

# NURTURING SOCIO-RELIGIOUS HARMONY IN YOGYAKARTA: A STUDY OF PIVOTAL ROLES OF *KWT DEWI SRI* IN EMPOWERING LOCAL WOMEN

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## **ABSTRACT**

*This research aims to explore local wisdom in a pluralistic society that has been employed by the Female Farmers Group (Kelompok Wanita Tani), also called KWT Dewi Sri, in taking a social role for empowering rural cross-faith women in the hamlet of Kemasan. To implement its vision for local prosperity, KWT Dewi Sri has helped rural women by facilitating socio-empowerment services and informal education for those who are in need. KWT Dewi Sri has given interreligious social services so that the women can build social harmony and thus overcome the cynical assumption that poverty is the fate of being a woman. While embracing the value of benevolent citizenship, KWT Dewi Sri has persuaded these interfaith women to use rational choices to eradicate prejudice against others in general and stigmatisation against women in particular. This research used the qualitative approach with empirical inquiry to explore the females' accounts of empowering their fellow women and maintaining social harmony in the hamlet. The findings showed that by using adaptive strategies, KWT Dewi Sri demonstrated the benefits of applying preventive programs to counter the take for granted-assumption that being female always necessitates impoverishment. Amid such help and success, many women in the hamlet hold a view, as in Javanese mythology, that KWT Dewi Sri is the reincarnation of the goddess of prosperity (Dewi Sri) descended to empower the local women. This research will discuss the cultural values of KWT Dewi Sri in establishing harmonious lives among people of the hamlet and in empowering the local women, and the obstacles KWT Dewi Sri encounters in embracing its roles.*

**Keywords:** *socio-empowerment, rational choice, Dewi Sri, citizenship, adaptive strategy*

## **INTRODUCTION**

The lack of public understanding about the issue of diversity in society has frequently ignited conflicts, and the increase of pragmatism and even primordialism has often caused social unrest and outrage. For the context of Indonesia, it is indeed an unfortunate situation, considering that Indonesia has tirelessly sought to eradicate such conflicts by using traditional, social, and spiritual resolutions. Such efforts have sometimes involved several prominent figures seeking to bring unity, as well as peace and harmony, among

the people (Azra, 2002: 30). The state's effort is further considered urgent for strengthening the four pillars of Indonesian nationality, namely: the ideology of Pancasila, the Constitution of 1945, the need for homeland security, and the principle of unity amid diversity. Despite the state's earnest attempts to resolve the differences, social tensions have sometimes broken out in a conflict which many perceive as a rivalry between Pancasila and Islam. However, economic and other political factors beyond this assumption may also exist (Said Ali, 2009: 178). Historically,

the tension is rooted in the political dissatisfaction of some Muslim groups who have long struggled to impose *shari'a* law on the people by replacing the Constitution of 1945. That is shown by long latent movements of *Negara Islam Indonesia* (Islamic State of Indonesia), and by the current sympathisers with the Islamic States of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), who have brought disruption to Indonesian Muslims (Jamhari and Jahroni [eds.], 2004: 16; Said Ali, 2012: 133).

The promotion of the nation's diversity, in terms of culture, religion, faith, political affiliation, social status, and gender, has long been sought through socialising the four pillars of nationality mentioned above, but some people are sceptical about the nation's ability to successfully embrace diversity. Sceptics consider the nation's diversity only as a tool limited to academics teaching classes and politicians using jargon to approach their constituents. In order to bridge the gap in viewpoints, there is a need for the value of diversity to be encouraged, so that it can play an essential role in eradicating divisions among people. Enclaves accepting diversity in society might be analogous to planters of pluralistic seeds confronting the differences and disputes. Enclaves that have successfully managed diversity, and that have empowered people to promote the common good and strengthen economic potential, are the epitome of local wisdom. Such social features are shown to be multifaceted, like a mosaic, containing a wealth of unique experiences.

E.K. Nottingham (1997: x), a sociology of religion expert, suggests that religion has played a fundamental role in society because of its significant impact on people's lives (McGuire, 1992: 27; Iswanto, 2017: 182-197), which can be seen in the formation of various ideological and religious organizations. In this regard, congregants have taken the basics of religion as a way to fill their needs and have imbued this association with specific attributions and meanings that bond them together. Accordingly, religion legitimizes its objectives and influences the congregations. For these purposes, religion is considered a catalyst in its role for manifesting

their ultimate goals in the public sphere. Thus, in the contemporary world, some people would no longer privatise religion, nor think that there should be a marginalized religion (Effendy, 2001: 3). Therefore, the birth of interfaith groups has shown a pattern of across-boundary interaction which exists now among different religious followers. Such interfaith groups can integrate roles of its heterogenous members through cross-cutting affiliations and cross-cutting loyalties (Nasikun, 2012: 77). The result is that interactions among their members are based on member bonds and group loyalty. This bonding and loyalty can also break through religious differences and social statuses in order to take more extensive social roles.

Living in a harmonious environment becomes an ideal for everyone because such a life condition not only brings peace for every citizen but also makes their lives happy. The effect of respecting one another's differences is that one can express his or her opinion, belief, and religious deeds freely without being afraid of intimidation or underestimation from people who might have different attitudes toward him or her. In Yogyakarta, one can find easily that in a hamlet, people from different religions live together harmoniously. They live peaceably side-by-side because they perceive that, although religion is a public subject where one can choose to adhere to a religion based on his or her evaluation, religion is then practiced as a private entity. Because of this privatization, people of the same faith choose to establish a congregation in which they can share their standard expectations, wishes, and prayers for well-being.

Yogyakarta was chosen as the research site because of its record in nurturing diversity-based local wisdom called the *Verandah of Medina* because it recognises multiculturalism. It nurtures diversity so that Yogyakarta is well known as the city of tolerance. Also, Yogyakarta is well known for its sophisticated academic atmosphere, as dozens of universities exist, offering various kinds of discipline that attract young people across the country, or from overseas, to come and study. Still,

its social and cultural milieu is characteristically unique because Yogyakartaans possess resilience in preparing for any potential attacks on behalf of religion, latent extremism, or political threats that oppose the local wisdom. For a long time, Yogyakarta has been widely known as one of the intellectual and cultural standard-bearers of the country. Additionally, Yogyakarta has become a place of emergence for the apparent cultural-religious convergence, namely the relationship between religion and culture that has reached a point of equilibrium (Woodward, 2011: 292). This setting, in turn, could ignite the creation of grassroots associations among rural women, such as *KWT Dewi Sri*, that represents the local wisdom and leadership among women.

