



The Position of Indigenous Women in Indigenous Economy: Indigenous Women's Livelihoods in Indonesia

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Abstract. This article reviews the position of indigenous women in the economic system of indigenous community, henceforth referred to as indigenous economy, by analyzing the experience of indigenous women in their struggle for livelihoods. Indigenous women have been marginalized in various domains—family, indigenous community, state, and even the global market. By using the concept of livelihoods and feminist political economy, this article aims to illustrate how the complexity of women's marginalization in indigenous community affects the position of indigenous women in indigenous economy across various domains of life. This article also elaborates on how the perception of the role of indigenous women is influenced by the complicated process of the acknowledgement of indigenous people's rights in the national scope, the shift in the meaning of livelihood in household and community domains which are closely tied with the development of indigenous economy. We identify the position of indigenous women in indigenous economy based on the access to land, fulfilment of economic needs based on intensity with considerations of the management of indigenous women's knowledge and division of works, the power dynamics in the sources of livelihood, and the amount of control possessed by indigenous women in indigenous economy of household and community domains, which are under the influence of the global market.

Keywords: Indigenous Woman · Indigenous Economy · Livelihoods · Feminist Political Economy

1 Introduction

Indigenous community and their struggle for customary land has been a persisting issue since precolonial time. Since 2018, there have been 152 indigenous communities facing dispossession of customary land and conflicts of indigenous rights, and around 262 indigenous communities facing criminalization [1]. It is suspected that there are even more indigenous communities out there who have not consulted with other parties. One of such community is the indigenous community of Halimun, who are more commonly known as the Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community. The Halimun area used to be a territory of the Sunda Kingdom between the 7th and the 16th century. On October 5th

1705, the entire territory of the Mataram Kingdom, including Halimun area was handed to the Dutch East Indies. At the time, economic monopoly was run by the Dutch East India Company, more commonly known by its Dutch abbreviation VOC in Indonesia (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie), which transformed parts of the area into tea and coffee plantation [2]. In 1850, the Dutch colonial government banned any land cultivation activities. Later, under the Japanese occupation around 1942–1945, a part of the Kasepuhan Banten Kidul's land was exploited for mining war materials. Control over the territory continued even after the Indonesian independence. In 1979, the Indonesian government designated the Halimun area, which at the time was the customary land of the Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community, as a conservation area. In 1992, it was officially designated as Mount Halimun National Park (TNGH). And in 2003, the area was expanded to include Mount Salak and became officially known as Mount Halimun Salak National Park (TNGHS).

The long process of state control over the forest area soon affected its residents, especially those who lived and relied on the forest. After all, a forest does not merely consist of its natural ecosystem, but also its community who had become so dependent on its resources. The Forestry Laws in effect in Indonesia defines “forest” in various regulations without consideration of this dependence of the local communities on forest resources. Based on Forestry Law No. 41 of 1999 Article 1, “a forest is the whole ecosystem consisting the land and natural resources dominated by trees and their accompanying natural environment, inseparable from one another.” Meanwhile for the indigenous community, forest and the natural resources in its vicinity are sources of livelihood. Most of their economic activities are derived from it.

State control over indigenous forest area for the interest of the state and other parties have surely impacted the economy of the indigenous community. The dynamics of this economy can be observed among the Kasepuhan Citorek, a group of the Kasepuhan Banten Kidul indigenous community. Forest lands and forest resources have served as sources of livelihood for People of Kasepuhan Citorek. However, state control over customary territories of Kasepuhan Citorek through the establishment of state forest areas since late 1970s has contributed to the situation where people of Kasepuhan Citorek are struggling to continue managing forest lands and forest resources as their sources of livelihood. In 1978 Department of Forestry of Indonesia declared that the lands managed by people of Kasepuhan Citorek as state forest lands and banned them to till the lands. Department of Forestry of Indonesia also forced them to cultivate their customary territory with pine and damar trees. An alternative livelihood came up: artisanal gold mining. The exposure with gold mining was a result of the introduction of gold mining in nearby area during Japanese occupation. Cash-based economy in Wewengkon, Citorek has increased since 2010 affected by the skyrocketing price of gold. The shift in livelihood to mining also impacted the position of women, as they then began to leave Kasepuhan Citorek because mining activities were dominated by men.

