

Social Capital as a Livelihood Support for Women on the Southern Slopes of Merapi

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Abstract

This study reveals that the social capital that women use as a source of income is also a difficulty for them. The study was conducted based on quantitative descriptive and associations to define the pattern and distribution of phenomena, which was strengthened by reduction, classification, and interpretation of field-specific research findings. Women are dominated by the age group of less than 40 years old, with the highest level of education being SMA, and the work of farmers, while being dominated by a restricted land tenure of less than 0.1 hectares and an income of less than 2,667,000.00 rupiah. Social capital derives from social networks, primarily non-family kinships such as religion and activist links in the arts. Social capital derived from social networks is the most popular option among women in the research field. Socioeconomic network-based social capital is dominated by arisan activities. The largest social capital, based on the confidence of neighbors, results from the highest social ideals and norms of the rewang and the highest engagement in social organizing activities by the PKK. Women with social capital frequently meet food and non-food demands, such as social charges, school tuition, health, and house repairs. Women utilize social capital to sustain their social, cultural, and economic well-being. In the studied area, it can be challenging for women to fulfill their social, cultural, and economic commitments associated to community activities.

Keywords: Women, Social Capital, Livelihood

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1. Introduction

Social capital is an important phenomenon in rural communities that have kinship and mutual cooperation systems. Social capital is formed because there is an assumption that each member of the community cannot solve their own problems individually (Syahra, 2003). Social capital is also a shared resource. Social capital has three important elements, namely norms, networks and trust (Fathy, 2019). Rural areas are synonymous with poverty, so social capital is utilized for their livelihoods. In the Southern Merapi Slope community, women have domestic and public roles, the area has a typical rural socio-economic life. Women in the public sphere have a source of livelihood to support

the fulfillment of household needs, women who work contribute to improving the household economy. Women's participation in low-income households improves livelihoods through the application of social capital. The components of social capital owned by women, including trust, social values and norms, and reciprocity, can be used to strengthen the household economy. Utilizing social networking opportunities in the form of social events, recitation forums, and cooperatives established on the basis of mutual trust, women can overcome financial limitations (Achmad et al., 2022).

Limited capital in rural areas encourages women to utilize social capital for livelihoods. The stronger the social capital of farmers, the better their survival strategy, on the other hand, the weaker the social capital, the less favorable the survival strategy of poor farmers (Ngangi et al., 2021). Women's social capital in the form of trust, values and social norms, and reciprocity can be the foundation in the mechanism of strengthening the family economy. Financial limitations can be overcome by women by utilizing social networking opportunities in the form of cooperatives based on mutual trust. Women as family financial managers of their productive businesses can utilize the potential of social capital in the social environment (Cahyono, 2014). The socio-cultural order respects and recognizes differences between community members, so that democratization, solidarity, tolerance grow and develop (Suparman & Styanto, 2021). Social capital in the form of social participation, social support, and active membership in financial/savings/credit, religious, and women's groups, that different social capital has different effects (Machio et al., 2022). Social capital in rural areas has been considered to be able to help women meet their life needs. The potential for social capital in poverty reduction includes social networking, social economic networking, mutual trust, values and social norms, and participation in social organizations (Anto et al., 2022). Social capital owned by women in rural areas is in the form of social, economic, and cultural networks.

Women's bargaining position is considered low, especially in patriarchal rural areas. Social capital has an influence on rural family division decision-making and gender division of labor: increasing education levels encourages the choice of non-agricultural work for husbands and wives (Shui et al., 2021). Social capital and information resource capital are critical for rural women's households to avoid poverty, determine access to resources for agricultural and off-farm production, and determine women's access to markets, thereby increasing the income needed to escape poverty. The larger the household and the lower the per capita household income, resulting in low savings to invest in both on-farm and off-farm opportunities (Woldehanna et al., 2021). Positive social development can be undertaken by community development practitioners to help women work towards sustainability of their livelihood activities in the informal economy (Raniga, 2021). Land scarcity is a global challenge that has implications for rural household livelihoods, cultural capital, social capital and economic capital enable rural households to respond to land scarcity and food security challenges of poor smallholder farmers are more vulnerable (Rwabukambiza, 2022).