In terms of education, Yogyakarta has been widely known as the Mecca for the rest of Indonesia because of its high quality of schooling and higher education. Therefore, many local initiators have implemented collective works rooted in local wisdom, social interactions, and cultural resilience. *KWT Dewi Sri* in the hamlet of Kemas, a suburban farming area with diverse inhabitant backgrounds, has all of the criteria that recently made it a winner in the provincial juried competition. That was due to its best social services, citizenship empowerment, and leadership of women in the Berbah District, which is a socially and culturally different locale and one of the Christian missionary areas in Yogyakarta. Given this description, this research will focus on (1) what are the cultural values that become bases for the *KWT Dewi Sri* in establishing harmonious lives among people of the hamlet and in empowering the hamlet's local women are? and (2) what are the obstacles *KWT Dewi Sri* encounters in embracing its roles are?

## LITERATURE REVIEW

There are studies of local wisdom for achieving social harmony and for having active roles for women, particularly in a patriarchal and pluralistic society, because these studies have made specific contributions. Among such

studies, some notable journal articles were influential in this research. The article entitled *Dinamika Hubungan Antarumat Beragama: Pola Hubungan Muslim dan Hindu di Bali* (Fahham, 2018: 64-82) analyses harmonious nationwide relationships of religions and ranks Bali as number two. However, this does mean that there are no significant problems among different religious followers in Bali. There is a dissociative relationship that can lead to competition and conflict. The second article, entitled *Peran Politik Perempuan dalam Perspektif Gender* (Wahyudi, 2018: 63-83), explains cultural barriers, such as males dominating in a patriarchal culture, and the effects thereby encountered by women in their public lives. The number of women representatives in the parliament is low, although there is an increasing trend. The third article, entitled *Keterlibatan Perempuan dalam Mewujudkan Keresasian Sosial pada Masyarakat Multietnik di Lampung* (Shonhaji, 2017: 17-44), analyses the roles of women in many aspects of daily life. In short, the women in Sukaraja Village, Lampung Province, are no longer secondary persons because their public roles can integrate multi-ethnicity in the community. Therefore, women's empowerment in the public sector is a strategic factor to advance community harmony in a multicultural society. The above studies discuss two points, a tolerance in the interreligious harmony, and public roles of the women. However, these two points are still discussed, respectively.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK Dynamics in Social Harmony

From Sociology perspective, each society possesses social, personal, and cultural systems (Sutrisno and Putranto [eds.], 2005: 56-57). The social system is established through social interactions that can cause either tensions or harmonious relationships. The personal system is structured through arrangements and negotiations based on individual and societal needs for attaining self-sufficiency, wishes,

preferences, and expectations. In order to fill these needs, society needs socialisation and values, and in this context, there is a need for norms to maintain their social systems. The cultural system is the set of values and symbols that enable communication, coordination, and partnerships among people. Three areas implement the cultural system: symbolic-cognition, symbolic-expression, and morality. Dynamics and interaction among people in the society are determined by the socio-culture that becomes a basis for the society to articulate their interests, and to maintain their social relations, as well as to establish their consensus to attain common objectives.

As a consequence, the pattern of social interaction of the people can be associative and dissociative. As a form of dynamic social relations between individuals, between groups of people, and between individuals and groups of people, the generated social processes can unite or get them closer (associative) or can make them distant or opposing (dissociative) (Sumarti, 2015: 45-55). Associative social processes include cooperation, accommodation, and assimilation, which tend to build harmony, while dissociative social processes include competition, controversy, and conflict.

In the context of that theory, the results of empirical studies reveal a variety of harmonious system models that support the existence of tolerance among varied religious followers and social statuses (Sulanam, 2018: 162-66). These models are (1) generic tolerance introduced by a government through its policies and programs; (2) rhetoric tolerance as the realization of generic tolerance in socio-religious lives; (3) exotic tolerance as the attitude of mutual respect; and (4) genetic tolerance as harmony inherited in families from generation to generation.

In general, there are three models of strategy adopted by the religious adherents in a pluralistic situation, namely: (1) the strategy of conquest or religious revolution which seeks to unite the diversity in the views that are considered valid, (2) the seclusion strategy which is trying to create

walls to protect with exclusive attitudes so that they will not be washed away by the swift current of plurality, and (3) the dialogical strategies which are open to sharing ideas and thoughts, with a willingness to interact with other groups in harmony and cooperation (Mujiburrahman, 2008: 71-73), or dealing with diversity (Risakotta [ed.], 2015: 20-21). As an instrument of mass mobilization, religious organizations or socio-religious communities, when choosing a strategy in their articulation concept and movement in the public arena, are of course influenced by the shared values, the socio-cultural context, and other factors that contribute to the survival of the organization or social community. Thereby the internal dynamics within social groups, as well as the cooperation, interaction, and accommodation in social relations, become possible.

## **Roles of Women**

Theoretically, in the public sphere, the roles of women can be domestic and public. The domestic roles are women's activities in a variety of non-public settings, such as households. The public roles are the roles of women in myriad aspects such as culture, politics, and education. Women may be encouraged to be active also in climate change issues (Khaerani, 2017: 371). The significant meaning of the roles of women is determined by how far they can realise their effects in public lives. There are suggestions for various roles that should be played by women: (1) traditional roles, such as the function of reproduction and nurture of children; (2) transitional roles that reach beyond reproduction; (3) a combination of domestic and public roles; (4) egalitarian roles that position women as equal to men; (5) contemporary roles that position women in independent situations, and including self-determination, autonomy, and freedom (Ahdiah, 2013: 1087).

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This research is a qualitative study of the socially active Female Farmers Group called *Kelompok Wanita Tani, Dewi Sri, or KWT Dewi*

*Sri*, which has 85 members and is a high-achieving women's group. It runs an empowerment program to aid their fellow women living in a different community, the Hamlet of Kemas, Sendangtirto Village, Berbah District, Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta Province. In this context, the term "heterogeneous" means that the people in the hamlet have a variety of religions, schools of faiths, and cultural backgrounds, especially since many newcomers live in the hamlet. A qualitative approach was applied because the researchers had first-hand conversations and observations with women who organised themselves to help rural women in Kemas develop self-empowerment program activities and entrepreneurial skills. This type of research was also chosen because the researchers intended to explore how these women thought about their activities that have helped rural women to live better lives and to help themselves understand how to become good citizens for the benefit of the community. For this method, we met with these women twice a month during a semester, and besides interviews, we also conducted observations at various locations in their village. The observations were conducted primarily in the community hall (*Balai Desa*) of Kemas Hamlet and were attended by 20 women from KWT Dewi Sri. Most of the meetings were focus group discussions. The researchers were also guided to meet and to interview with six representatives of the rural women in this hamlet. The research was conducted from October 2016 to January 2017.

