

WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION FOR EMPOWERMENT IN INDONESIA



**A study of collective action initiated by
partners of the MAMPU program**

This research was carried out in collaboration with the Governments of Australia and Indonesia, but the analysis and findings in this paper represent the views of the author/s and do not necessarily represent the views of those Governments.

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by partners of the MAMPU Program**

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MAMPU

Australia – Indonesia Partnership for Gender Equality and Women's
Empowerment

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Executive Summary

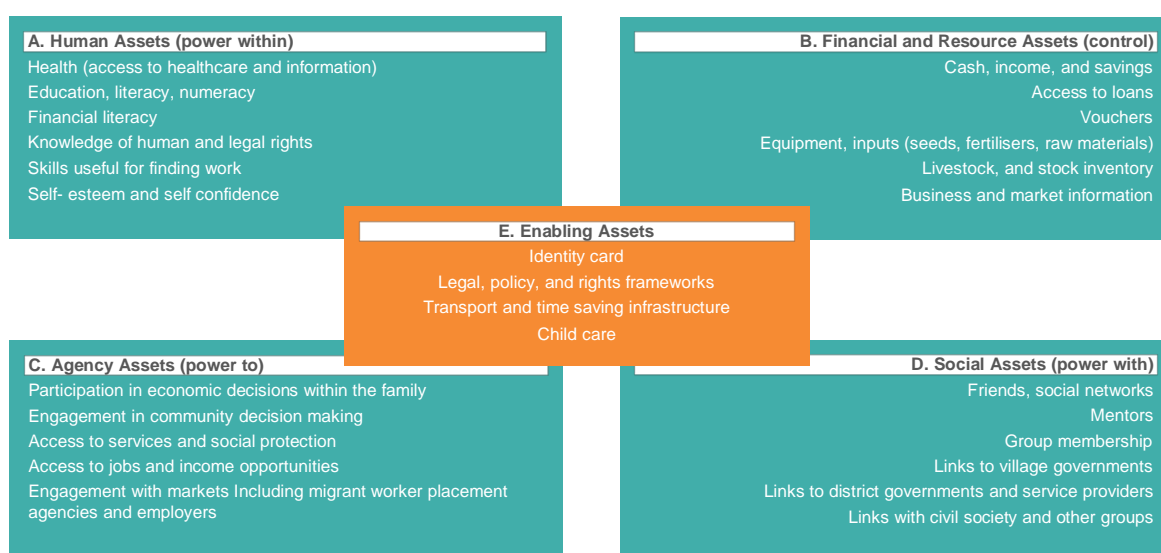
Background to the research

This study was commissioned by the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Program (MAMPU) to better understand **how and under what conditions women's engagement in local groups initiated by MAMPU partners leads to positive individual and collective empowerment**. The research has arisen from recognition of the growing scale of local groups and other forms of collective action with connections to the MAMPU network. It was commissioned in response to a recommendation from MAMPU's mid-term review to consider the critical features of women's groups, and to explore the factors that facilitate 'quality' groups.

A purpose of the research is to generate new knowledge relevant to MAMPU's outcomes pathway. This hypothesises that essential capacity and readiness for collective action are building blocks for voice and influence that then can bring about longer-term changes in the access of poor women in Indonesia to critical public services and programs and improve their livelihoods. As directed by MAMPU, the research has focused on village or community level as the locus of activity and desired change.

For this research, we defined **women's collective action** as the formal or informal formation and activity of groups or networks of predominantly women that aims to bring about positive changes in women's lives. Collective action is both the process of working to affect change, and by which voluntary institutions are created and maintained, and the groups that decide to act together. For this study, **empowerment** was conceptualised in terms of positive changes in relation to five kinds of assets identified in MAMPU's empowerment framework, as shown below.

The five assets of MAMPU's empowerment framework



The research applied a phased mixed-methods design with primarily qualitative enquiry. The first phase included a document review, initial mapping exercise, and national partner staff interviews. This was followed by a survey of collective action facilitators. Field studies were conducted in eight sites, and involved individual and group interviews and a survey administered to collective action members. In total 219 women and 78 men participated in individual or group interviews, and 169 members of the various examples of women's collective action were surveyed.

Examples of collective action studied

The research identified eight examples of collective action, each linked to a MAMPU national partner as follows:

Example of women's collective action	Field study site location	Linked to (MAMPU national partner)
<i>Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah</i> (BSA)	Pangkajene and Kepulauan (PanKep) district, South Sulawesi (rural)	'Aisyiyah
<i>Posko</i> (Coordination Post)	South Minahasa district, North Sulawesi (rural)	Komnas Perempuan <i>Forum Pengadaan Layanan - Dewan Pimpinan Nasional</i> (Service Provision Forum – National Executive Board, FPL-DPN), with sub-partner <i>Swara Perempuan</i>
<i>Sekolah Perempuan</i> (Women's School)	Gresik district, East Java (rural)	Kapal Perempuan with sub-partner <i>Kelompok Perempuan dan Sumber-Sumber Kehidupan</i> (Women and Life Resources Group, KPS2K)
Balai Perempuan	Parepare district, South Sulawesi (urban)	<i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia</i> (Indonesia Women's Coalition, KPI)
Migrant Workers United Wonosobo (MUIWO)	Wonosobo district, Central Java (rural)	Migrant CARE with sub-partner Social Analysis Research Institute (SARI)
<i>Serikat PEKKA</i> (PEKKA Union)	West Lombok district, West Nusa Tenggara (rural)	PEKKA
Community Center	Merangin district, Jambi (rural)	Permampu, through <i>Aliansi Perempuan Merangin</i> , (Merangin Women's Alliance, APM)
<i>Kelompok Kreatif Bunda</i> (Creative Mothers' Group)	Bantul district, DI Yogyakarta (peri-urban)	Yasanti, through the <i>Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan</i> (Women Homeworkers, PPR) program

The key features of each example of collective action are influenced by the nature of the relationship between local level groups and national partners. As expected, this influences the focus of group activity, but it also influences the membership, group identity, model of engagement, and support or facilitation structure.

We identified three main types of relationships between MAMPU national partners and local-level women's collective action. While there is some melding of characteristics, broadly we can differentiate between:

- **Type A - multi-level vertical structure:** The national partner connects to local groups through a mix of provincial, district or sub-district representation. The identity of the local group mirrors that of the national partner and has a similar form in each location.
- **Type B - sub-partner engagement:** The national partner forms partnerships with civil society organisations (CSOs) at different levels working on similar issues. These sub-partners then establish or support collective action groups or activities related to shared

issues. The identity of the group is more individual and the role of the sub-partner is prominent.

- **Type C - multi-stakeholder activity:** This is catalysed by the national partner at different levels, and this multi-stakeholder activity is the collective action, and members are organisations rather than individuals.

METHOD OF ESTABLISHMENT

Most examples of women's collective action studied existed prior to the national partners joining MAMPU. **Engagement with MAMPU has enabled the expansion and development of local-level women's collective action through three main mechanisms:** (i) expansion of existing models into new geographic areas; (ii) establishment of new groups and new ways for national partners to connect to the grassroots; and (iii) reinvigorating and recasting existing relationships into action with a gender equality or women's empowerment focus.

National partners with a multi-level vertical structure (Type A) have established processes for developing new groups and identifying members. Members may be from a specific catchment, or invited to join through recruitment drives. These partners have strategies to develop the knowledge and skills of women in local groups, including staged and varied curriculum based capacity development programs. In relationships involving sub-partners or networks (Types B and C), the role of the sub-partner is more prominent than that of the national partner, and in each case, there is clear attention to integrating awareness of rights and advocacy into the group formation and member education.

MEMBERSHIP

Members of collective action were mostly driven by a desire for increased social interactions or to increase their individual skills and capacities. **There is a mix of approaches in terms of engagement with, and of, the poor.** We observed:

- National partners deliberately targeting those experiencing economic poverty for participation in collective action (PEKKA / *Serikat PEKKA* and '*Aisyiyah* / *Balai Sakinah* '*Aisyiyah*);
- Focusing efforts on interest groups who may be marginalised socially and politically, but not necessarily the poorest economically (*Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, MUIWO);
- Mixing of women with different backgrounds (*Sekolah Perempuan*, Community Center);
- More 'elite'¹ engagement that may benefit the poor as service users or through wider social changes (*Balai Perempuan*, *Posko*).

This research indicates that for the poor, interest to participate – and family approval for the time away – is helped by the **potential of economic benefits from new skills and the potential of group enterprises**. Women may first need to have an income to be able to take on an ideology.

Where group members represent the more elite members of a community, they tend to be more engaged politically as individuals and through the group networks. The focus of the collective action becomes more outward looking. The research suggests that **engaging developmentally-minded elite and influential women in collective action, particularly on contentious issues, is an effective strategy for bringing about change**. However, this research also shows that with the

¹ In the context of this report we define 'elite' as having greater influence, personal connections to decision-makers, or relative wealth. We do not attach negative connotations to the use of this term.

right opportunities and structured development programs, **women from the most marginalised backgrounds can also become strong and influential advocates for change.**

MODE OF OPERATION

Collective action associated with MAMPU partners almost always operates with a formal group structure. All examples identified were found to be generally collaborative in their approach. However, there is certainly a spectrum of approaches, from the working within the close confines of religion and culture (*Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah*) to a more overt feminist leadership or women's human rights based approach (*Balai Perempuan* and others).