State control over indigenous land can be found across many indigenous regions in Indonesia. Facing this condition, indigenous communities have tried to fight for their rights as indigenous communities. One narration of the struggle of an indigenous community was the indigenous women in Tobasa, North Sumatera, that has been going on since 1988. At the beginning, they fought to shut down the Indorayon company which

had damaged their customary forest filled with incense trees. Their struggle continued even after the company changed its name in 2002 to PT. Toba Pulp Lestari (TPL). The new company shows that the main focus of the company and the government is on the production of pulp. The “Toba” in the name is added to attract the sympathy from the Batak Toba community [3]. Rusli Marbun, an indigenous woman, was imprisoned for three months for resisting PT TPL. Upon her release, she already lost her rice and coffee plantations as they are now used for growing eucalyptus [4]. She lost all her sources of livelihood.

Such control and regulation by the state and other parties over customary lands of indigenous communities have led to agrarian disputes. This dispute could lead to damage or even loss of sources of livelihood for the indigenous communities. This implicates on the economy system of the indigenous community, which in this article shall henceforth be referred to as indigenous economy. Primary needs like food, clean water, and secondary needs such as wooden housing and tools could no longer be procured and self-produced. Furthermore, income from selling forest resources, farming, and other natural resources decreased or even lost completely. The damage and loss of sources of livelihood and changes in the economy of the indigenous community also badly affected indigenous women, while at the same time they were also dealing with gender inequality issues with regards to economic management in the domains of household and community.

Applying feminist political economy approach developed by Maria Riley, this article reviews the position of women in an indigenous economic system that has undergone changes due to various factors. The first factor is the control by state and other parties over customary land that has implicated on the control over sources of livelihood. The second factor is the market economy that has shown main economic focus on wage or “money” and encourages the role of a global market. The changes in the indigenous economy by these two factors caused a shift in how livelihood is perceived by indigenous communities in general, and indigenous women in particular. At the end of this article, we will discuss the position of indigenous women in indigenous economy through the situation of their livelihood in Indonesia, utilizing feminist political economic analysis by Maria Riley with regards to labor division, gender-based power dynamics, and even social stratification of family, community, state, and other interested parties that promote a market economy based on increasing production.

This article is divided into four parts. These parts are 1) Indigenous Women and Gender Inequality, 2) The Concept of Livelihoods, 3) The Position of Women in Indigenous Economies, and 4) Concluding remarks that include conclusions and recommendations.

2 Framework Analysis

The analysis in this paper elaborates the concept of rural livelihoods developed by Fraser et al. [5] and uses the theory of feminist political economy developed by Maria Riley [6].

According to the conceptual approach of livelihood developed by Fraser et al. [5], it is defined as the various activities performed in order to obtain productive security. Fraser et al. [5] develops a framework to observe these following components: a) the

form of security that yields better productivity, b) the occurring changes; and c) the roles of agencies in increasing the capacity to deal with livelihood crises. The three components of such a framework on livelihood developed by Fraser et al. [5] will be used to analyse the position of indigenous women in indigenous economy.

Feminist political economic theory by Riley [6] emphasized on the imbalanced power relations in the context of the invisible hand and visible hand that are very powerful. She criticized a political economy that puts emphasis on supply-focused power relations. In Riley's view, power relations have an implication on women as a marginalized group. The dimension of gender will affect the political social relations and power structure. This structure consists of power relations from various levels like family, community, state, and even the global market. The three basic keys of feminist political economy, according to Riley [6], are gender, power dynamics, and labor division. This feminist political economy approach uncovers and clarifies how gender determines or influences different social and political relations, power structure, and economic implications. The understanding of the division of gender implies to see men and women from feminist perspective, with special emphasis on the subordination of women.

3 Method

This article is developed through literature research method, where we explored as data a number of accounts by indigenous women in Indonesia that were recorded in the National Inquiry of the Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights, and other supporting literature from articles, theses, and interviews conducted with the indigenous women of Kasepuhan Karang and Kasepuhan Pasir Eurih (Kasepuhan Banten Kidul).

4 Result and Discussion

4.1 Indigenous Women and Gender Inequality

Indigenous women are part of an indigenous community. The "part" component is my primary point of focus here that indigenous women should be considered a crucial element that needs to be allowed involvement in the struggle of indigenous community with regards to their livelihood that depends on natural resources and the marginalization that they experience.

Women experience multiple burdens when a dispute occurs over natural resources. Apart from having to play an extra role in fulfilling the economic needs and providing food for their household, they also have to feel insecure in the face of threats, harassment, stigma, eviction, persecution, and criminalization [7].