Regarding the research method, Bodgan and Biklen (1992: 41) have suggested that this kind of research serves socio-cultural studies because they use a bottom-up constructive framework and are based on the theoretical assumption that the world is not a reality. In order to understand data comprehensively, this research requires a phenomenological approach (Potter, 1996: 109-110) in which the researchers cannot impose their perspectives on participants by revealing their thoughts and accounts; instead, the participants are allowed to have much freedom in articulating what they feel, behave, think, and sense. So in

this approach, the researchers let the phenomena reveal themselves as they are, without making subjective or interpretive assumptions or conclusions during data gathering. As a socio-cultural study, this research assumes that social relations are influenced by certain factors that must be understood in their specific contexts. This connectedness is initiated from a theoretical understanding.

With *KWT Dewi Sri*'s members as the study's informants for six months of data collection, the research included several interviews with six informants and members of the *KWT Dewi Sri*, and the researchers interviewed these six informants in order to respond to the research problems. The researchers also conducted field observations to better know the sites, including close investigation of artefacts and historical, symbolic, and physical materials. That was guided and augmented by researching and scrutinising relevant documents about the sites' heritage and what other writers have revealed about them. Also, as the primary instrument of this research, the researchers held horizontal collaboration for peer review and debriefing with colleagues and with the informants, as part of analysing data and including the following steps: recording field data, doing analysis, and implementing processes toward establishing results. In order to arrive at the stage of construction of theories and summarising the findings, the researchers applied inductive analysis, namely the process of assessing the aggregate data and the typologically essential characteristics of theories and data which were compiled to attain significant findings.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Cultural Context of *KWT Dewi Sri* in the Hamlet of Kemas

The Berbah district consists of four villages: Sendangtirto, Jogotirto, Kalitirto, and Tegaltirto. Sendangtirto Village is located on a leading national road between the City of Yogyakarta and Gunung Kidul Regency, and it is situated south of the Adisucipto International Airport.

Toward the east, the village is adjacent to the Village of Tegaltirto Berbah District, and toward the south, it shares the border with the Village of Potorono and Piyungan, both of which are in Bantul Regency. Toward the west, lies Baturetno Village of Banguntapan (BPS, 2018: 3-10). Administratively, Sendangtirto Village's area is divided into 18 hamlets, and one of them is Kemasan, this research's site. It occupies an area as vast as 522,730 hectares, and it is about seven miles east of the city centre of Yogyakarta, where the Royal Palace stands. When the 2006 earthquake ravaged Yogyakarta, Berbah suffered much from damage, and dozens of people died.

As the name implies, Sendangtirto has two creeks that regularly supply adequate water to irrigate the rice fields. These creeks, namely Mruwe and Kuning, run south, cutting the village symmetrically. Given the characteristics of its natural resources, the Sendangtirto Village's area can be divided into four clusters. *First*, the agricultural region covers the entire hamlet, and Berbah has benefitted from the agricultural proceeds. *Second*, home and small industries include the Hamlet of Sekarsuli and Jetak. *Third*, the economic centre goes along the main road, where now many businesses, small industries, a hospital, a television station, traditional markets, and recreation areas are located, and *finally*, the culture and hospitality zone is provided for tourism (BPS, 2018: 86)

The Hamlet of Kemasan has now become a suburb of part of Sendangtirto Village, Berbah District of Sleman Regency. One main characteristic of the area is that its socio-culture is relatively heterogeneous about residents' professions, economic status, ethnicity, culture, religion, and political affiliation. That is because many newcomers reside in some enclaves scattered around the village which later formed new neighbourhoods. The occupations of the residents include civil servants, labourers, merchants, and craftsmen. Now the population in the Hamlet of Kemasan is around 6000 people, living in four blocks of neighbourhoods (*Rukun Tetangga* or RT). Among three other neighbourhoods RTs, RT

4 is considered as the most heterogeneous one because of many newcomers, mainly Christians, who reside here. Within Sendangtirto Village, the Hamlet of Kemasan is so keen on nurturing togetherness, and therefore many associations have been established, such as *Kelompok Wanita Tani Dewi Sri*, to facilitate the residents perform daily activities.

### ***KWT Dewi Sri of Kemasan and Its Cultural Values***

*KWT Dewi Sri* was established to provide food security through agricultural development for poverty eradication. Meanwhile, the main objectives of *KWT Dewi Sri* are two-fold: *first* is to maintain togetherness in realising healthy independent and prosperous families, and *second* is to build a spirit of cooperation and solidarity in boosting the local economy (Team, 2014: 6). Establishing *KWT Dewi Sri*, the local women wished that the forum could facilitate them to be actively involved in public life through increasing productivity to bring prosperous families. *KWT Dewi Sri* is a group of women who live and interact with each other in the whole village to attain their shared purposes. The abbreviation of *KWT* itself indicates that members are limited only to women within the Hamlet of Kemasan, and the membership is imbued with the spirit of kinship.

*KWT Dewi Sri* was established in September 2006, four months after the devastating earthquake, and the establishment gained support from SION Foundation in Salatiga, Central Java, a social institution under the auspices of North Central Java Christian Church (GKJTU), whose slogan is: "Becoming a more reliable, productive, and innovative institution in empowering people holistically" (Team, 2014: 2). With this slogan, the foundation has actively provided services as the solution to those who have critical concerns, not only education but also health, the economy, the environment, and other emergency issues: (1) in the health sector, the *KWT Dewi Sri* has set up health posts in cooperation with professional

doctor with medical assistants and health workers; (2) in the economic sector, it has conducted community empowerment programs through increasing family income and entrepreneurship training; (3) in the environmental sector, it has invited locals to care for the environment and to support the survival of a better human being through programs of organic crops, counselling about global warming, biogas, and others; (4) in the disaster mitigation, it took care of the victims of the Yogyakarta earthquake and the victims of the eruption of Merapi mount regarding their economic, health, and the environment problems. Now, *KWT Dewi Sri* secured the endorsement as a Legal Entity of Cooperative (Badan Hukum) on May 17, 2010, by Decree No. 058/BH/XV.4/KAB.SLMA/V/2010.

