendatangkan penghasilan seperti halnya pertanian dan bekerja di sektor pertanian atau non-pertanian.

**Kata kunci:** Hubungan jender, rumah tangga peternak kambing, metode observasi partisipan

## ABSTRACT

HANDAYANI, SRI W. 1996. Gender relations on goat-farm household in Central Java, Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Ternak dan Veteriner* 1 (3): 155-160.

This paper represents an attempt to examine gender relations in goat-farm households in Central Java. Guided by theory of farm household in which labor for household activities is supplied and organized based on gender and age differences of the household members. The study was conducted at Klirong village, sub-district Kebumen, Central Java in May 1995. Twenty-four families who owned goats were chosen and divided into two groups based on the ownership to land. Participant observation method were used to collect information on the time spent for household maintenance activities, agricultural activities and on/off farm activities by household members. The results indicated that gender appears to be the primary determinant of labor and time allocation in two types of farm households. Since goat production is secondary economic activities for both type of households, therefore, the responsibility to take care of was allocated to the children, especially male children, while adults -- man and woman -- engage in the primary economic activities such as agricultural activities and selling labor for on/off farm activities.

**Key words:** Gender relations, goat-farm households, participant observation method

## INTRODUCTION

In developing countries, although more women are employed in agriculture than in any other occupation, research has generally focused on their domestic works. Until recently, women's direct participation in farming or in the paid labor force has been consistently overlooked and undervalued (SACH, 1983). Although gender biases in agricultural research have gradually been corrected over the past decade, there remains a research challenge to study the gender relations, especially in documenting the division of labor among household members for domestic, on farm, and off-farm activities, more specifically on the role of women within a family la-

bored goat farm. With nearly three quarter of Indonesian live in rural areas and more than half of them worked on farm (KNIPSCHER *et. al.*, 1994), the farm household is an important unit of analysis for examining the gender relations and allocation of family labor resources both on and off farm (FRIENDMANN, 1980; BRADLEY, 1986).

Household production is a form of production in which labor is supplied and organized according to the organizational structure of the household itself and the household tends to be integrated units for production and consumption (FRIENDMANN, 1980). Moreover, it would appear that Javanese farm households are resemble of Ellis' (ELLIS, 1988) description that farm households are often subordinate to some other external

forces. Those external forces which affect the structure of household production include input factors e.g., land, labor, and capital, product markets, non-farm labor market, and public policies (BRADLEY, 1986). Household strategies are, therefore, influenced by conditions in agriculture, off-farm and other job opportunities, the structure of the household and the aspirations and values of its members, any of which may change over time. While macro-economic pressures squeezing farm incomes may compel household members to seek other sources of income.

The participation of household members in wage earning activities and labor migration is responsive to the material conditions of production and the structure and composition of households. BOSERUP (1970) stated that social stratification, as reflected in ownership to land and in composition of the labor force, is of great importance in explaining different patterns in the division of labor in farm households. It is in the context of household strategies for survival that one can begin to understand the nature of the sexual division of labor in farm household.

The purpose of this research is to examine gender relations in goat-farm households. Guided by theories of farm households and the sexual division of farm households, our focus will be on the role of women in the agricultural labor market and on agricultural production activities, especially goat for the market. However, given the importance of the interplay of household and farm roles between both gender, especially in light of increased off-farm employment (SUMAWINANTA, 1992), men's work is an essential reference point in our analysis.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

The study was conducted in May 1995 at Klirong village, Kebumen district of Central Java, Indonesia. Located about 180 km southwest of Semarang, the capital of the Central Java province. Klirong village is at an elevation of approximately 10 meters above sea level with an average annual rainfall of 2,500 mm. The average temperature is 27°C, with an average maximum temperature of 33°C, and an average minimum temperature of 22°C.

The study was involved two different groups of farm households, however, all households were rice farming families. The first group was composed of 12 farmers

who owned land less than 0.3 hectares and raised goats (Group I). The second group was also composed of 12 farmers who owned land more than 0.3 hectares and raised goats (Group II). The reason for dividing the sample into two groups of farm household based on land-ownership was to provide a framework within which the evidence on inter and intra household relations and patterns of resources allocation could be examined in more detail.