The above narration points out how indigenous women are involved in the struggle for fulfilling economic needs and provision of food in household domain, yet they also experience harassment such as stigma and criminalization in household, community, and state domains. Marginalization of indigenous women are related with the overlapping criteria in the structure of indigenous communities.

4.1.1 Indigenous People

The definition of indigenous people in international context refers to the convention of the International Labour Organization (ILO) No. 169 of 1989 which states that indigenous people are tribal peoples living in countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated by their own customs, traditions, or by special laws or regulations. The content of this convention urges the fulfilment of social, cultural, and economic rights for indigenous people.

In the national context, the Alliance of Indonesian Indigenous Communities (AMAN), through its first congress in 1999 in Jakarta has formulated criteria in defining indigenous people as communities who live by the customs and traditions of their ancestors for generations in a certain customary territory, whose sovereignty over natural resources and land, and social cultural life is regulated by their own customs and bodies. It is also regulated in Law No. 27 of 2007 which defines it under the term “indigenous laws community,” which are communities who have lived for generations in a geographical location of by original ancestry, relationship with natural environment, and a system of values that regulate the economic, political, social, and regulatory dimensions of their lives. A paper titled *Masyarakat Adat dalam Kontestasi Pembaruan Hukum* by Arizona [8] explains that the term indigenous laws community has overlapping meanings of both “community and indigenous laws” and “community of laws and indigenous customs.” The reduction of indigenous community into indigenous laws community brings excessive focus on a single dimension, namely legal dimension; which is deemed problematic since an indigenous community consists of complex dimensions, namely social, political, cultural, economic, and ecological dimensions.

The indigenous communities in Indonesia still had to face various issues concerning acknowledgement and protection of rights. State and other parties have yet to grant proper acknowledgement and protection of their rights. Even during the colonial time, their land was controlled by the state through regulations and formulation of laws on control over indigenous lands as forest area and for other purposes. Due to these regulations, indigenous people had to face exclusion.

Actions have been taken to address these issues, among others through formulation of policies that acknowledge and protect the rights of indigenous people. One such policy is the state acknowledgement of indigenous forest area through a decree by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. Nevertheless, there are still many obstacles that hinder indigenous people in obtaining acknowledgement and protection from the state. There is a long series of bureaucracy to pass before an indigenous community can obtain acknowledgement. As such, the exclusion of indigenous people is still underway.

4.1.2 Exploring Issues Surrounding Indigenous Women Through the Accounts of Indigenous Women

Indigenous women do not only face exclusion by state policies. They also face various forms of exclusions in domestic, public, and state domains, and even in the global market. A wing organization of AMAN, Alliance of Indonesian Indigenous Women, gathered

together on April 16, 2012 in North Halmahera, North Maluku, and voiced this point of interest for indigenous women:

Indigenous women have long struggled in fighting many forms of oppression, inequalities, exploitation, and deprivation of rights both as women and as indigenous women as a result of framework of global, national, local, and communal policies that discriminate against indigenous women.

Another issue that they face in Indonesia is concerned with exploitation of natural resources in customary land or territory. A report by the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) for the national inquiry of the National Commission on Human Rights [7] shown several findings of violation of indigenous women's rights with regards to control of forest and other natural resources by the state. The first finding in the report is the loss of women's role in food provision.

Before the company came to our place, we were fine because we could still catch fish using bokor (a sort of wide bowl), and we could just use sago leaves as house roofs. But when the company came, fishing is no longer allowed, and we can no longer get woods for our daily needs (consulting process during the national inquiry of the National Commission on Human Rights, DKU Maluku Region).

The above narration shows how the traditional knowledge for obtaining source of livelihood and food for their household no longer becomes relevant. Access to the forest where they gather resources for fulfilling their daily needs has been closed.

The second finding is the weak participation of indigenous women in decision making. I understand the word "weak" here as "being made weak," in a sense that their poor participation is because they are not given the opportunities to get involved in the first place when it comes to making decisions concerning rights over indigenous land and forest.

The third finding, the loss of the original knowledge of indigenous women. Original knowledge here refers to various traditional knowledge possessed throughout generations such as what medicinal herbs are good for childbirth and for other needs of indigenous community.