In all cases the **advocacy or policy influencing dimension is localised**. That is, it is focused on village, or at most through to district policy. We did not find clear connections with national policy or the national women's movement beyond the directly linked national partner, with the exception perhaps of groups participating in the 16 days of activism on violence against women campaign.

The main mechanisms for policy influencing were (i) through the networks and relationships built by the members of the collective action; and (ii) through intermediaries. We define an intermediary as an entity that directly supports local collective action, and operates between local groups and processes and the national partner. Intermediaries may be individuals, supporting CSOs, or the next level up in a vertical institutional structure. One of the key findings of this research is that **the role of intermediaries is critical**. They initiate, motivate, train, support and encourage local collective action, and make the connections to policy or other areas of influence. Often the role of the intermediary cannot be separated from the action of the group.

We observed a relationship between the recruitment strategy and objectives for collective action associated with MAMPU partners, and pre-existing or other forms of collective action. For example, *Balai Perempuan* and *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia* deliberately encourage membership from women with a range of roles and connections, such as village, *Posyandu* (integrated health post), family planning, or CSO cadres, and candidates for the local legislature. All forms of collective action studied had a link with the local Family Welfare Empowerment association (*Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, PKK). At the most minimal this was limited to shared interests in women's reproductive health merging at the *Posyandu*, to considerable cross membership and shared leadership. There were not however any significant examples of MAMPU-supported women's collective action and the PKK joining forces to bring about changes in gender equality.

There is good experience within MAMPU national partners of implementing **a range of different capacity development approaches for collective action members**. The structured approaches of PEKKA, KPI, Kapal Perempuan, and Yasanti appear to be associated with changes in women's internal confidence and self-belief progressing to changes in relation to other empowerment assets.

Effects on individual and collective assets

Overwhelmingly, collective action members felt that there had been positive impacts from their participation. To summarise, with reference to the assets outlined in MAMPU's empowerment framework:

- Individual, or **human assets** encompass levels of personal health and education, skills and knowledge, including literacy, numeracy, income and employment related skills, and individual self-belief and confidence. Almost all members across all examples studied reported change in relation to this domain of empowerment. Gaining self-confidence was an important first step for women, particularly those from the more marginalised sections of communities. It appears that the structured capacity development programs implemented by some partners accelerate and ensure this development.

- **Financial and resource assets** include income and savings, the ability to borrow, access to markets, increased productive inputs including tools and consumables. This was not an area of strong investment for many MAMPU partners, and this is reflected in the generally lower proportions of collective action members reporting changes in this area. There is some evidence in collective empowerment where members can benefit from pooled funds through savings and loans activities. However, it is not clear that sustainable changes in income have or are likely to be realised.
- **Agency assets** encompass women's participation and influence in the family and community, and their access to better work, services, and government programs. Within all forms of collective action studied, there were good examples of changes in relation to this empowerment domain, particularly in women's participation in community discussions and decision making forums including development planning meetings (Musrenbang).
- **Social assets** include friends, relatives, and social networks, gaining inspiration and support for others, and having access to people of influence. A desire for increased social interaction was and continues to be a primary motivator for women to join and participate in collective action. The experience of group interaction is an important aspect of the collective action examples studied, and in itself a factor in building confidence for women.
- **Enabling assets** include access to administrative or legal documents, legal protection, and so on. This area of empowerment was reported by the smallest proportion of collective action members surveyed. Some examples of collective action, particularly MUIWO and *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* are underpinned by a focus on enabling assets – legal status, access to information, and protection of labour rights. Others touch on personal security and freedom from violence, and access to services. Most examples demonstrate awareness that a supportive policy environment, personal security and freedom from violence, and access to services, can extend the reach of women's collective action from that of a small group looking inwards to its members, to one that looks outwards to the broader community.

It can be **difficult to differentiate between individual and collective empowerment**. In some areas, such as group savings and loans, the collective dimension is clear; in others, benefits appear to accrue to individuals. It does appear that the status as a group makes issues more visible and opens up opportunities to participate in village discussions and decisions, such as through the Musrenbang, even though there may be one or two more empowered individuals that speak for the group.

In terms of an empowerment pathway, **development of human assets, particularly confidence, self-belief, and as called by many interviewees, 'courage', appears to be a pre-requisite for other forms of empowerment**. Members of each example of collective action studied reported a progression from growing confidence and knowledge (changes in human or individual assets), to speaking out and participating in or presenting to community forums (agency assets), and then some expectation that this will lead to either finance and resource assets or enabling assets, and these will reinforce each other. Changes in social assets, particularly the effects of new friends and exposure to different opportunities, is cross cutting.

The way forward

MAMPU is now in its second phase and intends to foster collective action at the village, district, and national level with an increased policy focus. This section summarises the key findings of this research, and highlights some options for MAMPU going forward aligned with the second phase focus.

Firstly, MAMPU should continue to recognise and value the diversity that is found in the eight examples of collective action studied. Each partner plays a different role, but there are also significant opportunities for cross-learning and adaptive management, such as related to:

- Different approaches of linking women to services and building reproductive and sexual health knowledge (*Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah* and Community Center).
- The different rationale for, and benefits from, working with different socio-economic groups for transformative change (*Posko* and *Balai Perempuan* for elite engagement, *Serikat PEKKA* and *Sekolah Perempuan* (*Yasanti* and *Kapal Perempuan*) for working with the more marginalised).
- Navigating differences in priorities between local groups and policy agendas (MUIWO / SARI).
- Structured approaches to building the capacities and motivations of collective action members, building on the tested methodologies of each partner.

This research indicates that when engaging women in collective action, or starting new groups, **there first needs to be attention to members' economic situation**. However, it appears that with MAMPU, there is not currently sufficient technical support or follow through for development of viable enterprises that are linked to sustainable markets. Despite well-meaning training, benefits have not materialised. **MAMPU can consider building internal capacity to advise on more viable economic development activities and necessary changes in the associated policy environment.**

There was very **limited evidence of engagement with young women as a distinct group** in any of the eight case studies, although some members were young. MAMPU and partners are perhaps missing an opportunity to broaden the network with members of the new generation of better educated, more technology savvy, but currently politically disengaged, young women. **MAMPU can explore if there are interested and compatible young women's associations or organisations that can become part of the movement.**

There also needs to be **attention to the economic viability of the group** if the collective action is through a group structure (as was the case in these eight examples). The national partners and intermediaries can consider how the groups can sustain their activity, such as through member dues, funds from government, or other sources. Linked to this, MAMPU and partners would benefit from **an analysis of the village law and opportunities for accessing village funds** (*dana desa*), and successful strategies for doing so.

This research offers a rationale **for increased investment in intermediaries**, as a complement to, and at times a substitute for, local group based models of collective action. This is based on the apparent valuable linking and supporting roles played by SARI, KP2SK, and APM, as well as the national partner hierarchies.

MAMPU and partners can explore opportunities to share capacity development approaches, and identify how they may be scaled up both within and external to, the MAMPU network. We recommend **further investment in structured approaches to building the capacities and motivations of collective action members**, building on the tested methodologies of current partners.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

APM	<i>Aliansi Perempuan Merangin</i>	Merangin Women's Alliance
BaKTI	<i>Bursa Pengetahuan Kawasan Timur Indonesia</i>	Support Office for Eastern Indonesia
BKKBN	<i>Badan Kependudukan dan Keluarga Berencana Nasional</i>	Indonesian Population and Family Network
BMI	<i>Buruh Migran Indonesia</i>	Migrant Workers Indonesia
BNP2TKI	<i>Badan Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia</i>	Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers Abroad
BP	<i>Balai Perempuan</i>	Women's Forum
BP3TKI	<i>Balai Pelayanan Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia</i>	Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers
BPD	<i>Badan Perwakilan Desa</i>	Village Consultative Body
BPJS	<i>Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial</i>	Social Security Agency
BSA	<i>Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah</i>	Sakinah 'Aisyiyah Forum
BUEKA	<i>Bina Usaha Keluarga 'Aisyiyah</i>	'Aisyiyah Family Business Development Agency
CSO		Civil Society Organisation
FPL DPN	<i>Forum Pengadaan Layanan - Dewan Pimpinan Nasional</i>	Service Provision Forum - National Executive Board
GISI	<i>Gerakan Infak Sayang Ibu</i>	Assistance for Beloved Mothers' movement
Jamkesmas	<i>Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat</i>	Community Health Insurance
JKN	<i>Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional</i>	National Health Insurance
K3	<i>Keselamatan dan Kesehatan Kerja</i>	Occupational Health and Safety
Kejar Paket A/B/C	<i>Kelompok Belajar Paket A/B/C</i>	Group Study Package A/B/C (out of school education at A=elementary, B=junior high school, C=high school)
Komnas Perempuan	<i>Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan</i>	National Commission on Violence Against Women
KPI	<i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia</i>	Indonesian Women's Coalition
KPS	<i>Kartu Perlindungan Sosial</i>	Social Protection Card
KPS2K	<i>Kelompok Perempuan dan Sumber-Sumber Kehidupan</i>	Women and Life Resources Group
KUA	<i>Kantor Urusan Agama</i>	Religious Affairs Office
MAMPU	<i>Maju Perempuan Indonesia untuk Penanggulangan Kemiskinan</i>	Empowering Indonesian Women for Poverty Reduction
MMR	<i>Angka Kematian Ibu</i>	Maternal Mortality Rate
MUIWO		Migrant Workers United Indonesia Wonosobo
Musrenbang	<i>Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan</i>	Development Planning Forum
Musrenbangdes	<i>Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan Desa</i>	Village Development Planning Forum
Musrenbangdus	<i>Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan Dusun</i>	Sub Hamlet Development Planning Forum
PEKKA	<i>Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga</i>	Empowerment of Women Heads of Families
Perda	<i>Peraturan Daerah</i>	Local (sub-national) Regulation
Perdes	<i>Peraturan Desa</i>	Village Regulation

