

Beyond Cocoa Production

TRANSFORMATION OF GENDER ROLES AND RELATIONS IN LUWU UTARA, INDONESIA

BY ANDHINA RATRI ARYANI



Beyond cocoa production:
transformation of gender roles and relations
in Luwu Utara, Indonesia

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Author:

Andhina Ratri Aryani

921206015080

andhina.aryani@wur.nl

andhinaratri@gmail.com

Supervisors:

dr.ir. Annemarie van Paassen

(Chair Group Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation, Wageningen UR)

dr. Chizu Sato

(Chair Group Sociology, Consumption, and Household, Wageningen UR)

Examiner:

dr. Elisabet Rasch

(Chair Group Sociology, Development, and Change, Wageningen UR)

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Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	II
LIST OF FIGURES	IV
LIST OF TABLES	IV
LIST OF BOXES	IV
GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS	V
ABSTRACT	VI
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: GENDERED TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING	3
BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	5
RESEARCH METHODS.....	10
CHAPTER 3: INITIAL FINDINGS	16
CHAPTER 4: TRANSFORMATION OF GENDER ROLES AND RELATIONS	24
BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	24
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	25
CONCEPTUAL SCHEME	29
RESEARCH METHODS.....	38
CHAPTER 5: HISTORICAL CONTEXT	43
CHAPTER 6: CONDITIONS OFFERED BY EXTERNAL INSTITUTIONS	48
GOVERNMENT	48
NGO AND COMPANY.....	51
LOCAL ORGANISATION: MASAGENA COOPERATIVE	54
CHAPTER 7: AGENCY OF WOMEN AND MEN COCOA FARMERS	57
INDIVIDUAL CAPABILITIES	57
VOICE IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE	58
ACCESS TO RELATED RESOURCES.....	59
COLLECTIVE RESOURCES.....	61
CHAPTER 8: TRANSFORMATION OF GENDER ROLES AND RELATIONS	63
FIELD	63
MARKET	68
ORGANISATIONS	71
HOUSEHOLD.....	73
CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION	77
SYNTHESIZES OF THE MAIN FINDINGS.....	77
THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTION.....	82
RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	85
CHAPTER 10: FINAL THOUGHTS	87
REFERENCES	90
ANNEX	94

List of figures

Figure 1. Map of Sulawesi Island	Figure 2. Map of Luwu Utara	11
Figure 3. Map of the total area cocoa plantation in Indonesia (BPS, 2017)		12
Figure 4. Map of cocoa production site in Indonesia 2017 (BPS, 2017)		13
Figure 5. The relationship between Masagena Cooperative, cocoa farmers and external partner		21
Figure 6 Relationship between enabling condition, agency and empowerment outcomes		29
Figure 7. Framework analysis of transformation of gender roles and relations in cocoa production (FAO, 1998; Alsop, 2005; Charmes and Wieringa, 2010)		30
Figure 8. Application of theoretical framework		31
Figure 9. Research methods		38
Figure 10. Focus group discussion		40
Figure 11. History of gender role and cocoa production in Luwu Utara		43
Figure 12. SRQ-2: Condition offered by external institutions		48
Figure 13. Kebun bibit (seedling house)		52
Figure 14. Internal Control System (ICS) hierarchy		55
Figure 15. SRQ-3: Women's and Men's Agency (internal)		57
Figure 16. Seedling house		60
Figure 17. Seedling house design		60
Figure 18. SRQ-4: Transformation of gender roles and relations		63

List of Tables

Table 1. 10 precursor steps to measure transformative learning	9
Table 2. Statistic of comparison between male and female in working areas	18
Table 3. List of interviewees	39

List of Boxes

Box 1. Rikolto Indonesia	16
Box 2. Masagena cooperative	19
Box 3. Gerakan Nasional (GERNAS) Kakao	46
Box 4. MCC02: Luwu Utara original cocoa hybrid clone	49

Glossary and Abbreviations

Bapak	Father; bapak-bapak refers to adult men who already married
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik (Department of Statistics)
CSP	Cocoa Sustainable Partnership
CVC	Cocoa Village Center
Ibu	Mother; ibu-ibu refers to adult women who already married
ICS	Internal Control Systems
KAP	Knowledge, attitude, and practice
Koptan	Koperasi Tani (Farmers' cooperative)
KWT	Kelompok Wanita Tani (Women farmers' group)
MCC02	Masamba Cocoa Clone 02 (hybrid cocoa clone)
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
RAC	Rainforest Alliance Certification
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
VECO	Vredeseilanden

Abstract

Since the last decade, a lot of interest has been directed towards the trend of gender mainstreaming at the global scale. This movement then brought by International organisation to apply the gender-sensitive program in the rural household. Those engaging with this movement typically refer to the gender roles and relations as the implication of innovation transfer from local level actors and International organisations.

This paper explores the nuances that exist with regards to the transformation of gender roles and relations induced by the developments promoted by institutional actors in the cocoa sector in Luwu Utara. In Luwu Utara, Indonesia, a large proportion of the total area was owned by smallholders to cultivate cocoa. An ethnography research approach is adopted to get a better understand of how the conditions offered by external institutions intertwined with the agency owned by the women and men in Luwu Utara, and how it plays out in practice. Findings show that women and men successfully exercise their power to take advantage of the opportunities to arrange the situation in line with their individual capabilities. Furthermore, the historical context of the research area created situated conditions supported the factors that influence the transformation. It concludes that any attempt to understand the gender roles and relations of women and men in cocoa production must pay closer attention to the situated context of the transformation.

Keywords: gender roles; gender relations; cocoa production; transformation

Chapter 1: Introduction

Rikolto or formerly known as VECO is a Belgium-based NGO who works in the domain of sustainable agriculture (see box 1). In Indonesia, Rikolto aims to increase farmers' livelihood through a set of programs. In its work, Rikolto highlight gender equality to be a part of their program. Even though gender inequality is not the main issue that the NGO tries to overcome in its program, they stated it to be a cross-cutting topic in all of their specific programs (Rikolto, 2017). Training and capacity building are examples of Rikolto's strategies to pursue their goal. Moreover, Rikolto builds bridges between farmers' organisation, government, and private institutions to make the agricultural system more inclusive and transparent for all.

Based on the statement from Rikolto who uses training, capacity building and strengthening farmers' organisation, I wonder, how it changes gender inequality? This question becomes my first concern: to investigate and understand the way women and men perceive and learn from the program brought by Rikolto. Then I decided to start my study about gendered transformative learning.

Then Rikolto led me to research about gender issue of cocoa farmers' in Luwu Utara, where Koperasi Tani Masagena located (see box 2). Koperasi Tani (farmers' cooperative) Masagena is peculiar since it leads by a young woman. The reason that Masagena is unique because, in Indonesia, most of the strategic position in organisations hold by a man (Nilan, 2009). Moreover, in the agricultural areas, women and men commonly play a different role; either in farming activities or not. For example: in the field, men's tasks often stereotyped as the expert to do a job which involves a hard-physical work such as land preparation. On the opposite, women's tasks often stereotyped in subtle and delicate work such as preparation of the seed and sorting out during the harvest time. According to Galiè et al. (2013), we typically consider men being 'the farmers' and women to be only their helpers. I believe that it will be interesting to look at the connection between NGO's program and the change of women's and men's knowledge, skill, practice and behaviour in cocoa production.

During the first two weeks of the research in Luwu Utara, I found out that Rikolto's programs are not the main determining factors of farmers' change. However, I continued my research because I heard many stories about farmers' who change their gender roles and relations. I once again wonder: if women and men in Luwu Utara show the pieces of evidence

of their change, who are the influencer and how it has happened? This question led me to turn-over my study and become the second concern of my research. I turn to investigate the factors that influence the transformation of gender roles and relations.

In this paper, I will present both of my different concern of this study as the sequencing process. The first concern directs me to the second part of my study. I present the first concern in chapter 2 by discussing the background, theory, and methods. Next chapter, I present the initial findings that explain the story of my turn-over. Besides, the second concern will be explored deeply in the next part.

The relevance of this study started from the fact that Indonesia occupies the 3rd biggest cocoa production in the world after Ivory Coast and Ghana (Statista, 2018). Indonesia plays an important role to support the stable supply of cocoa beans on a global scale and has a strong relationship with an international company such as Mars, Mondelez, and Nestle (Sopov, 2017). In Indonesia, cocoa is a strategic commodity where about 1,7millions of small-holder cocoa farmers gain income for their livelihoods (Cokelat Magazine, 2017).

Chapter 2: Gendered Transformative Learning

This section explored the first design of my study. The main goal of my research was to look at the learning process provided by Rikolto and its impact to the change and the dynamic of gender issue in Luwu Utara. Besides, the expected result is to look at the change of women's and men's knowledge, skill, attitude and roles. Here, I will present the study background, theoretical framework and the research methods.

Background of the study

In the cocoa training, according to (Duveskog, Friis-Hansen, & Taylor, 2011), types of knowledge in the learning process are situated and embedded in the social practice it takes place. Indonesia's 2013 census stated that in total there are 7.4 million female farmers, which means that not only men but also women involved in cocoa production sector (Syarifuddin, 2016; Effendy, 2018). However, when men and women enter production, they are often assigned to specific roles (Oxfam, 2013) and have different situated knowledge. For example, tasks in cocoa production that men focus on are preparing the land and applying pesticide and fertiliser while women predominantly involved in taking care new plant, weeding, and post-harvesting activities (Akter et al., 2017; Barrientos, 2014). Moreover, the production process is said to require women's "delicate" skills (Garwood, 2002) because women are socially considered having tenderness and patience. This gendered division of labour in the cocoa sector makes women play a critical role in the system and women's labour influences the quality of cocoa production. Even though women have a critical role in cocoa production, gender inequity exists in the form of different access to the decision-making process (Tibesigwa & Visser, 2016); rural organisations (Manchon & Macleod, 2010); extension service (Akter et al., 2017); and knowledge (Friis-Hansen & Duveskog, 2012; Oxfam, 2013).

To reduce gender inequity in cocoa production, international NGOs invest in training not only for men but also for women. Rikolto is one of NGOs which puts concern on women farmers' training from the basic underlying assumption that education will make them empowered so they will optimally increase the quality of cocoa production (Cokelat Magazine, 2017). Their assumption is in line with the basic premises of the Knowledge, Attitude, and Practice (KAP) model that knowledge precedes attitude, and that both knowledge and attitude are influence behaviour (Ahmad et al., 2015; Valente, 1998). Here,

the training from Rikolto becomes the main trigger for the change of farmers' knowledge from traditional knowledge (agricultural technical) to the wider scope, such as business management and certification. Rikolto expects that the change of knowledge will transform the farmers' behaviour in performing cocoa production tasks and reducing gender inequity. In the context of gender relations, women may learn some relevant knowledge to achieve broader access to the different tasks and support from their spouses through the training. Farmers' training can push the social role or gender relation can be categorised as transformative learning (Taylor, 2007).

Transformative learning theory conducted by Mezirow (1987) will help me analyse the change of women and men, thus gender relations not only in cocoa production but outside of cocoa production contexts to gain the new knowledge such as business management. Furthermore, transformative learning can explain the relation between training that (in)directly shape the critical reflection of the women to try a new role (Brock, 2010). The focus of the learning process through training is that female farmers make choices and to have a sense of self-empowerment (Wilhelmson, 2006). While male farmers also reflect on their current position in the organisations, it will exceed the change of role and relation to the female farmers.

To specify this research, I will conduct the research in Masamba district, in Luwu Utara Regency, Indonesia. Luwu Utara is one of the biggest cocoa-producer regions in Indonesia (Sopov, 2017). Since the cocoa beans exported to the European companies, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) try to help the farmers with specific training needed to improve their production. Rikolto – NGO based in Belgium – which started the partnership with local cooperative (Masagena) and farmer organisations in Luwu Utara since 2012. Rikolto has conducted a series of training with several topics, such as agricultural technical skills, management, entrepreneurship and certification (Cokelat Magazine, 2017).

The objective of this research is to analyse the links between gender relations and knowledge, attitude and practice of both women and men after the training on cocoa production organised by Rikolto in Luwu Utara, Indonesia. To achieve the objectives mentioned above, I draw the main research question below:

How did the training given by Rikolto create the gendered transformative learning of women and men in cocoa production in Luwu Utara, Indonesia?

Unravelling gender as a process may help Rikolto improve the design of training which will also increase the quality of cocoa production in Luwu Utara. Because the training contributes to the development of farmers' knowledge, attitude and practice in cocoa production, the factor that influences the quality of training need to be considered, including gender-sensitive design. Last, this research will contribute to explore gendered transformative learning due to the limited availability of studies that connect the agricultural production in growing economic and gender inequalities in Indonesia (Ukhova, 2015).

Theoretical framework

1.1. Gender and development

In recent years, many international donors are interest in giving the investment to reducing the gender gap, facilitated by previously Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and now Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This gap appeared because women often face the barrier as Kaaria, et al. (2016) identified, including socio-cultural norms; women's double burden and triple burden. This concept of double and triple burden more explained by Agarwal (2011) that women play a significant role both in food production, consumers, and family food managers. According to Surjono, et al. (2015), gender is one of the national development issues in Indonesia and gender equality measured by Gil scores ranging from 0.32 to 0.49 which mean that gender inequality is significant. Gender inequality has a relationship with growing economic and rural agricultural development (Ukhova, 2015). Rural women take the lead more than male counterparts in agricultural activities and women occupy up to 60-80% of agricultural labour force (Ogunlela & Mukhtar, 2009). Women and men often play different roles in society, not only in the contexts of households and organisations but also those of agricultural practice. Oxfam (2013) presented that in cocoa production in Sulawesi Selatan, the burden lays in the discrimination of women farm workers earn 25% less for their work than men; limited access to credit; and still take care of household tasks.

While acknowledging the importance of addressing gender inequalities, the next question arises about how this gender relation create a link with agricultural practice, especially in cocoa production. According to the study by Tufuor, et al.

(2016), gender is a situated process which has its dynamic around the everyday repetitive decision-making acts that constitute livelihood in reintegration in the situated community. Here, gender shape and (re)shaped by the daily activities of the female and male farmers in the cocoa production site. From the situated learning process, both female and male farmers learn to be real members of the community in by participating in the life of that community after participating in the training (Salminen-Karlsson, 2005). It means that most of the time gender relations are sustained and (re)produced by both women and men practising the knowledge gained from the training and their interaction with one another. In the same way, gender is done in interaction, but the dynamic of it is also possible to make variations and even (by, for instance, letting women lead in the organisations or men taking the domestic job).

The dynamic of the process can be the result of many factors. In 1989 Crenshaw coined the multi-layered facets as the concept of “intersectionality” (Cage et al., 2018; Chapman & Benis, 2017). Intersectionality shows that not only the gender plays in the process, but also the race, religion, social class, ethnic (Cage et al., 2018; Chapman & Benis, 2017) and level of education which emphasised by the level of knowledge (Eger, 2018). In Indonesia, more than gender, for example, religion, also influence women and men’s positions in society. Kaaria et al. (2016) identified that the factors that help to define women’s position in cocoa production including women’s social status within the households, age and previous membership in organisations; access to assets and resources; and education level. As the largest Muslim country, religious restrictions prevent women’s mobility outside the house and prohibit communication between sexes, while most of the trainer or extension workers are men (Akter et al., 2017). Due to this cultural background, I want to analyse whether the access of wide-range training provided by Rikolto will give the space for women and men to explore different subjectivities for both men and women farmers to realise their position towards each other in the cocoa production sector and the households from an intersectional perspective.

Gender-studies deal with research questions from both women and men perspectives to overcome the one-sided view of female-studies, towards overall findings relative to both sexes (Andersson & Lundqvist, 2014; O’Hara & Clement,

2018). Gender is not a definitive attribute of a person but altered from social interaction. We can differentiate two levels of meaning: the general levels of meaning of male and female images are influenced by state ideology, religion, literature, myths, and rituals. The specific level, which exists in parallel, arises from the gender-roles in social reality (Saptari et al., 2007).

1.2. Transformative learning

In seeking to understand the change of gender relations in the daily lives of training participants, particularly how they make sense of their learning experience, transformative learning theory provides a useful tool for an analysis of this research.

Transformative learning occurs when farmers go through agricultural training. Transformative learning happens when a learner is struck by a new concept or a way of thinking and then follows it to make a life change. In this research, the new concept or way of thinking will be achieved through the following training(s) provided by Rikolto. It supplements more common types of learning such as gaining facts or learning new skills (Wilhelmson, 2006).

The transformation means that the learning process opens the space for change not only in the level of knowledge but also in their point of view that will be emphasised in the critical reflection of the participants. Training materials used vary depending on the specific needs of each training was to fulfil. In every training, there can be various kinds of knowledge given. However, the types of knowledge taught in training are a) management, b) agriculture technical skills, c) certification and d) business.

In this research, I will focus on the content, design and teaching methods in terms of gender relations learned by women and men during the training. The main point I want to look is whether the training that women and men follow is the same or may be different (O'Hara and Clement, 2018) and if different how different. For example, in Good Agriculture Practice (GAP) training are not only focuses on agricultural-technical-skill but also discuss bookkeeping management which. Those training materials can show the emphasis between the typical men and women knowledge taught by social and cultural background; men relate to agricultural technical skill and women relate to management knowledge. Moreover, the training

design influences the opportunity for women and men to interact with each other. Another example is the farmer field school, usually done in the medium term (1-2 months continuously) in which provides various types of knowledge. From this type of knowledge concerning gender relations, I assume that the basic knowledge will bring them to specific gender performance.

To measure female and male farmers' reflection on their gender performances, I will draw on Jack Mezirow's ten precursor steps to transformative learning (1978). This approach provides an alternative to explore how training is interconnected with the gender context of cocoa production sector, mainly on individual levels, by seeing their attitude and daily practice. These ten steps are:

- 1) disorienting dilemma;
- 2) self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame;
- 3) recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change;
- 4) exploration of options of new roles, relationships, and actions;
- 5) a critical assessment of assumptions;
- 6) provisional trying of new roles;
- 7) planning of course of action;
- 8) acquisition of knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans;
- 9) building of competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships; and
- 10) a reintegration into one's life based on conditions dictated by one's new perspective.

From those steps, I will draw the specific research questions to be answered during the fieldwork with the female and male farmers who have been participated in the trainings. Therefore, conceptual scheme is needed to answer the research questions. The **sub-research questions** are:

1. What are the content, design and teaching methods concerning gender relations presented in the training materials?
2. What kinds of attitudes women and men have had concerning gender relations after trainings?
3. How have women and men (re)integrated the reflection concerning gender relations into their daily practice?

From these sub-research question, I categorized the 10 steps of transformative learning below:

Table 1. 10 precursor steps to measure transformative learning

Training materials (SRQ-1)	Attitudes (SRQ-2)	Practices (SRQ-3)
1) Disorienting dilemma	5) self-examination with	7) tried on new role
2) Critical reflection on assumptions	feelings of guilt or shame	8) planned course of action
3) Recognized discontent shared	6) built competence /confidence	9) acquired knowledge/skills to implement plan
4) Explored new roles		10) reintegrated to life

Farmers attend training related to cocoa production. From the 10 steps, I categorised into three different points presented in Table 1; I will use only eight points (1-7, 10) and leave out two points (8 & 9), which are irrelevant in terms of time and context. Planned course of action (8) and acquired knowledge or skill to implement a plan (9) are not suitable to answer during the data collection period because this research is more focused on the training that already done before.

The transformative learning model is relevant for training related to cocoa production. It helps to see the change of gender as a process in Luwu Utara since it provides a means to learn together to find their solutions to problems that closely related to their everyday farming activities. Training can either challenge or reinforce existing social roles, including gender norms and habits. Training series may foster gender equity by providing opportunities for men and women to develop healthy relations within the cocoa production site (Friis-Hansen, 2012). The process can be transformative, that it changes the way women and men view themselves and their relations with others. However, the impact on gender relations goes beyond the immediate purpose of the training, but theoretically, it suggests that training (especially mixed-group) will develop the potential set of a stage for transformative learning experiences.

