

earned by the women farmworkers are not as much as the wages generated by the owners of the rice fields.

This occurs because, in the agricultural sector, women are given “feminine” work that requires accuracy, patience, and is considered not too heavy, resulting in the low wages received by the female workers (Jaggar, 2019; Setiawan, 2017). Meanwhile, the stereotypes and inequality in gender relations lead to injustice experienced by women farmworkers (Puspitarini & Femilia, 2018; Trauger, 2004). This unfair experience still often occurs in the community and is considered a common practice in East Java Province, Indonesia. No one deliberately wants to be a female farmworker, especially those who are married, let alone have many children. However, existing conditions force them to work as female farmworkers. Furthermore, as the 4th largest agricultural land area in Indonesia, which has an area of 65,457 hectares, the wage received by a female farmworker in 2020 in East Java Province was around Rp. 40,000 to Rp. 55,000 per week (<https://jatim.bps.go.id/> accessed on January 13, 2021).

This research was conducted in Banyuwangi Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia with the consideration that Banyuwangi Regency is the main agricultural production area of food crops, horticulture, and plantations with national and international orientation (commodity export) in East Java Province. The existence of variations in superior commodities in Banyuwangi Regency is one of the important basic parts for regional development that contributes to GRDP (Gross Regional Domestic Product) for national development, which increases of the ability of farmers to become independent; therefore, their level of income and welfare also increases (Dinas Pertanian Kabupaten Banyuwangi, 2017).

Banyuwangi Regency has an area of 5,782.50 km², making it the Regency with the

largest area in East Java Province. The rice fields are about 66,152 ha or 11.44 % of land area, while the plantations cover an area of 82,143.63 ha or 14.21% of land area. The potential of agricultural land in Banyuwangi Regency is ranked third after Malang and Jember Regencies; thus, Banyuwangi Regency is one of the rice barns or food security producing areas in East Java Province, Indonesia (Dinas Pertanian Kabupaten Banyuwangi, 2017). Because of these reasons, Banyuwangi Regency has the advantage in developing regional superior commodities and increasing food crop agricultural production with regional, national, and international orientations. Based on data from the Strategic Plan of the Banyuwangi Regency Agriculture Office in 2016-2021, Banyuwangi Regency is not only successful in securing food crop commodities but also increasing horticultural production (vegetables, fruit, ornamental plants, and biopharmaceuticals). Banyuwangi Regency has also dealt with forest damage and critical land, which has received appreciation from the Indonesian Ministry of Forestry. Banyuwangi Regency had a population of 1,708,114 people, consisting of 855,220 male residents and 852,894 female residents in 2020. The male population in Banyuwangi Regency mostly works as laborers or employees, and the majority of the female population works as unpaid family workers. Meanwhile, most people in Banyuwangi Regency, both men and women, are active in agricultural and plantation land (Dinas Pertanian Kabupaten Banyuwangi, 2017).

Following the description of the research location in Banyuwangi, this research is essential to study, considering that numerous women are active in agricultural and plantation land but are often unpaid because they still have kinship ties or blood ties with the owner. In the concept of gender, this is related to the traditional inherent role of women; it is a social role as 'good children and wives' help the

family, which then places women farmers as saviors of the family. Linking with the women farmworkers nowadays, a person who works as a female farmworker is less likely to be well-off in meeting the daily family needs, especially in meeting primary necessities (basic), such as the educational needs of her children, nutritious food, and health insurance (Gianawati, 2013; Puspitarini & Femilia, 2018; Sajogyo, 2002). Nowadays, needs are challenging to meet because of the rising prices of foodstuff and the lack of available jobs. In most of the jobs in the village, women are employed on other people's land, which is often referred to as women farmworkers (Kiranantika, A., & Habibah, 2020; Sajogyo, 2002). Employment as women farmworkers is provided by the landowner, who has difficulty managing his or her fields or land. Accordingly, women farmworkers must work to fulfill their needs even in minimal conditions.

Growing commercial crops did not seem to be a priority for small peasants since it was feared that it might threaten their subsistence (Carrier, 2018; Scott, 2005). Similarly, this was seen in the fishermen's efforts to cover up their economic difficulties, namely by diversifying their jobs. Diversification here meant they were not only fishing but also doing other types of work, such as farming, gardening, performing work in service, or being a pedicab driver. In addition to these jobs, some people continued to work in fisheries, such as fish trade, fish preservation/marinating business, shipbuilding services, shellfish and oyster search, and fishing equipment sales. Fishermen's skills play a significant role in the effort to create work diversification since becoming only a fishing worker was considered less optimal in generating income (Anggaunitakiranantika, 2018; Haryono, 2005).

Besides job diversification, the identity held by women farmworkers in several countries, such as Iran, Nigeria, Kenya, and the state of Pennsylvania in the USA, namely as

part of essential jobs in the agricultural sector, is also believed to increase work productivity and women's knowledge of the agricultural sector as a whole. In this case, women are not only used as subjects or workers but also have a maximum contribution in their work, which certainly has an impact on meeting the basic needs of the family (Karami & Mansoorabadi, 2008; Odini, 2014; Trauger, 2004).