The utilization of social capital in poverty reduction is carried out with the growth of public awareness and the re-growth of social capital, which can be used as a strength and resource to create an attitude of willingness to work together in joint activities to reduce poverty. Family economic resilience through strengthening women's social capital networks must continue to be explored and maintained so that they can develop for the advancement of women as active resources in small industrial businesses in Indonesia (Kimbal, 2021). Trust is used to get a job, get help in the form of loans, and leave children with relatives and neighbors. Norms or values that are applied in social life include

maintaining friendship, feelings of compatibility, and helping each other. Social networks established with relatives, workmates, neighbors, and business owners are used to obtain job information, job vacancies, training as fishing laborers, material and non-material assistance, child care, encouragement to get married and recommendations for husband substitutes (Amelia, 2021). The application of social capital in group-based financing programs is considered very effective and efficient, the condition of members before and after getting loans so that the quality of life and improve their standard of living and economy (Agustina, 2021).

Social capital in the form of an element of trust is owned by the Melung Village Community, Banyumas Regency as a support for the realization of Development (Malik & Dwiningrum, 2017). In addition, farmer households in Konawe Regency, women have social capital that plays a role in the household economy, namely by utilizing social networks (Israwati et al., 2018). Social capital plays an important role in sustaining the lives of farmer households in Bogor district (Wiyata et al., 2019). Social capital is also a strength in the institutionalization of rubber farmers in Kuantan Singingi Regency (Syofian et al., 2020). Then Cahyono and Adhitama (2023), that social capital of trust dominates in rural Wonosobo Regency for the improvement of other functions. But, social events that sustain social capital can be a double-edged sword. Families may spend a lot of money on weddings, funerals, baptisms and children's birthdays, and the inauguration of new houses, when organizing parties, poor families experience difficulties (Sharaunga & Mudhara, 2020). The source of livelihood for the Merapi Slope community comes from agricultural activities, animal husbandry, and mining. Limited rural resources require women to optimize social capital for their livelihoods. Padukuhan Sempu in Kapanewon Pakem is a rural area that still holds tightly to gotong royong. Association is a characteristic of rural life, activities such as arisan, rewang, savings and loans, tugur, wiwit, kenduri, and rituals carried out by the community together become social capital that is utilized by women to sustain livelihoods. The uniqueness of social capital in the form of norms, networks and beliefs of women on the southern slopes of Merapi in the Disaster Prone Area (DPA) is a novelty in this research. Based on this phenomenon, the researcher examines the social capital and livelihoods of women on the southern slopes of Merapi.

2. Method

The location selection on the South Merapi Slope took Padukuhan Sempu in Pakembinangun sub-district. Quantitative research methods can be interpreted as research methods based on the philosophy of positivism (Sugiyono, 2013). The research method used is a mixed method between quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative research Qualitative research is no longer just simple, but has developed the identity of the research object (Flick, 2009). Qualitative research emphasizes the process and is descriptive (Suyanto & Sutinah, 2010; Sugiyono, 2017). Data collection techniques use triangulation techniques. The triangulation technique is to combine observation techniques, interview techniques and documentation techniques with the same data source (Djamal, 2017). The types of data in this study are primary data and secondary data. The data collection techniques of this research are observation, distributing questionnaires, literature study, and in-depth interviews. The number of samples in this study were 103 respondents. Data analysis is descriptive quantitative, namely with frequency tables and simple linear regression. While the qualitative data of the respondents, namely women farmers, to obtain data on social capital as a life support for women, were analyzed by triangulation

techniques. The results of quantitative and qualitative analysis are then described based on associations to determine the pattern and distribution of phenomena, which are strengthened from the results of literacy studies.

3. Result and Discussion

Pakembinangun is located at an altitude of about 500 m above sea level which is an area close to Mount Merapi. Good agroclimatic conditions and cool air. The area of Pakembinangun Village is 451 ha, which is the center of life of Kapanewon Pakem, because in this village there are several economic and social infrastructures that serve other surrounding villages, including the post office, two hospitals, traditional markets, branch offices of several banks, pawnshop offices, public transport terminals. Approximately 2-3 kilometers away are the North Campus of Universitas Islam Indonesia (UII) and the Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) Employee Training Center. Padukuhan Sempu consists of 5 neighborhoods with a male population of 342 people and a female population of 330 people divided into 246 families.