Research methods

To further elaborate my research questions, this chapter presents the research methods used in this study. First, I will describe the preparation of this research start with the research design and literature study. Second, I will describe the methods I used in the field, that divided into three phases: participant observation, interview and focus group discussion. The last section I will explain my reflection related to the ethical consideration and the limitation of this research.

a. Setting off (preparation)

I started my thesis with my curiosity about gender studies in the scheme of agricultural in rural development. My interest led me to the accidental meeting with Rikolto's staff, and we talked about the possibility of this social study about the gender aspect of cocoa production in Indonesia. Then, I did a literature review in Wageningen. I read the basic theories and learn about cocoa production in the world and in Indonesia to sharpen my knowledge about how I should design my research. The literature review gave the basic information about the global cocoa production especially the case in Ghana and Ivory Coast, but it was hard to find the literature study about a social aspect of cocoa production in Indonesia.

Since I was curious about why international NGOs are willing to invest their money and program to Indonesia, I want to study about the innovation and intervention that they try to apply in Indonesia. Especially in terms of gender, the program provides by International NGOs are based on a global standard about the definition of gender including the indicators of the problem and how to solve it. Here, in my research, I will elaborate more about the impact of the program conducted by international NGO such as Rikolto. In studying the gendered transformation learning, it led me to a path of ethnography. Ethnographic research will create the opportunity for me to live together with the cocoa farmers and see what is happening in the field on the time I conduct my study. Ethnography offers the chance to look at the specific case which incorporates the diversity and complexity on it (Morvant-Roux et al., 2014)

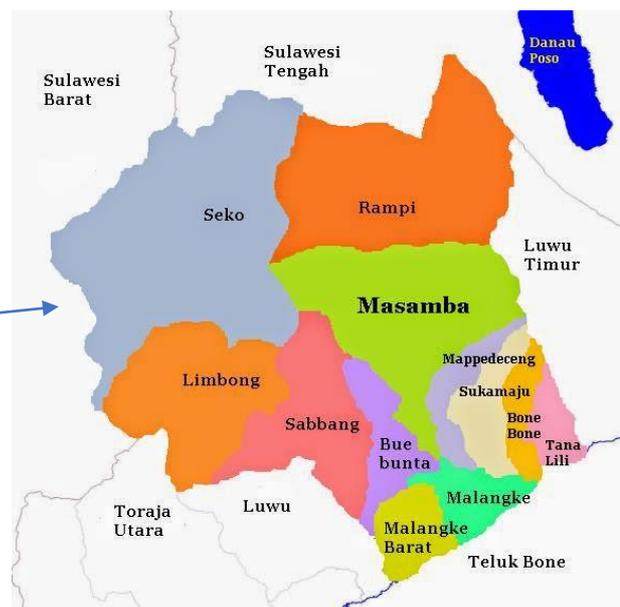
After finishing the design in Wageningen, I came to Rikolto Regional Office in Indonesia, to read their reports and learn how they did the work in a field. I spent around two weeks to read and analyse what is happening in the field. My curiosity drives me to the gender-based training activities in Luwu Utara, I made a list of the training from the past two years programmes (2017-2018). From the training list, I had created a coding contains the knowledge assumption and design of every training activities. The codes divided into four sections: agricultural technical skills (ATS); Business and Management (BM); Certification (CER); and Organisations (ORG). I used the codes of training to analyse the impact for cocoa farmers, both women and men, whether the knowledge and design will be gender-stereotype or not. After knowing the baseline information, I prepare myself to enter the field in Luwu Utara.

b. Going down to the fieldwork

Figure 1. Map of Sulawesi Island



Figure 2. Map of Luwu Utara



This research investigates the specific area in Luwu Utara Indonesia. Since the government of Luwu Utara reported that cocoa contributes to the income of the farmers, I believe that this will influence their livelihood. Cocoa plantation in this area mainly owned by smallholder farmers. The selection process of this study location is quite simple. When I told Rikolto's staff about my interest in gender study, she gave me two options: in Cahaya Sehati Cooperative or Masagena Cooperative. The final decision came to Masagena Cooperative, in Luwu Utara district, Sulawesi Selatan province. First,

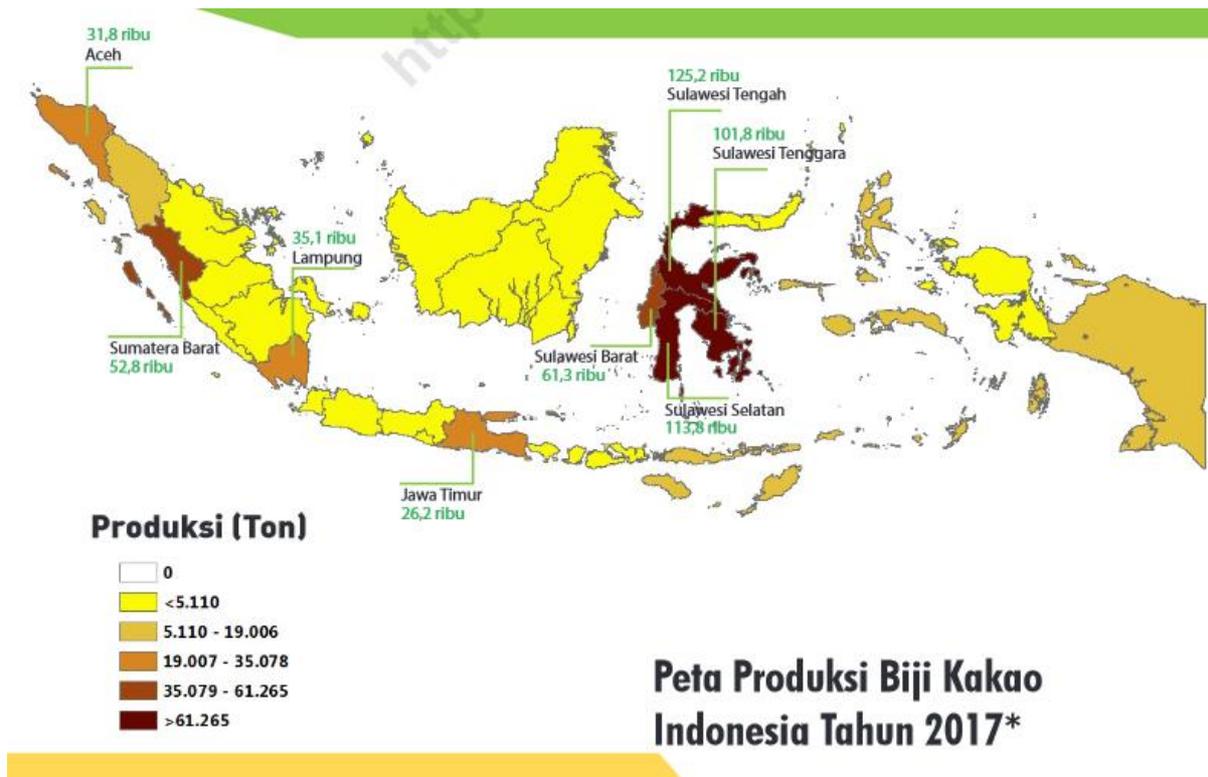
because the cooperative led by a young woman that assumed gender equality is happening there. Second, cocoa production in Luwu Utara is well and strongly established; it even has a cocoa factory and exports their cocoa butter and nibs to the US. Third, the other areas are already well studied, so it is better to conduct a study in a new place.

Figure 3. Map of the total area cocoa plantation in Indonesia (BPS, 2017)



Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) or Statistics Indonesia reported that the total area uses in the cocoa production in Sulawesi Selatan is 245.8000ha, belongs to top three after Sulawesi Tengah and Sulawesi Tenggara. From figure 3 above, in 2017, Sulawesi island becomes the largest area which produces cocoa in Indonesia. In figure 4 below, the map shows that Sulawesi Selatan placed in the 2nd rank of the highest cocoa production in Indonesia. The production reached 113.800ton in 2017 after Sulawesi Tengah which produced 125.200ton in a year.

Figure 4. Map of cocoa production site in Indonesia 2017 (BPS, 2017)



BPS also published the data of total areas and production of cocoa beans by province and category of a producer in 2017 which said in Sulawesi Selatan, 100% of the cocoa producers are smallholder farmers. Statistic provided by the government of Luwu Utara in 2018 stated that most of the household income rely on cocoa production. It means that the cocoa production in Luwu Utara gives a significant effect on the farmer's livelihood.

Before I went to the field (Luwu Utara), I visited Rikolto office Indonesia. I want to get a perspective and further understanding related to my study area. Rikolto offered the paper and reports about Masagena. The reports and supportive documents gave insight into the training agendas conducted by Masagena cooperative together with Rikolto. My first meeting with Rikolto was the head-start for my research. This thesis used ethnography as the tools to understand the complexity and diversity of the case study. Nordstorm said in her book published in 2004 'Shadows of War' that *"...ethnography must be able to bring a people and a place to live in the eyes and hearts of those who have not been there..."*.

I have prepared three different schemes of collecting the data in the field: participant observation; semi-structured interview; and focus group discussion. The

interplay between each method will enrich my data as it is not only from one perspective called triangulation of methods.

Participant observation was the main tool of this study, due to ethnography study, I need to see, listen, and feel the actual process happened in the field. Participant observation is a method where the researcher collects any data from the actual process in the field and engaging with the local people (Bernard, 2011; Fine, 2015). This method produces experiential knowledge (Bernard, 2011) that creates possibilities to talk about personal topics of the people. The participant observation will last for the whole time I spent in the field. I wrote the salient part of daily conversation, the farmers daily activities, and how both women and men divided their daily tasks in the household. I put the result of an unstructured and informal conversation on my field notes to help me construct the story (Sanjek, 2015). According to Bernard (2011), writing field notes helps to build a holistic view of the topic that might have been overlooked.

I started my participant observation in Masagena cooperatives located in Masamba, the capital district of Luwu Utara. This option came up with a specific reason because Masagena cooperative is the bridge between Rikolto and farmers. In order to study the women and men farmers in Luwu Utara, entering the field from Masagena cooperative door is the best option. Masagena provided comprehensive data about the area, farmers, activities and partnership. In the field, I lived in together with the family who started the cocoa business in the area, called Udin. Udin is the advisor of Masagena cooperative and his house located directly next to the office.

Following the participant observation, I collected the data through an interview. I used a semi-structured interview to get more organised questions which focus on my topic but give me the space to discover more (Bernard, 2011). The semi-structured interview was targeting 20 respondents; this will strengthen and confirmed what I have observed in the field.

I chose the interviewees by making a list from the training attendance document. I look at how many men and women present during the training in 2017 and 2018. Since the area in Luwu Utara is wide, I divided the interviewees based on their area used cluster sampling: Masamba, Mappedeceng, Sabbang, Baebunta, and Malangke. From each area, I will select four cocoa farmers; 2 women and two men. The sampling method used for the selection of interviewees used stratified sampling. The selection of the cocoa farmers

does not need to be precisely the one who joins the training provided by Rikolto and Masagena, but also the cocoa farmers who are not involved in giving the wider perspective perceived by the cocoa farmers. All the interview will be around 40 minutes to 1 hour per person. I recorded the conversations by permission from the cocoa farmers.

Last, I used focus group discussion to gather the collective understanding of how gender roles and relations in Luwu Utara has been transformed. FGD will complete the observation and individual interview based on open questions (Bernard, 2011). FGD combine observations and open interviews and help deepen specific topics addressed during the previous methods. The focus group stimulates dialogue with a small group of target farmers around a topic and encourages spontaneous expression from the group which helps to identify the points of view, to observe the way individuals interact and identify the ideas involved and the meaning or cause attributed to the practices. The focus group discussion provides access to a finer gradation of information, which nicely complements those of observation and interviews.

FGD targeting 20 farmers, ten women and ten men, to balance the information. On the FGD, I would like to study the collective understanding of the farmers whether they are transformed individually or as well in the group scale. The FGD will provide the questions related to the training process, the attitude towards the training they have involved and the 'new' role they perceived after the training. During the FGD, farmers divided into a smaller group, which will give the opportunity for women and men to discuss together in the same group. During the FGD, I observed the content of the discussion and the interaction between the farmers, both women on the same group, men on the same group, and the mixed group.

Chapter 3: Initial findings

In this chapter, I will describe the preliminary findings of my first impression in the field. It will not cover all the findings due to the turn-over of my research. Here, I start the story about Rikolto and Masagena cooperative. I want to give a brief introduction to the actual condition in the field. The data presented in this chapter gathered from a literature review, reading report, observation and interviews.

a. Rikolto as the agent of change

I started this research as a result of a collaboration between my interest and Rikolto project in Indonesia. Rikolto gives me the chance to study in their partner. The selection brings me to Masagena cooperative in Luwu Utara. I met Hani Sulastrri Hamid (Planning, Learning and Accountability Coordinator of Rikolto in Indonesia) and she led me to talk with Rikolto's staffs during their conference. This conference held in the first week after I arrived in Indonesia. I learned about the organisation and how they work in the field. I also built the connection with Mr Syarifuddin Taba the Cocoa Field Officer for Sulawesi. Mr Syarif brief me about the description of Luwu Utara.

Box 1	Rikolto Indonesia
<div data-bbox="662 1211 986 1339" data-label="Image"></div> <p data-bbox="263 1361 1390 1489">Rikolto in Indonesia previously VECO (Vredeseilanden Country Office) Indonesia is a member of Rikolto, an international NGO based in Leuven, Belgium. Rikolto means "harvest" in Esperanto Language.</p> <p data-bbox="263 1547 379 1576">Mission:</p> <p data-bbox="263 1592 1390 1711">Rikolto in Indonesia enables and supports smallholder farmers to take up their role in rural poverty alleviation and to contribute to feeding a growing world population in a sustainable way</p> <p data-bbox="263 1771 347 1800">Goals:</p> <ul data-bbox="288 1816 1390 2027" style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="288 1816 1390 1935">• Sustainable sourcing of coffee, cocoa, rice, cinnamon and seaweed from the private sector enables the inclusion of smallholder farmers in Java, Sulawesi, Flores, Sumatra and Bali in agriculture value chains<li data-bbox="288 1951 1390 2027">• Sustainable production of good standard quality and healthy consumption that is benefiting smallholders and consumers	

Rikolto has a pilot project, one of them conducted in Sulawesi mainly with cocoa farmer organisations (FO). The desired impact are improved livelihoods of smallholders (decreased vulnerability, increased income, increased well-being and food security, more sustainable use of natural resources). Concerning farmer organisations such as cooperative, Rikolto aims to improve the status of FOs in society, increased influence/market power of FOs. Last, Rikolto wants to give an impact by increasing women empowerment and youth participation in agriculture.

Rikolto starts its partnership with Masagena Cooperative in 2012. From the beginning, they aim to strengthen the farmer organisations which is Masagena Cooperative; increase the cocoa farmers livelihood; and women and youth empowerment.

Their main goals translated into several programs which designed both by Rikolto and Masagena Cooperative every year, called Rencana Kerja Organisasi (RKO) or Organisational work plan. Since then, Rikolto provides the funding for the activities in Luwu Utara such as training and innovation. Moreover, Rikolto helps the cooperative to have connection with many international NGOs, national NGOs, and companies. In 2013, Rikolto introduced Rainforest Alliance certification to Masagena cooperative. The main goal of facilitating cooperative to get the certification is to increase farmers' bargaining power toward the buyer. Rikolto believes it can increase the cocoa farmers' income and livelihood.

Source: Indonesia.rikolto.org

In 2012, Rikolto assessed Luwu Utara to become their partnership in implementing the cacao pilot project in Sulawesi. Beforehand, Rikolto in partnership with Polewali Mandar and Luwu Timur to implement the cocoa pilot project. In this research, Rikolto brought innovations to the farmers through Masagena cooperative. Recently, their program aims to enhance the participation of women and youth in cocoa production. From what I learnt after the discussion with Ms Hani and read Rikolto's document, the training trigger women and youth participation.

Rikolto said that they carefully craft the training design and program to be gender sensitive. As their first move, Rikolto gives the training of a trainer to the Masagena cooperative's staff about gender mainstreaming topic. After that, they emphasise the participation of women through the training attendance list. All the attendance lists will have the column of gender and age. This method is the easiest way to count how many women and men who attend a meeting, gathering or training.

From that gender differences, it divides by the age group. Farmers belong to a young age if they are less than 35 years old. This effort has an aim to increase farmers' awareness that the participation of women and men is important.

In Rikolto office (in Denpasar, Bali), I got several documents as my baseline data to sharpening my research design before I go to Luwu Utara. I get the chance to read Rikolto strategic plan and Masagena cooperative's report and annual program plan. Concerning my research on training, I made a list of the last two year's activities conducted by Masagena cooperative. The list of activity will help me to identify the next step of my research such as the observation and interview. After all the data gathered, I organised my research plan and went to Luwu Utara.

b. Description of research site and Masagena Cooperative

Luwu Utara consist of 155.594 male inhabitants and 153.407 female inhabitants based on the projection in 2017 by the Department of Statistic, Luwu Utara (BPS Luwu Utara, 2018). Population density of Luwu Utara reached 41 people/km² with average number of residents per household are 4 people. On this report, the government of Luwu Utara written that there is significant gap between women and men in the working area, presented on the table below:

Table 2. Statistic of comparison between male and female in working areas (BPS Luwu Utara, 2018)

Indicator	Male	Female
Working hours: 15-34 hours/week	27.245	24.366
Working hours: >35 hours/week	46.774	19.867
Administration sector	654	1.523
Services	3.490	7.730
Agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fisheries and hunters	51.474	27.003
Family worker/unpaid worker	17.857	26.666

To small-holders, farming being the main economic activity in the area and providing important social functions by constituting rural base for food security (CSP, 2018). Since Luwu Utara covered 14.447,56 km² I have selected some of the village based on the recommendation from Masagena cooperatives staffs. The selection of this area

due to the limitation of mobility and these 5 areas produce higher yield compared to the rest of the sub-districts.

In Luwu Utara, farmers are mostly joined to the farmers organisations (FO), there are two types of organisations: Farmers' group and Cocoa Cooperatives called Masagena. Masagena Cooperatives located in Masamba, the capital of district in Luwu Utara.

Box 2	Masagena Cooperative
	<p>Koperasi Tani (Koptan) Masagena or Masagena cooperative officially born in 2007 under the instruction of the Government of Indonesia. The main goal of cooperative for farmers is to create a collective enterprise which will strengthen the bargaining power of the farmers. Masagena cooperative is one and the only cooperative located in Luwu Utara which focus on cocoa production.</p> <p>The main office located in Desa Pongo, Sub-district Masamba, 15 kilometers from the city center. The Masagena cooperative established by the family of Udin and his entire family. They are migrant Bugis who from the beginning did focus on cocoa plantations. Before managing cooperatives in North Luwu, they became cocoa farmers and traded seeds.</p> <p>The main task of the Masagena cooperative is to become an organizational umbrella for cocoa farmers in the surrounding area. There are two types of membership in cooperatives. The first is pure cooperative membership. That is, these members bound by cooperative's rules, such as attending annual member meetings (RAT) and paying annual contributions. The advantage of being a member of a cooperative is getting access to fertiliser and subsidized agricultural production equipment. Besides, each member also has the same voting rights to participate in determining the business direction of the cooperative.</p> <p>The second type of membership is a member of certification. Since 2013, Masagena Cooperative has Rainforest Alliance Certification for its cocoa products. This certificate guarantees that its member farmers can meet the standards required to be able to sell to buyers using RAC such as MARS. In general, ownership of certificates is the cooperatives. However, to be able to buy the certificate, Koperasi Masagena formed a new business unit called CV. Marewa 45. According to the latest data collected by the Masagena cooperative and CV. Marewa 45, the number of cocoa farmers who are members of the certification is around 2348 who are members of 90 farmer groups.</p>



Masagena network:

Government and organisations:

1. Dinas koperindag (Department of cooperative and trade)
2. Dinas kehutanan dan perkebunan (Department of forestry and plantation)
3. Dinas Pertanian (Department of Agriculture)
4. MARS Indonesia: marketing and sustainability team
5. Cocoa Sustainability Partnership
6. Swisscontact (NGO): supporting farmer field school
7. Forum Kakao Luwu Raya (FoMaKaRa)
8. Rikolto Indonesia: strengthening farmers' organisation and donator

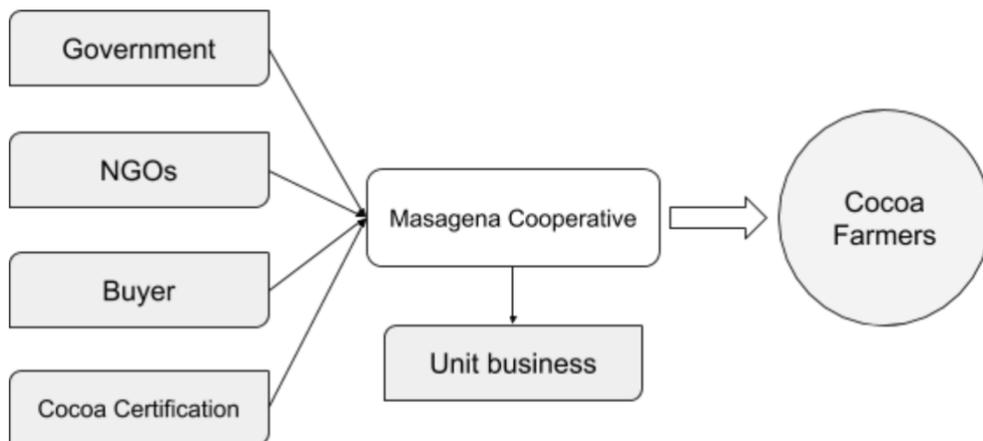
Buyer:

1. PT. MARS
2. Armajaro
3. Olam
4. Comestra
5. Cacao Future: producer
6. Chocolate Chalodo

Source: multiple interviews with Masagena staffs

Koperasi Tani Masagena (farmers' cooperative) plays an important role in the whole cocoa production, since it is the one and only cooperative which focus on cocoa production in Luwu Utara. It organised the farmers in 7 sub-districts and become the bridge between third party (including government, NGOs and buyer), owner of the cocoa certification and facilitating trainings and socialisation for the farmers.