The fourth finding, women as agent of peace. This is evident from the loss of forest biodiversity which implicates on the weakening social bond among the community, just as illustrated by this narration:

When two kids got into a fight and one of them got wounded, the mother of the kid who inflicted the wound would mix bland flour and bring it to the family of the wounded kid. The bland flour was usually served with orange and boiled yams, and they would eat the yams together as a symbol of peaceful reconciliation and settlement of disputes [7].

The Fifth finding, women and spirituality. Indigenous women were familiar with rituals and knowledge about the plants or ingredients needed to perform a traditional procession or ritual.

The issues faced by the indigenous women of Indonesia as elaborated above contributed to five forms of gender inequality articulated by Fakhri (2008): marginalization, subordination, stigmatization, gender based violence, and multiple burdens. The first form, marginalization of indigenous women occurs due to marginalization of the access

to knowledge about food by parties who control the customary land or forest. The second form, subordination or the degrading of women's position and roles as opposed to men, evident in how women are not allowed involvement in decision making among family members, communities, and the state. In the domains of family or household in certain communities, indigenous women who are abandoned by their husbands would no longer have access to land. Furthermore, in community domain they are also not allowed involvement in decision making concerning customary land or area. An indigenous woman from Kasepuhan Karang said,

I did not know when our customary forest was acknowledged, I just heard the talk about it while cooking in the kitchen (Rukini, an Indigenous Woman from Kasepuhan Karang, October 2018).

Rukini's (pseudonym) narration, represents the voice of the indigenous women of Kasepuhan Karang, Lebak, Banten, whom I interviewed during a preliminary research. Rukini has experienced various forms of gender inequality. The first is subordination, she was left by her husband without divorcing her so she had to take care of her children on her own. She also was not given any access to land because the field her parents left behind was mortgaged by her older brother. As a result, Rukini could only rely on working as a farm worker for someone else's farm, where she receives 1/8 of the rice harvest from the farm. Fulfilment of basic needs like food comes from the rice she took home from working. Secondary needs are fulfilled by working many part time jobs like cleaning other people's fields.

Another form of gender inequality that Rukini experienced is stereotyping. Indigenous women have always been regarded as exclusively responsible for domestic affairs, when in fact they also need to have a role in productive domain. Furthermore, they are generally viewed as having no role in social domain. This is the reason why they are not allowed involvement in decision making process of the community concerning the application for state acknowledgement of her community's forest as an indigenous forest. As a result, Rukini and other indigenous women of Kasepuhan Karang did not have any idea that their community, along with an aiding organization, decided to send an application for acknowledgement of indigenous forest by the decree of the Forestry minister.

Other forms of gender inequality that Rukini and her fellow women face is gender-based violence in various domains such as in core family, extended family, community, and even state domain. In her family, Rukini did not receive an access to land inheritance because women were not given any rights for land. In community domain, indigenous women were not involved in decision making in community or in community organization. The NGO that came to the aid of the indigenous people of Kasepuhan Pasir Eurih, Lebak, Banten, has yet to optimize the involvement of indigenous women when forming an organization of women farmers (KWT) in the community. A staff of the NGO, a young man around 30 years of age said that their involvement in the KWT was only intended so that the women of the community had something productive to do. As a result, the number of women involved is very limited if not continues to diminish. This situation shows that indigenous women have yet to be considered object throughout the supporting and aiding process. As a result, the indigenous women could not really

obtain access to the series of process in forming an organization that they should form and develop for their own interest. Because there are still issues regarding formation and management of organization, indigenous women are not facilitated to realize their participation. This makes it difficult for them to have any control over the decision making in the organization.

The fifth form of gender inequality that the indigenous women had to face is multiple burdens. Apart from performing their domestic role, indigenous women need to perform a productive role in fulfilling the basic needs and other needs for their family through management of various sources of livelihood. When these sources of livelihood are damaged or loss either through control over customary forest and areas by state or other interested parties, women have to bear additional burdens. An indigenous woman in Papua recounted an issue when the government designated a customary forest once filled with sago trees as a state forest and later allowed a private company to manage it.

We can no longer obtain sago in the forest, so we had to buy rice in the nearest village. But it is so far, in dry season by motorbike it takes from morning to afternoon to get to the village and come back. And when it is rainy, we cannot use motorbike because of the mud [7].

The above narration illustrates the multiple burdens that they had to bear because sago (their primary source of food) is gone and has to be substituted with rice. At first, the indigenous women in Papua could develop areas filled with sago trees by harvesting and processing the sago with all their traditional skills and knowledge. However, when these areas were designated as state forest, they lost the access and control to sago and had to substitute their primary source of food with rice that takes kilometres from their village to buy.