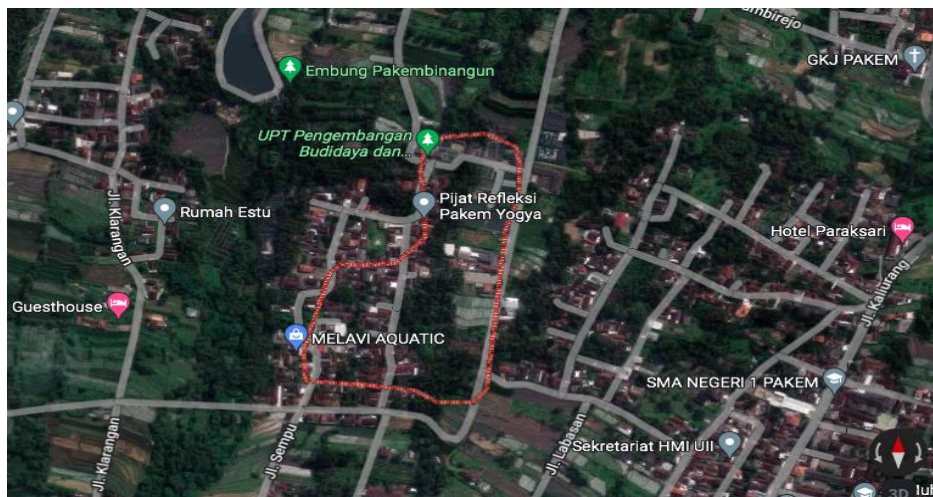


Figure 1. Research location (2022)

A. Characteristics of Women

The characteristics of women, including age, education, livelihood or occupation, household income, and land tenure, are presented to provide a socioeconomic picture of women in the study area. The 103 women studied have the characteristics shown in the following table.

Table 1. Characteristics of Women by Age, Education and Occupation

No	Age (year)	Sum	%
1	<30	3	2,91
2	31-40	32	31,07
3	41-50	17	16,50
4	51-60	21	20,39
5	>60	30	29,13
6	Sum	103	100 %
1	Pendidikan	Sum	%

2	Elementary School	7	6,80
3	Junior High	14	13,59
4	High School	63	61,16
5	> High School	19	18,45
6	Sum	103	100 %
1	Type of Employment	Sum	%
2	Farmers	61	59,22
3	Civil Servant	27	26,21
4	Private	6	5,83
5	Trader	9	8,74
6	Sum	103	100 %
No	Land Area (hectare)	f	%
1	< 0,1	81	78,6
2	0,1 – 0,25	19	18,4
3	>0,25	3	2,91
4	Sum	103	100 %
No	Income (IDR)	f	%
1	< 2 667 000,00	57	55,34
2	2 667 000,00 – 4 334.000,00	27	26,21
3	> 4 334. 000,00	19	18,45
4	Sum	103	100 %

Source: Primary Data 2020

Most women are between 31-40 years old, reaching 31.07 percent. As age increases, knowledge and experience will increase, so that women can obtain more information on how to develop productive resources. Conversely, as age increases, the level of mobility will decrease due to physical or health conditions. The potential for women to fall into poverty and the depth of poverty will increase as they get older (Yamin & Dartanto, 2016). Women aged over 60 years reached 29.13 percent, only slightly lower than the percentage of women less than 40 years old.

Education is dominated by graduating from senior high school, reaching 61.16 percent, while graduating from primary school is the lowest percentage. Women with farming occupations reached 59.22 percent, so the group of women with low incomes is dominated by those who control narrow land. Women who depend on agricultural income will find it difficult to obtain adequate income if the area of cultivated land is narrow. Farmers are the occupation of 59.22 percent of women, although the area of agricultural land control is dominated by narrow land less than 0.1 hectare, reaching 78.6 percent. The household income of women in the study area is 55.34 percent who have a household income of less than 2,667. 000.00 rupiah, only 18.45 percent had an income above 4,334,000 rupiah. The relationship between land tenure and women's household income can be seen in the following table.

Table 2. Relationship between Land Tenure and Household Income

No	Income Land area	<2.677.000		2.677.000- 4.334.000		>4.334.000		Sum	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1	<0.1 Ha	52	50.48	13	12.62	15	14.56	81	78.6
2	0.1-0.25 Ha	5	4.85	11	10.67	3	2.91	19	18.4
3	>0.25 Ha	0	0	2	1.94	1	0.97	3	2.9
Sum		57	55.34	27	26.21	19	18.45	103	100

Source: Primary data 2020

The income of women who have off-farm income sources is not only determined by land size. Households with the lowest income group are also those with the lowest land tenure. Households that depend on agricultural activities if their land tenure is less than 0.1 hectare will experience poverty. Households with incomes above IDR 4,334,000 were found to own less than 0.1 hectare of land, and those who work off-farm were found to be poor. The study area is a satellite city development area, many migrants live in the area with varied livelihoods in formal and non-formal economic activities. Land tenure size tends to be unrelated to household income, although women with the lowest incomes predominantly have the narrowest land tenure.