Figure 1. The relationship between Masagena Cooperative, cocoa farmers and external partner



In the figure above, I draw the relation between Masagena cooperatives and the external partners and smallholder farmers. Masagena cooperative is the central organisation of the whole cocoa production value chain. Government and NGOs programs are in collaboration with the cooperative. Farmers will get information about training and regulation from the cooperative. Since it has become the main power of cocoa production in Luwu Utara, I started my research from here.

In this research, Masagena cooperatives become the centre point of the study. Masagena works to organise farmers' activities such as training and certification. By understanding Masagena cooperative system, I can conduct the direction of my research. Moreover, the cooperative registered for Rainforest Alliance (RA) Certification by the recommendation from Rikolto. The aim is to increase the bargaining power of the farmers under the cooperative. Usually, cocoa certification is owned by the buyer such as MARS and Cargill. In this case, Masagena is the owner of the RA certificate. The certification handled by their legal entity in the form of a business unit called CV. Marewa 45. For now, 2438 farmers belong to the certification members. All members are strictly following the regulation from RA certification when selling their cocoa bean. The members sell their cocoa bean to MARS and get a premium fee every six months.

c. Turn-over of the study

After two weeks in Masagena and simultaneously reading through their document given by Rikolto, I found some facts that lead to other direction of my research scheme. Here, initially, I intended to look at the impact of training provided by Rikolto in a term of

gendered transformative learning. To look at it, I need to gain the data of the training held in the area, the attendance list, the training design. Also, I want to look at the daily behaviour of the farmers (women and men) who took part in the training.

However, in Masagena, I found the attendance list, but I did not find the others supportive document such as the full-design which contained the topic, rundown, icebreaking, and measurement of the training result. Some attendance list contains the percentage of women and men, but it says nothing related to the training design. To understand the impact of the training provided by Rikolto without enough training material means vague.

Due to the training material which is not complete, it became harder to analyse the impact from this perspective. The first sub-research question: *“what are the content, design and teaching methods concerning gender relations presented in the training materials?”* cannot be answered. Unfortunately, during the time I spent to live in Luwu Utara, I cannot join the training organised by Rikolto and Masagena due to the schedule. It means that I cannot observe the process during the training, which supposedly can compensate for the absence of training design.

On the other hand, access to the farmers who joined the training did not guarantee the linked between the training and the gendered transformative learning. It may still give the result; however, when I casually interviewed a farmer in their field, they cannot refer to the training they had taken part. In this condition, recalling the detailed memories of the training could give the irritating result for the farmers. The connection between the training document and the difficulty of farmers in recalling the training memories give the result that transformative learning theory not plausible for this research.

I learnt that in Masagena cooperative; they work hard more on preparing Rainforest Alliance certification (due to the year of audit in 2018) which give the result of less training conducted. The training activities substituted by socialisation and monitoring of the inspection related to the cocoa certification audit. I realised that the cooperative's staff overlook the design of the training since it, not a big issue for them and especially cocoa farmers in the meantime. Even though the cooperative and Rikolto already created the proposal of activities in the whole year that involving gendered training, farmers through Masagena cooperative are interested in another field of subjects such as certification and growing their business. The head of Masagena cooperative (Nanda) said:

“in here, training does not mean the formal training in the room or farmer field school, but during our monitoring in the field, we also visited farmers and remind them about some information (GAP, business, certification, etc.).”

In the meantime, after the several days of participant observation, I heard stories directly from the farmer related to the transformation happened in Luwu Utara. Mainly farmers give their stories about the change of agricultural technical skills and their participation as the member of RA certification. They mentioned about the differences in agricultural practices before and after some programs such as certification, GERNAS, and the updated skill to breed plants with a vegetative system. The differences also showed the changed in the gender role and relation. Start from this standpoint, I believe that the gendered transformation in the cocoa production can be studied from the broader perspective, not only look for the farmers but also the women and men in the whole value chain. In conclusion, I need to track back the source of that transformation more than an analysis of a training program brought by Rikolto.

Chapter 4: Transformation of Gender Roles and Relations

Background of the study

Based on the initial findings I have explained before, I broaden up the research. While at first, it was about transformative learning because of training conducted by the Rikolto and Masagena cooperative, this research scope changed to look at other factors influence the changes in gender roles and relations. I needed to revise the theoretical framework and the research questions that will analyse the transformation of women and men which belong in the cocoa production cycle.

The original purpose of this study was to look at the training in the period of last two years (2017-2018). Then, I pushed back the timeline of the research to 2007, started from the emergence of Gerakan Nasional (GERNAS – National Movement) and the establishment of farmers' group in Luwu Utara. I want to understand the connection between the historical context to the present transformation. This gives me the broader perspectives of the research and opens the possibility of the holistic approach concerning the gendered transformation that happened in the study area.

From the conditions I have written above, I realised that training is not the focus and not the only way of Masagena to improve the farmers' livelihood. The stories from the cooperative's staffs also made me realise that the actors in this cocoa production are not only farmers. The beneficial group are not only farmers who only work as farmers but also for those who have another job such as the trader, the organisation's staff and trainer. The observation in the field gave me the insight that the transformation of gender role and relation is happening, so I changed the direction of my research to look for this topic. To complete my perspective about this research, the aim of my research is to investigate the possible factors influence the transformation. Furthermore, I **analyse the intertwined factors between the condition carried out by external institutions and men and women's agency that led to transformation of gender roles and relations in cocoa production in Luwu Utara.**

From the objectives above, I elaborated the research question presented below:

“How did the condition offered by external institutions and the agency owned by women and men create the transformation of gender roles and relations in cocoa production in Luwu Utara?”

Theoretical framework

a. Gender roles and relations

Gender role is defined as the western stereotype of how women and men behave based on their biological sex. In our society, gender roles are mainly socially taught or socially constructed rather than naturally gifted (Agarwal, 1997). The basic stereotype of women and men in the society is often distinguished by the (socially taught) characters such as women are more delicate, and men are physically strong. FAO stated the comprehensive definition of gender roles as: *"...the 'social definition' of women and men. They vary among different societies and cultures, classes, ages and during different periods in history. Gender-specific roles and responsibilities are often conditioned by household structure, access to resources, specific impacts of the global economy, and other locally relevant factors such as ecological conditions (FAO, 1997)."*

In the Indonesian context, the typical gender role stereotype is maintained by the society so that in the division of labour, women and men are often assigned in different tasks (Robinson & Bessell, 2002). In general, Indonesian society followed the patriarchal system (Julia & White, 2012; King, 2009) which means men are more dominant than women on the public sphere and decision-making processes. Hence, while focusing the lenses to closely look on some smaller parts of Indonesia, this patriarchal system might not appear. Indonesia offers a diversity of culture, which makes every part of the country own a different culture: local language, beliefs, ritual, and gender stereotypes.

In Luwu Utara, there are two main ethnic groups, Luwu (native) and Bugis migrant. Historically, both ethnic groups are following a bilateral society structure (Pelras, 1996), which means that women and men have an equal role, but can be different and flexible in term of the domain (public-private area). In some rituals, women respectfully become the sacred leader (Pelras, 2005), being prioritized in the use of the household budget and special opportunity i.e. women preferred to go on pilgrimage to Mecca first instead of husbands (Pelras, 2005).

Discussing the gender role stereotype is inseparable from gender relations. A new division of tasks offered by institution will influence the roles that are either gender-based or not. The new tasks aspired to by women or men will entail the power exercised by them called gender relation. Gender relations are defined by Bravo-Baumann (2000) as *the ways in which a culture or society defines rights, responsibilities, and the identities of men and*

women in relation to one another. These relations between men and women also socially constructed by several factors such as norms, culture, and religion or belief. Gender relations are often characterised by the way women and men create and discuss about the decision-making processes, and how they exercise power in everyday life. According to Pelras on his book 'The Bugis' (2005), he described the relationship between a husband and a wife in the household as tending to be equal, where no one dominates each other. However, it does not mean that women and men do the same tasks, but rather than they share the responsibility inside and outside of the house.

b. Opportunity structure

Opportunity is defined as a set of condition that makes it possible to do something. The term "opportunity structure" developed by sociologists Benjamin, Cloward, & Ohlin (2006) in their book "Delinquency and Opportunity", refers to the fact that the opportunities available to people in any given society or institution are shaped by the social organization and structure of that entity (Benjamin et al., 2006). The example of an opportunity structure is achieving economic success by pursuing education in order to get a good job with access to decision-making and being more in control; or dedicating oneself to a form of certain skills one aspires to in order to make a living in that field and feel happy and respected. This example shows the opportunity structure contains not only economic but also social aspects.

Opportunity structures offered by a formal institution (local and national government) and an informal institution (NGOs) will create the possibilities for different people to take an effective choice (Samman & Santos, 2009). The forms of opportunity structures can be varied, Alsop, Ruth, and Heinsohn (2009) give some example such as laws, regulatory frameworks, and norms.

In the context of this research, I use the opportunity structure as the indicator that can both support and also constrain the cocoa male and female farmers, especially women, to take further action. I created indicators as the result of the break-down of the basic laws, regulation and norms provided by Rikolto that applied to the Masagena cooperative. This can be both triggering positive and negative action and choice by women cocoa farmers. Moreover, some condition also applied in the context of Luwu Utara. External factors which influence women and men in exercising their power to

choose and action in everyday contexts are brought also by the history, government regulation and specific events.

Based on the definition of gender roles by FAO (1997), the opportunity structure will trigger such conditions that create the change. Further on this research, I will change the term opportunity structure with 'enabling condition'. The condition may vary depend on the possible opportunity given by the external actor which influences women and men farmers' choice.

c. Agency

Sen (1985) introduced the concept of people's agency and capability approach. Agency can be defined as the capacity to make meaningful choices (Alsop, 2005), which in the context of marginalised people is related to the capacity of actors to take purposeful action as a function of assets and capabilities (Narayan, 2005). The agency can be in the form of individual assets and collective assets.

Here, I will incorporate both women and men who are involved in the cocoa production value chain in Luwu Utara and analyse their agency. To study the gender role and gender relation, understanding both sides of agency owned by women and men is important. Even though women and men may live together in the same house as husband and wife, they can have different types of agency. Since the agency can refer to the power owned by farmers to act independently based on their own free choices (Colfer et al., 2015; O'Hara & Clement, 2018) women and men could decide which power they want to use to act in a certain way. Many scholars explain the agency in different forms, such as psychological, informational, organisational, material, social, financial or human (Alsop, 2005).

Opportunity structure and agency have a link with the degree of empowerment (DOE). Degree of empowerment can be measured by assessing (Alsop, 2005): (1) whether a person could make a choice, (2) whether a person actually uses the opportunity to choose, and (3) once the choice is made, whether it brings the desired outcome.

d. The connection between opportunity structure, agency and gender role and relation

Studying about gender roles cannot be divided from the gender relations. Gender roles link to the responsibility of women or men and give power to act. This power is translated into gender relation. Agarwal (1997) describes that gender relations define the decision-making process in different domains such as household and organisation.

Mayoux (2003) describes that the power relation can be measured by linking the internal aspects and external aspects. Since, both women and men can exercise this power in a specific domain by increasing their role in decision-making and bargaining, increasing skills, access and control over income and resources, access to markets, increasing participation in organisations, and confidence and awareness of choice and rights. Alsop (2005) adds that the outcome from the link between external conditions and internal agency can be measured at different levels. From this indicator, I will look at the transformation in four different domains: field, market, organisation and household.

Conceptual scheme

To answer the questions above, I will use conceptual schemes that were introduced first by Alsop et al. (2009) and Charmes and Wieringa (2003) who aim to measure the empowerment outcomes. The empowerment outcomes themselves are not a limited framework. This analytical scheme has been applied in many different contexts. The idea of this analytical framework is to determine the interplay between the enabling condition and smallholder agency in order to see the empowerment outcome (Alsop and Heinsohn, 2009; Narayan, 2007). The main idea of this conceptual scheme is combining the possibilities between external factors called “enabling condition” and the internal factors owned by farmers, called the agency. The result of this combination created the conceptual framework I present below:

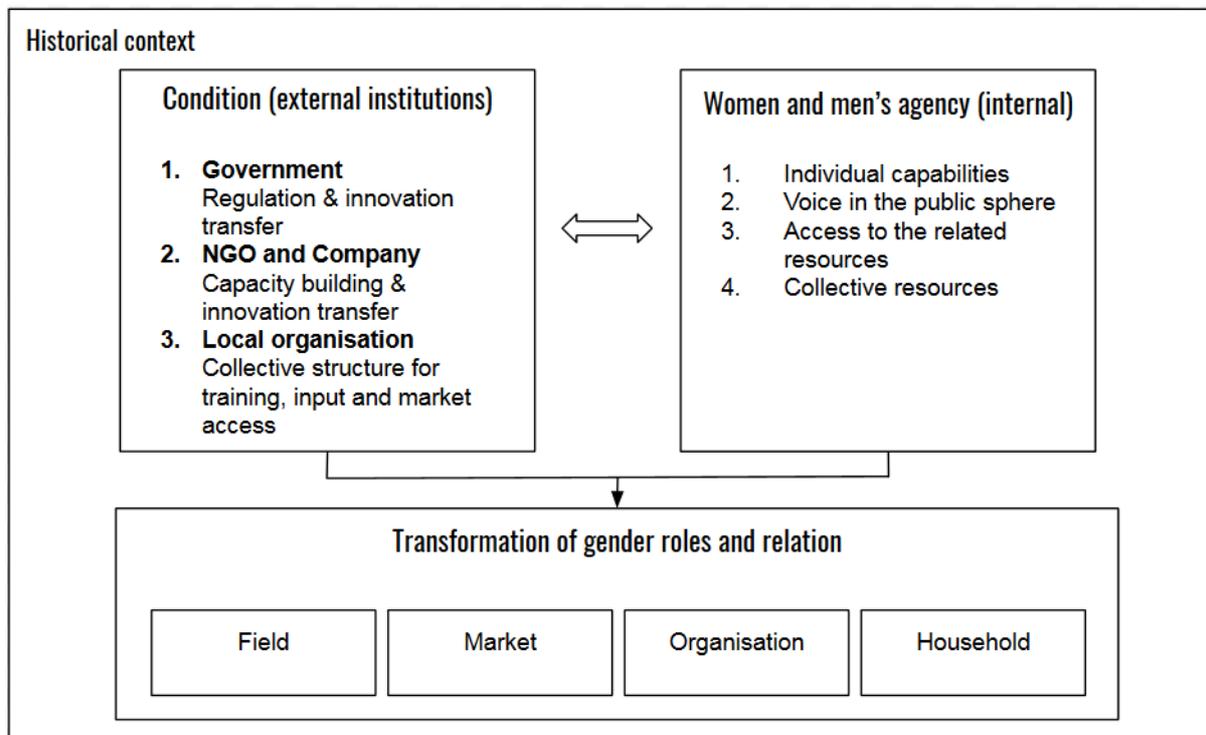
Figure 2 Relationship between enabling condition, agency and empowerment outcomes



Agency can act as the enabling condition which result in an opportunity The interplay between matched enabling condition and agency will lead to the meaningful choice. The theoretical framework which describes the relationship between opportunity structure, agency and gender roles and relations help me create the analysis of this research. From the analytical framework above, I modified some aspects that fit into the context of my research. First, my main focus is to see the transformation of gender roles and relations, but in the specific context of cocoa production in Luwu Utara. The opportunity structure which translated as the **enabling condition** brought by external factors such as government (national and local), NGOs, and local organisations will be elaborated more in the next chapter. In addition, the **agency** in this thesis investigated the smallholder that I will elaborate from both women’s **and men’s** side. In addition, to give a clear case study, I will present the historical context as the main and biggest box to put every aspect inside. Lastly, I changed the

empowerment outcome into indicators of the transformation of the gender roles and relations as I explain in Figure 5 below:

Figure 3. Framework analysis of transformation of gender roles and relations in cocoa production (FAO, 1998; Alsop, 2005; Charmes and Wieringa, 2010)



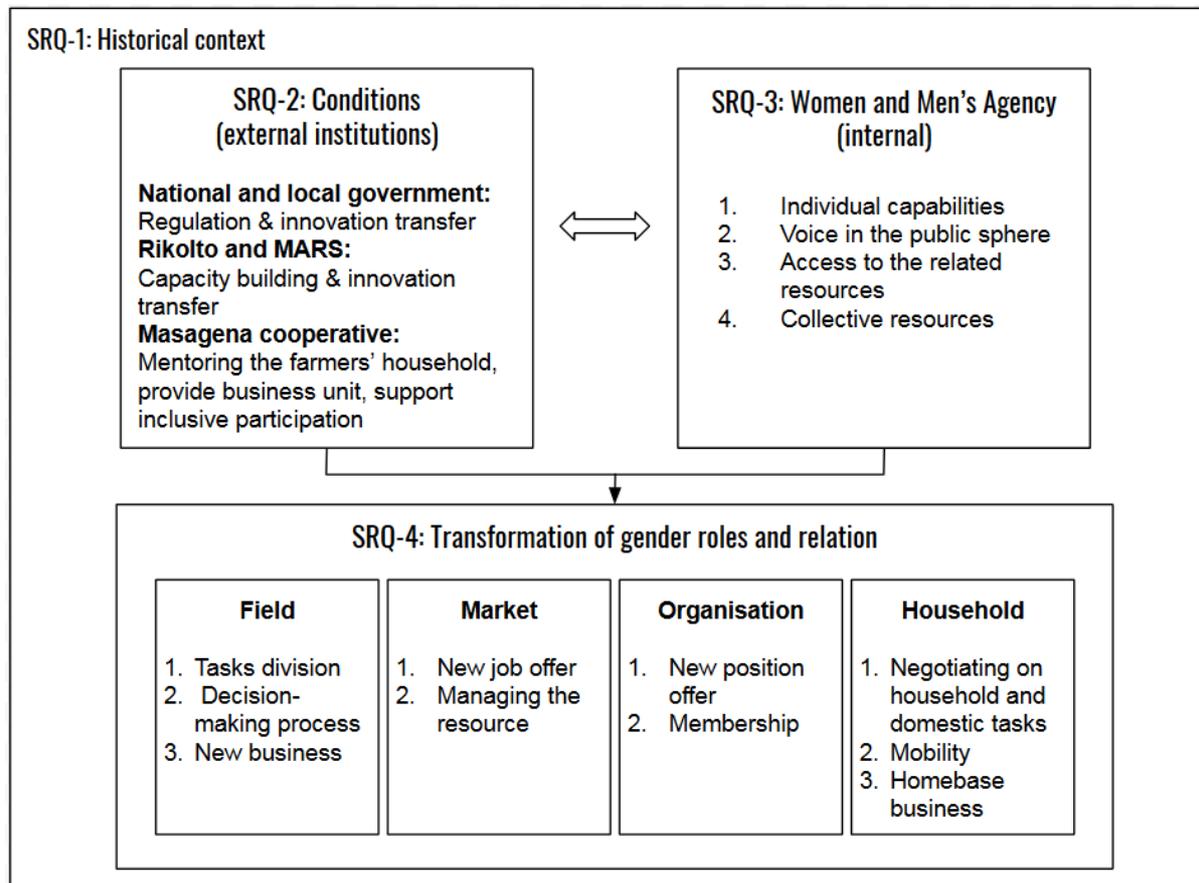
From the figure above, I operationalised this study into **sub-research questions** below:

1. **What is the historical context and aspects that influenced the transformation of gender roles and relations from 2007 to 2012?**
2. **What aspects of the conditions offered by external institutions that influenced the transformation of gender roles and relations from 2012 onwards?**
3. **What aspects of agency exercised by women and men supported the transformation of gender roles and relations?**
4. **How did the transformation outcome created by the enabling condition and the exerted agency of the women and men, with respect to gender roles and relation, occur in four domains: field, market, organisations and household levels?**

Here, I use the perspective of both women and men to focus my study. Women and men in cocoa production cannot be separated, as they work as a dichotomy. It's not that women and men should be dominant over one another. Instead, every change that happened in the

women’s context would also affect the men’s side. The sub-research questions above will be answered in the analytical scheme drawn below:

Figure 4. Application of theoretical framework



SRQ-1: Historical context

The first sub-research question “*What is the historical context and conditions that created the transformation of gender roles and relations from 2007 to 2012?*” can be measured by searching the literature about the area of study, meaning literature about Luwu Utara. This aspect is important because the analytical framework will give different result in different areas since ethnographic research is situated and highly contextual (Bell, 2010; Draper, 2015).