In this joint project with *KWT Dewi Sri*, education received priority in which many women were educated informally as to how they could be self-helped and be active in self-esteem. The women also were suggested to challenge the system of patriarchy that has long existed in seeing being feminine as similar to weakness and impoverishment. In terms of health delivery, the local women, together with their families, could seek medical treatment or gain medical check-ups if they are sick. The joint project also set up health posts in cooperation with professional doctors, medical assistants, and health workers. The economic sector provided empowerment programs through entrepreneurial training to lift family income. These women were acknowledged to utilise resources optimally from farming to crafting valuable goods to selling products. In terms of the environmental sector, *KWT Dewi Sri* has educated people in the hamlet to care for the sustainability of the environment and climate change issues in human survival through introducing the use of organic fertilisers and biofuels and counselling people on global warming (*Interview with Windarti and Hapsari, October 24, 2016*). Lastly, it took care of people when disastrous tragedies occurred, such as earthquakes and eruptions of Merapi Mount in Sleman, Yogyakarta. During these moments,

*KWT Dewi Sri* would provide food and clothes, psychological healing, and temporary child education in make-shift tents.

At the first occasion when these programs of *KWT Dewi Sri* were implemented, the partnership with the North Central Java Christian Church was seen as suspect by the villagers of Sendangtirto because the SION's initiative to help *KWT Dewi Sri* was considered to have a hidden 'Christianization' mission to the majority of villagers, who are Muslims. The presence of SION's mission to help the earthquake victims was then considered as a strategy in strengthening the position of the Christian minority there. Over time, however, their suspicion had slowly faded, and many of them then did not mind working with *KWT Dewi Sri* and even became members. In a pluralistic society, religious diversity is still a challenge for a nation's unity and may trigger prejudice and become the source of social conflict when social elites in the community capitalize on political situations. Regarding this issue, Eni Windarti (*Interview, October 24, 2016*) stated:

"At first, people of the Kemas Hamlet were much less amenable and suspected the mentoring programs of Sion Foundation which is, in fact, a Christian church. However, afterwards, they learned that the mentoring programs included a means of empowering villagers, such as those who were displaced as the consequence of the earthquake in 2006. Then the villagers finally realised that it was not Christianization. The public then was finally willing to accept."

The effort in fostering mutual understanding among people of diverse backgrounds takes time. Benevolence in offering social assistance is not immediately accepted gladly by society. Here the elites play a decisive role in eliminating suspicion and encouraging communication among people to bring a harmonious life. Religious differences between donors and recipients remain problematic, and this indicates that the majority of villagers put religion as the uppermost measure in building relationship and partnership. In sociological point of view, religion is considered as a significant aspect in society life (McGuire, 1992: 3). That is because religious values may

influence the attitudes of some individuals to oppose other people's faith.

Normatively, Islam does not forbid its followers to seek assistance from or make a partnership with other people in different faiths, but the difficult situation experienced by the majority of Muslims might be the result of 2006 earthquake that had made them more suspicious toward outsiders, as they were in fear that they would be morally in debt. This concern is not totally wrong since, in several villages of Berbah, the process of Christianization has managed to turn the proportion of the population from Muslim as a majority to become minority. According to analyses by local Muslim activists, Berbah and several other areas in Yogyakarta have been regarded as a fertile land for the missionaries, who have worked for a long time through four strategies of Christianization: (1) education which is visible via founding many Christian education institutions, (2) church establishment within Muslim communities, (3) meetings with young Muslims, and (4) delivery of social services in rural areas (Hudzaifah, 2014). This phenomenon has caused a prejudice by the local Muslims toward any charitable social actions promoted by local Christians because some local Muslims may perceive the actions as having hidden missionary agenda.

Given such a context of Muslim-Christian harmonious relations, it is not something that has been achieved without any tension whatsoever. Therefore, the quality of better relations between religious communities needs to be thoughtfully developed over time (Taher, 1998: 40). At least, three discourses exist to characterize the relation between Muslims and non-Muslims, namely the discourse among Muslims about the threat of Christianization, the discourse among Christians about the threat of an Islamic state, and the mutual-relationship developed through inter-religious dialogues (Mujiburrahman, 2008: 244). During the New Order era of Soeharto, the antagonistic discourse had existed such that each felt threatened, which was still considered so reliable compared to mutual discourses

developed through dialogues. According to Franz Magnis-Suseno (2005: 9-13), the relationship between Islam and Christianity in Indonesia has shown an alarming relationship -- the pattern of which has now shown much more conflicts than that of colonial times through the reformation era of 1998 (Kusumadewi, 2012: 126). There are many such psychological and cultural barriers in bridging communication and partnerships between Muslims and Christians based on mutual understanding, mutual respect, and mutual trust.

Over time the public has learned that their fear toward Christianization is related to the social role to be imposed on citizens to use rationality in any life affairs, including the religious sentiment. According to rational choice theory, the social elites as main actors have managed to successfully link with attitudes of villagers, who remain concerned with the mutual actions, or those whose interests and objectives are to improve lives of the villagers as a whole, and to provide information through communication and constructive interactions to determine the choice for rationality (Salim, 2002: 180). Some of the social elites are parts of the management of *KWT Dewi Sri* and serve as the axis of the social processes of the villagers to run regularly and not in a different way. For that, they need the ability to act according to each social context and to objectively assess an action for its positive and negative sides (Narwoko and Suyanto [eds.], 2004: 20).

In case of villagers at Hamlet of Kemasan, Islamic identity remains essential for those who are Muslims, whether they are pious and members of the largest socio-religious organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, or whether they are a secularist and ignorant (*abangan*) (Hassan, 2006: 43). Given this condition, the villagers are adaptive to any circumstance without sacrificing their essential identity, which is Islam. They can articulate their faith in the context of social interaction, seek to recognize one another, and are assertive to other believers to realise harmony. To this purpose, they should put aside prejudice toward others, such as aid from SION Foundation,

non-Muslim, and newcomers. The tasks of the social actors and the villagers' assertiveness are seen through their alignment with demands, such as developing openness toward diversity, augmenting multiculturalism as an interactive power in public life, and involving the people in managing the diversity (Moesa, 2007: x-xi).