<i>Permampu</i>	<i>Perempuan Sumatra Mampu</i>	Sumatra Capable Women
PERWARI	<i>Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia</i>	Women's Association of the Republic of Indonesia
PKK	<i>Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i>	Family Welfare Empowerment
PNPM	<i>Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat</i>	National Program for Community Empowerment
<i>Pokja</i>	<i>Kelompok Kerja</i>	Working Group
<i>Posyandu</i>	<i>Pos Pelayanan Terpadu</i>	Integrated Health Post
<i>Posko</i>	<i>Pos Koordinasi</i>	Coordination Post
PPR	<i>Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan</i>	Women Homeworkers
<i>Puskesmas</i>	<i>Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat</i>	Community Health Centre (sub-district level)
<i>Raskin</i>	<i>Beras Miskin</i>	Rice for the Poor
SARI		Social Analysis Research Institute
<i>Serikat PEKKA</i>	<i>Serikat Perempuan Kepala Keluarga</i>	PEKKA Union
SJSN	<i>Sistem Jaminan Sosial Nasional</i>	National Social Security System
SKTM	<i>Surat Keterangan Tidak Mampu</i>	Poverty Certification Letter
SP	<i>Sekolah Perempuan</i>	Women's School
SPH	<i>Sekolah Perempuan Hebat</i>	School for Strong Women
<i>Yasanti</i>	<i>Yayasan Annisa Swasti</i>	Anisa Swasti Foundation
YLP2EM	<i>Yayasan Lembaga Pengkajian Pengembangan Ekonomi Masyarakat</i>	The Foundation for Community Economic Development
WCA/AKP	<i>Aksi Kolektif Perempuan</i>	Women's Collective Action
VIA	<i>Inspeksi Visual dengan Asam Asetat</i>	Visual Inspection with Acetic Acid

Part 1

Research Background

This research was commissioned by the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Program (MAMPU) to better understand **how and under what conditions women's engagement in local groups initiated by MAMPU partners leads to positive individual and collective empowerment.**

MAMPU is an eight-year initiative (2012 – 2020), funded through the Australian Aid program, that supports networks and coalitions of women's and gender-interested organisations (the MAMPU partners) and parliamentarians to influence government and selected private sector policies, regulations and services. It focuses on five thematic areas:

1. Improving women's access to government social protection programs
2. Increasing women's access to jobs and removing workplace discrimination
3. Improving conditions for women's overseas labour migration
4. Strengthening women's leadership for better maternal and reproductive health
5. Strengthening women's leadership to reduce violence against women.

MAMPU's outcomes pathway hypothesises that essential capacity and readiness for collective action are building blocks for voice and influence, that then can bring about longer-term changes in the access of poor women in Indonesia to critical public services and programs and improve their livelihoods. This research arose from recognition of the growing scale of local groups and other forms of collective action with connections to the MAMPU network, and a desire to generate new knowledge relevant to MAMPU's outcomes pathway.

At the start of this research project in early 2016, over 1,000 local groups connected to MAMPU in some way were recorded. Data provided by MAMPU from the end of 2016 summarise that MAMPU partners are supporting over 2,300 local groups, involving over 53,000 women and over 2,400 men.

The research was intended to be exploratory, investigating what collective action exists, how it operates, and what it is achieving. MAMPU proposed a case study driven approach and some potential research questions that were refined in a preparatory stage. Migunani, an Indonesia organisation focusing on generating knowledge through research and evaluation, was contracted to undertake the project.

This report is the product of several months of field work, consultation, debate and analysis. **It focuses at the village or community level as the locus of activity and desired change.**² It is structured according to the research framework, which is outlined in the following methodology section. It progresses from a description of the features of the collective action – who the members are, why they are involved, and how it is implemented, through to the observed and self-reported results from the examples studied. The study concludes with some discussion of options for MAMPU going forward, but it is important to note two things. Firstly, throughout the research, the team were careful to not stray into evaluative territory. Judgements have not been made about the comparative merits of the examples studied. The research instead aims to present what is, and how it appears to be working for those involved. Secondly, the research comprises eight case studies, and therefore these findings cannot be generalised to a common experience. The case studies do however

² Although some parts of the collective action may take place beyond the community level, for example collective action for policy change that require inter-district or regional collective action.

represent in-depth investigation and analysis, as well as significant diversity. They therefore present a range of options borne out of a combination of structural and situational factors, rather than set pathways for replication.

Women's collective action in Indonesia

Women's collective action as described through this research report is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia. The association *Sapa Tresna* (the forerunner of 'Aisyiyah, a MAMPU national partner included in this study) focused on promoting education for women and girls in the early twentieth century. Since then, examples of women's collective action were linked with the movement for Indonesia's independence; most were formed along religious or ethnic lines. Some followed national structures with branches from the centre into the regions, such as the Women's Association of the Republic of Indonesia (*Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia* or PERWARI), while others were locally or regionally based.

The *Orde Baru* or New Order era (the years of President Suharto, 1966 to 1998) had a tremendous impact on community organising, with all community groups falling under the control of the state, and being required to develop and implement programs also defined by the state. Thus, women's collective action at the community level virtually disappeared, other than that of religious groups and the PKK.

The PKK first emerged in Central Java, where villagers, in line with local culture, formed neighbourhood groups to address the need for unpaid labour and for community tasks. Women formed their own groups, and these were later formalised by the then wife of the Governor of Central Java, Ny. Isriati Moenadi into a community organisation aimed at providing education for women. The organisation was given the name *Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (Family Welfare Education), or PKK.

This initiative was further developed by Ibu Kardinah Soepardjo Roestam, the wife of the Governor of Central Java. When Soepardjo Rustam was appointed Minister of Home Affairs, the PKK which had started, as women's collective action in Central Java, became a nationwide government program. The militaristic influence of the New Order bureaucracy was adopted by the PKK, whereby the wife of the village head became the head of a village level. The same pattern applied at all levels upward – sub-district, district, and province – to the central government level, where the wife of the Minister of Home Affairs was the chairperson of the central PKK, and President Soeharto's wife, Ibu Tien, served as patron. Once formalised, PKK essentially lost its original character of women's collective action; and the name for the New Order era became 'Family Welfare Guidance' (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*).

During the New Order era, women also participated in religious study groups, or *pengajian*, where they would gather once a week to listen to a religious lecture. Occasionally they would join a *pengajian* in another village or district. Generally, these groups were affiliated with mainstream Islamic organisations such as Nahdlatul Ulama or Muhammadiyah.

The post-Suharto *reformasi* (reform) era brought an opportunity for women to engage in activities other than those of the PKK and *pengajian*. But because women's collective action with a more feminist or developmental focus had been stifled by the politics of the New Order era, the groups that were able to take advantage of the new openness and democratisation of *reformasi* were religious groups. This was accompanied by rising religious conservatism and increased projection of ideas about how women should behave and dress, along with fiercer restrictions on their movement, voice, and participation in public space.

The examples of women's collective action explored in this report must be viewed in this context, mindful of this history. Today, women's collective action is shaped by the setting in which it operates.

Culture, religion and belief systems, kinship, governance, and poverty are all drivers and shapers of the way in which women come together, whether for social interaction and support, with the hope of increasing their income, or to respond to issues of inequality and insecurity. The contemporary setting sees a growing polarisation between groups that are differentiated by religion, or by tendencies within religions, and those that are responding to and accommodating the diversity of women at the lowest level, that is, in the small villages and sub-districts where these examples operate.

Research Methodology

Conceptual framework - definitions

For this study, we defined **women's collective action** as the formal or informal formation and activity of groups or networks of predominantly women that aim to bring about positive changes in women's lives.³ Collective action is both the process of working to affect change, and by which voluntary institutions are created and maintained, and the groups that decide to act together.⁴ Inclusion of process in the definition of women's collective action is important. It reflects that in certain contexts, interaction among women outside the home may already be a significant achievement; this coming together may also be fluid or irregular. Therefore, this research has not emphasised assessing group structures and functions against standard criteria (For example, governance, leadership, administrative practices and systems) but rather has focused on the results of women coming together.

Empowerment was conceptualised in terms of positive changes in relation to five kinds of assets identified in MAMPU's empowerment framework (Figure 1): human assets (power within), financial and resource assets (control), agency assets (power to), social assets (power with), and enabling assets. MAMPU's empowerment framework is consistent with models that highlight control over resources (physical, human, intellectual, financial, and the self), and ideology (beliefs, values and attitudes) and definitions that emphasise the centrality of gaining 'power'.⁵ Therefore, while the focus of the research was on self-reported changes for women, including in their own attitudes and beliefs about their society and their position in it, the research also explored interaction with and influence on the prevailing social norms, policies, and practices that maintain an unequal status quo, including inequality within women groups.

