

“I’m not a chocolate farmer, I’m just a housewife”: Gendered divisions of labor for small-scale cacao production in Lampung and South-Sulawesi, Indonesia

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Background

- Women are actively engaged in small-scale agricultural production, yet contributions are overlooked as they are generally in the form of unpaid labor or care work.¹
- Empowering women is critical for improving household wellbeing and farm productivity.²

- Little research has explored women's contributions in the Indonesian cocoa production and value chain, while much has been contextualized to West Africa.³
- Indonesia is the third largest global producer of cacao; and the largest producer of 'bulk' cacao.



Source: FAO Stat 2013

Objectives

- Two major research objectives:
 - 1) Assess how men and women in small-scale cacao producing households spend their time
 - 2) Assess the division of labor for male and females within small-scale cacao producing households with regard to cocoa production



Lampung

South
Sulawesi

Methods

■ *Sampling*

- Four cocoa producing districts were selected across two provinces in Indonesia from a criteria-based typology assessing social and physical factors.
- A random sampling of 221 small-scale cacao producing households were given a closed-ended survey.
- Focus group discussion (FDG) participants were invited through the village's lead farmer.
- In-depth interview participants were selected based on purposive and snowball sampling.



Women Farmers



Men Farmers



Household Wives

Lampung

- 3 villages [Purwodadi, Banjar Negri, Kali Bening]
- 190 participants for close survey
- 9 FGDs [3 / village]
- 35 in-depth interviews

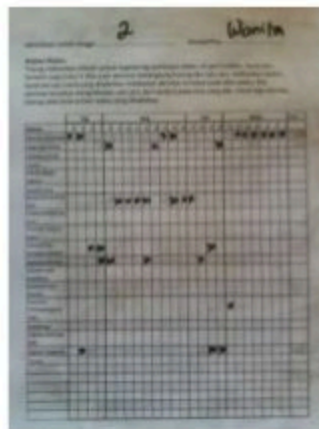
South Sulawesi

- 1 village [Lawewe]
- 31 participants for close survey
- 2 FGDs
- 14 in-depth interviews

Methods

Quantitative

- Two close-ended surveys asked participants about their previous day's time allocation to a 5-minute resolution, and division of labor by gender (percentages) for household and cocoa production-related tasks.



Handwritten survey form for women, showing a grid for recording time allocation and labor division. The form is titled '2' and 'Women'.



Handwritten survey form for men, showing a grid for recording time allocation and labor division. The form is titled '2' and 'Men'.

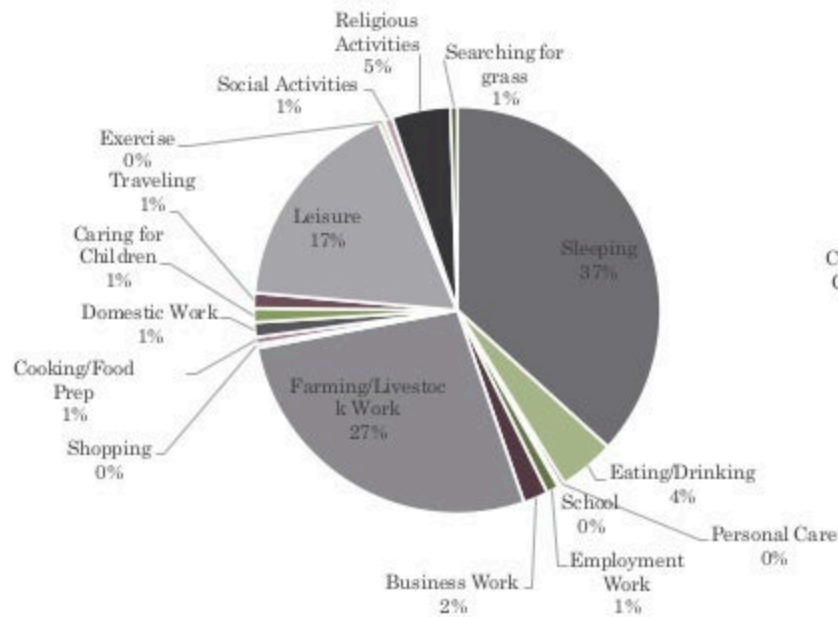
Qualitative

- Three FGDs were held in each village with **117** total participants.*
- These were followed by **49** in-depth interviews after preliminary analysis.