The Chair of *KWT Dewi Sri* (Interview with Windarti, October 24, 2016) asserted that one factor that caused the establishment of *KWT Dewi Sri* was to empower women through economic programs so that they would no longer become victims of loan sharks. Therefore, the flagship program launched as the provision of capital loans to enhance business productivity. With such a program, three values would contribute to their future. *First*, it helps strengthen the role of women in public life and productive activities. *Second*, it helps build the management of the diversity of the citizens toward synergy and cooperation. *Third*, it also helps improve food security, family welfare, and the harmony of the citizens. Another contributive value of *KWT Dewi Sri* is the active role of its officials in the village meetings held bi-monthly to discuss the problems of society that need to be resolved. For this, the Chair of *KWT Dewi Sri* (Interview with Windarti, November 18, 2016) stated:

“The management of *KWT Dewi Sri* has played important role in problem-solving activities in the hamlet through bi-monthly communication forums held for all village officials to discuss the issues of the village.”

Thus, the existence of *KWT Dewi Sri* has been recognized as part of the formal element of the structural board of the hamlet as indicated through regulating the inclusivity of *KWT Dewi Sri*, the hamlet's management, and their participation in the hamlets of other villages in the same district for various activities.

Within a culture of a community that is still dominated by males, especially in public spheres, the work of *KWT Dewi Sri* can be interpreted as a functional measure to reduce gender stratification. Through an economic

empowerment program of the citizens, *KWT Dewi Sri* has managed to increase the role of its members in productive activities to provide extra values for family income. Also, many accomplishments of *KWT Dewi Sri* in various championships have helped raise the reputation of their village and, as a result, it provides trust from donor agencies, such as SION Foundation and the local government, especially the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) and Cooperatives, to establish partnerships in the area of economic empowerment. Economic empowerment programs initiated by *KWT Dewi Sri* represent a form of adaptive strategies (Kottak, 2012: 83) which drive real livelihood for the villagers in the fields of agriculture, home industry, and commerce.

With such an adaptive strategy, the program of *KWT Dewi Sri* gets positive response quickly from the villagers because it has not only been immediately perceived as providing direct benefits but also is understood as being “across classes” in the sense that it meets the reality of the village society which is heterogeneous. Consequently, anyone who is in need may participate in the program. On that basis, *KWT Dewi Sri* does not teach slaughtering processes in the hamlet, considering that Muslims can only use this program. The Chair of *KWT Dewi Sri* (Interview with Windarti, November 18, 2016) asserted that the programs facilitated by *KWT Dewi Sri* are economical and social empowerment schemes for all citizens, not limited to specific groups. Although being the majority in the hamlet, Muslims are not supposed to feel that they are more eligible for the welfare from the programs run by the *KWT Dewi Sri*. In the context of a pluralistic society, there are three models of strategies that have been developed to address the heterogeneity, namely: (1) strategies of mastering then dominating which finally help lead to the unity of the diversity, (2) exile strategy that leads an individual to take a distance, fortify him/herself, and be exclusive, and (3) dialogical strategy that promotes openness to sharing,

cooperation, and interaction (Mujiburrahman, 2008: 71-73). Such an “across classes” program means that the strategy being taken by *KWT Dewi Sri* is a form of dialogical strategy arising from their common concern regarding the problems of socio-economy among the villagers.

In the perspective of Sociology, the kind of culture can be divided into material and non-material culture (McIntyre, 2008: 98). The latter includes norms, i.e., rules, written or not, which govern the behaviour of people in general and in particular situations. The norm serving as the foundation of *KWT Dewi Sri* is the norm of “citizenship” (civic norms); one which binds all individuals as village residents, members of society, and citizens; with those who are living together having equal rights and obligations. Differences in religion, ethnicity, and social status are not obstacles to applying for the programs offered by *KWT Dewi Sri*. In this way, *KWT Dewi Sri* even acts as a medium that supports such diversity and is actively involved in solving social problems in the village community (*Interview with Windarti*, November 18, 2016). As a suburban region, the Hamlet of Kemasari is directly affected by urban problems. This hamlet increasingly is surrounded by housings, shops, factories, and industries. The lifestyle of most villagers has changed their culture. They tend to become individualistic and materialistic. Facing such socio-cultural realities, therefore, during its development, the work of *KWT Dewi Sri* is required to be not only limited to the economic empowerment of the citizens, as at the beginning of its establishment but also to extend to resolving social problems, including cases of domestic violence and juvenile delinquency.

When a social problem is also viewed as a personal one, the solution to the problem or the issue needs the application of a personal approach, one which is directed toward the issues of “source of” and “solutions to” the problems all at once (Laurer and Laurer, 2006: 5). Experience in addressing such a social problem is narrated by Eni Wulandari (*Interview*, October 24, 2016):

“*KWT Dewi Sri* has participated in resolving a case of domestic violence experienced by one of its members. This issue was quite complicated because it was not only the wives who were the victims of the violence but also the children. Not to mention that it also involved another woman who had become his *Siri* wife (not the state-legal wife).”

The economic empowerment of the citizens as the main program of *KWT Dewi Sri* often encounters cases of social problems. Among such cases, *KWT Dewi Sri* is forced to get involved in solving the problems of its members who are having trouble paying their loan instalments because of their family issues. The management of *KWT Dewi Sri* is quite proactive and patient by regularly visiting those who are having problems. This approach has proved to be useful to build unity and to establish communication between members so that, as an organization, *KWT Dewi Sri* can be considered to have efficacy as seen from (1) its strong motivational characteristics, (2) the characteristics of its communication process, (3) the characteristics of its inter-influential interaction, and (4) its performance characteristics (Soetopo, 2012: 78).

*First*, members of *KWT Dewi Sri* have high motivation, which is shown by its power to trigger participation, care, and satisfaction of its members. As an organization, *KWT Dewi Sri* has existed more than ten years, with the ups and downs of the size of its membership, and it has experienced the bittersweet realization of the people’s empowerment. *KWT Dewi Sri* is not only a women’s emancipation medium in the hamlet, but is also a catalyst for empowering villagers. The partnership with SION Foundation and other institutions has been possible to sustain because of the strong motivation of the members to continue to run and to realize the joint venture and to build unity. Not all of the empowerment programs are success stories; however, the spirit of togetherness among the members has been able to overcome failures and prevent the members from giving up when having difficulties.