MAMPU's empowerment framework draws on the work of Rowlands and others that conceptualise various component forms of power:

- Power over: the ability to influence and coerce
- Power to: organise and change existing hierarchies
- Power with: increased power from collective action and solidarity
- Power from within: increased individual consciousness and desire for change

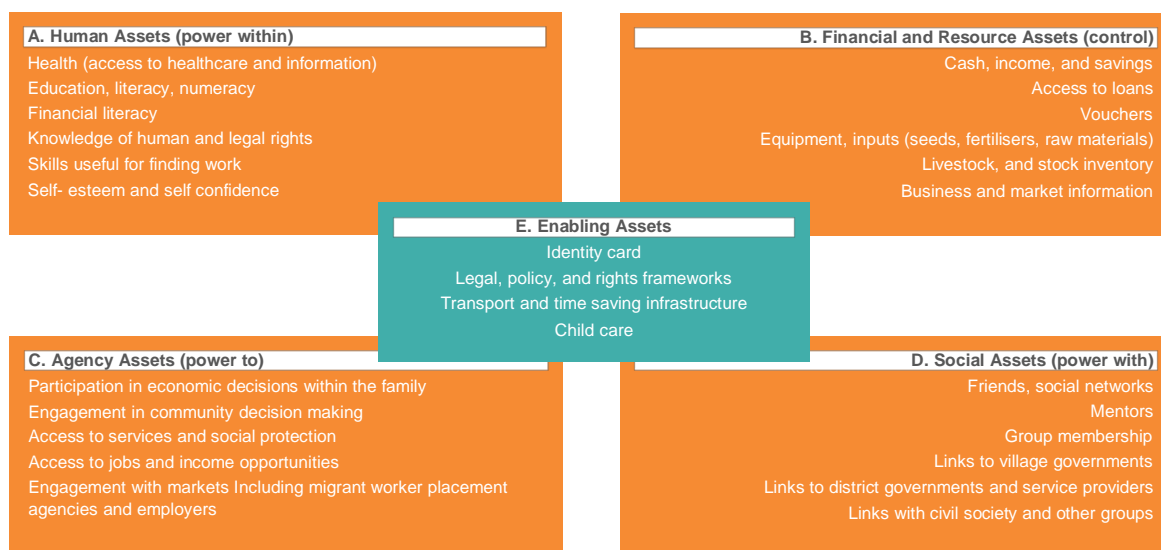
Rowlands (1997) *Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras*. Oxford: Oxfam.

³ This definition and the emphasis of the process as well as group structures draws on the work of Pandolfelli, Meinzen-Dick, & Dohrn (2007); Agarwal (2000); and Evans & Nambiar (2013).

⁴ Pandolfelli, L., Meinzen-Dick, R., and Dohrn, S. (2007). *Gender and Collective Action: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis*. CAPRI Working Paper No. 64. pp.1-3

⁵ Including, Batliwala, S. (1993). *Empowerment of Women in South Asia: Concepts and Practices*. Mumbai: Asian- South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education; Sen, G. (1997). *Empowerment as an Approach to Poverty*. New York: UNDP; Kabeer, N. (1999) 'Resources, agency, achievements: reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment' *Development and Change* Vol 30: 435-464; Eyben, R., Kabeer, N., & Cornwall, A. (2008). *Conceptualising empowerment and the implications for pro poor growth*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Figure 1. MAMPU's empowerment framework



MAMPU specifically aims to bring about changes for **women who are poor**. MAMPU partners emphasise a definition of poverty that encompasses poverty of opportunity and access (such as to services and decision making), relative poverty, and inequality, rather than relying solely on commonly used income and consumption based measures. The Indonesian government has a complex methodology for calculating household poverty levels,⁶ primarily based on income and consumption indicators. Indonesia's National Medium Term Development Plan focuses poverty alleviation efforts on the 'bottom 40 percent' of the population, a group that includes households that hover around the poverty line, but can quickly be pushed under through economic or familial shocks.

For ease and efficiency, the research used two cross-checked processes to identify women who are poor: (i) asking whether women or their families have any of the formal identifications of poverty, such as a certification letter from the village (*Surat Keterangan Tidak Mampu*, SKTM), social protection card (*Kartu Perlindungan Sosial*, KPS), or other social protection eligibility card, and (ii) asking for a subjective assessment of whether collective action members think that they are in the lower, middle, or higher socio-economic groups in their village. This was combined with analysis of previous education and experience and questions and observations of interactions, and a self-assessment by collective action members of whether they felt their households were of more or average influence, or were among the more marginalised in their communities. These measures speak to poverty of opportunity, relative poverty, and inequality. In general, the research team surmised that with the level of development and overall poverty in the areas visited, and observation of household conditions, even the elite⁷ or better-off interviewees would often be situated in the 'bottom 40 percent'.

Research framework

A simple research framework (Figure 2) was used to guide development of the research instruments and the initial data analysis. The left side of the framework, the features of collective action – whether in the form of groups or processes, were MAMPU's specified areas of interest. The right side, the results, refer to the five domains of MAMPU's empowerment framework.

⁶ See <https://www.bps.go.id/Subjek/view/id/23>.

⁷ In the context of this report we define 'elite' as having greater influence, personal connections to decision-makers, or relative wealth. We do not attach negative connotations to the use of this term.

This framework encompasses the key areas of enquiry directed by the agreed research questions (see following). The research questions were refined by the research team, based on an initial proposal from MAMPU.

Figure 2. Research framework – areas of exploration



This framework encompasses the key areas of enquiry directed by the agreed research questions (see following). The research questions were refined by the research team, based on an initial proposal from MAMPU.

Guiding research questions

Key question: How and under what conditions does women's engagement in local groups initiated by MAMPU partners lead to individual and collective empowerment?

Questions relevant to domain 1: Features of collective action:

1. What are the key features of each type of local groups established by partners under MAMPU?
2. What indication is there that women who are poor are involved, and how are they involved, in collective action initiated or supported by MAMPU partners?
3. How do the groups established by MAMPU relate to and compare to pre-existing forms of collective action?

Questions relevant to domain 2: Results of collective action

1. What benefits do women perceive from membership of a local group and how does this vary across groups and contexts?
2. How does membership of a local group affect individual and collective assets as defined in MAMPU's empowerment framework?
3. Are there examples of negative consequences or backlash either for individuals or groups that is linked to their involvement in women's collective action?

Data collection

The research employed a phased mixed-methods design. Data collection processes are outlined in Table 1. Further detail on the respondent sample is included in the case studies in 0.

Migunani's full research team was actively involved in refining the research questions and developing the tools. This was to ensure that all were very familiar with the content and structure, and the purpose of the various questions. This enabled more free-flowing interviews. Training for the

researchers included questioning techniques, interview recording, developing field notes and observations, and research ethics including informed consent and sensitivity to different situations. No significant obstacles were experienced during the field research; groups and individual interviewees were found to be open and happy to be involved in the study. Face-to-face processes were more effective than remotely administered surveys, even those followed up by telephone.

Key respondents were identified firstly through recommendations from national partners and field facilitators, and then through a snowballing technique. Field facilitators and intermediaries (defined in Part 2) assisted researchers to gather the collective action members and others for group discussions. Key informant interviews lasted for around an hour, group discussions for up to two hours, and member surveys about 30 minutes per respondent. Group discussions with members also employed participatory tools such as development of historical timelines.

Table 1. Outline of data collection

Stage	Instrument and process	Focus	Respondents and sampling
1 (May)	Initial mapping exercise completed through document review, followed by email and phone.	<i>Research framework domain 1</i> - high level information about group structure, membership, location, purpose.	MAMPU national partners ('Aisyiyah, PEKKA, KPI, <i>Kapal Perempuan</i> , Migrant CARE, FPL-DPN, Yasanti and Permampu)
2 (completed November)	Second tier survey completed online (using survey monkey), email, or phone. This was left open longer than originally intended to allow for more responses.	Research framework domain 1, moving into domain 2 Added into methodology to fill in knowledge gaps from mapping exercise.	Initiated with blast email to MAMPU partners, targeting kabupaten or kecamatan level group facilitators, MAMPU partner coordinators, or other representatives Total respondents = 77, (a non-representative proportion of individuals in these roles)
3 (September - October)	In depth field studies with 4 components: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Collective action group interviews – Collective action member survey – Key informant interviews with MAMPU partner leadership, other women's groups – Interview with men/male community leaders – Observation and informal discussion during site visits 	Research framework domain 2, with some aspects of domain 1	Eight sites (see Figure 3) Up to 10 members per group involved in group interviews (total 163 women, 55 men interviewed in 28 groups) Member survey of all members of groups in areas visited (random sample if total members was more than 20 per location) (total 169 individuals surveyed) Interviews with men focused on spouses of members, local leadership, or targets of collective action (total 22 interviews with 23 individuals)

FIELD STUDY SITE SELECTION

From the initial mapping exercise and interviews with national partner representatives, eight examples of collective action were identified (one per partner). The lead researchers then consulted again with MAMPU national partners to purposefully select field study sites to ensure coverage of the following characteristics:

- Representation of rural and peri-urban groups

- Representation of different purposes of action, as per MAMPU's themes and empowerment framework
- Indications of interesting or successful examples
- Representation of different types of group formation (pre-existing, initiated with a connection to-MAMPU, organic compared to purpose specific)
- A balance between show case or favourite sites for external visits, and neglected sites.

The field study site locations and the relevant example of collective action and the linked national partner are included in the following table and the map on page 10. Unless we are referring to the work of the national partner, we use the name of the collective action studied throughout this report.