4.2 The Concept of Livelihoods

Livelihoods, according to Bogumila Lisocka and Jaegerman [9] through an article titled *Sustainable Rural Development or (Sustainable) Rural Livelihoods? Strategies for the 21st Century in Peripheral Regions* explains the concept of livelihood that is inseparable from the concept of sustainable development, derived from a political and social report of Bruntland Commission or the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. The report defines sustainable development as the need for protection of environmental resources.

Another definition of livelihoods is also outlined by Susana Sallu, Twyman, Chasca and Lindsay in an article titled *Resilient or Vulnerable Livelihoods? Assessing Livelihood Dynamic and Trajectories in Rural Botswana* [10]. The article mentioned that the notion of livelihood is first developed by Chambers and Conway in 1992 where they defined it as an ability marked by access to material and social resources for supporting life. Livelihood strategy is not merely about generating income, as it also involves cultural and social aspects. Livelihood also covers various domains from family, organization, to environment (Chambers and Conway 1992 in [10]). Furthermore, Catney (1996) defined sustainable livelihood as the maintaining and enhancing of the present and future capabilities without undermining natural resource base. The interpretation

of sustainability is closely tied with the consideration of social-ecological system [10]. Moreover, Walker et al. in 2006 defined livelihoods as a capacity system that maintains function, structure, and identity. Meanwhile, Marschke and Berkes in 2006 defined it as a form security for managing and recovering resources (Marschke and Berkes 2006 in [10]). Fraser, et al. in 2010 defined it as various activities to gain productive security with three frameworks: Does agroecosystem has the security to keep it productive? Does people have access to a livelihood strategy that is crucial in surviving through changes in vulnerability context? Does organization have the ability and capacity to respond to changing vulnerability context especially critical situation? [5].

The position of indigenous women in livelihood is also outlined in an article titled *Indigenous Woman in Transitioning Livelihood: Linked Lived Experiences and Development Realities with Sustainable Opportunities* by Phaomei [11]. The article explains how the indigenous communities in India who once made livelihood through hunting, farming, and making crafts from natural materials had to turn to contemporary sources of livelihood such as business, banking, etc. Livelihood is defined as various activities for survival that are closely linked with natural resources, which have experienced a loss and led to discrimination and many new forms of inequalities in the market of workforce. The opportunities for indigenous women who once managed food sources have been eroded by cultural shifts that are more oriented towards money and property or by sustainable development that exploits the natural sources livelihood of indigenous women.

The historical meaning of livelihood and its relation with indigenous women have implicated on indigenous women's position in indigenous economy. "Articulation of means of production" affects the process of livelihood for indigenous women. It means that indigenous communities came into contact with economic system of colonizing countries or former colonizers that brought along a capitalist production situation through the emergence of worker class, one implication of which is the agrarian change process. Hariss (1982:16) in Saptari [12] defined change as the whole of a relationship system in economy and agrarian society that covers technological, environmental, social, and cultural factors and relationships through a process that gives form to it. Saptari [12] elaborated that the economic dimension of farming and marketing and the relationship between rural and national economy have caused a system of land ownership and management of workers, control over market. This situation led to the shift in the livelihood of indigenous women, especially concerning the fulfilment of needs that used to be heavily dependent on natural resources that are now controlled by various patriarchal actors, which in turn heavily impact their indigenous economic system.

4.3 The Position of Women in Indigenous Economies

Kuokkanen [13], through an article titled *Indigenous Economies, Theories of Subsistence, and Women: Exploring The Social Economies for Indigenous Governance*, explains that indigenous economy is a system of independent indigenous management that comprehensively applies in an indigenous community in form of local or traditional knowledge, or customs, as forms of subsystem activities for managing natural resources; among others are economy in hunting, fishing, dry farming, and other activities for securing livelihood and needs of indigenous communities. Basically indigenous

economy transcends an economic system that only orientates towards livelihood in forms of money or material gains that would be used for the fulfilment of needs of individual, group, or communities in national and global sense. Indigenous economy emphasizes more on the series of activities that are closely tied with an indigenous identity, in which there is a relation between the use of resources and the access to resources through indigenous procedures that have been passed down for generations. At this point, indigenous communities are under the pressure to adapt to the global economy. They are in a situation where their lands and areas are controlled by development projects fueled by profits, such as mining, large-scale irrigation, logging, and development of oil and gas.