B. Social Capital of Women in the Research Area

Women's social capital on the South Merapi Slope is related to the economy, culture and social. So far, social capital has been considered a force capable of alleviating women from poverty in rural areas. Social capital is considered as a way for women's household livelihoods given the low economic status of women in the arena of women's weakness in accessing resources. Women's social capital has components that contain trust, social values and norms, reciprocity which is the foundation in the mechanism and forms a cooperative institution that can be utilized to strengthen the family economy. Financial limitations can be dealt with by women by utilizing social networking opportunities in the form of arisan, recitation forums and cooperatives based on mutual trust. This condition makes access to economic resources for women more open, which fully relies on good relations so that the family economy can survive and experience an increase (Puspitasari, 2012). Social capital utilized by women related to the fulfillment of economic-related needs in the form of arisan, cooperatives, and even religious forums developed with savings and loans. The social capital utilized by women in the research area can be seen in the following table.

Table 3. Social Capital of Women in the Research Area

No	Social Networking	f	%
1	Family Kinship	30	29,13
2	Non-family kinship	32	31,07
3	Friendship	17	16,50
4	Neighbor	21	20,39
5	Other	3	2,91
6	Sum	103	100 %

Socio-economic Network		f	%
1	Cooperative	23	22,33
2	Arisan	47	45,63
3	Religious	14	13,59
4	Purna Karya	6	5,82
5	Savings and Loan	10	8,95
6	Others	3	2,91
7	Sum	103	100 %
Trust		f	%
1	Family	17	16,50
2	Friendship	16	15,53
3	Neighbors	27	26,21
4	Business Partners	6	5,83
5	Religious Association	14	8,74
6	Non-religious Association	21	20,38
7	Others	2	1,94
8	Sum	103	100 %
Social Values and Norms		f	%
1	Rewang	33	32,03
2	Religious Association	19	18,44
3	Coworkers' Association	12	11,65
4	Retiree Association	11	10,67
5	Culture and Arts Association	5	4,85
6	Organization Paguyuban	22	21,34
7	Others	1	0,97
8	Sum	103	100 %
No	Participation in Social Organizations	f	%
1	Dasa Wisma	12	11,65
2	PKK	27	26,21
3	Foundation	5	4,85
4	Cooperative	18	17,47
5	Religious Organization	19	18,44
6	Non-religious Organization	21	20,38
7	Others	1	0,97
8	Sum	103	100%

Source: Primary Data 2020

Social capital in the form of social networks consists of family kinship, non-family kinship, friendship, and neighbors. The social capital derived from social networks that most women choose is non-family kinship such as religion, arts activist ties, tourism, reaching 31.07 percent. Social capital from kinship social networks reached 29.13 percent, meaning that kinship was the dominant choice of social capital for women in the study area. Social capital based on economic social networks is dominated by arisan activities involving women, reaching 45.63 percent. Social capital based on trust from the highest neighbor reached 26.21 percent. Social capital derived from social values and

norms is highest from rewang, reaching 32.03 percent. Social capital derived from participation in social organizations is highest in PKK activities reaching 26.21 percent.

C. Social Capital for Women's Livelihood

Women's livelihoods supported by social capital are related to the fulfillment of food, clothing, shelter, health, school needs, celebrations, and when disaster strikes. Social capital is not always beneficial for women because the social system that still applies with rituals that require costs is quite burdensome for women. Social events that support social capital can be a double-edged sword, namely spending a lot of money on weddings, funerals, baptisms, children's needs, and the inauguration of a new house, when organizing parties, poor families experience difficulties (Sharaunga & Mudhara, 2020). Women in the study area often experience difficulties when they have to provide funds for their livelihoods in accordance with the prevailing social system.

Women's lives are tied to the prevailing cultural system such as customs that have been adhered to for generations in the research area. The prevailing customs are influenced by the life of the Yogyakarta palace. Besides believing in God, people also believe in supernatural powers such as the existence of creatures that protect the community and the surrounding nature. Javanese months such as Suro, Maulud, Ruwah, Selikuran are held as part of people's lives on the slopes of Merapi Selatan. The influence of the active volcano Merapi is inherent in the lives of women in the research area, which is 13 km to the peak, women often make kenduri. Kenduri is held in the hope that when Merapi erupts they will be safe. Women are all harmoniously involved in preparing kenduri and rewang without differences in religion, status, education, and occupation. Rewang is a social activity that still involves many women in the research area for the purposes of having a gawe or cultural ritual of making offerings and kenduri.