Table 2. Selected field study sites

Example of women's collective action	Field study site location	Linked to (MAMPU national partner)
<i>Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah</i> (BSA)	Pangkajene and Kepulauan (PanKep) district, South Sulawesi (rural)	'Aisyiyah
<i>Posko</i> (Coordination Post)	South Minahasa district, North Sulawesi (rural)	Komnas Perempuan <i>Forum Pengadaan Layanan - Dewan Pimpinan Nasional</i> (Service Provision Forum – National Executive Board, FPL-DPN), with sub-partner <i>Swara Perempuan</i>
<i>Sekolah Perempuan</i> (Women's School)	Gresik district, East Java (rural)	Kapal Perempuan with sub-partner <i>Kelompok Perempuan dan Sumber-Sumber Kehidupan</i> (Women and Life Resources Group, KPS2K)
<i>Balai Perempuan</i>	Parepare district, South Sulawesi (urban)	<i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia</i> (Indonesia Women's Coalition, KPI)
Migrant Workers United Wonosobo (MUIWO)	Wonosobo district, Central Java (rural)	Migrant CARE with sub-partner Social Analysis Research Institute (SARI)
<i>Serikat PEKKA</i> (PEKKA Union)	West Lombok district, West Nusa Tenggara (rural)	PEKKA
Community Center	Merangin district, Jambi (rural)	Permampu, through <i>Forum Komunikasi Perempuan</i> (Women's Communication Forum) and <i>Aliansi Perempuan Merangin</i> , (Merangin Women's Alliance, APM)
<i>Kelompok Kreatif Bunda</i> (Creative Mothers' Group)	Bantul district, DI Yogyakarta (peri-urban)	Yasanti, through the <i>Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan</i> (Women Homeworkers, PPR) program

Data analysis

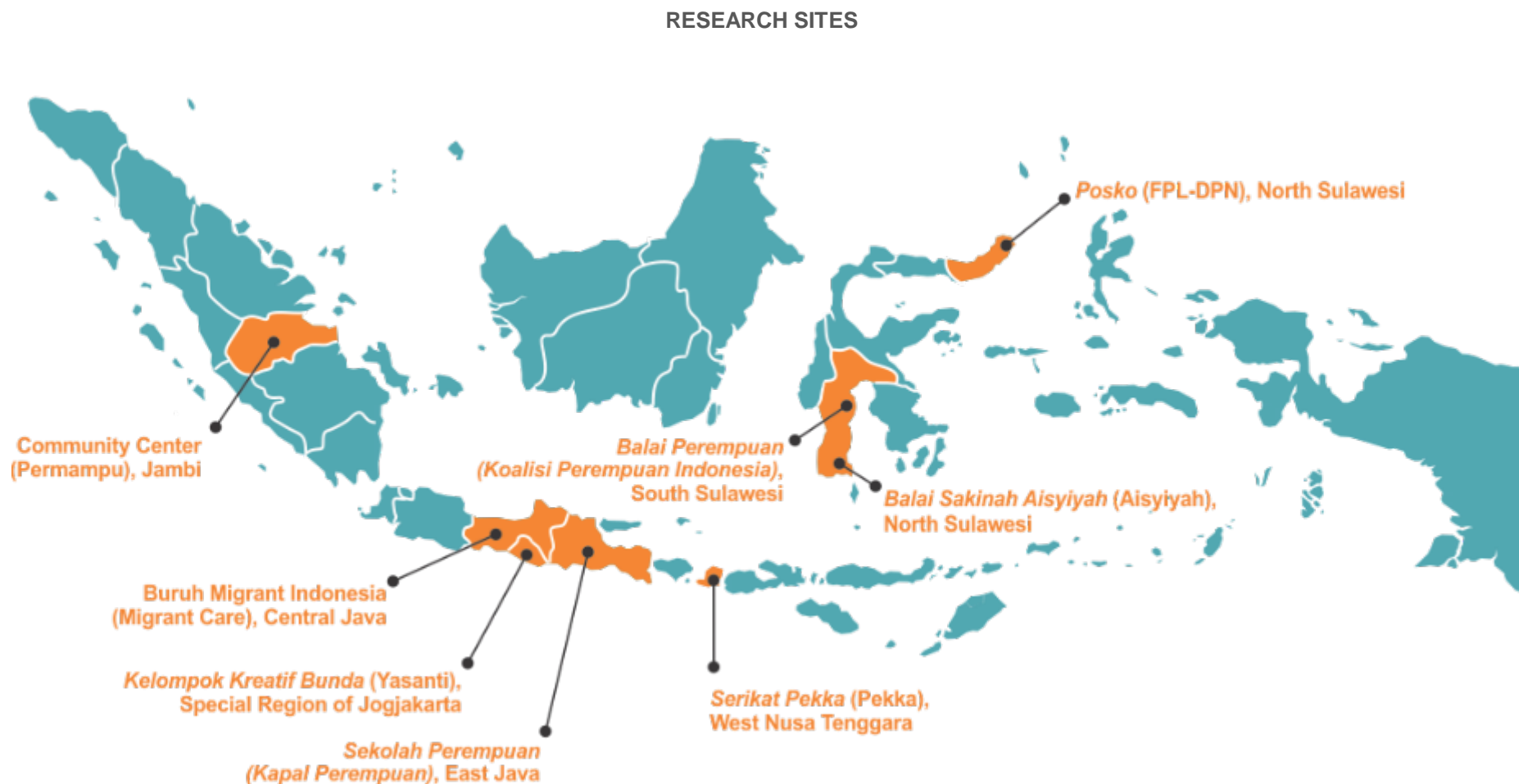
Quantitative data analysis was performed using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) software, and focused on descriptive statistics, particularly cross tabulations of frequencies and proportions for various responses. In general, the sample size, particularly when disaggregated by example of collective action, was too small to usefully perform other statistical tests.

Qualitative interviews were transcribed, imported into NVivo, and coded by key themes (as per the research framework and research questions), and sub-themes (related to particular responses).

Cross case analysis and validation commenced through a meeting of all field researchers in December 2016, during which emerging findings and similarities and differences between women's collective action examples were identified and discussed. The field research teams prepared profiles of each example examined, and then these, along with the thematic NVivo outputs were further analysed and discussed by the lead report authors. This process of using holistic case studies for each example and cross case thematic outputs was important for ensuring the flavour of the site visits and the impressions of the researchers was retained, but tested against the broader thematic analysis of the transcripts.

A key findings workshop with MAMPU partners and representatives from the examples of collective action was conducted in February 2017. Feedback from this workshop has been incorporated in this report.

Figure 3. Map of research sites



Part 2

Findings

Features of Collective Action

We identified three main types of relationships between MAMPU national partners and local-level women's collective action. While there is some melding of characteristics, broadly we can differentiate between:

- **Type A - multi-level vertical structure:** The national partner connects to local groups through a mix of provincial, district or sub-district representation. The identity of the local group mirrors that of the national partner and has a similar form in each location.

Examples: 'Aisyiyah/Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah; PEKKA/Serikat PEKKA; Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia/Balai Perempuan.

- **Type B -sub-partner engagement:** The national partner forms partnerships with civil society organisations (CSOs) at different levels working on similar issues. These sub-partners then establish or support collective action groups or activities related to the shared issues. The identity of the group is more individual and the role of the sub-partner is prominent.

Examples: Migrant CARE through partner SARI at district level, to migrant worker focused groups and activities at village level; Yasanti through its women homeworkers initiatives to groups such as *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*; Kapal Perempuan through KPS2K to *Sekolah Perempuan*.

- **Type C - multi-stakeholder activity:** This is catalysed by the national partner at different levels. The CSOs involved in this may or may not have direct links through to the village level, but the collective action is essentially this multi-stakeholder interaction.

Examples: Permampu, through *Forum Komunikasi Perempuan* (Women's Communication Forum) at provincial and district levels, to women's groups at village level, and in this case through APM to Community Center; Komnas Perempuan, through FPL-DPN. In some areas members of FPL-DPN have direct links to women's collective action at a village level – for example, Swara Perempuan through to *Posko*.

Method of establishment

Most examples of women's collective action studied existed prior to the national partners joining MAMPU. Increased resourcing through MAMPU has facilitated expansion of the number of groups for 'Aisyiyah, PEKKA, Kapal Perempuan, and *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia*. The Migrant CARE / SARI / MUIWO relationship is newer, and represents a different way of working for Migrant CARE.

Yasanti / Pekerja Perempuan Rumahan / *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, FPL-DPN / Swara Perempuan / *Posko*, and Permampu / Aliansi Perempuan Merangin / Community Center are examples of shifts in and revitalisation of previous collective action and relationships. Community Center (see box following) is the most truly organic— as in growing from the village – example of local women's collective action studied.

Evolving relationships: From disaster response to women homeworkers' collective action

Yasanti first started working in Bantul district of the Yogyakarta Special Region after the Yogyakarta Earthquake in 2006. Through this, they became associated with the organisation *Solidaritas Perempuan* (Women's Solidarity), a prominent feminist organisation in the area. When *Solidaritas Perempuan* had to discontinue their work, Yasanti continued on in the area, and over time, began to focus on homeworkers. The women homeworkers initiatives aim to increase members' income, but are more about building knowledge of their rights and opportunities for protection, and access to relevant services.

For national partners with a multi-level vertical structure from the central level to the local form of collective action, the national partner, through this sub-structure, has a process for identifying members and establishing new groups. Members may be from a specific catchment (for example, members of the Muhammadiyah branch of Islam (*Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah*), women heads of families (*Serikat PEKKA*)), or invited to join through recruitment drives (*Balai Perempuan*). These organisations, along with *Kapal Perempuan*, have strategies to develop the knowledge and skills of women in the groups including staged and varied curriculum-based capacity development programs.