Study about the history will give the baseline information, since I studied about transformation, I have to know the time I should start analyzing the case. It will be vague if I study about transformation, but I have no comparison between the previous condition and the outcome afterwards, especially the gender role and relation in Luwu Utara. I want to gather literature which will inform me on the condition of gender roles and relations in the period of 2007-2012. The time frame was selected because I wanted to study starting from

the emergence of the government initiative called GERNAS. Since GERNAS is a national scale movement, the intervention is strict and funded by the government, so cocoa farmers suddenly followed the regulation. The sudden change happened and challenged established conditions and culture in the cocoa production. From 2007, a lot of change happened in Luwu Utara related to their way of cultivating the cocoa.

SRQ-2: Conditions offered by external institutions

Sub research question number two, *“What aspects of the opportunity structure offered by external institutions enable the transformation of gender roles and relations?”* will be answered through multiple data collection methods. The indicator of every opportunity offered by external organisations which enable the new condition is explained below:

Government

The government has the power to regulate the farmers using top-down methods. This does not mean that all the policy and regulation are applicable in this specific area. On the other hand, it can be a backlash and it can discourage the farmers. However, whether it is good or bad, the government policy provides the opportunity for change (Gockowski et al., 2013; Shapiro & Rosenquist, 2004). Especially, government policy translated into practical regulation requires intense monitoring and evaluation. The government developed regulation in the formation of farmers' organisations which also provide the new atmosphere for women and men. By those regulations, government presented some restricted option for farmers that undeniably changed their way to cultivate the cocoa, even if they already established certain practices in the past.

On the other hand, the government also provides innovation through strategic programs implemented by local governments. In the case of cocoa production in Luwu Utara, the Indonesian government works together with Department of Agriculture to help farmers increase their production and welfare. The program is supported by mentoring from extension workers who work closely to farmers in everyday life.

Non-Government Organisation (NGO) and company

This section explained the aspects offered by NGO and company. I combine the NGO and company, since the company also has program to support the farmers

besides its purpose to buy the cocoa bean. Here are some aspects provided by NGO and company program that indicated certain conditions for the women and men to change their roles and relations:

1. Innovation transfer

Non-government organisations work in the areas of their interest by giving support in many forms. The goal of NGOs is to compensate the lack of government regulation and programs in specific areas. In this study, the NGO represented by Rikolto has aimed to enhance cocoa farmers' livelihood from several angles. In general, NGOs receive their funding from donors who are also interested in the same topic. The funding is beneficial and translated into many different ways. The shortcut from NGO to the targeted beneficial group makes the innovation transfer and support easier to be delivered. On the other hand, company program supports the smallholder from the business improvement and new market system.

2. Capacity building

Training is the most well-known method to deliver new knowledge and skills to farmers (Lourenço et al., 2014). Training gives a highly contextual condition which brings farmers' awareness of new potential innovations that they can apply in the field. Through training, farmers are able to start new agricultural practices, gain new business skills, by exchanging and sharing experiences, or expect new roles in the future. If women and men can both join the training, the expected outcome of the training will aspire their role and relation after the improvement of their individual capabilities.

Besides, cocoa farmers cultivate the cocoa as individual farmers. They work for their family farm or relatives. However, the government of Indonesia creates the regulation that in order to get agricultural inputs (fertiliser, pesticide, etc.) subsidy, they need to join farmers' organisations. Strengthening farmer organisations will improve their collective action. From this point of view, I would see whether women and men farmers feel more empowered and if they can get the bargaining power over other parties.

In addition, private company through their program also provided capacity building such as training, farmer field school, and business mentoring. Here, private company who is expert in the business domain has aim to improve farmers capacity

in increasing their livelihood by giving the support in the improvement on cocoa production.

Local organisation

Local organisation i.e. cooperative provide the opportunity to try a new task, role, relation and exercise the power for both women and men (O'Hara & Clement, 2018; Oláh et al., 2014). Since cooperatives encourage both women and men to join, they enable the new condition for new members to join and experience new roles. Cooperatives offer big opportunities for the farmers or non-farmers to get involved in cocoa production, such as becoming administration staff, trainers, or field managers. A specific role needs specific knowledge and skills. From this point of view, I would like to analyse whether women and men take the opportunity to challenge their own knowledge and skill to join in the public and big organisations.

SRQ-3: Women and Men farmers' agency (internal)

The third sub-research question that needsto be answered is *“What aspects of agency exercised by women and men may support the transformation of gender roles and relations?”*. This question will unravel the aspects included within women and men in cocoa production which will support them to make a better choice (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2009; Blare & Useche, 2015; Samman & Santos, 2009).

1) Individual capabilities

Individual capabilities refer to the ability owned by women and men in agricultural skill, situated knowledge, and expertise (Kaaria et al., 2016; Narayan, 2007). Here, each individual has different type of capabilities; may vary based on the combination between their skill, knowledge and expertise. If women or men have specific capabilities that missing in the other gender, either women and men can have the privilege to catch an opportunity that matches their capabilities. Women may have some capabilities that men do not have and the other way around. It shows that the person who has the particular capabilities is having the agency to choose their best option. Individual capabilities will be measured through participant observation, casual conversation and semi-structured interviews.

2) Voice in the public sphere

Both women and men feel empowered and gain more power if they have the freedom to speak up their voice, especially in the public sphere (Kabeer, 2010). The public sphere can take many forms such as the farmers' organisation gatherings, rituals, ceremonies, work meetings, and others. For example, when both women and men are heard by each other, will increase their self-esteem and improve their confidence to be more productive (Charmes & Wieringa, 2003; Samarakoon & Parinduri, 2015). On the other hand, if someone recognized by the community based on their opinion and statement in public space will influenced their action in the future. If then the community has the same purpose to value everyone's voice in the public space, it will increase the opportunity for women and men to be confidence

3) Access to the related resources

Resources owned by farmers are not limited to the land, labor, and agricultural inputs (Denkyirah et al., 2016; Susilo, 2007; Tresliyana et al., 2017). On the other hand, access to the household resources such as family income and vehicles (Agarwal, 1997; Robinson & Bessell, 2002) will also give certain power to women and men to take the best opportunities and choices for them in cocoa production. Furthermore, I want to study whether women and men utilized their access to the resources in an optimal way in order to take the opportunity, but also to see the reasons if they did not take the chance.

4) Collective resources

Women and men who live in the same neighborhood may have a special place or gathering which can only be attend by either women or men. For example, a football yard is mostly dominated by men who are gathering and play together. By contrast, the crafting club i.e. crochets-making is dominated by women. In a specific place or occasion, women or men may have a specific discourse which is utilized as the place to exchange experiences or news. Moreover, women and men would feel included if they belong to a certain group that promote the same vision (Manchon & Macleod, 2010; Shapiro & Rosenquist, 2004)

SRQ-4: Transformation of gender roles and relations

The last chapter will answer the fourth sub-research question *“How did the transformation outcome created by Rikolto and the agency of the women and men, with respect to gender roles and relation, occur in four domains: field, market, organisations and household levels?”*. Transformation of gender roles and relations should not be separated from the supportive environment. Gender roles which explain the stereotype of roles between men and women should be sharpened into specific contexts. Based on the explanation from Charmes and Wieringa (2003), to gain a full understanding of how women and men exercise their power, I need to look closer by dividing the domain of the transformation. Here I divided the context where the transformation of role and relation between women and men in cocoa production happened into 4 different areas:

1) Field

Cocoa production happens in the field. In Indonesia, the role of the cocoa farmers still dominates the whole process. Even though technology and innovation is already used by the farmers to increase the effectiveness and efficiency, the majority of cocoa cultivation still relies on human workforce. Due to that condition, the role of cocoa farmers in the field impacts the relation between men and women. This happens because the division of tasks between men and women is different. Understanding the tasks in the field can provide the information about the roles and relations shared by women and men in the field, and how it changed the last 6 years.

2) Organisation

In Luwu Utara, cocoa farmers are managed through farmers' organisations (farmers' group and cooperative). To run, an organisation requires people who work inside. The organisation is run by farmers and external staff recruited by the directors. The organisation can be a farmers' group and also a cooperative. Masagena cooperative itself has a business unit that counted as an organisation as well. The dynamics of who runs and who takes which role in the organisation will be looked to see in which direction women and men take the opportunity.

3) Market

Cocoa value chain includes the market in which all the transactions and trade are happening. The market was established in a new way after the influence of international NGOs and after MARS bought it They create new systems which

incorporate new tasks and roles. It gives an opportunity for women and men to occupy new positions.

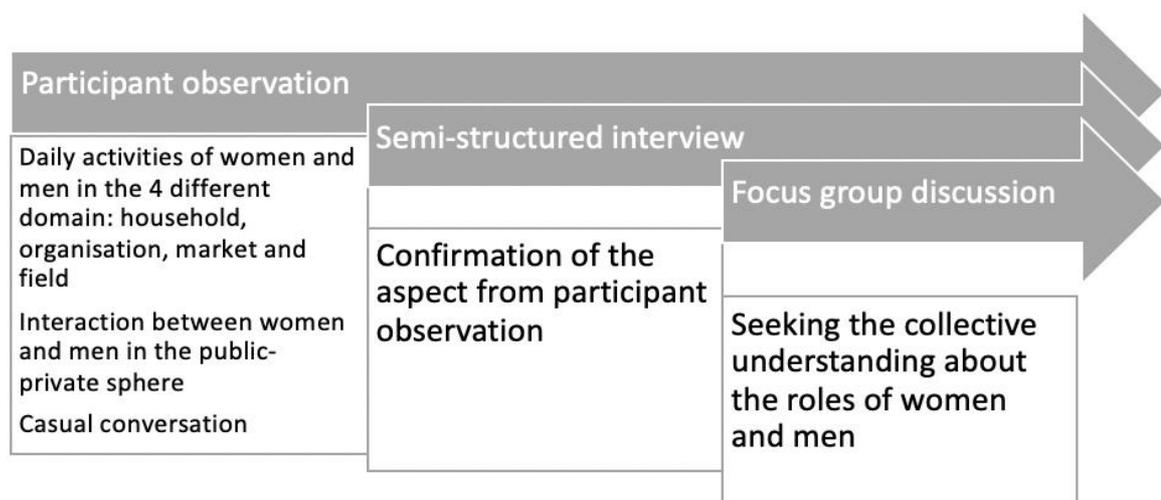
4) Household

The nuclear environment of husband and wife and family is shown in the household domain. Basic activities and decision-making processes usually start from here (xxx). For men and for women it can be different. Since the tasks of domains need a certain time to be handled, household tasks might be abandoned, or the other way around. In here, I would like to analyse their interaction and the transformation of the division of tasks in the house, how they divide and share their responsibilities together as members of the house.

Research methods

In part two I research the transformation of gender roles and relations in cocoa production. I changed the methods since the component which I want to look is also changed presented in figure 9. I use the same methods as I explained in the first part of this thesis: ethnography and qualitative analysis. Ethnography let me understand and look closer to the small group of people for about two months. During my stay in Luwu Utara, I have spent most of my time mainly in Masamba sub-district due to the limited mobility. As I mentioned above, I lived together with the family of Udin. His house is next to the head office of Masagena cooperative. It is easier for me to access the key stakeholders who often come and go to the office. Moreover, I have limited access to travel around, I need someone to accompany me since I do not know the area. Most of the time, the head of cooperative helps me to reach all the people whom I wanted to talk.

Figure 5. Research methods



I continue to follow the activities of Masagena cooperatives and guided by the staffs to meet the farmers in the field. Even though my mobility was limited, I can cover five sub-districts. The result of participant observation was written down in the field notes. From the field notes, I chose the most salient part of the study. The observation consists of women and men daily activities with varieties of roles. For example, women can act as wife, mother, cocoa farmers and head of a cooperative.

Meanwhile, men have the occupation as cocoa farmers, trainer, father, and husband. In the field notes, I wrote their feasible behaviour during daily activities as a person and in the group. Observing the interaction between women and men in the field and how they interact with each other is essential in this research. The summary of my fieldnotes used as the baseline data to conduct the semi-structured interview questions.

After the turn-over of my study, I modify the interview design. I focus on questioning the division of tasks in the four domains. I plan to interview farmers who also have another job related to cocoa production. For example, cooperative's staff, trainer, cocoa doctor, collector, and field manager. The reason is that I want to diversify the source of information I get from the farmers. I started the interview with the key stakeholder. I used the snowball method to find my interview respondent. I am fully aware that the transformation occurs involving multi-actors, not only farmers. I learnt the situation from cooperative's staffs on the first day of my arrival.

Table 3 present the list of interviewees. All name of the interviewees was changed due to the confidential data. Even though I changed the name, it cannot guarantee to keep the data since their occupation tells everything. In this case, I asked to the interviewer and select the data that less sensitive and not harmful due to the ethical issue.

Table 3. List of interviewees

Women	Occupation	Men	Occupation
Nanda	Head of cooperative	Dirman	Cooperative staff
Aisyah	Extension workers	Bina	Cooperative staff
Wuri	Cacao breeder	Mardi	CV Marewa 45
Halimah	Cacao breeder	Rustam	CV Marewa 45
Rini	Farmer	Kawal	Farmer
Danila	Farmer	Puja	Cacao breeder
Kaisa	Housewife	Rahman	Farmer, sub-collector
Lila	Farmer	Fajar	Collector
Maya	Housewife	Agus	Collector
Tara	Cacao breeder	Ahmad	ICS
		Tigor	Cocoa doctor
		Salim	Farmer
		Udin	Cooperative staff

The last method I used in my research is the focus group discussion (FGD). FGD will complete my understanding of this topic and its dynamic in the collective setting.

Masagena staffs helped me to organise the FGD, start from the selection of its participant. I give my criteria to have ten women and ten men who will involve in the FGD. The staff give me the list and invite the participant by a phone call. I follow this step since the staff is more experienced in this field. The day of FGD, I got more than 10 men and less than 10 women. I got helped by my college MDR student who also did his data collection in Luwu Utara. His name is Ulil, and he is a native Bugis, so it helped me to have engagement with the participants. During the FGD, we record some of the processes, write the salient part, and taking pictures of the result.

Figure 6. Focus group discussion



The FGD divided into three different phases which start one after another. First, I want to know about farmers' knowledge and skill related to the good agricultural practices based on the training that they have been involved. The first phase was involving all the women and men into one big group. I asked them the key questions, and everyone is free to respond. In this section, beside the content of their discussion, I also look at their interaction, how they respond to each other as a mixed group of women and men. Second, I want to gather information about what is the roles that inspire them. In this stage, I divided the group into two small groups based on their gender identity. Women gather with women and men gather with men. Here, the discussion held in the small group and was facilitated by Ulil and me. Ulil helped the women's group, and I took

the chance to facilitate men's group. Again, besides the content, I want to look at their interaction in the small homogenous group.

Moreover, I also noted whether each group feel comfortable if being facilitated by the opposite gender. The last part, I want to gather information about specific activities based on a gender stereotype. For example, what tasks are done by women only, men only and joint activities are done together. In this section, the category of the group remains the same, but we exchange the facilitator. I join the discussion in the women's group, and Ulil join the group of men. In addition, the interaction during the FGD not only influenced by the gender identity of the facilitator (me and Ulil) but also the capabilities to speak the local language. Since Ulil is native Bugis, he fluently speaks Buginese which steals the attention from the audience. Buginese which steals the attention of the audience.

Positionality in the research

In the ethnographic research, the positioning of a researcher is critical and either directly or indirectly influenced the result of the study. In my research, I carried some identities that already embedded such as I am an Indonesian woman who is also Muslim and Javanese. My identity determined the first impression of the people whom I met in the field. As an Indonesian, I got the benefit to speak the same national language which makes it easier for the local people to communicate with me. Even though on some occasion, local people speak Buginese or Luwu while having a conversation with each other. Thus, made my observation cannot fully cover the context of their conversation.

The fact that I am a woman can be both beneficial and create a limit for me. Since in Luwu Utara, a kitchen is women's area. I can easily mingle with Ibu-Ibu (mothers) and have a conversation with them to build an open relationship and strong trust. On the other hand, as an Indonesian Muslim woman, I was taught to discomfort when mingling with men. I bravely bragged myself to mingle with Bapak-Bapak (adult men – father) because, in Udin's grocery store, people both women and men often sit together and during lunchtime or afternoon break. However, because I came from outside the region and treated as a guest (assumed to have a different culture), I can easily join gathering on a casual occasion.

The access from Rikolto and living in a respected figure influence my interaction with local people. Moreover, as a young Indonesian woman who is studying MSc degree in the Netherlands made my position stronger. Studying in a foreign country is considered as a prestigious and not yet common for Indonesians, especially in the countryside. People are often curious about the experience of living in a foreign country. During my participant observation, I can have a fruitful conversation by exchanging the idea with the stakeholders and farmers talking about the Netherlands and cocoa production in Luwu Utara.

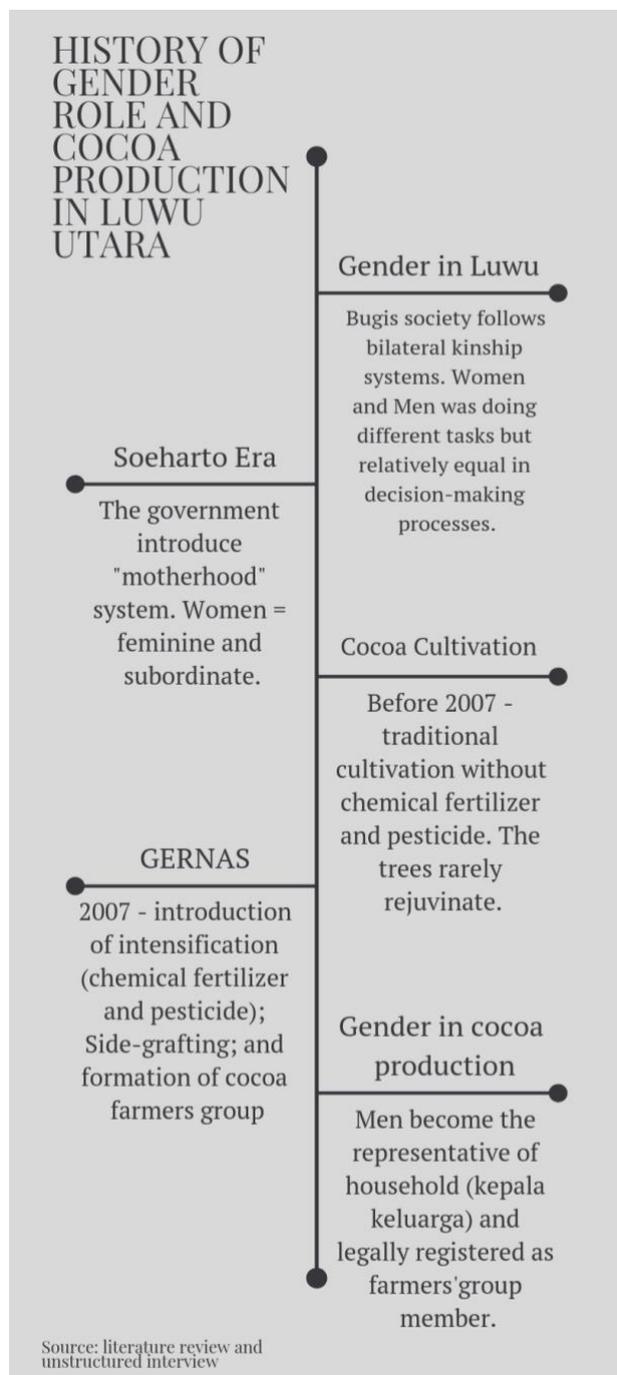
Analysis

All interviews were written down, manually transcribed in Bahasa Indonesia. Start from data transcription, I analyse the conversation and match with the observation result. The components that I take a look from the interview are personal information (gender, occupation, member status of farmer group or cooperative); the access and control over resource and service; access to markets and employment; basic skill and knowledge; voice and representation outside the home; and role in the field, organisation and household. Finally, I analysed focus group discussion as the written report. During the focus group discussion, I gathered the information about the collective understanding of how women and men perceived their role and relation.