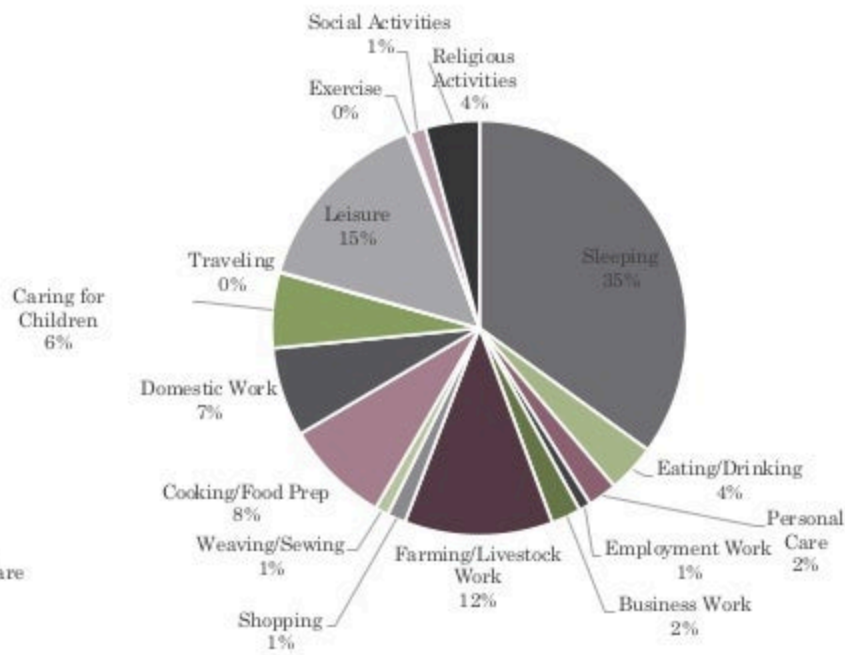
*In Lawewe, only 2 FGDs were held as there was no registered women's farmer group.

Results

Time Allocation



Men (n=141)



Women (n=80)

Results

Time Allocation

“When it floods, what can you do? We just sit at home, he smokes and we discuss. There’s nothing else to do”
– *Ibu in Lawewe*

“I want employment. I need to help with income, the crops don’t do enough for our expenses. But there are no jobs, how do I find one? I don’t know how to market or have skills” – *Ibu in Purwodadi*

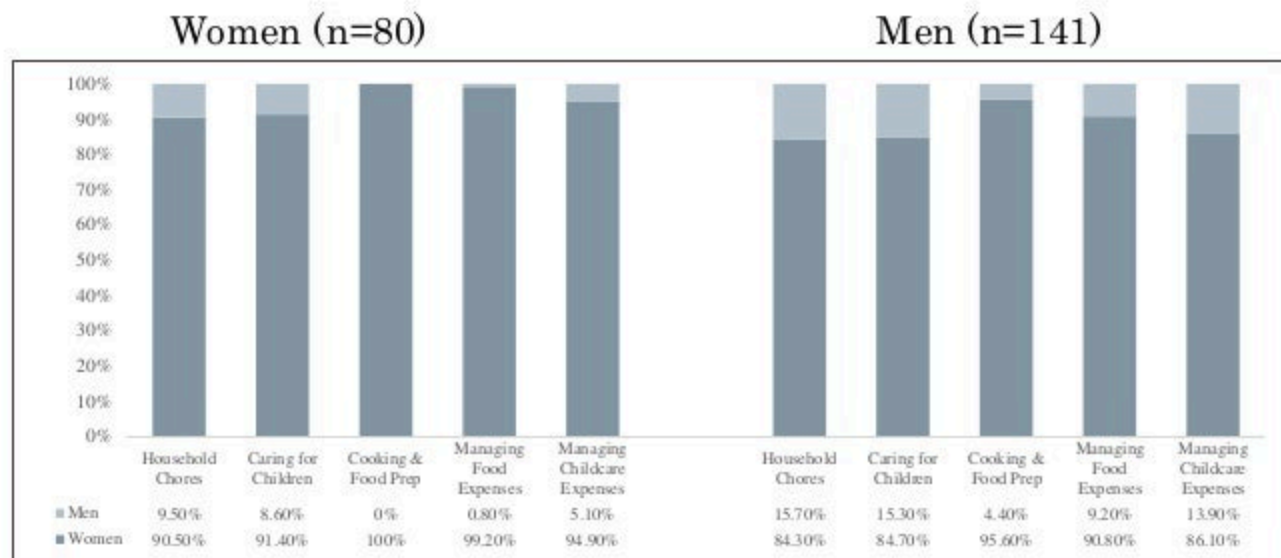
“Praying. We pray five times a day. You must, that’s what Allah has told us” – *Pak in Purwodadi*