Where the relationships are through sub-partner engagement or multi-stakeholder activity, the role of the sub-partner is more prominent than that of the national partner. In each case there is clear attention to integrating awareness of rights and advocacy into the group formation and member education. This is seen with MUIWO (migrant worker and employment rights), *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif* (homeworker rights), Community Centre (sexual and reproductive health rights and violence against women), and *Posko* (violence against women and children).

The three types of national partner relationships with local collective action incorporate equally valuable, albeit different expansion strategies. It appears that those with a multi-level vertical structure are in a position to foster establishment of potentially more sustainable groups. This is because of their existing support structures and methodologies for developing the individual capacities of collective action members and the groups. Sub-partner engagement and multi-stakeholder activity allow for significant diversity due to the range of organisations involved (as opposed to the largely homogenous structure of vertical organisations). National partners can take on a mentoring role for transformative gender equality and feminist approaches in those relationships.

MAMPU as an entity is understandably not very visible at the village level, as this is not the direct relationship that collective action members have. MAMPU has had a behind the scenes role in supporting the national partners to extend their reach to more collective action groups, and for partners to initiate new or reinvigorate existing collective action with a stronger gender equality and rights basis.

Collective action growing from within: Community Center

In early 1997, five women formed a village group because they were concerned about issues facing local women, including maternal mortality, violence against women, domestic violence, and unwanted teenage pregnancy. This group became the *Sehat Mandiri* study group in Pulau Tujuh village.

In 1998, the Jambi branch of the Indonesian Family Planning Program (*Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia*) provided some capacity development support related to the rights of women in rural areas, thus building the group's awareness of reproductive health from a gender perspective. The *Sehat Mandiri* study group then went on to receive some training from Komnas Perempuan, and became part of their network for documenting cases of violence, and participated in the 16-days of action against violence campaign.

This study group became 'Community Center' in 2001, a name that the members thought was more recognisable and represented what they were – a place where people could come together to share and learn. There are now 18 Community Centers in seven sub-districts in Merangin district, Jambi province.

Purpose of women's collective action

Of the examples of women's collective action studied, *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah* and *Serikat PEKKA* make explicit mention of poverty reduction as a key purpose, perhaps reflecting their member demographics being among the economically poorer members of the communities (see

Figure 5). MUIWO and *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif* have an implicit focus on reducing economic poverty through their focus on developing income generation related skills. For others, such as *Balai Perempuan* and *Sekolah Perempuan*, an implicit focus on economic poverty is found in the actions to promote access to social protection, including national health insurance, for those who are eligible.

All examples studied have an explicit purpose to improve women's access to services of some kind, with key strategies being direct accompaniment to women (and in the case of legal identity, men and boys) to services, and local level advocacy targeting supporting regulations and resource allocation.

Table 3 following shows the alignment between local examples of women's collective action with the purpose⁸ of the linked national partner.

Table 3. MAMPU national partner purpose or focus and that of associated women's collective action⁹

Example	Focus of MAMPU partner	Focus of associated women's collective action
Type A: Multi-level vertical structure		
<i>Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah / 'Aisyiyah</i>	<p>Strong focus on broadening and deepening understanding of the teachings of Islam, including increasing the value and dignity of women in accordance with those teachings; improving education and economic opportunities for women; improving and developing social, public welfare, health, law and justice, and environmental activities.</p> <p>Focus under MAMPU is on women's maternal and reproductive health, with the priority issues of (i) breastfeeding, (ii) family planning, (iii) cervical and (iv) breast cancer screening, and (v) access to national health insurance.</p> <p>Aligned with MAMPU theme 4: Strengthening women's leadership to achieve better maternal and reproductive health.</p>	Follows 'Aisyiyah national policy, and five priority issues outlined at left.
<i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia / Balai Perempuan</i>	<p>Fulfilment of the rights of women in the fields of politics, economics, law, sexual, reproductive, education, religion, social and cultural rights and the environment.</p> <p>Strengthening women's leadership, improving access to social protection schemes, and provision of basic services to reduce poverty</p> <p>Aligned with MAMPU theme 1: Improving women's access to government social protection programs</p>	<p>Member capacity development focusing on building knowledge of women's human rights, increasing self-confidence, collegiality, and networking.</p> <p>Representation and leadership on women's needs and interests; support for access to services, including in cases of violence against women, and access to social protection.</p>

⁸ This refers to the overall focus of these organisations, not just their activities with MAMPU.

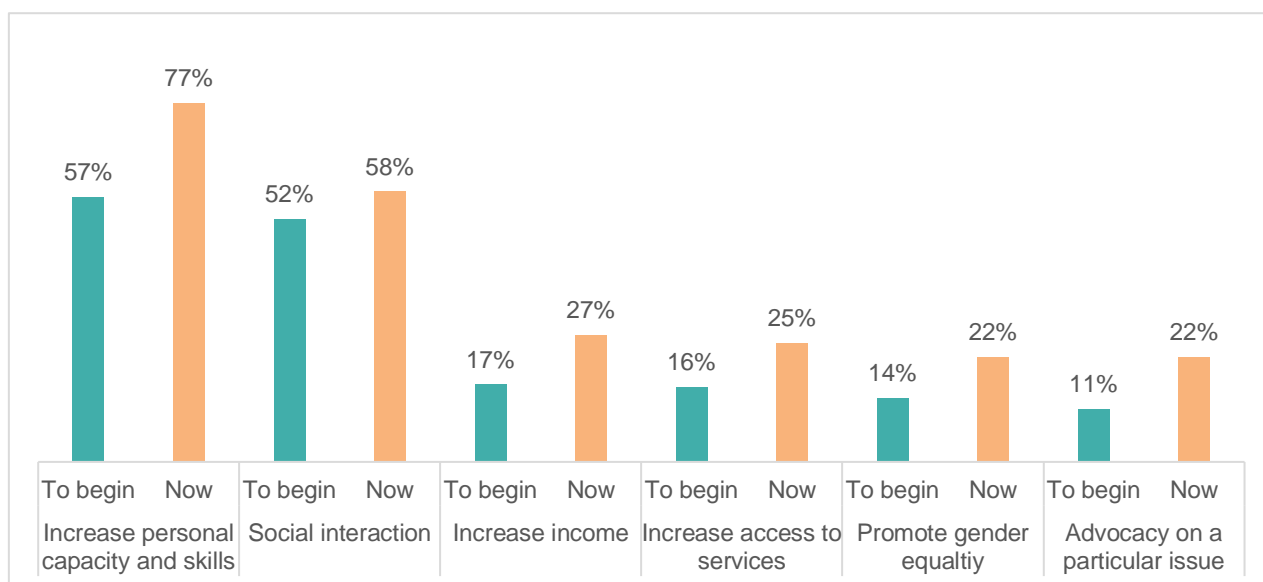
⁹ Information in this table has been compiled from facilitator surveys, interviews with national partners, sub-partners, facilitators, and collective action members, and information from MAMPU and national partner websites.

Example	Focus of MAMPU partner	Focus of associated women's collective action
PEKKA / Serikat PEKKA	Improving the standard of living and well-being of women heads of families; opening up different livelihoods options; building critical awareness toward equality in roles, position and status, and participation of women in social and political life; promoting the role of women heads of families, from household to state level. Aligned with MAMPU theme 1: Improving women's access to government social protection programs.	Starting with savings and loans, and moving on to developing women's (predominately women heads of families) knowledge and skills in a range of organisational and technical areas. Building advocacy and representation skills, and increasing women's leadership and participation in decision making. Specific focus on support to accessing legal identity documents and social protection schemes.
Type B: Sub-partner engagement		
<i>Kapal Perempuan / KPS2K / Sekolah Perempuan Hebat</i>	Four main interconnected activities: (i) knowledge development; (ii) strengthening women's leadership; (iii) data-based advocacy; and (iv) institution development. Within MAMPU the focus is on feminist critical education and evidence based advocacy across a range of sectors. Aligned with MAMPU theme 1: Improving women's access to government social protection programs.	Village-level study group focusing on critical education and gender awareness in poor areas. Through KPS2K, advocacy for increased availability of and access to services.
Migrant CARE / SARI / MUIWO	Strengthening state protection of migrant worker rights; enhancing organisational capacity and networks; advocating for migrant worker related services. Aligned with MAMPU theme 3: Improving conditions for women's overseas labour migration	Training and skills development related to potential income earning activities. Through SARI encourage development of local regulations and services to support safe migration and integration of returned migrant works.
Permampu / APM / Community Center	Advocating for sexual and reproductive health rights for women; developing leadership and working to empower grassroots women primarily focusing on Sumatra Island, including: providing comprehensive sex education that integrates women's political and economic empowerment; supporting women's mentoring and women's sexual and reproductive health rights information services; increasing awareness and understanding of community, traditional and religious leaders; advocating for supporting policy and local resource allocations; undertaking research and documentation; developing sexual and reproductive health rights networks. Aligned with MAMPU theme 4: Strengthening women's leadership to achieve better maternal and reproductive health.	Providing training for women on sexual and reproductive health within a feminist framework. Through APM, advocating for changes in local policy and resource allocation.
Yasanti / Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan / Kelompok Bunda Kreatif	Focuses on (i) strengthening women's organisations that are independent and democratic; (ii) developing critical awareness of women workers through organising, education and advocacy; and (iii) strengthening the economic rights of women. Aligned with MAMPU theme 2: Improving women's access to jobs and removing workplace discrimination.	Facilitating the organising of women homeworkers with the aim of building understanding of their labour rights, expanding access to services, increasing household incomes through home-based enterprises, and through the <i>Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan</i> initiative promoting protection of home workers through policy advocacy and information.
Type C: Multi-stakeholder activity		

Example	Focus of MAMPU partner	Focus of associated women's collective action
Komnas Perempuan-FPL DPN / Swara Perempuan / Posko	Monitoring and influencing policies and services related to violence against women; capacity development related laws relevant to gender equality and protection of women's rights. Direct support for access to services; enhance community-based violence prevention mechanisms (FPL-DPN members). Aligned with MAMPU theme 5: Strengthening women's leadership to reduce violence against women.	Community organisation for assisting women and children affected by violence; advocacy for formalised community support; higher level referral with support from Swara Perempuan; information and education for community members aiming to reduce acceptance of and prevent violence.
All examples		
	Women's empowerment and leadership, most with a stated rights basis. Connection of local issues to advocacy targeting local authorities from village (such as through participation in village development planning forums (<i>Musyarawah Desa</i>) to sub-district and district planning and resource allocation.	Development of women's confidence, self-belief, knowledge and skills; encouraging greater interaction between women and local decision makers and service providers; Promoting access to services and improved income for members, and at times the wider community.