The importance of this research is to analyze and identify the efforts made by the women farmworkers in the East Java Province, Indonesia for preserving their life and means in living on other people's agricultural land, as the main research question. In addition, we studied how women manage their life using gender lenses to meet the basic needs of their families by working in the agricultural sector, as the additional research question.

Literature Review

In a real sense, women farmworkers are those who earn income working for landowners or land tenant farmers. Some work short-term; they are employed and are released day to day. A small proportion of them is permanent workers, who are usually employed for a year or longer (Sajogyo, 2002; Scott, 2005). Women farmworkers depend on landowners to be engaged in their fields when they are about to enter the planting process and when the harvest season has arrived (Carrier, 2018; Setiawan, 2017; Valdivia & Gilles, 2001).

Villagers who work as laborers have an employer. For the women farmworkers, the employer is the rice field owner or landowner. Therefore, their working capital is their energy. Based on the ownership and cultivation of agricultural land, there are several categories: 1) Owners and workers, 2) Owner or landlord, 3) Penyakap (cultivator of other people's land with profit sharing or tenants), 4) Women farmworkers, namely those who do not own their agricultural land and work for wages following the rules that apply to

other farmers. The emergence of the female farmworker phenomenon is inseparable from the disruption of agricultural production assets in the form of depreciation of land and the quality of agricultural land and the conversion of agricultural land in rural areas (Gianawati, 2013; Sajogyo, 2002). In the rural work sector, changes in agricultural production assets have an impact on agricultural work performed by workers in the agricultural sector. These changes occur to the social structure in rural societies so they affect the sectors of life, especially for women in the socio-economic life. The originality of this research is on capturing women's efforts and participation in the agricultural sector by working on others' land. In addition, various types of works are also shown by women farmworkers, which has shown that the agricultural sector in Indonesia as the largest sector has been changing to fulfill household needs nowadays. The agriculture sector cannot be relied on as the primary support of rural society. Thus, women also work in other professions, rather than only farming.

Based on preliminary research, a woman in East Java Province, Indonesia who does not have land to grow crops or her parents do not have land to inherit will most likely become someone who works as a female farmworker. This is what causes many female farmers who are married to be supported by other people, namely agricultural landowners and or plantation landowners, who are not bound by family ties or blood ties or who are still bound by heredity ties. This complicates the position of women farmers to live on their own as powerful women who are able to manage agricultural land.

Furthermore, this phenomenon can also be understood through the thought of James Scott, who conveyed that a condition in which pre-capitalist peasants are worried about food shortages has led to the emergence of "subsistence ethics." This is also a result of a

life very close to the boundary line (Carrier, 2018; Scott, 2005). Subsistence ethics can be described as ethics of survival in a minimal condition, in which a person must continue to live his or her life even though he or she has a small income. In this case, the peasants or the women farmworkers work to meet the basic family needs amidst their low income. As for the women farmworkers who lease land, they also must think about the rental costs, where the money used for the rental fee is obtained from, and the harvest, in which sometimes the yields are unstable.

In facing limitations, women farmworkers are gentle, motherly, and emotional, making them suitable for carrying out domestic tasks requiring patience. Meanwhile, male farmworkers are considered strong, rational, and powerful by the community; thus, they have a position in the public sector to earn a living for their families. This assumption brings women to exclusivity, not to the inclusivity that men and women must have, without taking sides and seeing from particular interests (Jaggar, 2019; Mies & Shiva, 2021; Tong, 2018).

In addition, Phenomenology believes a social phenomenon in society has an essential structure formed by interrelated basic elements. To understand the essential structure of a phenomenon, a review process is carried out on the essence and pattern of relationships among the essences of the phenomenon (Asih, 2014). Phenomenology believes that phenomena are in the consciousness of a person to whom the phenomenon appears in its original form. Husserl stated that every phenomenon always consists of subjective activity and an object as a focus. Subjective activity always leads to the object. Subjective activity interprets, gives identity, and forms the meaning of objects. As a result, subjective activity and the object as a focus cannot be separated and are interrelated (Asih, 2014; Ritzer, 2012; Ritzer & Goodman, 2006).

This phenomenon is more than the usual ethic subsistence nowadays. Women

farmworkers are strengthened through an understanding of existentialist feminism in their gender view in completing the research novelty from literary aspects. The analysis of existentialist feminism also explores the dynamics of work activities performed by women farmworkers in Banyuwangi, Indonesia today. Existence is inseparable from the way humans free and actualize themselves. According to (De Beauvoir, 2014) there are four ways to be existentialist, namely: 1) women can work. No matter how hard and tiring women's work is, it provides various possibilities for women, which, if they do not perform it, they will ultimately lose them. By working outside the home with men, women can reclaim their transcendence. Women will concretely affirm their status as subjects, as someone who actively determines the direction of their destiny, 2) women can become intellectuals, members of groups that will create change for women. Intellectual activities include thinking, seeing, and defining, 3) women can work to transform society, namely the end of subject-object or self-other conflicts between humans, especially between men and women, 4) women can refuse to be "the others," namely by actualizing and identifying themselves in dominant groups in society.