The research methods used in this study is participant observation. Participant observation allows first hand access to social situation being studied (HANDAYANI *et al.*, 1993), and to describe what goes on, who or what is involved, when and where things happen, how they occur, and why things happen as they do in particular situation. In other words, participant observation attempts to describe comprehensively and exhaustively a phenomenon in terms of research problems eg. in this case gender relations study (JORGENSEN, 1989). This research strategy commits the observer to learning to define the world from the perspective of those studied and requires that he or she gain as intimate an understanding as possible of their way of perceiving life. To achieve this aim, the participant observation as supplemented with additional semi-structured interviews. The interviews were conducted before the participant observation in order to gain some insights of household activities and resources, such as land, labor, and capital.

Two women researchers observed the twenty four farm households. Each researcher was assigned to stay with one family for a 12 hour period, (6.00 am to 6.00 pm) and to document the various tasks performed by household members and the amount of time spent doing them. In order to avoid "The Hawthorne Effect" in sociological research ((ROETHLISBERGER and DICKSON, 1939), the observation was conducted twice for each household. For the first observation, farmers were informed one day before the observation. For the second observation, researchers pretended to be observing previous participants' neighbors. In reality, they were observing the same household they had before, only they did not tell them so.

Between the two different observational exercises, researchers recorded all household activities observed during the two days, particularly noting those of the women. These activities were found to include labor and time allocation for activities such as *household maintenance activities* i.e., cooking, washing dishes, washing clothes, ironing, sweeping the floor, sweeping the yard, and child care. Other types of activities included: *on and*

off-farm activities; social activities; small ruminant i.e., goat activities; and resting. All were recorded.

This research is aware of the small sample size of goat-farm households. However, the methodology of participant observation generally is practiced as a form of case study. This involves the detailed description and analysis of an individual case. Therefore, we are confident even with the small sample size the result will be consistent with previous research using the same methods (ROETHLISBERGER and DICKSON, 1939).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Characteristics of household and land ownership

Household characteristics are reported in Table 1. The average age of the household head (considered in this report as the male head of the household) for group I was 40.2 and 39.6 years old for group II. All of farm households in the sample have at least one family member migrate to two most favorite places: Bandung the capital of West Java province and Jakarta the capital city of Indonesia. They migrate after finished either secondary or high school. Therefore, all household composition in the sample were parents with younger children (age below 18 years old).

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics (N = number of households = 12)

Variables	Group I	Group II
<b>Demographic characteristic:</b>		
Avg. age of head	40.2 ± 5.6	39.6 ± 4.2
Education of head (yr)	6.5 ± 2.2	6.7 ± 3.1
Family size	4.3 ± 3.4	4.1 ± 3.2
Avg.# of adult men	1.4 ± 1.2	1.6 ± 1.5
Avg.# of adult women	1.6 ± 1.0	1.8 ± 1.1
Avg.# of children <sup>1)</sup>	2.4 ± 1.2	2.3 ± 1.3
Avg.# of hos.members who are migrate	2.1 ± 0.4	2.3 ± 0.5
<b>Land ownership:</b>		
Total Owned by household (ha) <sup>2)</sup>	0.28 ± 0.11	0.42 ± 0.21
Rice field	0.20 ± 0.14	0.31 ± 0.22
Rented (ha)	0.16 (7) <sup>3)</sup>	0.14 (5) <sup>4)</sup>
<b>Avg. goat owned Head</b>	<b>2.5 ± 1.75</b>	<b>3.3 ± 1.82</b>

Note: 1) number of children stayed at home

2) Include garden and housing

3) Seven out of 12 farm households in group I rented land

4) Five out of 12 farm households in group II rented land

Table 1 also shows that the average land holding was 0.28 ha for group I and 0.42 ha for group II, respectively. The largest amount of land owned by any household in the sample was 0.72 hectares. To get some relative notion of what amount of land means for family of four, compare this figure to the guidelines for rural Javanese households. In 1976, 0.2 ha of rice field was estimated as the minimum land necessary for a family to subsist under double cropping and labor intensive cultivation (STOLER, 1977). Fifty-seven percent of households in group I and 46% in group II rented land. Mostly from head of the village who was a woman. As head of the village she received 5.0 ha of rice field as her salaries. She rented out all of her land to approximately 20 households. Land distribution in this village is very skewed, among 658 households, 60% of land was occupied by only 15% of all households and the rest of the households either landless or owned very small piece of land (less than 0.2 ha). Households in group I had an average flock size of 2.5 head of goats with the largest was six goats and the smallest was one goat, while household in group II had an average of 3.5 flock size of goats (2 - 7 goats). All of the twenty-four farm households practiced cut and carry of feeding management system.