To explore the purpose of collective action from members' perspective, we asked about their motivation to join, and then to continue to participate. In all examples of collective action other than *Posko*, surveyed members were mostly driven by a desire for increased social interactions or to increase their individual skills and capacities. *Posko* members most commonly reported being motivated by a desire to be involved in advocacy on a particular issue, in this case eliminating and responding to violence against women and children.

Figure 4. Surveyed members' main motivations for initially joining, and then continuing to participate in women's collective action



Data source: Collective action member survey (N=169). Multiple responses possible.

Who are the members of women's collective action?

Table 4 summarises the main membership of each group studied. Three broad streams of membership are apparent:

- i. Women's collective action with membership reflecting the targeting or prioritising of economically poorer or marginalised women (BSA, *Serikat PEKKA*, *Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan*, MUIWO). In these examples, members were primarily involved in economic development initiatives, skills development, and increasing access to services, particularly for sexual and reproductive health.
- ii. Diverse membership with more elite participation and less of the very poor (*Sekolah Perempuan*, *Balai Perempuan*). In these examples, activities focused more on promoting members' participation in decision making, leadership, and influence.
- iii. Deliberately more elite membership, where members took on roles more akin to those of service providers, with outreach to poorer, vulnerable, or more marginalised women (*Posko*, Community Center).

Table 4. Membership characteristics of women's collective action in field study sites

Example	Membership
Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah	Traditionally women Muhammadiyah members, but some members also from Nahdlatul Ulama. Stated priority of focusing activities on vulnerable women, particularly the poor.
Serikat PEKKA	Predominantly female heads of families, particularly widows and divorced women, but also some married women.
Balai Perempuan	No specific group. Members also from the PKK, cadres of other organisations and village institutions.
Sekolah Perempuan	Women, no specific group. Initial prioritisation of poor women, but now open to all. Some more elite membership (PKK members, health workers, public figures).
MUIWO	Returned female migrant workers
Kelompok Bunda Kreatif	Home-based working women, working mothers.
<i>Posko Lestari</i> / <i>Posko Mentari</i>	No specific group, but in the area visited the leaders of the <i>Posko</i> were the wives of the village leaders, and members were more elite (for example, teachers, religious leaders, PKK members). There are some male members.
Community Centre	No specific group, but members include representative of sub-villages and facilitators who often have other roles, such as with the PKK or neighbourhood associations, and are therefore reasonably elite or influential. Also holds men's/husband's forums.

Basic demographic data were collected for members of the eight examples of collective action studied in detail. These data show:

- Groups are almost always exclusively women
- Collective action members tended to be in their thirties and forties, with *Serikat PEKKA* members being on average older (in their fifties)

- Most collective action members have some education, except *Serikat PEKKA* members where almost half had no education. Members of *Balai Perempuan* and the *Posko* had the highest level of education with almost a quarter (*Balai Perempuan*) and a third (*Posko*) having a college education.
- Only five of the 169 surveyed members reported having a household member with a disability.
- Most are married and living with their spouse – again the exception is *Serikat PEKKA*, reflecting the target membership being women heads of families, usually widowed or separated women.
- More than 80 percent of members of *Serikat PEKKA*, *Balai Perempuan*, and *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif* (all members) were in full or part time work, *Balai Sakinah* 'Aisyiyah members tended to not be in paid work (84 percent).

More detailed demographic data are included in the case studies in Part 3.

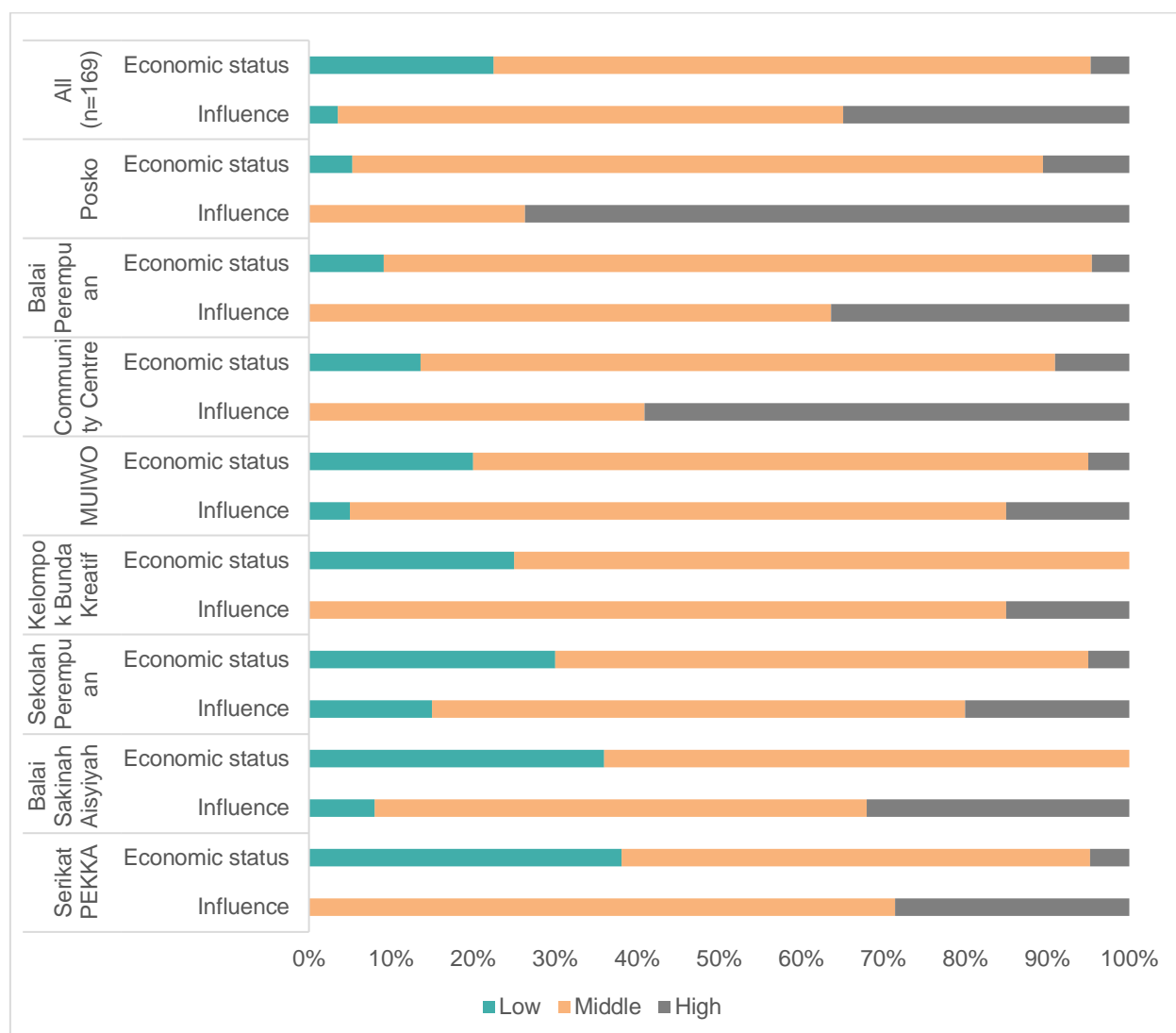
Membership of collective action is influenced by the networks of existing members (who invite their friends and family) and cadres (who may identify potential members according to criteria). Therefore, the involvement of women who are relatively poor – economically and more broadly, is mixed, as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5 shows responses to two questions asked in the collective member survey: (1) related to economic status, whether members felt the economic status of their family was below, above, or at the average of the village and (2) whether members felt their family was in the decision-making group of the village (high influence), in the 'usual' group (middle), or in the marginal or minority group (low influence). Some examples, particularly *Posko*, Community Centre, and *Balai Perempuan* clearly involve more women who are more influential or economically better off than the average in their communities. *Serikat PEKKA* and BSA deliberately target women who are poor or marginalised. Interestingly there was no clear relationship observed between self-perceptions of economic status and influence.

There was also no clear relationship observed between self-perceptions of lower income status, and having formal recognition of poverty through being issued a social protection card.¹⁰ 58 percent of *Posko* members and 50 percent of community centre members surveyed reported having a social protection card, compared to 32 percent of BSA and 33 percent of *Serikat PEKKA* members. A possible explanation of this lack of a consistent relationship is that the better connections of the members of these groups enable them to secure the official documentation. Households viewing themselves as poorer were more likely to have a poverty certification letter from the village (*Surat Keterangan Tidak Mampu*, SKTM) – logically reflecting it being easier to get.