Based on this concept, Beauvoir corrects three existing arguments about male and female differences, namely biology, psychology, and economics (De Beauvoir, 2014). She also offers ontologists' arguments based on 'being there.' She sees the existence of women as an identity defined by men. From the men's view, the presence of other people is considered a threat. Consequently, to keep men in control, it is necessary to create myths about men against women. What needs to be underlined in this myth are first, what men want from women is money that cannot be earned by men, and second, women are "silent" just like nature (Jaggar, 2019; Tong, 2018). Accordingly, the increasing poverty that shackles women and

the underdevelopment that occurs is not because women are unworthy and unable to participate in the development by working, but because of the unfair treatment; work performed by women is not considered good work (Mies & Shiva, 2021; Sollund, 2015). These perspectives can be used to analyze the phenomenon of women farmworkers working in Banyuwangi, Indonesia. The gender lenses contribute much to this research for identifying women farmworkers in agricultural performance.

Farmers often suppress the smallest possible risk that might occur. The social reality of the subsistence crisis experienced by most grower farmers makes them adhere to the principle of "safety first." It means that to choose seedlings and ways of planting, farmers prefer to minimize the possibility of a disaster by maximizing the average income they earn. Tragedy, in this sense, is attached to the structure of economic opportunities, such as outside employment opportunities (Jaggar, 2019; Scott, 2005). From this statement, it can be concluded that gaining large profits is not a priority for the peasants. For them, meeting basic needs, such as food, is considered enough; the most important thing is that he or she and their family can survive and will not starve.

Besides, farmers would rather avoid crop failure than earn huge profits. Risk aversion is the effort of farmers; therefore, farmers prefer to plant subsistence crops to crops in which the yield can be sold. As explained in James Scott's Subsistence Ethics, some farming families need to do several things. First, tightening their belt, meaning that if humans generally eat three times a day, these farmers eat only one time a day, and the quality of their food is lower than usual. Second, becoming a small trader, a freelance worker, or migrating. This strategy is considered the most reliable system since farming families will not depend on others but the ability of their own hands. Third, intervention or help from relatives, friends, or

an influential person may help to suppress the crisis (Carrier, 2018; Kim, 2020; Scott, 2005).

Methods

This research employed a descriptive qualitative method with a phenomenological approach. In phenomenology, the emphasis on revealing meaning in a social action becomes important in the individual's life experience and the social experiences formed in it (Nindito, 2013; Ritzer, 2012).

Data collection techniques used in this research were observation, interview, and documentation. The study was conducted in Banyuwangi Regency, Indonesia, the fourth largest agricultural area in Indonesia, also the largest area in agriculture in East Java Province, Indonesia. It is placed in three sub-districts, namely Gambiran, Glenmore, and Srono. The informants were determined using a purposive sampling technique with specific considerations; the informant was considered the most knowledgeable person about what the researcher needed. These were to facilitate the researcher to explore the social situation under study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Several women farmworkers chosen to be the informants were women farmworkers who were involved in agricultural production activities during the harvest and planting period. The informants' ages were 25 to 45 years old.

The informants in this research were ten women who worked as women farmworkers; among them in pseudonyms were Mrs. La, Mrs. Ndo, Mrs. Ah, and Mrs. Kih. Five of the informants, namely Mrs. Jim, Mrs. Kat, Mrs. Lah, Mrs. Tuh, and Mrs. Wi, not only worked as women farmworkers but also rented other people's rice fields, which they managed themselves. There were also supporting informants, the husband of the women farmworkers, namely Mr. Guw, and two well-known landowners in Banyuwangi Regency, namely Haji Kil and Mr. Mup.

Data analysis in this research was carried out interactively and continuously until it was complete; hence, it reached saturated data (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The data analysis was performed by collecting data, reducing data, presenting data, and drawing conclusions equipped with a Moser framework (ILO, Moser, & ILO, 1998), namely the technique used in gender analysis that noticed the main principles as follows:

1. The roles of women at three levels: in reproductive, productive, and community work. It is useful for the mapping of gender work division and work allocation.
2. An effort to distinguish between the practical and strategic needs of women and men. Strategic needs relate to the need for transformation of women's status and position (such as subordination).
3. Policy analysis approach – from the focus on WID (Women in Development) to GAD (Gender and Development).

The data obtained were then processed through transcripts by writing down what the researcher had noted and recorded in the original conversational writing. Language, style, accent, and mimic must also be written by the original, since this was crucial for analyzing the data using thematic analysis.

Meanwhile, the data analysis processes included data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. In this case, the reduction and collection of data were obtained from interviews with women from harvest and plant worker families. Accordingly, based on the research results obtained and the theoretical framework analyzed, a conclusion will be drawn.