The loss of indigenous economy due to competition in the use of land and natural resources also affects women. For losing access to land and natural resources, women were forced to abandon the traditional skills and knowledge in cultivating farm and managing natural resource. If they still have any access to land for farming or other natural resources, the pressure of the global market would push them to turn to plants or crops with commercial values.

Kuokkanen [13] through explained the management of indigenous economy as follows: firstly, continuous signification of indigenous economy by considering economic basis of independent management over economic development projects. Secondly, involving or empowering indigenous socio-economic organization to form an independent political body. Thirdly, a legal system that is in accordance with the principles of customs or traditional laws as indigenous economic system and affiliated social organizations. Kuokkanen [13] also concluded that indigenous economy should be understood as a land-based economy that regulates sustainable resources, not one based on exchange for profit or competition, rather aiming towards the survival and sustainability of a socio-cultural community. Indigenous economy covers two things, namely sustainability and recombination.

In another article, Kuokannen [14] also explained that indigenous economy is a collection of knowledge about the management of natural resources in an indigenous community for the needs of family, community, and the market. Indigenous women are the holders of this knowledge due to their direct interaction between indigenous women with household/family needs and the needs of the community. Women play an important role in indigenous economy by the virtue of their various roles in the conduct of various activities in preserving social bond between individuals, family, and community with the availability of various sources of livelihoods [14].

What about the position of the indigenous women in Indonesia amidst a constantly eroded indigenous economy caused by state control over indigenous areas and by the influence of the global market? The position of Indonesian indigenous women in indigenous economy is closely linked with their access and control over land and the natural resources within it. It is also tied with their participation and control over knowledge and decision making over natural resources in the domain of family and indigenous community.

1. Access to Indigenous Land and Forest

Kuokkanen [13] explained that indigenous communities prioritize a livelihood that depends on available natural resources over one that is based on money. In other words,

they prefer livelihood that originates from land and sea, that is the main goal behind the claim over land. Land is a fortune to be preserved for the next generations. Indigenous community lives by the conviction that without land and water, life will be impoverished.

However, as time went on, indigenous economy undergone a shift, and even a complete destruction in certain places. This destruction is closely linked with the loss of access to and control over indigenous land and forest, and their indigenous territory in its entirety. This situation has impacted the indigenous women as well.

Indigenous women should not be regarded as homogenous entity. It consists of various social and cultural structures; there are elite and non-elite indigenous women. Elite indigenous women share bloodline with the indigenous governing members and thus have access to land ownership. On the other hand, non-elite indigenous women are not given any rights to land, among the structure of community they are undermined and are not involved in all stages of decision making. Such dynamics, as a result of a non-homogenous position among indigenous women will affect their position with regards to indigenous economy where access to land is concerned.

Here is a narration by Susana, a non-elite indigenous woman from Kasepuhan Karang, Lebak, Banten, Indonesia.

Young Susana had to go through four unwanted marriages. As the oldest of four siblings, she was forced to marry by her father who had never informed her previously of the plan to arrange her marriage with a man. She was just asked to sit among a crowd of adults and follow the entire procession — “Ow... maybe that is what is called marriage.” She imagined the innocence in her expression for not being able to reject her husband’s request to consummate their marriage even though she was not of age at that time. She had not even had her menstruation. And thus, she was divorced by her first husband. This repeated in her life for four times. She was always arranged to marry older men that were really torturing for her. Ibu Susana does not have any land. She could only rely on her part of harvest from working on other people’s farm and from her neighbors and the Kokolot Karang (interview with Susana in Ramdhaniaty, 2018).

The above narration that is acquired through direct account of an indigenous woman by Ramdhaniaty [15] through her thesis *Non-Elite Indigenous Women, Multi Layered Exclusion, And Struggle of Citizenship Right Over Customary Forest (A Case Study at Kasepuhan Karang, Lebak, Banten)* illustrates the marginalization in Susana’s life. She has very limited access to other people’s land as she works by tending other people’s farm. It all began because her father forced her into marriage without her consent. The very patriarchal culture of her indigenous community affected her position as an indigenous woman and her access to and control over land.