“We go to the farm and then come home to eat. We smoke on the porch, to relax and discuss. It’s important to discuss and relax” – *Pak in Purwodadi*

Results

Division of Labor

“It’s a woman’s job to manage the household, that’s why she can’t go far away from the home” –*Ibu in Banjar Negri*



Household Activities

“That is women’s work! Men can’t stay in the household, who will make money? Household chores is women’s work” –*Pak in Purwodadi*

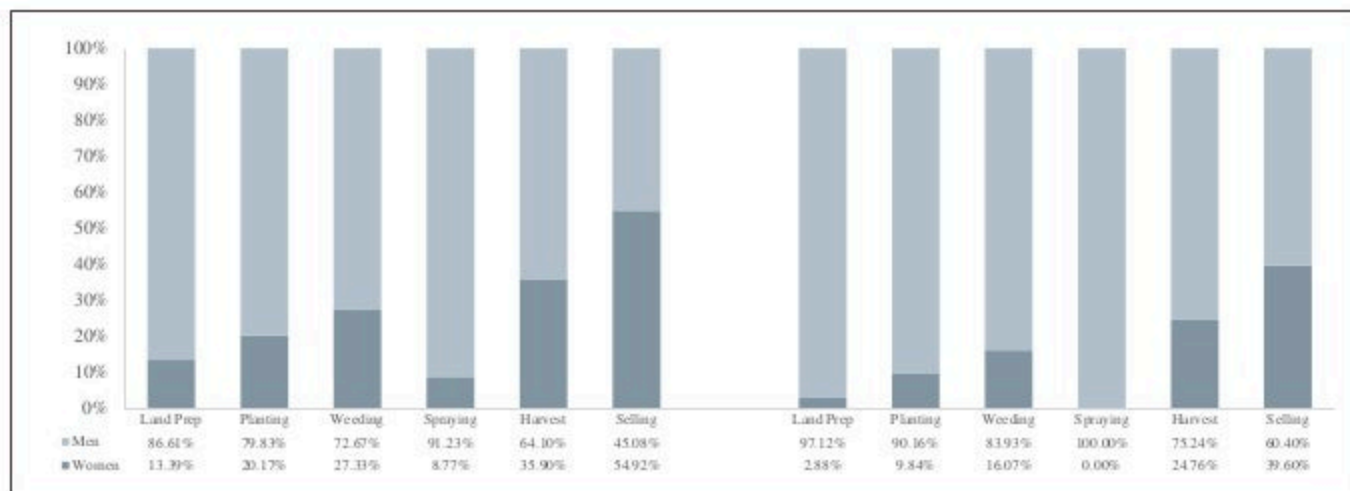
“Men is total opposite [than women]. The money goes into their pocket, then they would buy cigarettes. Then it’s gone” – *Ibu in Lawewe*

Results

Division of Labor

Women (n=80)

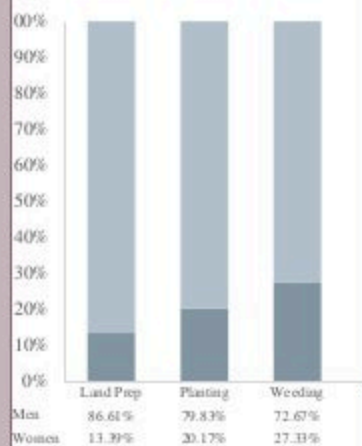
Men (n=141)



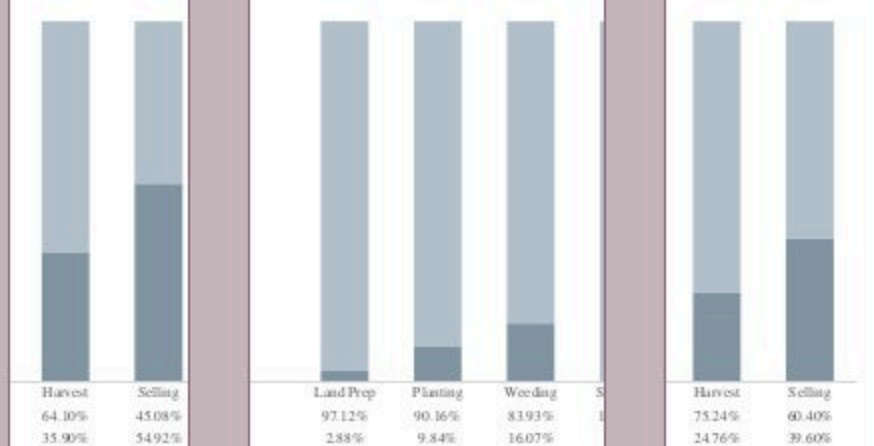
Results

Division of Labor

Women (n=80)