Results

Women who work as farmworkers in Banyuwangi Regency continuously perform various efforts so their families' basic needs are fulfilled. These efforts include doing side jobs, reducing expenses, or saving by

consuming simple dishes and utilizing self-grown vegetables, such as spinach, kale, and chili, as explained by the statement from Mrs. La:

"As a farmworker, we have to make the efforts maximally, Ma'am... it cannot be like it used to be because the price for living needs in the village is also getting more expensive, if we do not want to be economical, then we can die. I am accustomed to planting vegetables and fruits in my yard. The purpose is that if we need to eat, we do not need to shop and spend any more money..."

Further, the side jobs that are usually carried out by the women farmworkers include being small-scale sellers, household assistants, breeders, and grass collectors to feed livestock. When the situation becomes more difficult, they also do not hesitate to sell their livestock, as stated by Mrs. Kat:

"The wage as a farmworker is not much... but this activity has been widespread since my grandmother's era. Therefore, the women here are very accustomed to working like this, Ma'am. Another way that I do so I can eat is to rent a rice field belonging to a relative, I do it myself, and the harvest results are used to pay off the loan first, then the rest is for my family's needs. When we are not working in the fields, I make money by trading. I am currently pioneering selling banana chips online, Ma'am. The important thing is that we are not idle; we still exist."

Besides, based on the results of interviews, to fulfill their basic needs, the women farmworkers also owe to neighbors, relatives, and even patrons or landowners. As conveyed by Mrs. Jim:

"If I am stuck to meet the needs of my family, sometimes I owe, Ma'am. What else can I do? It is because

our family does not have land. Sometimes we only eat two times a day, or we fast so that it does not become a burden. My family and I only have the energy; I will look at my situation first; usually, we owe in the form of money or goods, such as rice or eggs in a certain amount. If we owe, we also need to choose the lender. Not everyone has money to lend, so you have to say it in advance..."

Moreover, women farmworkers sometimes also assist their husbands in meeting the needs of the family. Those with the status of wife usually work as casual laborers in markets or other places that need their services, or they simply help their husbands manage the rented fields. Thus, the wives have helped their husband to ease the burden to meet family needs, as expressed by Mrs. Ndo:

"I work as a farmworker to help my husband, who rents a rice field. Initially, I was not given a salary because it was my obligation as a wife to help my husband. However, now I ask for a salary because I need it for saving. I need to start thinking better about the future needs of my three children. If I do not work in the fields, I usually work as a laborer in the market. My job is to clean vegetables and sort the types of vegetables for sale. I also help neighbors or people in the area who have a celebration, like a wedding or tahlil (sending prayer) to cook or clean the house. As long as I get legal money and have done all domestic chores at home, my husband will not give any comments. After all, this is for the sake of common needs and the future as well."

A previous belief stated, a good mother is a mother who devotedly takes care of all household duties and does not violate her nature to make a living outside the household.

However, nowadays, it can be said that a good mother is a mother or woman who works outside the home and becomes the breadwinner of the family while still paying attention to her duties as a homemaker (Anggaunitakiranantika, 2018; Dharmawan, 2007), as emphasized by Mr. Guw:

“As a husband, I used to worry about renting land, but my wife’s thoughts and initiative have solidified me to rent land for years. When the rice harvest is complete, my wife will nimbly turn the paddy fields into fields of green beans, chilies, or corn, which can be harvested quickly and have quite a good selling price. Thus we can save even a little, and we can still eat. When there is a will, there is a way. I manage the land, while my wife thinks about the commodity to plant and finds out its market price.”

A female farmworker is identical to someone who does not have her rice fields, yet some of them rent or pawn paddy fields. Based on the interview results, most of them planted their fields with rice plants, which would be consumed by their own families. Once a year, they also planted other crops, such as corn, chilies, or vegetables in which the yields could be sold. Some of the women farmworkers who rented rice fields stated this was a side job to increase their income besides being the women farmworkers. However, some thought that managing the hired rice field and becoming women farmworkers were their main occupations. Although the conditions are burdensome, the women farmworkers must face it so the needs of their families are fulfilled even in minimal circumstances.

Furthermore, since women farmworkers are seasonal workers, it is not surprising that sometimes the women farmworkers look like they are unemployed. Two factors cause this; first, there are no employers who need their services yet, and the second is that the women farmworkers are reluctant to go to work, as

stated by Haji Kil, one of the most prominent landowners in Banyuwangi Regency:

“I intentionally do not lease all of my rice lands, only a small part so that people will not easily owe me. I also give a lower price if the tenant is my worker. I employ more female workers with the aim that my paddy land yields more. It is because the female workers are more diligent and careful in carrying out the process of planting and harvesting paddy. Per week, I pay them Rp. 60,000, but sometimes I give them more if they are loyal to me, meaning that every period of cultivation, they always work for me, not someone else.”