*Second*, the effectiveness during the communication process can be seen through

the alertness of the management to address misconceptions among members. Some members may have problems such as being unable to pay an instalment on their loan because the business gets stalled again, resulting in embarrassment and being less active in *KWT Dewi Sri*. Then in person, an official will visit their homes. Also, the characteristics of the communication process are evident through the alertness of the management to convey important information to its members about the activity of other institutions. The regular meetings, twice a month, for the members of *KWT Dewi Sri* has been useful in establishing communication because the administrators and members use these times to discuss the problems together, convey information, and to design and evaluate the activities of the programs.

*Third*, mutual interaction is a process which is indicated by the cooperation among members. *KWT Dewi Sri* has several times won awards from the village level up to the provincial level. That is a real outcome due to collaboration among members as a reliable team. The diversity of its members does not create distance and separation among them because common interests unite them. When it is analyzed using the concept of BEST (Noor, 2011: 117-118), within its diversity, *KWT Dewi Sri* is managed in a balanced manner to be mutually reinforcing (**B**alance the team); the diversity is explored for its potentials to gain some added value (**E**xploit the diversity); the common goal is distributed among members to be well understood (**S**hare the goal), and team members are given the confidence to work (**T**rust the team).

*Fourth*, the effectiveness of performance which can be observed through sustainable programs of *KWT Dewi Sri* has proven to be capable of influencing the dynamics of the village communities. This organization, which is already a legal entity, has made contributions to the acceleration of the development and welfare of the villagers. The organization of the “Sri Kandi” (a female fighter in Mahabharata Epic) has proven its success in doing business with the community with the jargon of “from women for all”. Its

programs have been run usefully, such as capital loans up to three million *rupiahs* per borrower. The characteristics of community empowerment are as follow: (1) making itself known to those in need, (2) aiming to improve people’s ability to create sustainable business activities, (3) having circular loans disbursed for business among members, and (4) making provision for sharing productive businesses under the *KWT Dewi Sri* (Sumodiningrat, 2001: 116).

### **Programs of *KWT Dewi Sri***

As it is mentioned above, *KWT Dewi Sri* is an organization of women with a concern in the community for economic empowerment through savings and loan services, business capital, and soft loans from partner institutions. Some programs have managed to make people more economically independent in the Hamlet of Kemasan, for their efforts in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, and the production of processed agricultural products, by receiving loans for additional capital from *KWT Dewi Sri*. The loans are used to improve various productive business activities, such as manufacturing of cassava chips, chips of banana root bulbs (often called imitation beef lung) and salted eggs (*Interview with Windarti and Y. Aprilia, October 24, 2016*). Additionally, *KWT Dewi Sri* also provides loans for the fulfillment of basic needs of members for their immediate needs (*sebrakan*), with interest-free loans to its members in the form of shares of its annual business profit.

Every year *KWT Dewi Sri* organizes a joint event like “Fun Walk” for all citizens and with sponsors to make it more festive and lively. The lucky participants will get prizes and door prizes from the committee. This kind of joint event is considered useful to knit the social unity of the villagers. That is because it can attract the participation of most citizens to familiarize with each other, to reduce the prejudice, and to break the ice. Related to this routine, the Chair of *KWT Dewi Sri* confirmed that every year, *KWT Dewi Sri* holds its Fun Walk with the cooperation of sponsors, such as factories and businesses around

Sendangtirto Berbah, and usually, the festivity occurs before the annual meeting of the members (*Interview with Windarti and Y. Aprilia*, October 24, 2016). Through the joint event, *KWT Dewi Sri* reinforces its work among people of all social statuses in the society: young and old, men and women, Muslims and non-Muslims, rich and poor. The harmonious life of the people is something that needs to be maintained to avoid harmful interference from the environment. Theoretically, such environmental problems can include physical and emotional disorders (Laurer and Laurer, 2006: 449-450). When put in this context, a regular joint event like Fun Walk serves to maintain people's harmony, in light of such emotional disorders as suspicion, apathy, hatred, and boredom.

Not only do its programs have worth "economically", but also *KWT Dewi Sri* sets aside part of the collected funds for social compensation programs for the villagers of Kemas, such as death donations, scholarships for the education of children in low-income families, and donations for the sick people. That is a social program intended to promote *KWT Dewi Sri* for all levels of the society that is composed of diverse groups. However, funds of social programs are not provided to help organize religious activities, such as the performance of Islamic festivals. That is because it is only meant for Muslims, not for other people of different religions. For this reason, the management of *KWT Dewi Sri* always employs the principle of "citizenship", not the principle of "religion", in the disbursement of funds to support social programs (*Interview with Windarti*, October 24, 2016). The majority of people of the Kemas Hamlet embrace Islam, but this does not mean that they are given any special favour to receive funds from the social programs of *KWT Dewi Sri*. That is a kind of tolerance and harmony within the framework of equality and justice.

As for social care, the administrators of *KWT Dewi Sri* have a Caring Coins (*koin peduli*) program that collects voluntary funds from the members to provide charitable donations. With

this program, *KWT Dewi Sri* regularly earns income for social funds and can freely distribute them at any time to people in need (*Interview with Windarti*, November 18, 2016). As a non-profit organization established to empower women for the welfare of the family and the society, *KWT Dewi Sri* consistently holds to its principles. As an extended family, *KWT Dewi Sri* supports such functions as (1) protection, (2) socialization, and (3) affection and companionship (Schaefer, 2011: 219). The first function means that, through various programs, *KWT Dewi Sri* intends to protect its members and the villagers from moneylenders who would lead them into debt, negatively affecting their livelihood. As for the second function, *KWT Dewi Sri* serves as a medium for interactions among people through its various routines. The business of each resident with his or her daily work creates isolation from each other. That makes communication between them difficult and may lead to mutual misunderstanding if not addressed. For its third function, *KWT Dewi Sri* boosts affinity, intimacy, and unity among all members and all villagers. If one of them is suffering from difficulty or distress, the administrators of *KWT Dewi Sri* will provide social assistance or compensation.