Men (n=14)



Cocoa Activities

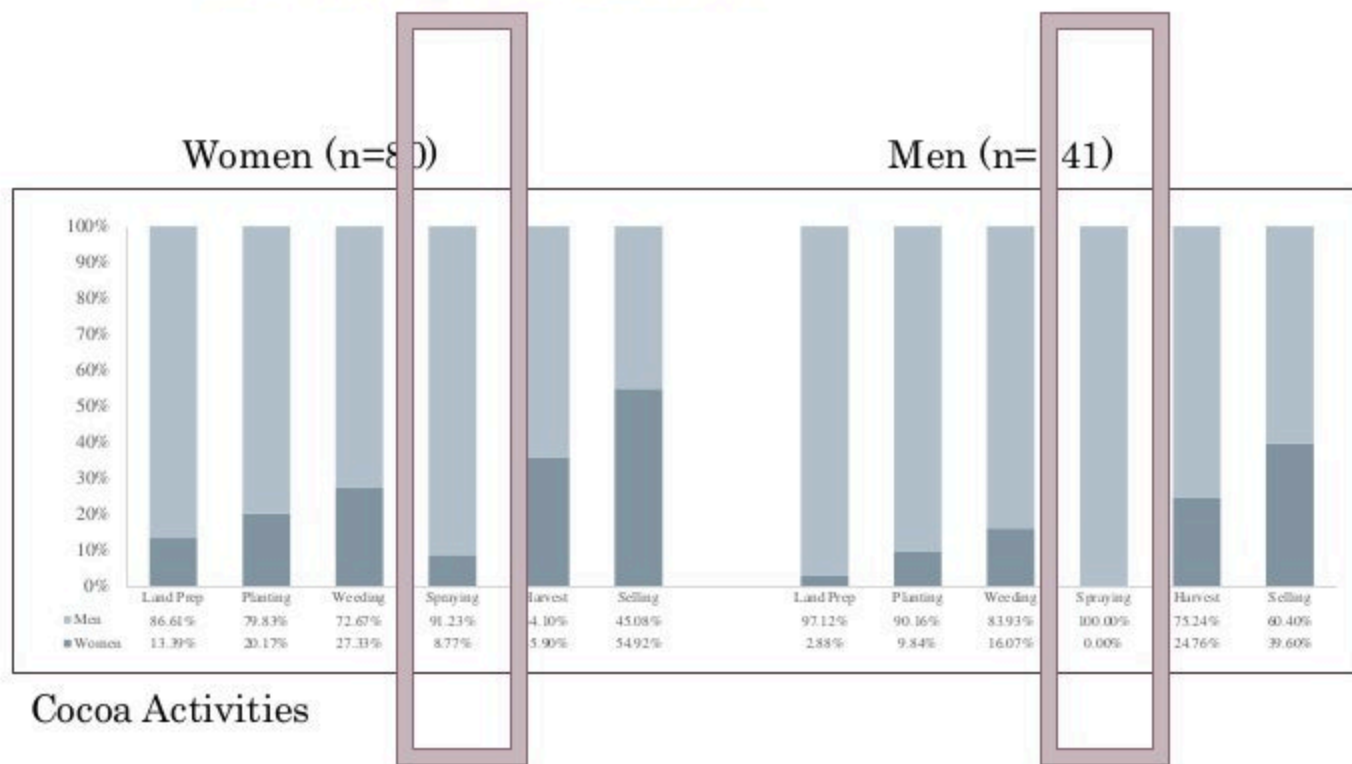
“When I’m done with the children, I visit my husband on the farm. I help him with his activities, but have to take care of my own [responsibilities].” – *Ibu in Kali Bening*

“After prayers, I eat and go to the farm. Whatever needs to be done. Sometimes [my wife] comes to help me weed or keep my company” – *Pak in Banjar Negri*

“I have my responsibilities and when they are done, I go to my cocoa field with my husband. He goes earlier” – *Ibu in Purwodadi*

Results

Division of Labor



“When *Bapak* leaves, I have to do it. Who else will? I don’t like spraying, but I do it if it means our [cocoa crops] live” – *Ibu in Purwodadi*