Meanwhile, Mr. Mup, a landowner who also works as a village apparatus in Gambiran District, Banyuwangi claimed:

“In fact, as landowners, we benefit greatly from the work that the women farmworkers do. It is because they are easier to advise, and they also want to be rewarded with either money or commodities. Furthermore, my position as a public official in this area makes them even more reluctant to refuse jobs from me. As a result, they do their job excellently and rarely disappoint; a weekly pay system pays them. I know they sometimes work in other places, yet as long as it does not interfere with the work in my rice fields, that is okay. This is because the wage policy for farmworkers cannot be raised arbitrarily; there must be an agreement with the other landowners.”

Having a job as a female farmworker certainly requires a lot of strength since there are plentiful activities to be carried out to produce the right crop products and to avoid crop failure. Some of these activities include hoeing, plowing, planting, grabbing, harvesting, fertilizing, spraying, and threshing.

In line with this, based on the results of observations and interviews conducted during the research, the work carried out by the women farmworkers as existentialists in fulfilling the needs of life can be understood through the Moser framework:

In the phenomenon occurring with work carried out by women farmworkers, structural changes are not necessary to be carried out comprehensively; however, the changes must involve women in all sectors of life by playing a role in the social, economic, and political sectors. The biological-reproductive organ of women is not a barrier to the role of women in society (De Beauvoir, 2014; Mies & Shiva, 2021). In a gender study applied through the

phenomenological method, existentialism carried out by female farmers in Banyuwangi is a picture of social construction formed from various life experiences that differ from one female farmer to another. In this research, social phenomena, formed through a patriarchal culture reflected in the principle of the traditional division of labor between men and women, will further create experiences for women, forming various meanings as female farmers in Banyuwangi as described in the Mosser framework.

As previously mentioned, women who are given space to carry out self-actualization at work, that is becoming farmworkers, is proven to provide better rationality in their family life.

Table 1.
Mosser Data Analysis Framework

Triple Roles of Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Women's Reproductive Work is carried out by fulfilling domestic household chores at home. b. Productive work is performed by becoming farm workers, working casual jobs, raising livestock, and farming. c. Community work, which is done as remuneration or loans given to women farmworkers from the landlord 	Roles of Men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. As the Patron and the Landowner Holding the Power to pay women farmers who live from their farms Purely prioritizes profit orientation from the results of women's performance with the area of land cultivated by women workers
Gender Need Assessment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Practical needs/interests are carried out to meet the basic needs and investment. b. Strategic needs/interests are performed as an identity and as a need for self-existence for women. 	Gender Less Assessment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political Needs, Motives for the subjugation of men to women, thus women must obey and follow men's orders a. Social needs as Strategic needs, prioritizing appropriate norms that women work not as heads of families but to help families so wages are not as high as men.
Gender Disaggregated data - intrahousehold	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. In deciding to work women are still controlled by their husbands and are influenced by the patriarchal culture introduced a long time ago. Women even construct the work based on the dichotomous division of tasks between men and women. b. Farmworkers are paid a maximum of Rp. 55,000 (USD 3.40) per week by their patrons with the wholesale/weekly work system and working hours of 6-8 hours per day. c. If there are excess working hours done by the women farmworkers, it is not paid in cash but replaced by cultivated land commodities. 	No rejection for men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men play a full role in women's lives, both as husbands and fathers. Men are paid according to the agreement on the land being worked on, and most of the male workers are paid according to the Banyuwangi Regency Minimum Wage per month, with 6-8 working hours per day for 6 working days (Monday-Saturday) or the wholesale work system.

Source: (ILO et al., 1998) expanded with analyzed primary data, 2021

They are able to build mature initiative and rationality to handle the obstacles they face in the work system, working time that varies from one job to another, and a balance of carrying out excessive workloads between domestic and public work.

Discussion

In applying the Subsistence Ethics, the phenomenon of women farmworkers in this research perform efficiency in three ways. First, the families of farmworkers in Banyuwangi, Indonesia often save their money by buying only necessities. They also regularly buy raw dishes, such as tofu, tempeh, and crackers. At other times, they consume vegetables planted in their backyards or grown on their rented land, such as corn, spinach, chilies, tomatoes, and kale. Although these vegetables are few, they can complete the dishes consumed by the families. Since buying rice is not arduous, they can commonly eat it three times a day. Most of the female farmworker informants in this research suppress or minimize their expenses, which is in line with the attitude to avoid risks. Consequently, women farmworkers prefer to plant subsistence crops to crops that can be sold (Mies & Shiva, 2021; Scott, 2005).

As James Scott explains in Subsistence Ethics, the peasants' economic condition forces them to make various efforts to keep themselves alive. First, tighten their belts, meaning that if humans generally eat three times a day, these farmers eat only one time a day, and the quality of their dishes is lower than usual. It is also relevant to (Indroyono, Suyatna, Santosa, Wibowo, & Firdaus, 2018), which reveals that prosperity is defined as calmly living with family, completing with a peaceful attitude and comfort. As for the women farmworkers who rent rice fields from the landlord, they have rice supplies to be consumed with their families every day. However, they must pay a rental price to the owners' fields depending on how long and what size of the rice fields they rent.