The work of the women who are members of *KWT Dewi Sri* is undoubtedly fascinating to analyse. That is because, up to these days and for some communities, women are still marginalized (Anwar and Angga, 2017: 81-96). There is even an emerging notion in sociology the so-called "feminisation of poverty" (Schaefer, 2011: 146). This assumption sees women as the "problem source" of poverty because they are judged to be incapable of having a productive role, and are considered able only to have consumptive roles. The women who are widows because of the death of their husband or being divorced, and many others who are not skilled, will be seen as a socio-economic burden so that they are eligible to be a group of those who get donations. It is a manifestation of the labelling approach, a label that "judges" that all of them are just the same

(Schaefer, 2011: 280). That is possible when women occupy a marginal position, and the power of men tends to be dominating. In contrast, in the *KWT Dewi Sri*, women are encouraged to be ready as pioneers by embracing not only domestic roles but also public ones that are not contradictory to their nature as women.

In line with these assumptions, there is a concept in Sociology which is considered to more accurate in describing the subordination of women; the concept is called as pauperisation of the motherland. This concept implies the existence of institutional forces that impoverish women, as through regulations, traditions, and social systems. These make women's access, roles, control, and potentials are enormously minimized. For example, women are socio-culturally expected only to take part in the domestic sphere, to have their dress covers all the body and to need permission from their husband when going out of the house. Of course, this kind of rule or tradition has made women helpless and heavily reliant on the power of men. However, when placed in the context of the community of women who are members of *KWT Dewi Sri*, they have proved themselves as agents of change for the overall community. They become empowered to promote the development of the hamlet, rather than being seen as the weak who can only sit back and relax, or as mere housewives who can only follow behind. In other words, these women become at the front of the class because they can initiate a variety of social actions for the public good.

Not all of the socio-economic empowerment programs, however, have run as expected. The proper realization of some programs has been stalled and has resulted in bad debts. Soft loans disbursed for capital funds sometimes do not return because of clients' problems with installments. The management of *KWT Dewi Sri* tries to solve the problem by doing the following: (1) extending the installment period, and (2) lengthening the installment structure of bad debts by using the deposits at *KWT Dewi Sri* (Interview with Windarti and Patini, January

13, 2017). Since it is a non-profit institution, the primary orientation of the programs of socio-economic empowerment is then to facilitate and assist its members in being able to run productive businesses with little consideration for material gain. *KWT Dewi Sri* puts more efforts on finding out ways to help the people to meet their everyday basic needs through productive businesses (Interview with Andriani, October 24, 2016). When there is a member who has gotten loans but is unable to pay the installments, if analysis by the management finds it was indeed caused by several factors beyond his or her control, he or she will then be given a chance to renegotiate installments. In this case, a kinship approach is put forward to overcome problems of bad loans.

One of the factors impeding the success of some of the programs of *KWT Dewi Sri* is that it still lacks the inclusion of training and business assistance in the provision of capital loans. As for now, it has been working with other agencies, such as the Department of Cooperatives and SMEs, to provide training on productive businesses. Similarly, periodic meetings are run and meant for sharing experiences of the members in making processed agricultural products and in their marketing (Interview with Y. Aprilia, November 18, 2016). However, running a productive business indeed requires a variety of skills, endurance, and creativity. Members who have already pursued their productive results well for so long might be able to face all the difficulties in their field. However, for those who have just learned to run their business, problems or difficulties that they encounter may discourage them and make them weak and desperate and in turn, slow down the pace of their productive businesses. Thus, an entrepreneurial spirit is indeed required for those who want to run a business, however small the business is (Nitisusastro, 2009: 26). Not all individuals can develop an entrepreneurial spirit without intensive training and mentoring.

As a consequence, lending loans for capital funds without training or mentoring would be ineffective in supporting productive enterprises. Considering that so many skills are needed for a

successful business, it is, of course, impossible to form all the skills instantly. Among these skills is self-confidence, being goal-oriented, working hard, being risk-taking, being responsible, and being innovative (Nitisusastro, 2009: 29-34). The adage says, “Lancar kaji karena diulang, lancar jalan karena ditempuh” (Repetition makes to be better learning), which means that the entrepreneurial spirit indeed needs to be forged and developed through training. Therefore, when a loan of capital funds is provided to someone who is just learning entrepreneurship, without adequate training and assistance, he may then encounter many obstacles.

Recently, the role of women in various productive businesses has relatively limited. The reason is that they have not been able to overcome the psychological and cultural barriers. According to Renald Kasali, as cited by Nitisusastro (2009: 35), psychologically and generally women try to consider too many details. To make it worse, amid the cultural barriers, women still have to struggle with their domestic roles. In that context, the loan for business funds initiated by *KWT Dewi Sri* is a breakthrough that is useful to stimulate the entrepreneurial spirit of women in the Hamlet of Kemas and thus to be able to make a self-sufficient living. However, in order to run more effectively, this process needs to be supported with training and facilitating programs to be provided when the women are still at the beginner stage. The programs of the *KWT Dewi Sri* have also gone into productive businesses which are named as adaptive challenges. However, the businesses do need not only encouragement, but also new challenges, sustainable innovations, experiments, and creativities (Kasali, 2015: 49).

## **Issues in the Development of Social Role**

*KWT Dewi Sri* is a social community of women in Hamlet of Kemas who then make an organization with the spirit of togetherness as a family and want to realize independent, healthy, and prosperous families. The vision that underlies the various missions and programs has

been formulated since its establishment until now (Team, 2014: 10). The assistance of SION Foundation, especially in the field of bookkeeping, has helped this organisation to continue to grow, along with the change in the name from Women Group of Kemas (WGK or *KWK*) to Women Farmers Group (WFG or *KWT Dewi Sri*). With the name of *KWT Dewi Sri*, the community intends to reinforce the goals of the organisation to empower women in Dusun Kemas who work in the agriculture domain for their livelihood. The main issue facing *KWT Dewi Sri* in developing its work of people empowerment includes issues of internal and external organizational problems.

### **1. Approach to Provision of Loans for Capital Funds**

Productive businesses run by the members (customers) are for micro-enterprises to help process the agricultural products, such as processed cashews, banana root-bulb chips and cassava chips, as well micro-enterprises that deal with selling activities (stalls). Most of them have just started the business. They are still in the early stages of learning to try to succeed and must face the intricacies of the micro-business world, which is undoubtedly not always encouraging. Recently, *KWT Dewi Sri* has provided loans for capital funds to members who need it without going through the rigorous selection and intensive support process. The principle is simple, for it is just based on trust, from us, by us, and for us (*Interview with Windarti and Wajiyati, January 13, 2017*). When it is examined from the point of business financing, *KWT Dewi Sri's* approach is a form of a static method, which is based on input-process-output. This approach requires less attention to the needs of the market and is more focused on the products made (Primiana, 2009: 5). Naturally, if some entrepreneurs who receive the loans experience difficulties in obtaining raw materials and finding markets, in turn, they will not be able to pay the loan installments.