The series of activities of indigenous women in regards to their position in indigenous economy is closely tied with indigenous women’s access to customary forest. Here is a narration from Rukini,

I don’t know anything about it (applying for the status of customary forest). Whether it is acknowledged or not, it doesn’t matter. I only hear about the whole acknowledgement of customary forest from Ibu Nia from the organization that provided legal aid for our village (Rukmini, 2018)

The above narration shows that indigenous women are lacking in knowledge about the application to obtain the status of customary forest. This implicates on their position in indigenous economy in relation to the access to customary forest. Based on feminist political economy analysis [6]. Rukmini has faced various gender inequality across different social spheres where she lives. The first social sphere is family, where a land that should have been her rights was sold by her brother. Rukmini lost her access to land, which implicated heavily on her livelihood, as she could only work on the lands of other people. In the sphere of community, Rukmini was not involved when Kasepuhan Karang gathered to make decision on their customary forest, so she did not when it was designated, what the process of designation was, and what impact it might have on her own livelihood.

2. Participation of Indigenous Women in the Management of Knowledge about Sources of Livelihood and Division of Labor

In the study of economics, needs can be categorized into intensity, time of fulfilment, nature, and subject. Needs based on intensity are further divided into primary, secondary, and tertiary needs. The complexity of economic needs based on intensity are burdened upon indigenous women. The position of indigenous women in indigenous economy is related with their knowledge about management of natural resources. Kuokannen [3] elaborates that Sa'Mi indigenous women at first possessed the knowledge about the processing the meat of wild deer, but the knowledge was lost and they began consuming meats bought from the market. Sa'Mi women also lost their rights to land from divorce. The herding of deer was a job that is quite identical with men. The research result from the article also states that indigenous women tend to preserve the Sa'Mi's traditional verdde system, which is the practice of building and maintaining economic and social bonds with individuals and family from their source of livelihood. However, political transformation eradicated their system of indigenous economy. Indigenous communities have entered gender biased capitalist economy by removing the women's access to customary land and forest. Labor division [6] is formed by power structure that orientates towards rational economy or the increase in production towards profit, or what is also known as personification of economic rationality. Division of labor is performed through capitalist means, namely by not allowing women to participate in the herding of deer on their grassland territory. The emergence of capitalist industry only sees deer as a factor for meat industry, when in fact indigenous women have the knowledge to process the meat traditionally to fulfil the needs of their family, community, and even marketing it. So, Sa'Mi women lost their livelihoods and impact to their position of indigenous economy.

The complexity in the livelihood of indigenous women only reveals the position of indigenous women in indigenous economy with regards to how economic needs based on intensity has marginalized the Sa'Mi indigenous women, such as by removing their knowledge in procuring deer to fulfil their primary needs, secondary needs also could not be fulfilled because of divorce. Tertiary needs are even harder to procure due to the loss of access to knowledge about processing deer meat, while control over customary land and forest are also lost because of divorce.

Another thing that is still closely related to indigenous economy is gender-based work division among indigenous community. The defining of women's assigned roles and tasks need to be traced back. A work oftentimes does not only concern the underlying condition of the work itself, but also the social evaluation attached to it [16]. The dimension of work is divided into productive work or the producing of something; and reproductive work or in the literal sense of the word the replacing of what has died out or loss or is related with the affairs in a household, involvement in community, and domestic and non-domestic works [12]. Division of work among indigenous community assigns multiple burdens upon indigenous women, since the territory is in the form of forest or field, so most of the works are reproductive works in domestic domain of households and productive works like farming according to the characteristics of the community.

The women's tasks begin from the moment incense sap arrives home. Women are responsible for separating the sap and selling it to the market or toke who pick up the incense at home. Women are also responsible for preparing all the supplies and tools to bring to the forest for a week, such as rice, fish, and cigarettes. For rice farming, the roles of women are more dominant. The field and coffee plantation that spans 300 hectares not far from the residence. Men are only involved to work during the harvest of rice. (An account from Indigenous Women of Pandumaan/Sipituhuta in [7]).

Division of work among the community as told in the narration above has something to do with the custom that forbids women from climbing incense tree, while women's work in processing incense, marketing it, and taking care of fields just show that women experience multiple burdens. The management of indigenous women's knowledge about natural resource shows their position in the indigenous economy, namely the responsibility in managing the livelihood of their family through access and control, but the benefit that they gain are not gender-equal due to the multiple burdens in the division of work.

Indigenous women's perception of economy is not in generating profit but in fulfilling the economic needs of their family. Their position in the indigenous economy of their community cannot be separated from the power dynamics that formed within the indigenous community.