Women farmworkers must always try to save and reduce their spending. It can be seen when they want to buy stuff not included in their basic needs; they need to discuss it in advance with their family members, especially with the husband. Many are eager to renovate their homes or buy motorbikes; however, none of this can yet be realized. Another need that is considered burdensome is the need for the children's school. The second method performed by farming families, according to subsistence ethics, is self-subsistent alternatives. It is considered the most reliable matter because they will not depend on others but the ability of their own hands (Carrier, 2018; Scott, 2005). In this research, the informants revealed that they tried to find side jobs besides their job as women farmworkers since the jobs as women farmworkers were not enough to fulfill their needs. Despite having a side job, it is still difficult for them to meet the family needs, let alone if they do not have any side jobs at all. One of the side jobs done by the women farmworkers is selling *mracang* (selling daily necessities on a small scale, such as snacks and basic necessities) at home when the farming season is low, or no rice field owner needs their services. Another side job performed by several informants, namely Mrs. La, Mrs. Ndo, Mrs. Ah, and Mrs. Kih, is being a freelance worker to take care of other people's households, both in their village and in other sub-districts.

Small-scale trading is also a side job that women farmworkers usually carry out. Those who became small-scale traders are Mrs. La, along with her children, and Mrs. Kih. Mrs. La's merchandise is snacks usually consumed by children, while Mrs. Kih trades bananas from the banana trees are planted in her yard. Also, several informants in this research choose to raise livestock as their side jobs. However, if their situation worsens, they will sell their livestock. Women farmworkers who decided to be breeders are Mrs. La, Mrs. Ndo, Mrs. Ah, Mrs. Kih, Mrs. Jim, Mrs. Kat, and Mrs. Tuh.

Besides, several women farmworkers rent rice fields. Some said that managing rented rice fields was a side job; however, some considered working as women farmworkers and renting rice fields as their primary occupations. The main purpose of women farmworkers to rent rice fields is to have a supply of rice to be consumed by their own families. In one year, they generally plant rice twice and corn only once. They will sell their products only after they have harvested the corn. The net profit from selling crops is not high since the costs of seeds and fertilizers are expensive. Besides, those who rent rice fields also have to pay the rental price. Female farmworker informants who rent rice fields include Mrs. Tuh, Mrs. Jim, and Mrs. Kat. Meanwhile, rice field tenants with a pawn system are Mrs. Lah and Mrs. Wi. It can be said that doing side jobs is a normal thing carried out by women farmworkers as one effort to meet the needs of the family.

The third way carried out by the women farmworkers to meet the needs of their family is to utilize relationships, such as strengthening relationships with relatives, friends, neighbors, and patrons. Poor farmers sometimes need these people because at least they can help suppress the crisis (Sajogyo, 2002; Scott, 2005). Expanding good relations with relatives, friends, neighbors, and patrons is beneficial for the women farmworkers so that, when they experience difficulties, they can ask relatives, neighbors, friends, and patrons for help. It is common for women farmworkers to owe money to neighbors, relatives, or patrons. Most women farmworkers will owe when they experience a terrible crisis. In this research, this was shared by Mrs. Lah, who said she had to owe her neighbors when she or her family was sick. Meanwhile, the debt to a patron or owner of the rice fields who employed them was experienced by Mrs. Ndo when she was unable to buy electricity tokens.

In the phenomenon occurring at work carried out by women farmworkers, structural

changes are not necessary; however, the changes must involve women in all sectors of life by playing a role in the social, economic, and political sectors. The biological-reproductive organ of women is not a barrier to the role of women in society (De Beauvoir, 2014; Jaggar, 2019; Mies & Shiva, 2021). As previously mentioned, women who are given space to carry out self-actualization at work, that is becoming farmworkers, is proven to provide better rationality in their family life. They are able to build mature initiative and rationality to handle the obstacles they face in the work system, working time that varies from one job to another, and a balance of carrying out excessive workloads between domestic and public work.

Related to phenomenology, a person's actions cannot be separated from his or her social situation (Poloma, 2010). The meaning built from each social interaction forms a system of relevance between the individual and the environment. The purpose of establishing a system of relevance from actions related to social interaction is to provide choices with behavior in everyday life as well as to become a topic from the cognitive side of the subject (Nindito, 2013; Poloma, 2010).

Here, phenomenology also contributes to the understanding of the concept of gender as a basic element in society that originates from Javanese culture built from the social construction of a patriarchal culture. The dichotomy of gender understanding in society is more constructed through the division of labor in the feminine vs masculine, domestic vs public areas. Moreover, the contextualization of the meaning of the female body is dichotomously differentiated according to Beauvoir into a 'social body', which is obliged to carry out domestic roles as wives and mothers. In addition, when women perform additional tasks outside the domestic arena, they must support the implementation of household sustainability

and family resilience, in accordance with an inherent feminine side that comes from social construction. In phenomenology, the meaning that takes place in this community determines the role of women in society and their social environment in Banyuwangi Regency, Indonesia. Consequently, to carry out liberation and to interpret the benefits and freedoms in exploring the 'women's body', it is important for women who have the status of wife and mother to fight for liberation through existentialism, while working as female farmers, for liberation, self-evident, and overcoming masculine forces around them, be it from the social environment or cultural challenges. Phenomenologically, the process of meaning that comes from the community will be interpreted by women as an inherent trait in understanding gender, the division of work, and the role of women who choose to work as female farmers today in Banyuwangi, Indonesia.