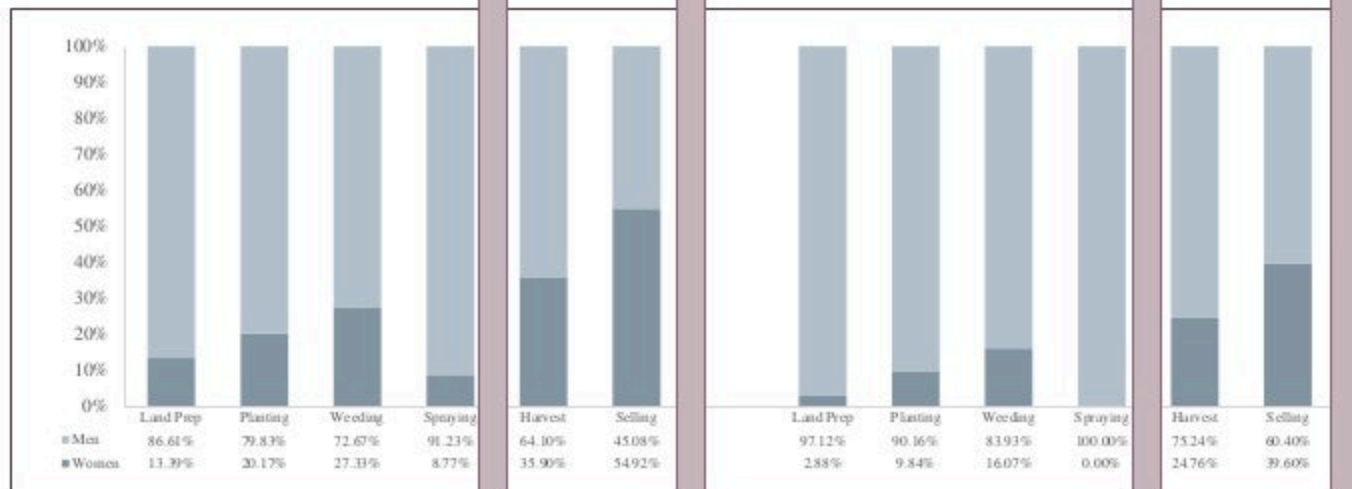
Results

Division of Labor

“I’m at home, [my husband] is not here during the day when the buyer comes around. I sell the cocoa beans to the buyer” – *Ibu in Kali Bening*

Women (n=80)

Men (n=141)



Cocoa Activities

“We can’t dry the beans. We don’t know when it will rain, so it’s better to sell wet. It’s easier and better to predict wet prices” – *Ibu in Purwodadi*

“I pick the good beans and put over here. These sell to Olam, but the small, dry beans go to *tengulak*. You have to get the best price” – *Ibu in Purwodadi*

“Selling [cocoa beans] is women’s work. Men are too shy to discuss with buyers. Women are too eager to get a good price” – *Pak in Kali Bening*

Discussion

- Women are engaged daily in more diversified tasks than men; spend a majority of time on domestic work; men are engaged primarily in agricultural labor
 - Impacts of climate change and increased seasonal migration: shifting divisions of labor
- Women *as helpers*: while engaged in cocoa production, women's contribution is viewed as helping their husbands or the men on their farm
 - One Pak [Lawewe] explained, "I teach her and ask for her help because it's too expensive to hire more help"
 - One Ibu [Banjar Negri] explained, "I have to get my husband from the farm, sometimes he forgets to eat! You must eat, so I go to help with the crops and bring him food"
- Women do not identify as farmers:

"I am not a chocolate farmer, I'm just a housewife. [My husband] is the expert, he goes to all trainings and he knows, he knows. I only help him when he needs the help" – *Ibu in Kali Bening*

Conclusions & Implications

- ‘Not the farmer’: Overlooked for trainings, skill or capacity building opportunities.
 - Example: CocoaLife Livelihoods Program targets men only as cocoa farmers and offers training to women in other livelihood skills. They send SMS messages to the men each day for daily cocoa price information, however this information is not always transferred to the women actually selling the beans. Those who don't receive it from their husbands still rely on local traders or neighbors for price information.
- Women are generally responsible for all domestic tasks, which hinders mobility and ability to gain income-generating employment.
- Women are actively engaged in the cocoa value chain, particularly in determining the quality of beans, harvesting, selling, and negotiating prices.
 - With increased climatic variability, women make key decisions regarding post-harvesting cocoa process.
 - Increased out-migration, shifting divisions of labor and responsibilities



Thank you!

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References

¹ Barrientos, S. 2014. Gendered global production networks: Analysis of cocoa chocolate sourcing. *Regional studies*, 48(5): 791-803.

² Marston, A. 2016. Women's rights in the cocoa sector: examples of emerging good practice. Oxfam Discussion Papers, Oxfam.

³ Friedman, R. Hiron, M. & Boyd, E. 2018. Vulnerability of Ghanaian women cocoa farmers to climate change: a typology. *Climate and Development*: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17565529.2018.1442806>



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