3. Power Dynamics in the Source of Livelihood of Indigenous Women

I will discuss the power dynamics in the source of livelihood of indigenous women based on the influence of many aspects in the domains of state, indigenous community, and family. Firstly, the power dynamics in the livelihood of indigenous women of the state domain reveals the loss of their position in indigenous economy because their environment of livelihood has been reallocated for the needs of private companies. Our exploration regarding the position of women in indigenous economy that has been influenced by the state domain, specifically the indigenous women of Teluk Wondama, Papua [7]. The community had long been cultivating black fruit (*haplolobus*) plant for wedding ceremonies, hunting, farming, sago processing, and gathering of forest resources such as fruit, fishing; it had been a part of their livelihood. However, this all changed in 1988, as the Forestry Ministry granted a forest concession rights (HPH) to PT. Dharma Mukti Persada (DMP). The indigenous community rallied in a protest against it, and police officers pursued those responsible for the rally. Until May 2001, more than

ten people were captured and six civilians were shot. Indigenous women did not only lose knowledge about the management of their sources of livelihood, some of them were also tortured and even raped with no mention of the group responsible for it [7].

Secondly, in the domain of indigenous community, indigenous women were always marginalized. I would refer to the recognition of customary forest of Kasepuhan Karang, Banten. Since obtaining the recognition, the elite of the community have designed policies to maintain the utilization of customary forest, among others by forming a cooperative as an organization for indigenous women in managing food products in an economic system where payment is not made with money, but with harvested crops like grain. On November 2018, I had an opportunity to discuss with the head of the cooperative, Een Suryani, an indigenous woman in Kasepuhan Karang. She said that “all decisions come from Pak Jaro, because he was the one who founded (the cooperatives). Every matter has to be by his permission.” “Jaro” here refers to the head of the village. Een’s narration here reveals that she has no control over the cooperatives as the institution that manages the food products of the community. The power over it is held by the elite group of the indigenous community, among them is jaro.

Thirdly, in the domain of family/household. The position of women in indigenous economy is influenced by the family domain, namely in the various forms of husband’s restriction or control of their wives in conducting various activities for livelihood. Rukini, an indigenous woman of Kasepuhan Karang who discussed with me before said “I do not have my own field, well I used to but it was mortgaged by my older brother, so I obtain my daily needs by working on other people’s fields.” This narration reveals that Rukini has no control over the field inherited by her parents because of the power of her older brother. This removes her position in the indigenous economy, as the fulfilment of her livelihood shifted into becoming a farm worker on other people’s fields. The power dynamics in family sphere also implicates on the position of indigenous women in indigenous economy, specifically in the level of “care work”. According to Riley [6], care work also limits women’s ability to participate on an equal footing with men in the marketplace, often forcing them into informal and flexible work patterns.” Care work performed by indigenous women, like Rukmini, did not only include taking care of the children her husband left behind but also her grandchildren (from her daughter), which forced Rukmini to spend a lot of time working on other people’s fields and other odd jobs like cleaning those fields.

5 Conclusion and Recommendation

The position of women in indigenous economy is inseparable from their livelihood in the domains of family, community, state, and even the market. There are three things that influence the position of indigenous women in indigenous economy. Firstly, access to customary land and forest, where indigenous community prioritize livelihood from available natural resources over money, living by the yields of the land and the sea, this is the main goal of claim over land. Access to customary land and forest, however, involves a strong gender dimension. Meanwhile, indigenous women are not a homogenous group; they consist of various social and cultural structure, namely the elite and non-elite indigenous women.

Secondly, concerning the participation of indigenous women in managing the knowledge about sources of livelihood and division of work, the complexity in the livelihood of indigenous women reveals that they are in a marginalized position in the indigenous economy. Their economic needs based on intensity, such as in applying their knowledge for processing deer meat as food for their family has been lost, secondary needs for procuring complementary needs for their family also can no longer be fulfilled due to divorce.

Thirdly, the power dynamics in the sources of livelihood in the domains of family, community, and even state have marginalized indigenous women's control and access to the many sources of their livelihood.

The complexity of livelihood among indigenous women as mentioned has implicated on their position in indigenous economy. As such, we recommend that various agencies for consulting and empowerment of indigenous women would encourage them to re-explore and revitalize the local wisdom of indigenous women to improve their livelihood and their participation in decision making process. In our opinion, these two steps are really helpful in strengthening the position of indigenous women in indigenous economy that works on the spheres of family and indigenous community.

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