Globally, the emergence of gender gaps in society occurs structurally (De Beauvoir, 2014; Tong, 2018). The division of work performed by men and women is also found in the agricultural sector. The potential that women have in carrying out work and taking leadership is considered one of the men's concerns in facing the work sector in the future since women can complete their obligations as workers even though they experience injustice in the form of discrimination and certain stereotypes (Obayelu, Ogbe, & Edewor, 2020; Rossier & Wyss, 2007; Shortall, 2002). As a control to manage this concern, women are given a minimum wage and jobs with a working system and long working hours by the patron as the owner of the land. This has not only happened since the past New Order era in Indonesia that placed women in the position of '*konco wingking*' or women as 'the others'; however, this is still happening today, when modernization is also taking place in Indonesia. It motivated women to emancipate in the public

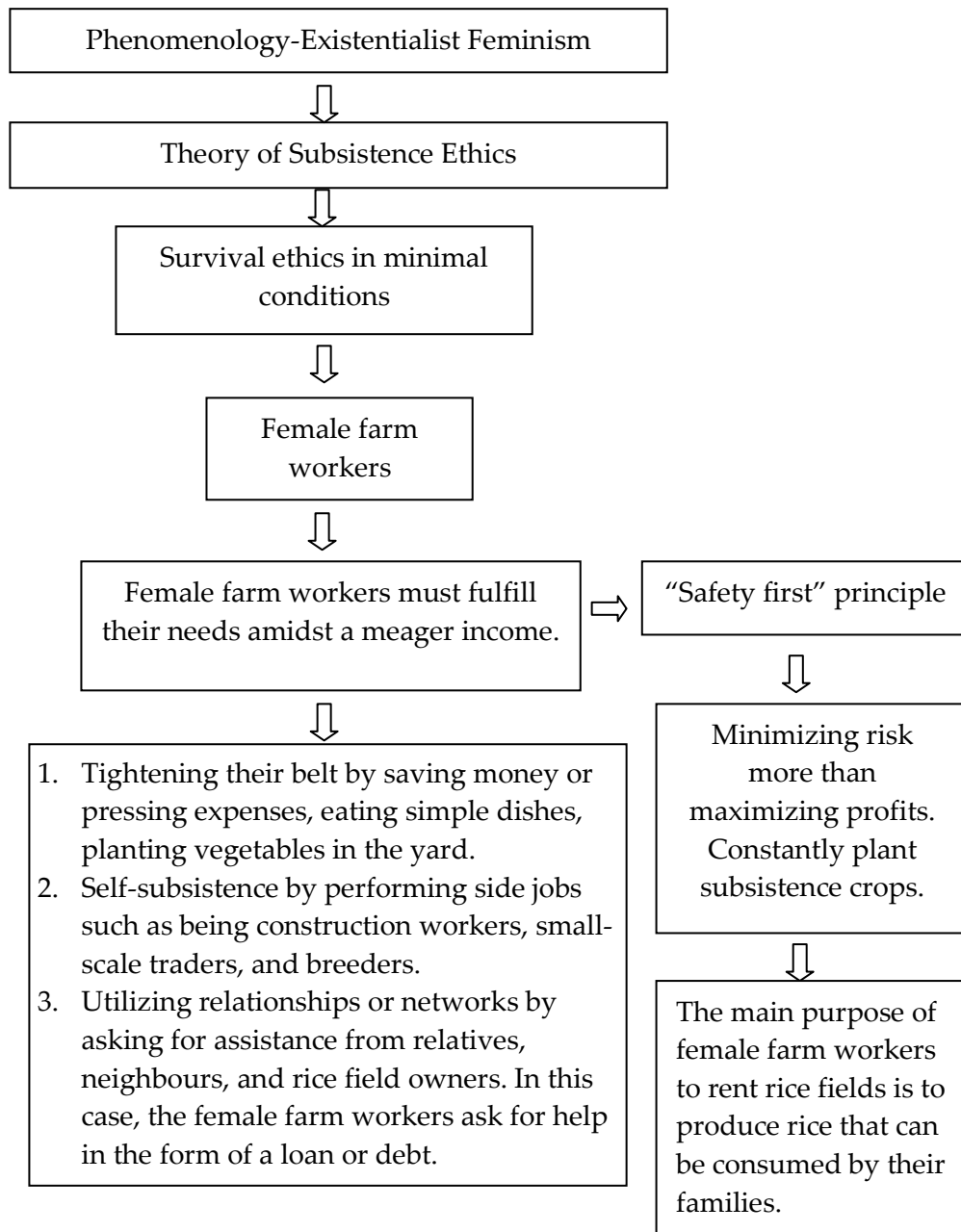
arena, opening the possibility to increase their bargain position, not only in the domestic area by giving them the chance to have decent work.