Figure 2. Mothers doing rewang when neighbors have a celebration

Recognition of women who do not follow customs or ways of life such as rewang, and kenduri cultural rituals will be excluded from their social system. When people in the study area have a gawe (celebration of marriage, circumcision, thanksgiving, birth, and death), they start by making offerings. The offerings are prepared by women who are experienced and trusted. The offerings are made with the hope that all the events can take place smoothly and safely. Gotong royong in sustaining togetherness to complete common activities in rural areas still applies, starting from cleaning the environment,

cleaning public facilities such as places of worship, desa wisma service places and PKK. Women are heavily involved in providing food and drink in mutual cooperation activities.

...social costs in rural areas tend to be high ... for these purposes require a special budget ... often have difficulty in funding ... especially during the lean season ... preparing kenduri on agreed months ... suro, maulud, ruwah ... not yet when the good month many hold a celebration ... when the lean season there is no choice but to use social capital through social networks that can provide loans / funds for social costs (Mrs. Nurjanah, 2021)

Rewang is done by women on the southern slopes of Merapi to help their neighbors who have events. Especially for women who do the main activity of cooking at events (weddings, circumcisions, births and others), they earn IDR 100,000 per day. The woman helps cook for a week. The woman who does the cooking for a week earns IDR 700,000. Food needs for household members who are rewang at a neighbor's or relative's place are guaranteed from the family that has the gawe. Mutual help rewang activities can help women's household income, especially poor women. Efforts to reduce poverty and injustice experienced by women will have implications for the welfare and survival of families and communities (Puspitasari, 2012).

...I participated in arisan...cooperative...pengajian activities...from these activities I found it easy to meet the needs related to finance...for business capital...urgent needs such as donations, when I was sick for medical expenses and children's needs...but the existing social relations also became a burden for me...getting along...requires money...if you cannot get along with neighbors and relatives...you can be excluded from the community (Mrs. Rini, 2021).

Social capital in the livelihood of women's households on the Southern Merapi Slope has an economic function for women, including to support agricultural activities when buying fertilizers, seeds, and pest control drugs. Economic functions for business capital, for school fees, for hospital fees, for the cost of children's weddings, circumcisions, births, and even funerals are often supported by utilizing social capital. The Merapi slope community has close social interaction with each other, mutual cooperation is one of the activities carried out by residents, including mutual cooperation when neighbors or relatives are in trouble, so they are helped together to ease the burden. Social capital has an economic function for women in the research area.

Agricultural activities as a source of income for women's households are often managed using social capital. Women help each other with planting, fertilizing, clearing weeds, eradicating pests, and harvesting. When planting rice, the landowner provides food and drink, and also gives each person a daily wage of approximately IDR 60,000. When harvesting, women help harvesting at a neighbor who has a larger land, women get 50 kg of grain or about 25 kg using the bawon system. Farming is the main source of income for women in the research area even though their cultivated land is relatively narrow. This condition makes many women in the research area poverty stricken, so they often use social capital as a source of livelihood. One of the rice picking activities carried out by women on the Southern Merapi Slope can be seen in the following picture.



Figure 3. Ms. Darmi and Ms. Ika, helping to pick rice in a neighbor's field

Social capital is a dilemma for women in the research area given the many social, cultural and even economic obligations that are managed by the association system. The costs that must be provided for cultural, social, and economic rituals often burden women. Social capital is a dilemma in the current rural social system. Cultural rituals and customs that burden the community are starting to decrease but mutual cooperation activities for common welfare are still maintained by rural communities. Rural communities, especially women, have considerations by choosing activities that must be adhered to and must be reviewed solely to keep life in rural areas running well.

4. Conclusion

The characteristics of women on the Southern Merapi Slopes are mostly productive age, high school education, farmer occupation with narrow land tenure. Income is dominated by the low income group. Social capital accessed by women on the Southern Merapi Slopes comes from family networks, religion, friendship, business partners, and neighbors. The role of social capital in women's livelihoods on the Southern Merapi Slopes is to increase income and sustain family livelihoods. Social capital is now starting to be considered not only as a support for women's livelihoods but also as a burden when they have to bear the costs for cultural and social rituals. The socio-cultural system in rural areas began to fade due to the development of the region and the flow of information so that women began to be selective in carrying out their socio-cultural activities. This study is limited to the characteristics of social capital as a life support for women on the southern slopes of Merapi. The role and effectiveness of social capital in women's resilience in facing natural, non-natural, and social disasters is an opportunity for future research.

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