Chapter 5: Historical Context

This chapter answered the first sub-research question to explain the historical context of the ethnography research, in summary presented in the Figure 11. The region of South

Figure 7. History of gender role and cocoa production in Luwu Utara



Sulawesi is home to large populations of four major ethnolinguistic groups: over 3 million Bugis, about 2 million Makassar, 600.000 Toraja, and 400.000 Mandar (Pelras 1996, p.12 cited from Silvey, 2000). In Bugis society, as is usually the case with other societies in the world, men and women have their areas of activity. However, the Bugis do not consider men and women to be more dominant with each other. The criteria for differentiating gender roles are based more on social tendencies in general individual behavior (Mangemba, 1975). The Bugis apply the principle of gender equality in their bilateral kinship system, where the mother and father have an equal role in determining the kinship line (Pelras, 2005) so that they consider men and women to have an equal (although different) role in social life.

In the domestic-sphere, women were involved in weaving, cooking, cleaning, and caring for children, all of which limited their mobility at the time (Andersson & Lundqvist, 2014; Gibson, 2009) as it continues to do now (Pelras, 2005). Women were also visible as

traders particularly in local markets, indicating that during this period women were mobile independently, at least over short distances (Pennington & Hastie, 1993). Historically the Bugis, the largest ethnic group in the region, have been especially mobile. Indeed, "by the end

of the eighteenth century there were already Bugis settlements in many places,” (Silvey, 2000).

Besides, after the introduction of Islam since 17th century in South Sulawesi coincided with the placement of controls on women’s dress and spatial mobility (Reid, 1993). Although these controls rationalized regarding the necessity of protecting women’s sexual purity and morality (Chabot, 1996; Errington, 1989), some women, especially those high class resisted these reductions in their status and mobility (Reid, 1993). Hence, the entry of Islam has introduced and encouraged behavior that seems to place men more prominently than women, but originally, Islamic rules are not trigger men domination (King, 2009; Pelras, 2009).

During President Suharto’s New Order regime (1966-1998), the Indonesian state tended to push forward the country’s distinctly gendered. The gender ideology of the New Order State based on idealized notions of femininity, which it has implemented via what is known as “*keibuan*” (the state’s ideology of *motherhood* and appropriate behaviour for women) (Suryakusuma, 2014). The image of being “*keibuan*” which spread through the national television carried out a new standard of being women, which mainly characterised by becoming cooking expert, caring and nurturing. Its standard inspires women to follow this government taught to be an ideal woman including the rural area that mainly dependent on the agricultural sector. The main actor in the field and public sphere dominated by men (Béjar & Elstain, 2010).

These notions of femininity are particularly relevant for understanding how the gender dimensions of the Bugis have changed recently and for clarifying the state’s role in shaping the context of the contemporary gendered transformation of role and relation (Silvey, 2000). Concerning the context of cocoa production in Luwu Utara, this history cannot be abandoned as the factor in shaping their way of doing the cultivation now and then.

South Sulawesi society has been a cocoa farmer for a long time, because cocoa is indeed one of the commodities planted as a relic of the Dutch colonial era in Indonesia (Pelras, 2005), including Luwu Utara. Per 2012, cocoa production able to provide jobs for more than 400.000 families of small farmers (Fahmid, 2013). Based on the data by Indonesian Statistic in Luwu Utara, all the cocoa plantation owned by smallholder. Refers to the data I mentioned above, BPS Luwu Utara (2018) stated that the comparison of women and men who involve in the agricultural sector are 1:2. Even though the data said that women less active in the

agricultural sector, the facts are that they are also participating in working in the cocoa production, but it may count as unpaid labour (BPS Luwu Utara, 2018).

The gap between women and men who involved in cocoa production is increased owing to a government program that seems to put men first. The initiative of cocoa regulation began in 2007, the local government of Luwu Utara creates “Germas Takwa” or Farmers Movement to create a better quality of Cocoa in Luwu Utara. After a while, the national government through the Ministry of Agriculture introduce GERNAS (Gerakan Nasional - National Movement) as the upgrade scope of Germas Takwa. Through GERNAS as explained in Box 3, the Ministry of Agriculture create the rules and regulations for cocoa farmers in Indonesia.

Box 3	Gerakan Nasional (GERNAS) Kakao
<p>One form of government policy implementation is the Decree of the Minister of Agriculture with Number: 1643 / Kpts / OT / 160/12/2008 dated December 2, 2008, concerning the organization and formation of a coordination team for the National Movement to increase production and quality of cocoa (GERNAS Cocoa). Furthermore, the Director General of Estate Crops by referring to the Decree of the Minister of Agriculture, issued a General Guidelines for the implementation of the target program activities for 1999-2012 for plantation rejuvenation activities with an area of 16,000 ha.</p> <p>At that time the program was named the Germas Takwa Program. Germas Takwa is the acronym of <i>Gerakan Masyarakat Tanaman Kakao Berkualitas</i> or can be translated literally as Society movement for high quality cocoa. Germas Takwa's activity was initiated by the Regent of Luwu - the forerunner of the Cocoa GERNAS program - and was then shown directly to the governor, and at that time the Governor of South Sulawesi responded immediately well and subsequently was scheduled to become a long-term program.</p> <p>The program plan was then proposed by the Governor of South Sulawesi (Syahrul YL) to vice president Jusuf Kalla, and he responded well because seeing this was important, then Mr. Jusuf Kalla instructed to issue a blueprint for GERNAS for cocoa to accelerate the program.</p> <p>GERNAS Cocoa is a top-down policy where decision recommendations must be the same from the government level to the district government. Even though the conditions of farmers and plantations in the district are not necessarily following the policies that have been decided by the government. Program implementation began in 2009 with the hope that this program can be effective at the farm level.</p>	

First, the method of garden rejuvenation with the technology of procuring seeds with somatic embryogenesis (SE). The seed came from ICCRI in Jember as an organisation that was given the authority to distribute seeds to the GERNAS region.

Rejuvenation of SE plants causes the production process to break because it takes about five years for the plant to return to production. The impact is that for farmers, they lose their income temporarily.

Efforts to improve growth and productivity by using side grafting technology, namely attaching entries of cacao which have superior genetic properties to cocoa which have superior genetic traits to old undersea trees.

Third, plantation intensification, it is alleged that farmers who have been given skills in management technology, fertilizers and anti-pest and disease medicines for cocoa plants, find that the fertiliser is used for other crops, so it is less useful. If fertiliser is not available, the production will not be maximized. These problems are increasingly complex because the laziness of farmers to care for and maintain gardens is difficult to change and has become a daily habit.

Source:

Nonci (2017) on her book: Implementasi Program Gernas Kakao: Studi kebijakan program gernas.

Along the way through the implementation of GERNAS in Indonesia, including Luwu Utara, farmers got various change especially in the way of cultivating cocoa. The goal of this program translated into three sub-goals: cocoa rejuvenation; side-grafting; and intensification (Nonci, 2017). However, during the implementation, this program facing many problems such as the different ways of translating the rules and regulations between the government and farmers. Indonesian government regulations on a population that make men as family heads have an impact on the reasonableness of making men as representatives of the family. Men become family representatives to join farmer groups formally.

“The government encourages family heads to become members, so that if husband’s family is dead or divorced, then widow can be formally registered as a member of farmer group.” – Nanda

On the other side, this program successfully attracts many international donors named Swisscontact, VECO (now Rikolto), and MARS to come and make a partnership with Luwu Utara to improve the quality of cocoa production. Improvement scheme provided by NGOs brought significant change. Cocoa farmers who formerly participated in the training or farmers field school (FFS) recognised that their knowledge and ability to manage cocoa is increasing. The knowledge provided is not only about cocoa farming techniques, but also

knowledge about business and management. The opportunity to sell cocoa beans to the international market is also open which has an impact on improving the quality that continues to be sought by various parties.

This is the end of the chapter about the history that influences the transformation. From the interviews, in 2007, men involved in the cocoa farmers' group and learn about side-grafting. While women worked to help manage the plantation and post-harvest. It concludes that the roles of men in a cocoa field more active compare to women.

Chapter 6: Conditions Offered by External Institutions

This chapter will continue the story of transformation happened in Luwu Utara particularly to answer the second sub research question (see Figure 12): “*What aspects of the*

Figure 8. SRQ-2: Condition offered by external institutions

<p style="text-align: center;">SRQ-2: Conditions (external institutions)</p> <p>National and local government: Regulation & innovation transfer</p> <p>Rikolto and MARS: Capacity building & innovation transfer</p> <p>Masagena cooperative: Mentoring the farmers' household, provide business unit, support inclusive participation</p>
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conditions offered by external institutions that influenced of the transformation of gender roles and relations?”. Information presented in this chapter gained through a series of participant observation, literature review, and interviews (unstructured and semi-structured). The conditions that trigger the change of women and men roles in cocoa production offered by four major institutions: the Indonesian Government, Rikolto, MARS, and Masagena cooperative.

Government

Through GERNAS, the government of Indonesia launched a rule to support the uniformity on the national scale. The government sends the extension worker to give the socialisation to the farmers. The socialisation contains in the training skill of using the side-grafting method. The movement embarked massive rejuvenation of a cocoa plantation in Luwu Utara. The innovation not only stops from here. Farmers are also creative enough to improve their breeding skills. They were doing trial and error accompanied by extension workers sent by the Department of Agriculture.

Besides ICCRI provides the facility to find the local germplasm. They suggest the farmers analyse which plant on their field that gives the highest yield. Based on farmers finding in the field, further, the researcher of ICCRI assessed the cocoa trees. They checked if it is new and original germplasm. In one opportunity, farmers in Luwu Utara found and indicated that one of the cocoa trees in his field gives a higher yield. Then the researcher analyses: born MCC02 (see Box 4).

Box 4 MCC 02: Luwu Utara original cocoa hybrid clone

MCC02 or M45 is original clone found in Masamba, Luwu Utara. The clone had the certificate from the Ministry of Agriculture of Indonesia which consider to widely use in other areas.



(ICCRI, 2014)

Adriyani Ismail (Head of Department of Forestry and Plantation of Luwu Utara) said, “MCC 02 has the advantage of elongated elliptical bean, flat surface, dry bean weight of 1.61 grams, fat content of 49.2%”. Moreover, MCC 02 is resistance to endemic pest and diseases, such as VSD, cocoa pod borer (CPB) and Phytophthora pod rot (PPR) (Susilo, 2015). self-compatible and cross-compatible.

The clones of MCC 01 and MCC 02 were registered as local variety authorized by the Government of North Luwu District with the registration number of No.54/PVL/2013 and No.55/PVL/2013 respectively and the historical background of which was reported by Susilo (2013).



(ICCRI, 2014)

The picture above shows the MCC 02 trees from different age. The top left is cocoa tree after top-grafting on 14 months old, 1-meter height. Top right is the 2 years old cocoa tree. Bottom left, and right is MCC 02 trees cultivated by using side grafting method and direct grafting on 18 months old and 15 months old. The result shows that MCC 02 is optimal if cultivated by using top-grafting methods. Syarif (Rikolto Cocoa Manager in Sulawesi) said that MCC 02 can be harvested at the age of 16 months. The combination of MCC 02 and top-grafting method create the specific condition. The tree is shorter and can be cultivated since the early age. Beforehand, farmers need to wait until 2 years or more to cultivate the cocoa.

Source:

Susilo, et al. (2012); Susilo, Mawardi, & Sudarianto(2009), *ICCRI (2014) and interview*

The discovery of MCC 02 changing the direction of cultivating cocoa. Its hybrid character brought more and more cocoa farmers to produce this seed. Combining with side-grafting methods, farmers improved their cocoa production in the field. Since Luwu Utara has a local hybrid clone, it registered in the ICCRI database. For now, to fulfil the need for cocoa seed in Sulawesi or others part of Indonesia, the government frequently asks the local seed supplier. There are two types of supplier: big-scale owned by an individual or group and small-scale. The request can be up to 300.000 seeds per 3 months. Seedling housework together and collaborate to work for the government tender. Owner of seedling house massively recruits top-grafter which give the opportunity for the local people to get a new job and income.

The innovation created on a national scale. Then it delivered by the local government represented by extension officers. In Luwu Utara, Aisyah is one of the current extension officers. In Masamba district, Aisyah has a close relationship with Masagena cooperative. She works for the government to monitor farmers and give advance suggestion about their agricultural problems. Her presence also inspires women by giving specific training to Kelompok Wanita Tani (KWT - women farmers' group). She gave the training about gardening, waste management, and household nutrition. Most of the activities offered by the Ministry of Agriculture. KWT are becoming the place for women to socialise, exchanging idea about household problems, and creating a demonstration plot for vegetables. Aisyah said:

“In the past, many women join KWT activities. Unfortunately, once the mentoring finished, the enthusiasm also decreases. Especially in the vegetable garden program, we want to give an example, we hoped, they could continue. However, when the subsidy of input stopped, the activities also disappear”.

Even though KWT inactive recently, some members continue to grow vegetables in front of their house. The goal of this program is to support household nutrition and increase family income. It achieved by either selling it or harvesting it, so they no need to buy. If it addressed successfully, the program would give the alternative income for the family. Then, no need to rely for cocoa harvesting time upon to get the money.

NGO and Company

The story started in 2012. That year, Rikolto and Masagena cooperative started their partnership. It marks the starting time of the condition in cocoa production in Luwu Utara that I looked at. Rikolto works to improve cocoa farmers livelihood. One of its programs counts the inclusive development carried out through the involvement of women and youth in the cocoa value chain. Several strategies applied to increase the quality of the cocoa product. This NGO also claims they want to increase farmers' capabilities and wellbeing. I categorised and chose specific aspects that create the conditions for women and men that influenced the transformation of their gender roles and relations. Even though I mainly will emphasise Rikolto's program, later on, I will also tell the story from some NGOs or private-institution who have a partnership with Masagena cooperative such as MARS.

1. Rikolto Transfer of Innovation

“We need to begin with the individual farmers who make up the industry. To increase their yields and incomes, we need to help provide better access to improved planting materials, fertilisers, and best-practise training.” – Peni, Cocoa sector Manager, Rikolto (2017).

Rikolto gives a chance for the farmers in Luwu Utara to attend training. The training aims to improve the level of awareness and skills of the farmers. Here, Rikolto provides non-gendered based training. Means that Rikolto aims to let women and men join the training. By giving the condition that makes women and men meet on the same occasion, it will give a chance for them to have an interaction. Start from the interaction in the public sphere, women and men can use this opportunity to learn from each other and give an opinion. After the training, Rikolto hopes that all the participants, no matter women or men, will gain new knowledge, skill, and attitude to improve in a specific topic. Rikolto also has the goal to create the training participant as their agent to teach their family and neighbour.

Training given by Rikolto varies in the term of topics. Masagena staffs as the implementer in the field got the training of a trainer (TOT) to improve their public speaking skills, organisational related-knowledge, management, and business. Step by step further, Rikolto delegates authority to Masagena to manage farmers' training as needed. From this moment, every year, Masagena draw the proposal to get training support fund from Rikolto. In 2018, training conducted in Luwu Utara covered agricultural technique, business and management, gender mainstreaming, certification, and nutrition for the family.

When Rikolto arrived in Luwu Utara for the first time, farmers got the training simultaneously from other institutions such as the Department of Agriculture, Swisscontact, and Prima Cacao. When I asked several farmers in the field about what type of training they have had involved, most of them said they already forgot.

” ... wah sudah banyak sekali mba, saya sudah lupa, ya banyak pokoknya” ...” I have joined many of them, but I forget, because I joined multiple times, I cannot recall when and what it is about” – Kawal

Figure 9. Kebun bibit (seedling house)



One of the remarkable training participated by farmers which spread through all of the areas is the innovation to use top-grafting cultivation methods. Who introduced top-grafting for the first time were not recognise by the farmers. As I asked several farmers, they assumed and mentioned some of the institution names, but a different answer from one another. Some of the farmers learned this cultivation method from their family and neighbour. Top-grafting skill becomes the new business in Luwu Utara. More and more farmers build the seedling house (Rumah pembibitan) in front of their house or their yard.

2. Rikolto Organisational Capacity building

Rikolto introduced new regulation particularly for the cooperative to strengthen its farmers' organisation. The regulation is not highly strict for the staffs and organisations to follow, but more into the suggestion that possible to be applied. Inclusive business by encouraging women and youth involved as the official staff of the cooperative successfully increase the percentage of women and youth on the board. ICS Manager (Dirman) said, “*...beforehand, the cooperative dominated by men, but now we have more and more women on board, it because of Rikolto suggested us to have at least 40% of women as the officer...”*”.

Rikolto belief that strengthening farmers organisation will be beneficial to increase farmers' bargaining power to the external parties. Buyer from outside of the country or exporter is strict to the quality of cocoa. Farmers follow the rules and regulation but often weak in negotiation. Masagena learns the legal instruction of exporting cocoa bean. It power-up the organisation. Then, they become independent in a term of negotiating their value to the external buyer.

As the NGO, Rikolto not only working to improve cocoa farmers' livelihood and wellbeing by giving training. They also give their hand to do advocacy. The aim for advocacy is helping farmers negotiate from the third party such as buyer and certification institution. For example, Rikolto helps farmers to negotiate with MARS. They advocate MARS except buy the cocoa bean from farmers, also create the sustainability team. I will explain in the next point.

3. MARS Sustainability team

In the beginning, MARS came to Luwu Utara as a cocoa buyer. MARS has chocolate factories in Indonesia. It relies on the cocoa bean supply from local smallholders. As I mentioned before, Rikolto feels that farmers worked hard to fulfil company demand. However, the societal aspects overlooked by the company. The implication of the negotiation marked the establishment of a sustainability team. MARS Sustainability team works to engage farmers to do good agricultural practices (GAP). It critically looks at the use of chemical fertiliser, a chemical pesticide, safety clothes,

environmental focus, and labour welfare. They actively build communication with Masagena on regard to cocoa farmers.

Masagena and MARS agreed that they need to negotiate the price, especially after the certification. MARS gives premium fees for the cocoa farmers who sell their bean under the Rainforest Alliance certification. The premium fees paid every six months. Farmers motivated to join the certification because they can improve their income. Collecting point established to buy and collect farmers wet bean. Collecting point aims to cut the cocoa supply chain — owned by farmers. In Luwu Utara, they called it collector. Collector has a specific system to buy the cocoa bean. If farmers cannot fulfil the minimum quality standard, MARS team and collector quality control (QC) team will assess the quality and shortage of the bean. Collecting point becomes the new market and trade system for the farmers. There is an opportunity to work as a collector or the team. The team include administrative, quality control, or driver is open for everyone. For the farmers, a collecting point gives the fresh air to get a higher price and fresh money without getting the pressure from the middlemen.