Conversely, a particular pattern emerges from this phenomenon that the dynamics of the conflicts they face in obtaining and maintaining access to agricultural lands at the household and community level, where rapid socio-economic change and a patriarchal state are increasingly breaking on village life, are complex (Odini, 2014; Shortall, 2002). When analyzed using Beauvoir's thinking (2003), women farmworkers working is a form of existence that cannot be separated from the way humans actualize themselves and make use of their knowledge. Based on phenomenological studies, there are four ways that women farmworkers perform Subsistence Ethics, which also rely on an existentialist feminist approach, including:

- 1) Women can work. No matter how hard and tiring the work of women as farmworkers in Banyuwangi Regency is, the work they do (either as a primary job or a side job) provides various possibilities for women to survive and fulfill their needs. By working outside the home with men, women can prove their independence and ability as a person who can take initiative and has the rationality to fulfill their daily needs. It was proved by Mrs. La, Mrs. Ndo, Mrs. Ah, and Mrs. Kih.
- 2) A woman can become an intellectual, regardless of the job she has. Women can have more than one job at different times to meet their needs. Also, the knowledge and experience that women possess at work will create creativity in solving problems or in carrying out their jobs. For community members who have experienced a similar fate, this work activity will build change and create dynamics for women in Banyuwangi Regency, as experienced by Mrs. Kih, Mrs. La, Mrs. Ndo, Ms. Jim, Mrs. Tuh, Mrs. Jim, and Mrs. Kat

- 3) Women in Banyuwangi Regency, Indonesia can work as farmworkers to achieve the social transformation that occurs in society, namely as proof of the work division between men and women or husband and wife . This change is a sign that gender equality and roles in a patriarchal society embedded in Javanese people are taking shape. In other aspects of life, women farmworkers are still vulnerable to subordination and discrimination regarding their work in the agricultural sector, especially those related to patron-client relations like most informants did (Mrs. La, Mrs. Ndo, Mrs. Ah, Mrs. Kih, Mrs. Jim, Mrs. Kat, and Mrs. Tuh).
- 4) Women, as actors, can reject the stereotypes attached to themselves as "konco wingking"

Scheme 1.
Living By Others: a subsistence ethics in feminist existentialism analysis



Source: (SCOTT, 2005) expanded with analyzed primary data, 2021

or “the others” for men. It is actualized in various initiatives and sectors of work that the women can do to fulfill their daily needs. Besides, the identification of women able to work will also erode the strength of society in the patriarchal system, which insists women are only capable and worthy of carrying out domestic chores rather than jobs in the public sector. It was experienced by Mrs. Lah, Mrs. Ndo, Mrs. Jim, and Mrs. Kat.

The comprehensive analysis in using gender lenses with the work carried out by the women farmworkers in Banyuwangi, Indonesia in meeting their basic needs is still relevant with Subsistence ethics and can be seen through the scheme:

In this context, the relationship between the patron-client context originates from the delivery of various goods or services, and the recipients must reciprocate the delivery. The patron and client are the relationships between the farm owner and the women farmworkers (De Beauvoir, 2014; Jaggar, 2019; Kim, 2020; Scott, 2005). The field owners can employ women farmworkers who do not have a rice field because, the field owners also need the women farmworkers’ services to help them manage their domains in the farming season. In addition, this helps women farmworker to fulfill their basic need (and family) . Further, when the women farmworkers experience financial problems, the patrons, as the owners of the rice fields, also play a role in assisting them to solve the problem since the women farmworkers have helped the patrons when they need their services. Patrons and clients need each other because they have their dependencies and advantages.

Conclusion

Women farmworkers in East Java Province, Indonesia, generally have a variety of jobs to meet the needs of their families. Despite the efforts of women farmworkers

in Banyuwangi, more than the Subsistence Ethics, the theory is still relevant due to the social phenomenon. Women farmworkers feel that working solely as women will not fulfill their needs because of the many needs in the household. Other efforts they do to accomplish their needs are to perform side jobs, such as becoming household assistants, small-scale traders, and breeders. To maintain economic balance, they also need to reduce their expenses or saving. If they find the family’s economy in crisis, they get a loan or borrow money from neighbors, relatives, and patrons. Furthermore, several women farmworkers rent rice fields intending to have rice supplies that can be consumed by their families.

The work performed by women farmworkers is a form of women’s existentialism is related to the phenomenology, which is carried out by: (1) proving that women can work, (2) establishing the women’s intellectualism formed by experiential knowledge, (3) constructing equality and gender roles in a patriarchal society starting to be developed through the division of labor between men and women, and (4) strengthening identification through work carried out by women to fulfill the necessities of life, which will erode stereotypes and discrimination caused by the patriarchal system.

Women who work as farmworkers utilize the opportunities in the form of side jobs that they can still do. It is beneficial for them since it could help them to meet the needs of their families if the wages earned from working as farmworkers are not enough. Although women farmworkers have tried to find side jobs, these side jobs still need to be improved since, generally, every human has more potential, especially the young farmworkers.

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