### Household labor and time allocation:

#### A. Time allocation based on gender

Table 2 reports the results of the participant observations on labor and time allocation of household activities based on gender for the twenty-four families studied. As can be seen in Table 2, women play a very minor role in goat care activities. Only three of eight women from 24 farm household observed were involved with goat care. Less women were involved in goat care from group I than group II. This may be due to the fact that household in group I in average owned less goats than household in group II. Women in both groups spent approximately half an hour per day for goat care and most of them involved in cleaning the barn and feeding the goats. Contrary to previous studies that women play major role and spent more time than this finding indicate for small ruminant activities (SABRANI *et al.*, 1982; WAHYUNI and GATENBY, 1985; PRIYANTI and BILLINSKY, 1989). This may be due to data collection in which all the previous studies were based on survey, as GROSS (1984) stated that recall studies are generally less accurate than those based on direct observation. Men in both groups spent approximately two and a half hours

**Table 2.** Observational results for household labor and time allocation by gender. Reported in average hours and minutes per day. (N) = Number of families out of 12 with representatives in the category

Activity	Group I		Group II	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Domestic work <sup>1)</sup>	1.20 ( 4)	3.27 (12)	1.05 ( 6)	4.16 (12)
Farming/On-off farm work <sup>2)</sup>	6.15 (12)	4.16 (12)	6.05 (12)	4.10 (12)
Social activities <sup>3)</sup>	1.05 ( 6)	1.30 ( 9)	1.10 ( 4)	1.15 (10)
Goat care <sup>4)</sup>	2.20 (12)	0.32 ( 3)	2.47 (12)	0.35 ( 5)
Personal activities <sup>5)</sup>	1.05 (12)	1.17 (12)	1.03 (12)	1.10 (12)

**Note:**

- 1) this category represents work related to food preparation, food processing, fetching water, collecting firewood, child care, housecleaning, shopping
- 2) this category represents work related to planting, plowing, harvesting, fertilizing, wage employment, crafts, marketing, agricultural wage labor
- 3) this category represents work related to resting/relaxing, visiting friends, travel/transport, attending community gathering
- 4) this category represents work related to cleaning the barn, grazing, cut grasses, feeding the animals, giving water
- 5) this category represents work related to sleeping, eating, bathing, praying, other

per day for goat care activities. From the observation, 8 out of 12 male children in group I and 7 out of 12 male children in group II cut grasses and carried it to the barn. They cut grasses after school day which usually end at 1.30 pm for approximately 2 to 3 hours a day.

In the domestic work e.g. cooking, washing clothes, clean the house, fetching water, less than 50% of men in both groups involved and spent approximately one hour per day for domestic work, while women spent in average 3 hours 27 minutes in group I and 4 hours 16 minutes in group II per day for domestic works.

On and off farm activities were clearly the most important activities in terms of time allocation by adult members for all respondents. Since the land holding of all households were small (less than 1.0 hectare), therefore, these households were characterized by multi-occupationality, in which family members pursue diverse income sources including wage labor, sharecropping, handy craft and commerce in order to supplement incomes derived from farming to maintain their livelihood. All head of households in group I and II spent an average of 6 hours a day on primary economic activities, particularly agricultural activities. The observation conducted during the planting season, therefore, all of male head of household in the sample was working in the rice field, while all female heads of household

in group I and II spent an average of 4 hours per day. However, only two children from group I and three children from group II participated in on and off farm work (see Table 3). From observation, gender based tasks varies according to the primary economic activities as a whole. Nine out of twelve women from household in group I engaged in craft activity e.g., making bamboo hat and they sold the product every week to the middleman. Three out of twelve women in group I was selling vegetables and fruits in the market three times a week, while one women engaged fully in raising native chicken and the husband sold it every day to the market. While eight women in group II engaged in making bamboo hat and four women open foodstall.

Comparison of the data for social and personal activities for those two groups shows that both men and women spent roughly similar amounts of time in personal activities, even though there was a large difference in their use of leisure and social time. In general men spent more time during the day for relaxing, visiting with friends, and in other community affairs, than women in the same activities.