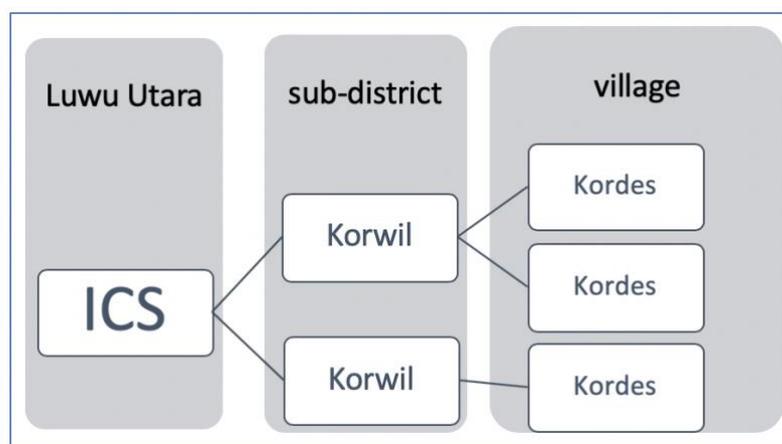
After MARS creating sustainability team, farmers get another opportunity of training. The program called CVC or Cocoa Village Centre. CVC means that in every village will have the representatives and giving the proper example for their surroundings. The good example -farmers- called as the cocoa doctor. They got the training for about two months. The training materials are: good agricultural practices for a month, business and management for two weeks and the rest are about another supportive and related topic. The unique training material in the CVC program is they get gender training which seems unfamiliar for the farmers. Farmers' spouse also attends similar training but in a shorter period. Since most of the cocoa doctor are men, the training for their spouse held only in 2 weeks and during the day (half-day). Farmers' said it was respecting women's schedule as the housewife which mainly focus on taking care of household tasks.

Local organisation: Masagena cooperative

Masagena cooperative support cocoa farmers both women and men to increase their independence. After I have a conversation with some staffs, they said, in the future, cocoa farmers could not rely on a cocoa plantation only. That was why they give the mentoring

program to the farmers. After registered as the member of Rainforest Alliance certification, Masagena through its unit business – CV Marewa 45 – formed internal control systems or ICS. The primary function of ICS is to monitor and organise the farmers in the field. Farmers need to follow the regulation provided by the RA certification. ICS works in multi-level. In the district level directed by CV Marewa 45, it is then helped by the coordinator. In the sub-district called or Koordinator Wilayah (Korwil). Each Korwil has the responsibility to manage five village coordinator or called Koordinator Desa (Kordes). Background of ICS coordinator are cocoa farmers, and they work for CV Marewa 45 as an outsourcing staff.

Figure 10. Internal Control System (ICS) hierarchy



Masagena cooperative encourages both women and men to join as a staff, especially if the farmers or staffs are below 35 years old. The former staffs of Masagena cooperative said that new and young age is good for the source of innovation.

“I am getting old, and the cooperative need the regeneration, the age changing, and new technology and innovation invented every year. I often cannot follow the innovation, but younger people are a fast learner and always ready for the new technology. We need them to bring fresh air into the cooperative. They often provide unexpected result and discussion to solve a particular problem, as their senior, I would like to listen more, and I like it”. – Dirman, ICS Manager

Managing more than 2000 members of the cooperative need a big number of human resources. Board of the director has the responsibility to maintain networks and external parties. It requires communication skill, negotiation, and management. Managing farmers database, proposal, and cooperative agenda handled by the administrative staffs which require computer skills, advance internet knowledge, and certain office skills.

“Training system was determined by ICS by visiting cocoa planting locations and seeing the shortcomings. Then compile an RKO or organizational activity plan. The location of the training or meeting depends on the farmer or the ability of ICS, can be in the

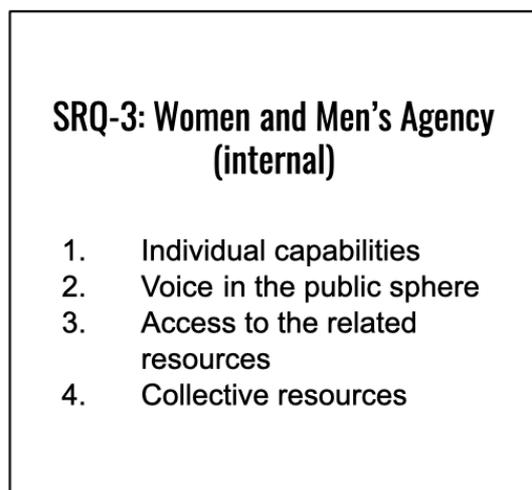
garden or the room. Indeed, farmers are often not interested in training which put a lot emphasize on theory rather than practice in the field. In the field, farmers can better understand the purpose of training and technical questions are easier to convey.” – Dirman

Opportunity brought by Masagena cooperative should be matched with the requirement and capability. Due to the small number of farmers or non-farmers who have the skill to work the official duty, this opportunity opens up for those who never directly involved in the cocoa production value chain, I will explain more in the transformation chapter.

Chapter 7: Agency of Women and Men Cocoa Farmers

In this section, I would like to present the agency owned by women and men that help them

Figure 11. SRQ-3: Women's and Men's Agency (internal)



to create change. I narrow down the agency of women and men divided into four aspects: individual capabilities, a voice in the public sphere, access to the related resources and women farmers group. Unravelling the aspects which counted as internal factors own by women and men in cocoa production will help me understand how they take advantage of the opportunities offered by external institutions.

Individual capabilities

The most basic thing women and men have is their knowledge to carry out their daily activities. Knowledge can be obtained from various sources. There are those who learn from observing their ancestors (parents) and own practice, and some obtained through formal education and training. In the context of cocoa production, the majority of women and men currently have the basic knowledge of cultivation and proper agricultural techniques. They learned by practising from their family, and sharpened through training provided by the government, NGOs, and Masagena cooperatives.

“Most of all the farmers are expert in cultivating their cocoa plantation. No matter their gender is, they know exactly when the perfect time is to apply fertiliser or pesticide. Training given in the past helped them to increase their agricultural skills. I would say that cocoa farmers in Luwu Utara are competitive in term of cultivating cocoa compared to cocoa farmers in others area in Indonesia” – Bina

During my participant observation, every moment I have a chance to talk with farmers in a field, both women and men. They can explain the step by step cultivating cocoa very clear. Only small shortcomings found because sometimes they have difficulties in expressing their sentences. Some elderly explained using local language which translated by the staffs who accompanied me.

I also found some differences in knowledge owned by women and men. In agricultural techniques, men are prioritised to learn new technology — for example, electric machine or

tools which requires heavy physical work. For example, during GERNAS, only men could use an electric saw. Women are not allowed because the electric saw is not tools for women. After the introduction of top-grafting methods, women and men in Luwu Utara learn how to optimise cultivation technology.

“In terms of cultivating cocoa using top-grafting, we already improved the techniques. The probability of seed that lives is high by replacing the plastic hood model into a coil model” – Udin.

In addition, women considered being an expert at doing top grafting. Top grafting socially taught to be delicate work, so that women are more involved in this type of works.

“Compare to my wife, I am way behind in doing top-grafting, she learned very fast and improved her skills after trial and error every day”- Rustam

The skill to breed cocoa seedlings makes farmers have a choice to start a new business as seed sellers or suppliers. Becoming a seed supplier makes farmers have a new alternative source of income so that they can increase their livelihood.

The evidence I presented above shows that the majority of farmers learn the basic agricultural techniques by doing or helping their family since the young age. The basic knowledge in doing cocoa production makes them counted as a person who has the capability to join the cocoa farming actively. Besides, if someone has the chance to improve their knowledge or skills, it will give them more options to do other than the job mastered by everyone in the field. In here, men generally became an early adopter of new knowledge and innovation since they know it first. However, women can gain the same knowledge and skills as they often got the chance to learn from their spouse or neighbourhood, or in some cases, they join the training.

Voice in the public sphere

Either men or women, the person who has a voice in public space has an advantage. They can have more opportunities to express their opinion, wishes and hopes for something. The ability to express their voice in public makes someone have a bargaining position. Frequently in a meeting or gathering, decision-making is done on the spot. If men or women have the same rights to express personal voice, they can actively participate in voting for collective decisions. Their voice will be counted as a consideration to make the decision for the group.

In Masagena, I observed that both women and men have equal rights to speak up their voice. I have had to join the cooperative meeting in the office. Staffs sit on the chair together and free to take place to sit. During the meeting, the moderator conveyed a problem to the attendees. Whoever has the answer will be listened by the rest of the attendees. It has no link with their gender or social status. I saw that some attendees raised their hand and wait for their turn given by the moderator. Besides, I have also witnessed, when the staffs of Masagena cooperative conducted a meeting to evaluate activity, everyone was welcome to take turns giving an evaluation or suggestion.

During the field observation, I joined most public activities conducted by Masagena cooperative and CV Marewa 45. First, this was because I only got information from Masagena. So, I did not know the other activities conducted by other parties. I cannot make sure whether in the smaller group or organisation the dynamic of interaction between men and women will be the same. Besides, in a different setting, I observed the casual conversation between *bapak-bapak*(adult men) and *ibu-ibu*(adult women). During their free time, they were comfortable to mingle and throw jokes. It proved that in Luwu Utara, women and men have their agency to speak in the public space. If they use their voice in a more formal setting, it gives a chance to choose a better option, for them or the group.

[Access to related resources](#)

Farmers need physical resources to support the activities of cocoa farmers. It helps to carry out their farming business. The resources used to develop cocoa plantations are land, agricultural tools, and inputs such as seeds, fertilisers, and pesticides. If a farmer already owns it – or rent – he can do cocoa cultivation.

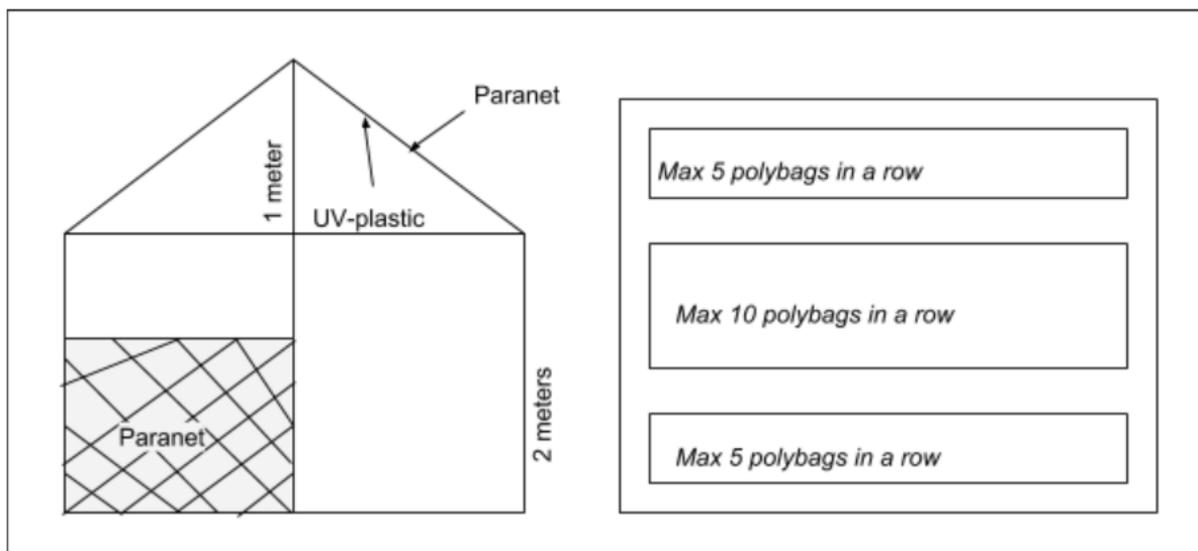
In Luwu Utara, the legal owner of the land is under the head of the family. If the head of the family is a man, then it owns by the husband. A woman has the legal rights to own the land resource (usually) if she is a widow or inherits the land from her parents. The pattern of settlements in rural areas in Luwu Utara follows linear rules on roads and also follows random patterns. This random pattern created because in the past farmers build houses based on the location of their gardens or vice versa. So, most smallholders have cocoa plantation next to their houses. If he or she has more than one land, they could locate it far from home or outside the village.

Figure 12. Seedling house



In addition, some farmers also have seedling houses. The size of the seedling house varies depending on the wishes of the farmer. The shorter part of the seedling house approximately 2 meters and the tallest part of it approximately 3 meters. Basically, the most basic need for a seedling house is para-net and UV plastic which are useful for controlling pests and disease and storing heat.

Figure 13. Seedling house design



In my casual conversation with some farmers in the field, the main goal to have a seedling house is to get extra income for the family. MCC 02 – the hybrid clone – give the impact to the local farmers related to the high demand for high-quality cocoa seed.

“In one day, I approximately finish transplanting 300 polybags of cocoa seed. If I work for my neighborhood seedling house, one polybag is valued at 0,035\$.” – NANDAO

Besides, the innovation introduced by the government and private institutions brought changes in agricultural technique — for example, the use of pruning scissor which replaced machete function. Beforehand, a machete is considered being man’s tool. Then, only in a specific condition, women use a machete. However, after they used pruning scissor, women are more involved in cocoa farming.

The other evidence I saw in the field is that most of the farmers have a vehicle in their house, varies from a motorcycle, car, or even a truck. The wealthy family who own the car usually let the man or woman ride the car. Most women and men are also an expert in riding a motorcycle. They use it to go to the cocoa farm. Private vehicles give the easiest way to travel around since there is no public transport in the rural area.

Collective resources

In Indonesia, the society is more valuing social capital. The benefit of having good social capital is that people will have a chance to exchange their idea and information. The society is maintaining social capital through intense interaction on many occasions through a village meeting, a gathering, a wedding ceremony, praying time, and many others. Here, some occasion let women and men exercise their power, to be included, to feel supported by the society. Women and men have their own private space which is gender-based. For example, the kitchen is the private zone of a woman. I rarely saw men enter the kitchen, seems like only women allowed to perform activities there. One time, I heard a mother yelled to her son who followed her to the kitchen, she said:” *...hey, come on, go play outside, a boy should not be in the kitchen*”.

In opposite, during my participant observation in some formal meeting occasion, men are likely to gather with men. They smoke together and most likely have the same joke which sometimes not understandable for women. Muslim men, they have a specific ritual which only allows men to join called Shalat Jum’at or Friday Pray. During Shalat Jum’at, men go together in a mosque near their surroundings around lunchtime, marked by the sun which spot in the top of our head. During Shalat Jum’at, men can have a chance to interact with each other and exchange information, news, others. I have a lack of access to the men’s

formal or casual gathering because I am a woman and when I was around, they likely to change the topic.

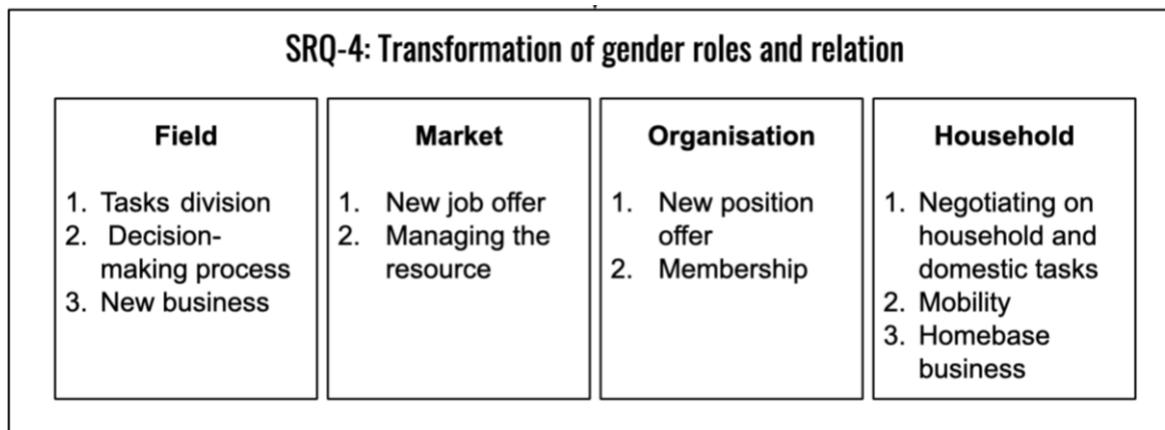
In Luwu Utara, the government facilitate the women through a collective group called Kelompok Wanita Tani (KWT) or Women farmers' group. KTW was present to answer the concerns of women who felt limited in their mobility and the time to take part in farmer group activities. On average, farmer groups hold meetings at night, after the farmers have finished managing the garden. For some women responsible for taking care of children (especially those who are still small), they will share their duties with their husbands. Because of the evening farmer group meetings, the husband left for the event and the wife looked after the child and the house. In opposite, KWT activities take place in the afternoon or daylight, which most of the women free from their household activities.

As I mentioned above, KWT activities emphasis on the domestic sphere. In Luwu Utara, the extension worker said KWT not active because the program already ended. However, in the past, KWT gave a chance for women to share their experiences related to household problems, increase their knowledge and skills and support each other.

In conclusion, I believe that during men and women's private time to gather in a separate group, they would like to have a safe space to talk to each other about convenience topic. These types of gathering will empower either women or men to take a choice and action in the past or the future.

Chapter 8: Transformation of Gender Roles and Relations

Figure 14. SRQ-4: Transformation of gender roles and relations



Looking in greater depth at the conditions brought by external institutions and the agency of women and men have highlighted the factors influenced the transformation of gender roles and relations in Luwu Utara. Having drawn attention to these external and internal change, it is now essential to look at the transformation happened in four domains: field, market, organisations, and household.

Field

The first domain of the transformation of gender roles and relations in cocoa production happened in the field. Since the context of this research focuses on the smallholder's farmers and family who has involved in the cocoa production, cocoa field is the crucial area that I need to look. There are three aspects that I looked at in the field and asked during the casual conversation and semi-structured interview. These aspects are: division of tasks; decision-making processes; and new business emerged in the cocoa production.

1. Division of tasks

Division of tasks in the cocoa field determined the gender roles of women and men who involved in the production cycle. In cocoa cultivation, the tasks divided into three different phases: preparation, take care of the plants, and harvest and post-harvest. During the preparation of land, men are likely having more responsibility than women, since the preparation need to carry heavy agricultural tools such as machetes and mattock. In the first phase, women's more into the preparation of the seeds.

“Seedling and breeding usually have done by women, since it needs the delicate works. First, we fill the polybag (isi koker), then plant the seed, after that we need to do the top-grafting in order to get the best seed. If the seeds are ready to be grafted, I will ask my husband to get the entrees (branch) from the field, or sometimes I did it by myself. Then I will take care of the top-grafting until it will ready to be transplanted.” – Lila

After GERNAS which lead the farmers to do the side-grafting, new technology came to cultivate the cocoa called top-grafting. Top-grafting does not require electric saw – taught as the men’s tool – instead of using a small knife and scissors. Top-grafting can take place in the house or the field. Top-grafting is the example when individual capabilities meet the opportunity will enable both women and men involved in the tasks. The opportunity to do the top-grafting also supported by the discovery of MCC02 and the use of scissor (an innovation which increases the efficiency of farmers). Top-grafting is the example that women and men utilised their knowledge and skills to grab the opportunity. From this moment, the new tasks are available for women and men in cocoa production.

In general, most of the farmers and the stakeholder agreed that – during planting and caring phase – men have the responsibility to handle the heavy-physical tasks such as spraying the fertiliser and pesticides. During the spraying time, farmers should carry on the sprayer tube which contains approximately 20 litres of liquid. From this evidence, some of the roles in the field are divided by gender stereotype. In this case, the individual capabilities of women and men can be biased. It means that the tasks sometimes count the gender of the farmer but overlooked the individual capabilities.

“Application of fertiliser and pesticides should be made by men, because it is heavy, and if the total area of the cocoa plantation is also wide, then it will be very tiring for women. Women have another responsibility at home” – Salim

“If *Bapak* (her husband) have other duties outside of the village and it was the time for applying fertiliser or pesticide, I will handle that by myself. Alternatively, if we have money to hire people, we will ask for help” – Danila

“Applying fertiliser and pesticides should be done by men. But in the special case, if women are a widow or have no money to hire people, she will do that by herself. However, that is uncommon here” – Tigor

From the interviews above, most of the farmers agree that women can take the responsibility to apply fertiliser and pesticide only due to special conditions that counted as no other alternatives or options available.

On the other hands, the tasks that not counted as a heavy-physical job are negotiable both for women and men. These tasks are weeding, pruning, watering. Beforehand, pruning is counted as the heavy-physical job because it required the skill to use machete which not every woman can do that. After multiple series of training about good agricultural practices, the use of a machete to do the pruning changed into pruning-scissor.