According to Primiana (2009: 6), to overcome these problems, a paradigm-shifting needs to

be established. It can be carried out through a dynamic approach that is based on input-process-output. This approach prioritizes the training of entrepreneurs, customer satisfaction, and an entrepreneurial spirit. Indeed, with the dynamic approach, the tasks of *KWT Dewi Sri* will be increasing, because it does not only deal with lending and accounting, but also analyses the feasibility for gaining customers, and provides entrepreneurial training as well business assistantship. With an only limited number of human resources, *KWT Dewi Sri* certainly would not be able to have done this without the assistance of other agencies, such as the Department of Agriculture, Department of Industry, Commerce, and Cooperative, and SMEs, and SION Foundation. Those have been serving as its partners. Over time, in conducting a variety of the organisational programs, the staffs of *KWT Dewi Sri* have based their activities on philanthropic actions, and they are independent. They have been able to go beyond their traditional roles as women in the hamlet. However, in order to enhance their entrepreneurship, they still need partnerships with other organizations.

## **2. Maladaptive Nature of Society's Culture**

Kemasan Hamlet's society is suburban, and most citizens are wrestling with agricultural businesses that have become the primary support for the industrialization process of the city. The escalation of change has widely affected society, in its social system, personality system, and cultural system. If the community cannot adapt to the rapid changes, they will suffer a self-esteem crisis, alienation, and dissociative social relations. In this kind of life, the culture of the people is not absolutely in line with the "default". The society has received much urban culture and the culture of "outside". Some of the people still meet the tradition of the hamlet (*adaptive*), but some others are no longer care about the traditions, and this gives rise to new social problems (*maladaptive*) (Kottak, 2005: 203-204; Sulaiman, 2018: 113-130). As a buffer area of the city, one of the

apparent impacts is the increasing number of migrants who live in the hamlet and this, in turn, affects the farmland. That has occurred due to most of the farming areas having been converted into residential areas (*Observation*, November 18, 2016). Consequently, the farmland is shrinking, which affects (a) the potential of social production in generating food, and (b) a shift in the livelihood of the villagers. On one hand, it encourages social changes in all aspects of life: economic, socio-cultural, and religious. On the other hand, it accelerates changes that without a balanced ability to adapt will trigger the emergence of poverty (Henslin, 2012: 213) for many people. Therefore, the process of the shrinkage of agricultural land that has been the source of income slowly impedes the ability of some villagers to meet the needs of their everyday life because they do not have sufficient skills to switch their professions from working on the farmlands.

With the setting of these factors, people's life, *KWT Dewi Sri* bears serious responsibility. It is impossible for *KWT Dewi Sri* to struggle only in the economic empowerment issues, given that other roles must be played, such as serving as a problem solver, consultant, and educator, are all roles being required. Issues of family conflict and juvenile delinquency around the hamlet are some of the social problems which are often handled by the management of *KWT Dewi Sri* (*Interview with Windarti*, October 24, 2016). Here, *KWT Dewi Sri* seems to try to neutralize the tensions which arise from the socio-economic problems of the citizen that arise from the impact of the excessive culture of the city, foreign culture, and globalization, which can portray manifestations of maladaptive culture. Here, the local people are not able to do self-adjustment with their social environment. In order to reduce the disproportionate impacts, *KWT Dewi Sri* becomes responsible for filtering those cultures and for educating the people so as not to lose the harmony of the community of Dusun Kemasan, which had long been well and usefully woven.

## CONCLUSION

*KWT Dewi Sri* is a social community of women wanting to take part in a bigger scale of life as motivated by the spirit of brotherhood. In the early days of its establishment, *KWT Dewi Sri* received assistance from the SION Foundation, a non-profit social organization of GKJТУ Salatiga to empower the villagers, because, in areas surrounding the hamlet, the local people saw practices of “Christianization” that made local people vulnerable to raise conflicts among themselves. The assistance had caused some suspicion among the people. However, this tension was gradually diminishing as there was the increased success of the management of *KWT Dewi Sri* to implement its programs and guide the villagers to make a rational choice, and not merely act upon a narrow religious sentiment.

*KWT Dewi Sri* has a featured program of socio-economic empowerment of its members, which has proven to contribute to strengthening women’s public roles, maintaining social harmony in diversity, educating society, and improving food security and food independence. Success in actualizing *KWT Dewi Sri’s* norm of “togetherness” (civic norms) -- to bind all individuals as village residents, as members of society, and as citizens of the nation, with equal rights and obligations -- is part of their contributory value. Differences in religion, ethnicity, and social status are not obstacles for people to get involved in such programs. The socio-economic empowerment program, among its goals, is directed towards productive lending meant for business capital funds. The realization of this program has also been accompanied by a compensatory social program intended to place *KWT Dewi Sri* at all levels of the diverse community. The work of the women members is interesting to be analyzed because we recognize that in some parts of Indonesia, women are still marginalized. The emerging assumption of the feminization of poverty is a notion that sees women as the “trouble makers” of poverty. They are judged to be unable to run productive roles

and are considered as capable of running only consumptive ones. Some of the loan for business capital funds of *KWT Dewi Sri* encountered such problems.

According to the loans for capital funds point of view, the adopted approach of *KWT Dewi Sri* is a static method that relies on the assumption of input-process-output. This approach does not sufficiently pay attention to the needs of the market, but rather more to the product outputs. Naturally, some of those who receive loans may have difficulties in obtaining raw materials and finding markets; they will then, in turn, be unable to pay their installments. Based on this fact, a paradigm shift is required to address the problem; what is needed is a dynamic approach based on input-process-output. This approach prioritizes the training of entrepreneurs, customer satisfaction, and an entrepreneurial spirit. Also, problems in *KWT Dewi Sri* arise from such social realities such as problems with people who have absorbed urban culture or culture from the “outside”. Some, however, do still fit the tradition of the hamlet (adaptive), but the rest no longer meet the tradition, which in turn gives rise to new social problems (maladaptive).

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