**B. Time allocation based on age**

Table 3 shows observational results for household labor and time allocation based on the age difference. As indicated in the theoretical framework that besides gender, age appears to be important determinant of time allocation in farm household. Interpretation of the time-allocation data reveals that participation in household labor differs according to age. Adult spent more time than children in domestic work. For on and off-farm work, all adults at both groups spent approximately 5 to 6 hours per day. Adult members of the household are often engaged in diverse forms of part-time wage employment to supplement household incomes a part of an overall strategy to keep the farm viable. All of the rice-farming households in the observation have a second source of income through part and full-time work undertaken by the male head of household, spouses and children above 14 year old. During the planting season when the observation was conducted, for example, Siman farmer's name has two children one male 18 year old and one female 13 year old. The family own 0.26 ha of rice field. After Siman planted his field with the help from his wife for three days, he took a job as a carpenter in his neighbor. While his wife continue to make bamboo hat at home and his son works as full time worker at brick company near the village.

**Table 3.** Observational results for household labor and time allocation by age. Reported in average hours and minutes per day. (N) = Number of families out of 12 with representatives in the category.

Types of Activities	Gr.I			Gr.II		
	Adult	Child. <14 yr	Child. >14 yr	Adult	Child. <14 yr	Child. >14 yr
Domestic <sup>1)</sup>	3.07 (12)	1.05 (7)	1.24 (5)	3.12 (12)	.49 (4)	1.20 (6)
On/Off Farm <sup>2)</sup>	5.35 (12)	-	6.15 (2)	5.43 (12)	-	6.32 (3)
Social <sup>3)</sup>	1.05 (12)	7.09 (12)	7.08 (10)	1.02 (12)	7.26 (12)	7.05 (12)
Goat Care <sup>4)</sup>	1.06 (4)	2.40 (7)	2.25 (5)	1.10 (3)	2.15 (7)	2.38 (8)
Personal <sup>5)</sup>	1.14 (12)	1.25 (12)	1.15 (12)	1.05 (12)	1.21 (12)	1.06 (12)

**Note:**

- 1) this category represents work related to food preparation, food processing, fetching water, collecting firewood, child care, housecleaning, shopping
- 2) this category represents work related to planting, plowing, harvesting, fertilizing, wage employment, crafts, marketing, agricultural wage labor
- 3) this category for adult represents work related to resting/ relaxing, visiting friends, travel/transport, attending community gathering; while for children include time for schooling
- 4) represents work related to cleaning the barn, grazing, cut grasses, feeding the animals, giving water
- 5) this category represents work related to sleeping, eating, bathing, praying

However, in Klirong, there is reciprocal exchange of human and material resources. The finding from participant observation indicated that there are some exchange of labor especially for farming work among neighbors, friend and kin which based on co-operation and reciprocity. Labor exchanges occur when households experience labor shortages not only due to the specific nature of the tasks which arise during the seasonal cycle of production but also due to the composition of the households at particular moments in the demographic cycle. In other words, not all relations external to the household take the form of buying and selling. Reciprocal relations are important not only in the mobilization of family labor within the household, but also between households, and the survival of each unit of production is to some extent maintained through these relations.

In average adult members at both groups spent approximately one hour for social activity, while children spent about seven hours for social activity including time spent for school. However, some of adult members spent more time for social activity, especially when

there is religious or family celebration such as wedding or death of the neighbor. It is social obligation for members of the community to help arrange the celebration. They sometime could spent the whole day for social activity.

For goat care, as anticipated that children from both types of household spent twice as much as time to care for their animals. From observation, male children cut grasses and carry it to the barn (cut and carry system). While adult members of or female children will substitute this work if there is no male children in the house. In average children spent two to three hours a day while adult only spent half of it to take care of their goats. As seen in Table 3, only seven of the twenty four adult members of households involve in taking care of the animals. This finding reconfirm several previous researches showing that goat production in Indonesia is a secondary economic activities. Moreover, children play important role in a secondary economic activities such as raising goats.

**CONCLUSION**

The present study shows that gender appears to be a primary determinant of labor and time allocation in farm households. Men and women in Klirong village clearly spent their time in different ways. Certain tasks are the exclusive domain of one gender; women are heavily occupied with domestic chores regardless of ownership to the means of production. Men's time is more concentrated in agricultural and goat care and very little of their time was spent in domestic work.

Gender remains the major differentiating of time use in domestic works. Most of the women respondents divide their time between domestic and economic activities as indicated in on and off farm activities. There is no differences between two groups of goat-farm households in terms of labor and time allocation for social and economic activities.

Goat production is a secondary economic activities for farm households in Central Java. As a secondary economic activities, the responsibility to take care was allocated to the children, while adults engage in those primary importance.

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