“Now that we are pruning our trees using a scissor, it became easier and faster. Moreover, the result if we use scissor is better than we use a machete.” – Rini

Moreover, based on the stories told by stakeholders in several moments, the discovery of clone MCC 02 also create a change since the plant is cultivated by top-grafting methods, in 16 months it is ready to be harvested. The cocoa trees which cultivate using top-grafting method gives the result that the trees became shorter compared to the natural breed. So, taking care of the trees became easier both for women and men. It is unique that the specific clone combines with specific agricultural methods and tools create the change of gender roles in the area.

Last, during the harvest and post-harvest time, women and men are sharing their tasks quite equally. Cocoa could be harvested throughout the year, even though the peak season only happened twice a year. Recently, farmers harvest the cocoa bean by using scissors as well, so that the branch-cutting will be clear-cut compare to hand-picking. However, if the trees are getting tall more than 2 meters, farmers will use a bamboo stick and machete to harvest the cocoa. In this step, both women and men can involve in the process.

The last 3-4 years, after the RA certification, farmers required to sell wet bean only, means that after harvest, they peel the cocoa and sell directly to the collector. Beforehand, farmers will dry their cocoa bean for about three up to seven days depending on the weather. Based on my observation, women are taking the tasks to dry the cocoa bean, usually take place in front of their house. Now, farmers who join

the certification need to sell their cocoa bean in wet and fresh condition. So that women no need to dry the cocoa bean. However, under particular conditions such as the peak season when the storage is over capacity or if the cocoa bean not qualified to be a premium bean, women will dry the cocoa bean.

2. Decision-making process

Before, during or after the cocoa production, decision-making processes are always happening. In Luwu Utara, women and men have an equal position in making the decision related to cocoa production. This similar position means that both women and men's voice are being heard by each other (internal agency). The decision that often needs discussion is the preparation plan, planting, and caring plan, or harvesting plan. Most of the farmers are expert in planning their agenda in a whole year, and they know exactly the precise time to do land preparation, planting, weeding, applying fertiliser, applying pesticide, or pruning. In the middle of the cocoa production, farmers need to decide which type of seed they want to plant, what fertiliser brand they need to buy, or how they will handle the cocoa bean during the harvesting. Those became a daily decision by the farmers. Farmers who already practiced of bookkeeping decide in different way.

“For my husband and me, we discuss what is best to do related to the cocoa production. My husband is an expert in term of cocoa production and its related resources. Since I manage the money, usually we discuss what to buy and when, then he will ask me the money” – Kaisa

On the other hand, one of my interviewees said the different thing that his argument supported by their neighbor. In this case, Rini is more expert in caring for the cocoa plantation compare to her husband, because her husband is working in the cooperative and busy with other duties.

“My wife taking care of our cocoa field. She already knows what to do and when to apply what. I helped her in applying the fertiliser, pesticides or other duties, but only after she brief me about the schedule” – Bina.

The decision-making process involves the choices offered by Masagena cooperative after the registration of RA certification that give the farmer new management options. The aspects of the internal agency that influenced the

decision-making the most are their voice and capabilities. In addition, based on the evidence above, the decision-making process related to cocoa production depend on family situations or off-farm jobs opportunities as well. Some of the family the cocoa production handled mostly by men, but some handled by women. In this aspect, I saw that both husband and wife are having a good collaboration and coordination related to their cocoa production business.

3. New business

New business becomes one of the domains since the external institutions provided the opportunity to learn innovation. The new market emerged after the innovation. The most common example is the emergence of the seedling house, whether small scale or big scale. Start from the top-grafting skill that brought the farmers to have a new option except go to the farm. For the farmers who aware of the opportunity that the demand for hybrid MCC02 seed is high. Both women or men take the choice to create the seedling house — their goal to improve income and livelihood. Farmers create the small-scale seedling house in the house garden. Here, they do not need to go to the field to work on it. There is a big-scale of seedling house own by an individual. For some farmers, it became a side-job. For other farmers, it gives an alternative source of income.

“...during the school of Cocoa Village Center before I called as Cocoa Doctor, we trained by MARS team to create the business of cocoa seed. It is because the demand for high-quality seed (MCC 02 clone) is very high.” – Dirman1

This business needs someone to take responsibility from breeding to the selling. In most of the household, women are involved more in the top-grafting, because they are often staying at home compared to their husband. Some of the women also focus on seedling house compare to the field.

“Every day, I work on my seedling house, the time is flexible, and no specific target. In a day, I can work for about 200 polybags or more than 300 polybags. This job is a paid job, counted by the total amount of polybags not by the time.”
– Lila

Some of the big players, they have a huge seedling house which can produce up to 300.000 polybags. Usually, the big seedling house built to provide the demand

from the government. One of them owned by local farmer, located in Masamba district. I have visited this seedling house twice during my fieldwork. I met his workers in the field approximately ten people working there. Men's are living on site in the small house in front of the seedling site. The men are responsible for doing the watering, physical works and as well as top-grafting.

There are two women that I met during my visit; they work as the top-grafter. These women come and go everyday start in 8 or 9 a.m. and go back home in the afternoon around 3 p.m. or 4 p.m.

"I worked here because of my son already in the fourth grade of elementary school. I do not want to stay at home and doing nothing. Work here makes me have pocket money which I can use either for myself or the family" – Halimah

The new business comes after the NGOs such as Rikolto, MARS Sustainability, and Swisscontact gave the farmers field school for women and men. Since most of the farmers own their land and resources, to start the seedling house is easy. Some of the women ask their husband to have their own seedling house so that they can have an extra income rather than rely only on the cocoa bean. The role in the field changed after the business emerged; women aspire a new role to support the family income and spend their time. Here, women would rather stay at home to do the top-grafting while men go to the field and manage their plantation.

Market

In this case, the market refers to the new system of trading the cocoa products. In Luwu Utara, the traditional trading system is quite similar to the other area, after harvesting farmers sell the bean to the middlemen and get the cash immediately. After MARS introduced its sustainability team, most of the farmers who join the certification sell their cocoa bean to the collector. This system of trading enabled some women and men to take other types of a job instead of being a farmer.

1. New job opportunities

Collecting point is the program created by MARS Sustainability team in order to get the fair trade between the farmers and the buyer. All stakeholders agree that if farmers are dependent on the middlemen, the income may less compare to the

direct selling to the buyer and chocolate factory so that the collecting point emerged to solve that problem.

In the beginning, the system found it hard to follow, because MARS requires wet and fresh bean, and the cash is not always ready in the same day, it usually delay for one day. At first, I have a curiosity whether this system will become a threat for the middlemen, but the Masagena staffs said that they ask intermediaries to join as a collector so that they do not exclude from the market. The collector is not independent; they were hired by MARS so that the salary paid by MARS.

Due to the new system, there are several types of job offers a new opportunity for the local people to join the cocoa production cycle. The first job is the collector, the owner of the collecting point. In Luwu Utara, there are 14 collectors spread all over the district. One of the collectors is the son of Udin – my host family – and he is the husband of the head of Masagena cooperative. From 14 collector, one of them is a woman. I have no chance to interview her, but it shows that collector is the non-gender-based job, but because the opportunity and offer taken by men in the first place, that makes the woman less involved.

Furthermore, the collector needs the help of administration staff, driver, finance manager, and quality controller. Some of these jobs do not exist before collecting point system established.

“In my house, my wife helps me to do the administration tasks such as print the invoice, input the data and maintain the database. Since farmers who sell their cocoa bean to us will get the premium fee, we need to make sure that they will get what they deserve. Sometimes, when I am not in my house, my wife will handle all of the tasks, and she is also managing the money.” – Rahman

Different from Rahman, Puja works as the collector himself. Since he has no car or truck to deliver the cocoa bean to the MARS’s storage in other districts. He will accept all the cocoa bean in his house, and the staffs of Agus to come and pick up everything, including the task to check the quality of the bean.

“To be honest, our salary and profit from MARS are not that much, but we get more because of the delivery job. My driver can deliver twice a day if needed. I want to join as a collector because the farmers already commit to joining the certification, which is good.” – Agus, collector.

In this market system, I saw that collecting point create a new opportunity both for women and men to involve in the cocoa production value chain. The involvement based on the knowledge and skill; women are most likely taking the administration job and finance manager, since they considered as an expert, in the other hand, men are more likely become the quality control team and driver since it requires a heavy-physical work. On the other hand, the access to the resources also defined the new job in the new market. For example, Agus had the pick-up car, so that he accepted the offer from MARS to be a collector. The pick-up car is a crucial resource to support the operational of collecting point, due to the cocoa bean storage located in the next district – Luwu Timur.

2. New type of cocoa production activities

In cocoa production, except for the collecting point system, farmers also have other activities outside of selling the cocoa bean. As I mentioned above, some of the farmers also build their own seedling house and its give extra income. In this thesis, I will count the resources for commercial uses as part of this aspect in the domain. Resources are not strictly for a physical or material asset only, but also including human resources.

Women and men are taking care of the seedling house together, even though women are more into the top-grafting job. If the demand is high, farmers also hire workers to help them with the paid system based on the amount of their work, not the working hours.

“Usually, my husband who finds the external worker, but sometimes if I know someone, I will ask directly” – Maya

Managing the seedling house involving the responsibility to take care of the house, buy the agricultural inputs (polybag, fertiliser, soil, and plastic coil), financial management, human resources management, and marketing to the buyer. These new roles will be divided after the discussion between the husband and wife. The final decision is not strictly the same between one family and the others. There are many considerations in order to divide the division of tasks in managing the resources. Furthermore, all the income coming from this new business will affect the

roles and relations in the household due to the decision on how to make use of the family money. The role of managing resources highly dependence on the women's and men's voice in the household and their access to the resources. If the wife wants to take over the car, at least she needs to know how to drive a car. On the opposite, husband who has no time to stay at home during the day, will has the limited option to manage the seedling house business.

Organisations

This section has sought to demonstrate the transformation of gender roles and relations in the organisations domain. I refer the organisations to the Masagena cooperative and its unit business CV Marewa 45. In fact, there are others organisations such as farmers group, but during my stay in the field, there were no gathering of farmers group held in Masamba area. Since the farmers' group agenda of gathering usually held at night, the staff of Masagena did not allow me to travel outside of the sub-district. They said it was too dangerous, for example, the long road in the middle of paddy field considered to be dangerous for the local people. So that I focus only on the cooperative and CV Marewa 45, because their activities usually in the office hours. In some occasion, I join the night gathering, but it held in the cooperative office which is in the same area from my house. Based on my observation and interviews, there are two aspects which influence the transformation, these are:

1. New job position offered

“Rikolto gives us the taught to start the inclusive cocoa value chain, including in our cooperative. Now, at least we have 50% of women work in Masagena. Furthermore, these women take the strategic position in the hierarchy. They are capable so that it's not a problem for us” – Dirman

Based on the statement above, my question while wondering why Masagena cooperative lead by woman answered. Rikolto gave the influence on involving women and youth in the farmers' organisations. The encouragement that women and youth can take the leader position has successfully changed the structure of the organisation. Beforehand, the leader of the cooperative is Udin, the initiator of the cooperative in Luwu Utara. From the interviewed, I got the information that the former staff in Masagena changed due to their age. The current head of cooperative graduated from a well-known university in Sulawesi Selatan and her major in

forestry. So, her capabilities increase her electability to be chosen as the best candidate to lead the cooperative. Beforehand, her position in the cooperative was staff.

Now that in Masagena, the head, the treasurer, and the secretary are all women and most of them under 35 years old. It means that the condition offers by Rikolto if matched with the individual capabilities of the women or men will create the transformation happened. Same as in Masagena cooperative, CV Marewa 45 offers a new position which not exists before, such as administration staffs who has the responsibility to handle the farmers' database. Moreover, CV Marewa 45 also offers a private training package for institutions, farmers organisations even from outside of the island. So, CV Marewa 45 also hire the trainer who is an expert in the field. I found out that the trainers are hired based on their capabilities; they consist of women and men who experts in a specific aspect of cocoa production.

CV Marewa 45 run the certification scheme in Luwu Utara, so that it has the responsibility to recruit the certification member, give the socialisation of the rules and regulation, monitoring, and evaluation. In this case, CV Marewa 45 recruits the farmers who can join as their ICS (Internal Control System). ICS, as I mentioned above, is a system to help CV Marewa 45 organise the farmers in the field. ICS needs a lot of work in the field, almost every day they need to travel around Luwu Utara, either as a team or alone to visit farmers. For now, ICS is dominated by men. The reason did not state by the director of CV Marewa 45.

In term of organisations related the cocoa production, I see that the farmers have more option to work outside of their main tasks to take care of the cocoa plant. On the other hand, the organisation also encourage people who are not a cocoa farmer before, but since they have specific knowledge and skill, they belong to the cocoa value chain. For example, in CV Marewa 45, the officer (administration staffs) are all women; they are a fresh graduate who experts in computation.

2. Membership

Women and men can join the farmers' organisations even though most of the formal member are men. In Indonesia, including Luwu Utara, the family members of the farmer are counted as one, so that in the farmers' organisations. Even though

usually men who are legally registered as a member, their wife and children could also be part of the benefit of becoming a member of farmers organisations. Alternatively, on the other hand, it means that one of the family members can act as the representative of the household member. They share the benefits of being a member of the organisations. Even though husband who are legally and formally registered, women/wife could enjoy the benefit, for example, to get the subsidy or attend the training.

In this case, the answer to why men are typically involved in the farmers' group more than women is still vague. In my perspective as Indonesian, and look at what happened in Java island, the fact that men are the leader of the family rarely questionable. Since the government centralised in Java island, I assume that the influence from the government limits the women to actively involved in the public space such as farmers' group. Even though, for example in Bugis family, women who not join the training could learn the material from their husband.

Nothing much changed in the membership of farmers group, instead of women own their speciality groups called *Kelompok Wanita Tani* (KWT – Women farmers group). In this case, only women who can join the group. The activity of KWT also designed in the domain which considered as women's field such as growing the vegetables in house garden, cooking, and crafting. KWT has a function to give the space for women to exchange their experiences and do alternative activities other than a domestic job.

Household

Farmers livelihoods have been shown to be diverse in three domains I mentioned above. In addition, the most crucial arena to exercise power between women and men is in the household domain. This chapter will aim to take a more explicit look at the power dynamics of the actors involved in the cocoa production.

1. Negotiating on household and domestic tasks

The new role that emerged in the other three domains will affect the gender roles and relations in the household domain or vice versa. The fact that humans only have 24 hours in a day to spend, if they use more time to work in the field or

organisations, the time to work in a house will be decreased. The traditional stereotype of women's role in the house is domestic tasks such as taking care of the house and children. As I mentioned before, women private space is in the kitchen that followed by the responsibility to make sure the availability of the food for the entire family members. If the women need to go for duty outside of the district, they need to discuss with the husband about the responsibility in the house.

"I live with my parents in law, so that if I need to go to the city or outside of the island, I will count my mother in law or my mother to take care of my children. Even my first daughter was taking care by Bu Haji (mother in law) since the age 5 months old because I need to finish my college in Makassar (located 10 hours by bus)" – Nanda

Different from Nanda, Kaisa who is 22 years old mother with two children decided with her husband to live alone with her small family. The difference is that in this case, Kaisa fully aware that in her household, the role in taking care of the children become her responsibility. Only on special occasion, it will be discussed.

"Before we decided to marry, we already discussed that I want to live independently, but luckily it is not far from my mother house. If I want to attend the gathering, I will discuss with my husband. If my husband is free from duty, he will also help me to taking care of my children. But, if both of us urgently need to go, we can ask my mom to take care of my children for a couple of hours" – Kaisa

The evidence comes from the men are slightly different with what women said, but still in the same corridor that women have the responsibility to do the domestic tasks. Only in the special occasion, women and men will negotiate the tasks.

"I can send my children to the school together with me when I have to go out in the morning." – Ahmad

"I ever try to do the laundry for my clothes, but my wife did that again for me because she said that it was not clean enough. On the other hand, I would not let my wife to buy the pesticide or fertiliser because sometimes she will also buy the vegetables at the same time. That is too dangerous because of the chemical compound will contaminate the food" – Salim

Putting the lens on the interaction between women and men that took place within the household has brought to light more information on the transformation of gender roles and relations happened in the context of cocoa production.

2. Mobility

Putting the lens on the interaction between women and men that took place within the household has brought to light more information on the transformation of gender roles and relations happened in the context of cocoa production. The negotiation of the mobility within the household between wife and husband is the next aspect influenced by the changed happened in a cocoa production cycle. Previously, I have talked about the new role taken by women or men, and some of the activities need mobility. During my observation, most of the household owns a motorcycle, and some of them own a car. Furthermore, both women and men can ride either the motorcycle or car, so it became the indication that women and men can travel around.

“We only have one motorcycle, so that we need to use that interchangeably. Usually I ride the motorcycle to work in the office and go to the field. So that my wife will only travel in the footstep distance. But If my wife uses the motorcycle, I sometimes join with my neighbor or my acquaintance to go somewhere.” – Kawal

On the other hand, due to the wide network and collaboration, Masagena cooperative often got the invitation to attend meeting, gathering, national conference and so on. In this condition, the staffs often send by the cooperative to become the representative of Masagena. If the meeting or conference take place outside of the district, province or even the island, it requires the staffs to travel far from the house. Women who selected to be the representative of the cooperative will negotiate to their spouse to get permission. For example, Nanda, as the leader of the cooperative, she often travels outside of the district, if all the conditions are supportive, she will go.

3. Homebase business

After joining the Kelompok Wanita Tani (KWT – women farmers group), some of the wives continue to plant the vegetables in front of their house. If the wife harvest more than what she needs, she will sell the rest of the vegetables to the buyer – who usually the people who sell the vegetable in the market.

“My wife usually has an appointment with the seller once a week. She will harvest the vegetables and sell it to them.” – Puja.

When I asked to some of the women I have met in the field, they often said that vegetable garden as a result of KWT program in the past gives them the opportunity to earn money without travelling far from home. It also gives the alternative to do the domestic job and help the family income.

The seedling house is also part of a home-based business which gives a chance for women to interact with more people except for their neighbourhood and family. Both women and men started a new responsibility and negotiated their position related to the home-based business in order to manage all the duties and tasks with the minimum sacrifices. For example, the seedling house gives a chance for women to stay at home while also doing the business in the cocoa production sector.

Chapter 9: Discussion

The previous chapters have sought to provide evidence of the factors influencing the transformation of gender roles and relations in the context of cocoa production in Luwu Utara. The factors I have discussed the historical context, the conditions offered by external stakeholders, and women and men's agency. By giving the nuances of those factors and aspects, it can be seen that these factors are many and varied, which create specific mix conditions and agency that most of them provide different conditions which influence the transformation of women's and men's roles and their relations. This chapter synthesises the main findings of my study, a reflection of the theoretical and methodological framework, and the suggestions for further research and recommendations for the related stakeholders.

Synthesizes of the main findings

The first research question **“What is the historical context and aspects that influenced the transformation of gender roles and relations from 2007 to 2012?”** addressed the historical context which provide the opportunities and constraints to that determine prevailing gender roles and relations especially in terms of the cocoa production sector. From what I learned, the current relationship of women and men in the society developed as a result of traditional *adat* (custom and norms) and the top-down regulation provided by the Government of Indonesia. Pelras (2005) said that Bugis – the most prominent tribe in the province of Sulawesi Selatan – follows the bilateral kinship pattern which proposes the equal share of power and responsibilities between women and men. By contrast, the government under President Soeharto who reigned 30 years promoted the patriarchal kinship relations and family ideal type (women acting as housewife and men as breadwinner and decision maker) to all of the citizens of Indonesia, which also influenced the agricultural domain. This affected the legal hierarchy of the family structure and placed the men on top of the ladder. In Indonesia, it becomes a common unwritten regulation that farmers group's formal member is usually the head of the family.

In contrast, this unwritten role is something that I cannot clearly explain since the source of this evolution did not include in my literature review. In my personal view, the domination of men in the farmers' group brought by the government officers who are mostly Javanese. In Java, the monarchy structure – Keraton Yogyakarta (Yogyakarta Royal Palace)– men placed at the top of the ladder. From the history of Java, all of the leader in Keraton

Yogyakarta are men. Even though, recently the issue that King's princess will take a Queen place is happening. From this point of view, I made a connection to the leadership system introduced by President Soeharto – part of the Javanese royal family -- which is following the patriarchal system as well.

The significant change of the cocoa industry in Luwu Utara was influenced by the emergence of Gerakan Nasional (GERNAS) which put the emphasis on the formation of farmer groups. This opportunity formally opened the door for men to learn through training and field schools, rather than women. Women were not a member of the farmer groups. Through the training, cocoa farmers learn to implement the new cocoa cultivation techniques to increase the quantity and quality of the cocoa bean. In that time, women learned about the training material and programs via their husbands or exchanges in their neighbourhood. From the moment of the implementation of GERNAS in 2007, farmers in Luwu Utara changed their way of cultivating cocoa.

From 2007 to 2012, women and men had a separate role. Men were doing side-grafting, pruning, harvesting and land preparation. However, women had a task to weed the grass and dry the cocoa bean. In the household, most of the women stay at home to take care of domestic tasks. In contrast, men involved in farmers' group activities so that they rarely at home. In this period, cocoa farmers sell their cocoa bean to the middlemen. Some sold the dried bean, some already fermented.

The next analysis based on the second sub-research question: **“What aspects of the conditions offered by external institutions that influenced the transformation of gender roles and relations from 2012 onwards?”**. In this period, the government suggested that farmers united in the form of cooperative. In 2008, Masagena established and became a bridge between farmers and external organisations. From this point, many opportunities came to participate in field school and training. In the meantime, after the discovery of MCC 02, a morphologically shorter variety, in Luwu Utara create a big shift. MCC 02 in combination with the adoption of the top-grafting method, creates a history that remains in today practice. This innovation brought by the government through ICCRI. This discovery remarks about the new cultivation methods applied by the farmers.

In 2012 Rikolto came to Luwu Utara. From Rikolto, I learnt about the overall system of cocoa production in Luwu Utara, which plays a critical role in the value chain. After I arrived in Luwu Utara, I found out that government, both local and national, is the first institution

that gives the opportunity for the local farmers. The training and farmer field school are the first activities that follow the patrilineal pattern. Such structures originate directly from the nature of the family structure in Java. Most of the attendees of the training and related activities are men, though, women are also able to learn the material, but they were not invited and present during the meetings. It came up during the interviews I held in the field that both women and men could clearly explain the current agricultural technique they adopted.

In Luwu Utara, Rikolto stands for various functions: donor, facilitator, consultant. It provides a wider network and training to the farmers. However, farmers could only get in touch with Rikolto through Masagena cooperative. In Luwu Utara, the existence of Masagena cooperative is crucial for the smallholder's farmers. The opportunity offered by Rikolto translated into a concrete program by Masagena. Then the program will be delivered to the farmers. In Luwu Utara, Rikolto successfully negotiated with MARS to have the sustainability team. Rikolto also gave the idea to register the Rainforest Alliance. The aim to increase the farmers' bargaining power towards the buyer. Concerning the transformation of gender roles and relations, Rikolto brought some fresh air to Masagena cooperative. They suggested the hierarchy of the cooperative should be inclusive: minimum 30% of women involved. Now, the head of the co-op, the treasurer and the secretary are women. Moreover, the other opportunities provided by Rikolto did not directly affect the transformation of gender roles and relations. In contrast, Rikolto's effort to conduct negotiation and advocacy with other organisations brought the new job opportunity for women and men.

My third research question **“What aspects of agency exercised by women and men supported the transformation of gender roles and relations?”** tried to reveal the agency used by women and men to exercise their power in terms of personal decision-making to pursue their best possible choice. I divided the women and men's agency into four aspects: individual capabilities, the voice in the public sphere, access to resources, and collective resources. From the main findings, individual capabilities play the most prominent part of the women's and men's decisions in everyday life as cocoa farmers. The knowledge and skill determine their expertise in cultivating cocoa. For women, their knowledge and ability to cultivate the seeds gave them the power to get involved and take a big slice of the cake in the cocoa industry in Luwu Utara. For men, their expertise and being socially perceived as physically strong provided them with exclusive tasks such as preparing the land (need to use heavy tools and extra energy).

Overall, from the observation, I consider the voice of women and men are adequate, and observations proofed that both in formal or informal settings they interact as equal partners. In the meetings I have attended, women and men had the same chance to express their voice in public. The judgment of the participants was based on the content, not the gender. Similarly, the access to the cocoa-related resources (land, house, business equipment, agricultural tools and vehicles) is not determined by gender. Both women and men have a chance to access the resources they have in their household; for example, women are allowed to drive a car. Besides, both women and men have their own private space and shared resources. Besides, the collective organisation add other influence in the dynamic of the interaction between or within women and men. For instance, the kitchen becomes the private space for women to interact with only women, whereas for men, the chance to meet during Friday prayers give the opportunity to exchange the news and information between men.

The last sub-research question **“How did the transformation outcome created by the enabling condition and the exerted agency of the women and men, with respect to gender roles and relation, occur in four domains: field, market, organisations and household levels?”** focus on how in the specific domains women and men interact and actually exercise their power. The domains were chosen based on the observation in the field which has a close link to the cocoa production. However, the actual changes are not limited to one of these four domains only but interlinked/intertwined. The transformation which happened in the area, market and organisation are hard to separate between each other because the activities are connected to each of the domains. For example, women who chose to build a seedling house in their yard strengthen their role in the field and market at the same time.

The decision of Masagena cooperative to have Rainforest Alliance certification creates the domino effect in the organisation, market and also in the field. Masagena formed the CV Marewa 45 because they would like to professionally organise the farmers who are the members of RA certification. Inside of the CV Marewa 45, the new jobs offered a chance for women and men to take a position in the organisation. After that, the farmers who registered in RA certification need to change their way of cultivating cocoa, including the involvement of women and youth in the process. Last, the certified cocoa bean sells through the new market system called collecting point. Collecting point offered new jobs for women and men

based on their individual capabilities and the resources they have to support the tasks (e.g. financial manager, driver, and QC team).

The last domain is household, the primary place where women and men interact as husband and wife. In this domain, we notice two changes. In Luwu Utara, financial matters handled by women. Men who learned bookkeeping recently involved in the decision of financial matters. Men who learned bookkeeping are most expert in calculating the agricultural cost for a year or season. In this case, men are highly involved in the decision making related to the farming financial plan but let the women or wives control the rest of the household financial plan. For example, some women have full authority to buy household equipment without the permission of their husband. The other change happened in terms of negotiating on household and domestic tasks. If the farmer's family lives far away from their big family, the husband and wife who are both active in the farmers' group and cooperative are now used to negotiate about the tasks. They decided who is taking care of the house and children while one of them go out for duty. Beforehand, those jobs are not existing because the cooperative and farmers' group were not yet established. At an early age, children usually depend on their mother, so for some of the families, it is considered to be essential for the wife to stay at home. Different from this, Nanda has the flexibility to leave her 1-year old son to her husband, or sometimes her parents while she needs to work in Masagena or to attend a meeting in the city.

In conclusion, the negotiation on household and domestic tasks are not limited to who has the most responsibility. It highly depended on the situational factors such as family structure, the age of their children, and the distance to their closest family. In Luwu Utara, the ideal family structure already mixed between the *adat*, Islamic culture and the regulation from the Indonesian government. On the other hand, evidence shows that the mobility of women and men also increased because of the activities related to cocoa production. Primarily due to the events directly linked to the cocoa cultivation but also associated with the marketing, coordination meeting, local or national conference and so on.

Women and men exercised their agency depend on the most valuable opportunity for them. In Luwu Utara, women and men need individual capabilities to take part in many activities. Those capabilities learned through collective activities. If the women and men join the farmers' group, their capabilities will increase. For those who did not participate in the activities can learn the innovation and skill from the joint space. For example, during the

Friday prayer men talked about the upcoming training. In the kitchen, women can share their perspective on the certification. Those activities support each other to improve their capabilities. After that, women and men who have specific capabilities could involve in many activities and have the various option to take.

Besides, the intense interaction between women and men in the public space raise the opportunity for both to raise their voice. After becoming a member of a cooperative or farmers' group, women and men have a chance to involve in the decision-making process.

By acknowledging all the aspects, this thesis shows that the mixed combination will influence on the gender roles and relations in many ways. In this thesis, I only presented their adat and Indonesian government regulation. Even though, there may be other factors that also significant. However, I did not present in my thesis, because I have no sufficient data. One of them is religion as in Indonesia; the majority of the citizens are Muslim. Being a Muslim will affect the way of behaving in daily activities which are regulated by the Sharia (Islamic law). In Islamic law, the relationship between women and men is limited, especially if they are not a husband and wife. Both women and men should feel discomfort if they interact with the opposite gender.

Theoretical and methodological reflection

In this section, I want to present the scientific relevance of my study. I started this research to look at transformative learning. I made the theoretical framework, research methods and the supportive document to study about that. In the field, I focus on finding the answer on how the farmers transform because of the gender training brought by Rikolto. Since the moment I realised that I did not find a sufficient document to study about transformative learning, I wonder what the aspect that influences the change of farmers in the field. I specifically look at the change concerning gender roles and relations. Because of the condition above, I reversed the theory. From the evidence I found in the field, I tried to formulate what is the change, when the change happened, where and who create the change. Finally, I made the conceptual framework I presented in figure 7 and 8.

I started from the external organisations who brought innovation through training. I thought this influencing enough to the women and men. Then, from the paper made by Alsop in 2009, I learned that the opportunity carried by external institutions need to match with the internal agency owned by women and men. As a result of those influencing aspects, I need to

define the change of gender roles and relations. Since I study about cocoa production, I only consider the cocoa field to be the place this transformation happened. Day after day I interact with Masagena's staff, I learned that there is more domain interesting to look. The innovation initially designed to increase the cocoa bean production. However, there was creating a butterfly effect. The changed in one domain gives an impact on the other domains. Then I looked at the four domains: field, organisation, market and household. From this point of view, I can draw a more holistic approach to the dynamic happened in cocoa production.

I consider Luwu Utara as a special case to study about gender. In the first time, I constructed the puzzle of the influencing aspect, I found something that highly situated. MCC02 is the determining aspect that cannot exclude from the transformation process. If MCC02 is not part of the case, the effect of the training, certification and collective organisation may not be significant as it is now. I looked back to see how this happened. Then I found that the history in Luwu Utara provides the specific condition which valuable to help my study. Since I study about transformation, the baseline data counted importantly. I put the bigger box outside of my framework to cover the historical context.

The conceptual framework I draw is highly situated that maybe will be beneficial or limit for other similar research. It will be beneficial if the other research wants to look at a more holistic approach to the place they study. In contrast, not all the place to study about gender will show the change in the four domains. So, to apply my conceptual framework it needs to be modified depends on the area of the study. Last, I believe that this conceptual framework is also beneficial to study about the topic outside of gender and cocoa production.

Moving forward to the reflection on the practicality in this research, I will give some perspectives that came up after the fieldwork but did not bother me during my fieldwork. As the study area was Luwu Utara was part of Indonesia, I assumed that these citizens followed the same interpretation of gender roles. I was fully aware that Luwu Utara would have different customs and culture, but I did not question their perspective about gender. The first time I proposed my aim to study about gender in Luwu Utara, the stakeholders of Masagena did not put the question as well, but luckily, we have the same definition of the dominant gender stereotype prevailing in Indonesia. It helped me to narrow down the aspect. I did not need to define the gender stereotype. Then I can focus on the further step to see the background aspect.

Furthermore, the interpretation of the concept of gender that I brought to the field was profoundly influenced by what society taught me in my whole life. In my hometown, Yogyakarta, the patriarchal kinship is much more visible and stronger compare to Sulawesi Selatan, especially Luwu Utara. Because of my first assumption that Sulawesi Selatan also follows the same kinship. In Yogyakarta, I was taught to feel discomfort when gathering with men, as I should mingle with women. Even though, in reality, I played a lot with boys throughout my childhood, and my parent never stated explicitly to me that I, as a woman, should learn about cooking and housekeeping; instead, all of their children (men and women) and to learn about the responsibility in the domestic tasks. It made me realise that gender is a fluid notion, because the definition in one area and another may be different. The missing piece of the puzzle that I did not apply to my research is the concept of intersectionality. This concept explains that the traits, relations, and roles of women and men are also influenced by the interpretation prevailing within a race, class, family structure, education, religion, and so on. Of course, to be able to consider these multi-layered aspects will need extra effort. Therefore, in my research, the boundaries I set up, in the beginning, helped me to decide which points I want to zoom in, rather than open for any possibilities which would lead me on the path to confusion. The boundaries I meant here is the focus to look at women and men in Luwu Utara who involved or linked in cocoa-related activities which were member or staff of the Masagena cooperative. Moreover, the design of this research limited by field research time and mobility issues. In the future, these aspects may be beneficial to look at the other aspects such as religion, social class or education when conducting a gender study.

Related to the other external organisations (Swisscontact, Olam, and CSP) I mentioned in this research, it did not cover all of them. I was surprised by the presence of many types of organisations in the field, and they came from every direction to Luwu Utara. From my experiences in the past, I worked together with rice farmers in Java, but the actors involve mostly from the government side or some local NGOs, but cocoa seems to include more actors in the value chain. Since I got access from Rikolto, I heard mostly about the institutions or actors which closely work with Masagena and Rikolto. The existence of other NGOs or buyers may also influence farmers in doing cocoa farming. To draw the full path of all stakeholders involved in cocoa production needs more time to understand which stakeholders affect what, especially about gender roles and relations.

Back to the first research design, my intention to apply transformative learning framework more or less influenced the way I saw the aspects in the field. I was fully focused on looking at the technical side of training and learning process of the women and men. The technical side of training means the documents (design, attendance list, and minutes). It made me miss some of the parts that may be important and interesting to write about, but I was not aware about that issue. For example, the daily discourse and the relationship of women and men in everyday life, outside the agricultural/cocoa domain. Through informal contacts first was surprised by and became aware of the more bilateral gender relationships of the Bugis in Luwu Utara but did not yet realize the full consequence of this for my research.

In the Netherlands I realized the research assumption, that the training of Rikolto would have stimulated men and women in Luwu Utara to question patriarchal gender roles, made little sense. The fact that the final thesis started from the bunch of results I brought from the field created the deductive methods to find the best grounded-theory I need to use to analyse my study. Grounded theory is a methodology that seeks to construct theory about issues of importance in people's live (Glaser, 1978; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). It fits to my thesis because the initial transformative learning theory was not plausible to capture this research. Then I rearranged the perspective of my research started from the result I found in the field. To make sense of the reality I saw in the field, I selected and carefully collected the changes that I saw happening in the area, then I matched the changes on womens' and mens' activities with the opportunity and conditions emerging between 2007 and 2012, based on the stories from women and men in Luwu Utara. However, the internal factors linked to agency mainly came from observations, as I had not explicitly focused on this issue in my interviews; hence I did not have valid data on what actually matters for women and men, and what skills and resources they used to decide and enact the options they esteemed to be the best.

Recommendation for future research

From this experience, there are many changes that I propose to my research which may be beneficial in the future if I want to do a better version of this kind of research. First, learning about the local language is important, it will give me the chance to involve myself more in the activities of the local people, as having the translator with me will never expose the full coverage of daily conversation. Second, I would like to see from the way of thinking

of the local people and stakeholders. Even though I also believe that my identities are already embedded and inseparable so that they will influence the local people who communicate with me. I need to open up the possibility so that I can understand the nuances of the condition in the field much better.

Sometimes, I feel that conducting ethnographic research should only put the main theme as the guidance rather than a narrow conceptual framework which limits my role as a researcher. This conceptual framework can be a double-sided knife which may be beneficial, or a limitation, depending on the degree of matching the field condition. In my assumption, the fact that the theoretical framework I brought may overlook the local context in some way, so understanding the local context is one thing I need to put first on the table. Last, the choice to do the research in Luwu Utara gave me a new perspective to see the gender as a dynamic process which maybe does not exist in another location in Indonesia, especially in Java island.

Chapter 10: Final thoughts

This thesis sought to understand the transformation of gender roles and relations that occurred in Luwu Utara in the case of cocoa production. The focus has been placed on the nuanced and historical context of this process, the external conditions and the agency owned by women and men, in order to understand the supporting and constraining aspects on the changes of women and men's role. In this thesis, cocoa production was the domain of engagement and perception to be understood more than the gender aspects. That is why I decided to stay close to Masagena cooperative, where I could attend and interact with the stakeholders in daily life. It helped me to see the cocoa production value chain, market systems and farmers' organisation which I did not intend to look at the first place.

The actors involved are far more diverse than the categorisations used; the role of government, corporations, NGOs, extension workers, cooperatives, and of course women and men whom I considered as a part of smallholder farmers. Women and men are the objects of this study, the changes perpetuated through their daily activities related to cocoa and the cooperative which expose their gender roles and relations are the main indicators of this study. Government through the Ministry of Agriculture, Indonesian Coffee and Cocoa Research Institute (ICCRI), and local authority called Dinas Pertanian dan Perkebunan (Department of Agricultural and Forestry) provide the top-down programs and regulations. The implementation of GERNAS influences the evolution of farmers' way to cultivate the cacao and the division of tasks of women and men in the production cycle. After that, the discovery of a new clone by ICRI and adoption by local farmers completed the change of practices in agricultural techniques. The combination of top-grafting methods and MCC 02 opened up a new opportunity which changed the rule of the game. Besides, the emergence of farmers group and women farmers group also gives the implication for women and men in order to join the collective movement.

After the information that Luwu Utara produce high quality of cocoa bean, many international buyers and NGOs came to join into the cocoa value chain. Rikolto is one of the NGOs that gives the alternative options of international standard to cultivate the cocoa. Rikolto chooses to train the cooperative's staff. It because Rikolto could not manage the farmers one by one, with the aim that the staff will deliver the information to the farmers' members under the cooperative. Besides the financial support, Rikolto aimed to open up the network including buyers and partnerships, which in the end are affecting the gender roles

and relations in the field. I would say that Rikolto may not directly influence the change of gender roles and relations, but it created new situations and in addition to that opportunities for change.

MARS is one of the primary stakeholders in Luwu Utara, even though it mainly acts as the corporation who bought the cocoa bean from the farmers. Under the negotiation from Rikolto, MARS provided the sustainability team which is giving the domino effect. The training conducted by MARS to the selected farmers – now called cocoa doctors – successfully delivered the message about the relationship between women and men in the cocoa production sector. From this condition, many farmers – mostly women – built the seedling house in their garden as a means to increase their income and livelihood.

On the other hand, the farmers' organisation represented by Masagena cooperative gives an opportunity for women and men to challenge their capabilities and join the management as staff. The decision made by Masagena to get cocoa certification from the Rainforest Alliance also opened up the opportunity for women and men involved in the value chain, i.e. seedling house business. Moreover, Masagena created CV Marewa 45 as their business unit and provided the conditions for women and men to choose an option other than becoming a farmer or attracting the actors who were previously not involved in the cocoa production at all.

In this thesis, the final result of the transformation of gender roles and relations related to cocoa production and marketing was limited on the part of 'why and how through agency and opportunity the gender roles changed'. It brings me to reflect, whether I have missed many facts observed in the field, as I overlooked the deep-rooted values of people in Luwu Utara toward gender roles and relations.

To complete the understanding, I define this thesis into three different perspectives: micro, meso, and macro level. At macro-level, the top-down government regulation played a role. However, in my thesis, the pieces of evidence are collected from the micro-perspective. I call it micro because one specific case is not applicable in the other case (one household to another). In addition, NGO and company brought the conditions which influenced the changed of gender roles and relations at the meso level. Since their program aims to target one area in the district level or sometimes in province level, it shows that except the domain, every aspect presented in this research also influence in different context.

All of the opportunities offered by the institutions will remain useless if the women and men do not use them. Their capabilities, access to resources, the voice in the public sphere determined the choice or option they can take. On the other hand, the joint space such as women farmers group, kitchen, and Friday prayers give the special condition towards the transformation of gender roles and relations in Luwu Utara. The government created women farmers' groups also made me raise the question, **“why women farmers groups?”**. Does it mean that the ordinary farmers' group is designed for men? And the final one, **“Did the roles and relations of women and men in Luwu Utara transform? Or is it just a logical consequence of their very first valuation/interpretation of gender roles?”** Those are the questions that may be interesting to be answered in future research.

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Annex



Cocoa top-grafting process



The result of top-grafting



Cocoa bean drying process



Cocoa MCC 02 seed



Preparing the soil for the seed



Women in the kitchen



Training of cocoa cultivation



Focus group discussion



Rikolto's staffs and Masagena's staffs



All of the participants of the FGD



Learn to do top-grafting



In chocolate store and cafe