¹⁰ Social protection cards are issued by the government of Indonesia to households identified as falling within particular poverty bands that make them eligible to receive various forms of social assistance, such as subsidised rice, conditional or unconditional cash transfers, health insurance for the poor. Social protection cards therefore provide evidence of being formally recognised as a poor household.

Figure 5. Surveyed members' perception of their household status relative to others in their village in field study sites



Data source: Collective action member survey (N=169).

Mode of operation

LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

All data collection processes yielded a consistent finding – that women’s collective action associated with MAMPU partners almost always operates with a formal structure. We observed differing levels of formality and member fluidity - in some cases reflecting a ‘let’s see what happens’ approach.

The facilitator survey and interviews indicated that internal governance generally follows some version of a coordinator or head, secretary or deputy, and treasurer. Reflecting the typology outlined on page 11, respondents to the facilitator survey from PEKKA, ‘Aisyiyah, and *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia* outlined cascading structures with representation at the sub-national level. Some national partners also referred to having division or section coordinators aligned with thematic or technical areas (*Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia*, PEKKA, Permampu, Yasanti, Migrant CARE).

A structured approach to group formation: *Serikat PEKKA*

Serikat PEKKA groups have a standard head, treasurer, and secretary administrative structure at each level, and for the most part groups maintain a list of members.

Administrators are generally trained by the PEKKA National Secretariat in core areas including paralegal skills and law, and bookkeeping. They also can participate in thematic training such as in reproductive health or permaculture. Administrators then often pass this training content on to *Serikat PEKKA* members through group meetings.

There were some examples, although few, of collective action groups being formalised through registration with the village or other process to allow them to access government programs. For example, the *Posko* in Arakan village (South Minahasa district, North Sulawesi, linked to FPL-DPN/Komnas Perempuan) was formalised into the village government structure through a village decree in October 2015 (see box at right). *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif* leadership reported that exposure through MAMPU made them realise that accessing government funding might be possible, reporting that ‘we had the courage to legalise our group so that we can access government programs’.¹¹ KPS2K in Gresik, East Java, discussed the need for a village decree to enable financing of *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat*, but that ‘*Sekolah Perempuan Hebat cannot be formalised as a village institution in the village because there is PKK*’.¹²

Formalising collective action membership for legitimacy and protection: *Posko*, South Sulawesi

Posko, supported by Swara Perempuan and part of the Komnas Perempuan Service Provision Forum, intervene and provide assistance in cases of violence against women and children. Both *Posko* included in this study have been formalised through a village decree. The membership has also been formalised - the *Posko Mentari* village decree includes the names of the core members, and *Posko Lestari* members have been issued with formal identification cards. In both cases this is to reinforce and provide authorisation for members to act in what can be confrontational and sensitive situations.

This suggests a perception that there are regulatory barriers to funding eligibility.¹³

While governance structures of subnational groups tended to mirror that of the national partner, the field studies revealed a range of leadership models and styles among these groups – even within examples linked to the same national partner. Some leadership styles were described as very directive - ‘the BSA Leader decides (what the group focuses on). For example, this month is skill training, next is (Qur’an) recitation’.¹⁴ *Posko*, Community Centre, and *Balai Perempuan* recruit more

¹¹ *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* Secretary, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

¹² Management representative KPS2K, group interview, Gresik, August 2016

¹³ This is something that perhaps warrants further analysis more broadly. Under the Village Law (No 6 of 2014), funding of such activities from village funds is permissible. Misinformed district or village level regulations may work against this flexibility.

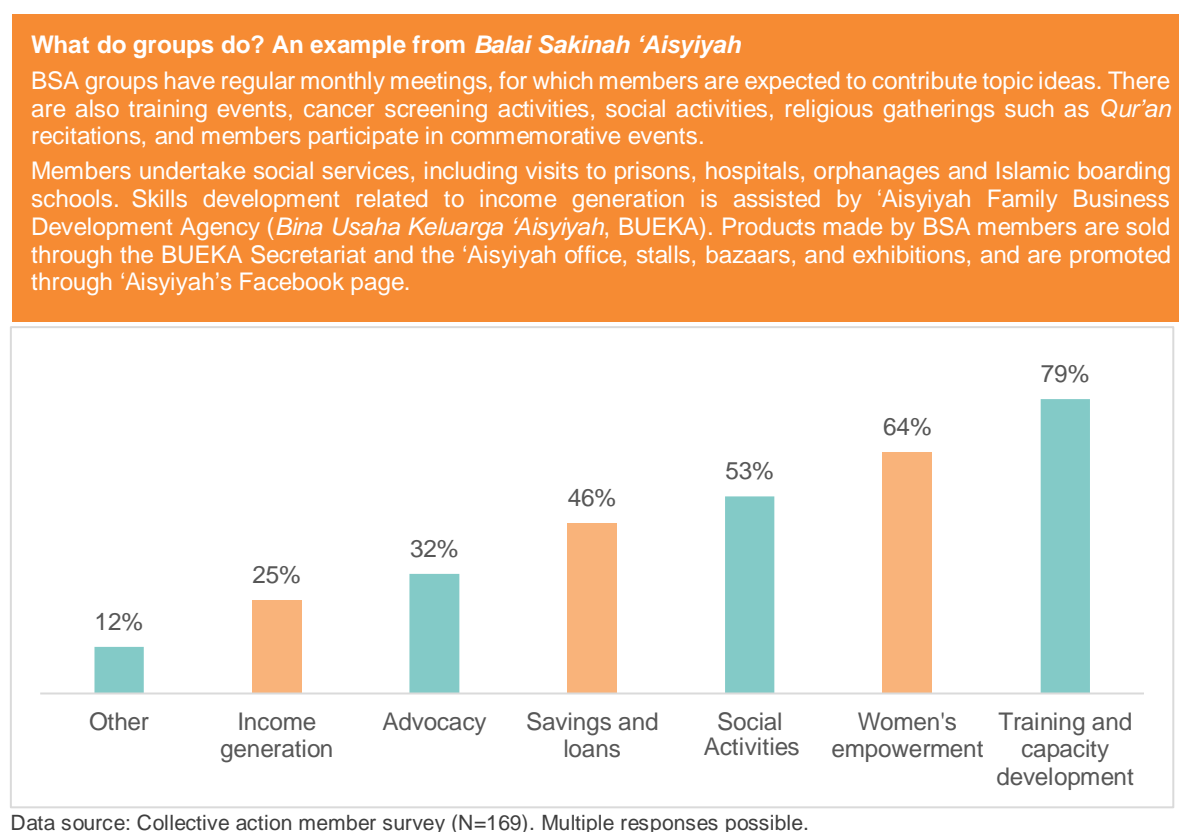
¹⁴ Management representative ‘Aisyiyah Department for family economic enterprises (*Bina Usaha Ekonomi Keluarga* ‘Aisyiyah, BUEKA), in-depth interview, Pangkep, September 2016

experienced and elite women. The relationships of these individuals with other structures, such as neighbourhood associations, local civil society, bureaucrats and political representatives is part of the implementation strategy. In only one field study case was there evidence of elite capture, in terms of the dominance of one woman leader and the positioning of her family members in key roles.

WHAT DO COLLECTIVE ACTION GROUPS DO?

Collective action groups are a locus for various activities. Most members surveyed reported participating in an average of an activity a month, in some cases more. Aligning with the stated motivations of group members, training and capacity development activities were the most commonly joined (see Figure 6). There was also considerable implementation of women's empowerment related activity across examples.

Figure 6. Proportion of surveyed collective action members reporting participating in various types of activities in previous three months



ENGAGEMENT APPROACH

We explored whether the mode of operation for each example of collective action was more collaborative or combative in terms of interaction with wider stakeholders such as village leadership, other examples of civil society, service providers, and government agencies. All examples identified were found to be generally collaborative. However, there is certainly a spectrum within this from the working within the close confines of religion and culture (BSA) to a more overt feminist leadership or women's human rights based approach (*Balai Perempuan* and others).

Collaboration with others was recognised as a necessary approach because ‘*we actually cannot do it by ourselves*’.¹⁵ Groups also recognised that it is beneficial to gain support, particularly when working on sensitive issues, such as sexual and reproductive health:

Logically we need to get close to the religious leaders, policemen, the education department ... I gathered them to talk together ... We stated our problems, needs, challenges. Finally, all of them gave their support. So, the teachers and society have also supported us, since their leaders have supported us.¹⁶

and responding to violence:

Sometimes we conduct mediation with the village government as holders of power in the village ... so that when they (those who have been violent) make a statement that will not do it again, usually they will really not do it again, because they make that statement in front of the village head with us there.¹⁷

All examples of collective action use bureaucratic and some (primarily *Balai Perempuan* and *Posko*) use political engagement outside of the village as specific strategies. This example from *Swara Perempuan*, the intermediary for *Posko*, describes their evolution to this:

Although we remained focused on assisting women, we thought that we needed to change the policy ... We are no longer like a firefighter, but we attempt to seek the root of the issue, which are the policies. So, we persuaded [policy makers to] accommodate and allow women's empowerment in regional policies ... We positioned our people to talk with the policy makers. We did that during the [election] campaign period, and not only towards the members of the House of Representatives, but also the committee of the general election ... so we placed people, women who we had prepared in the Commission of General Election in the region, city and province ... What's interesting now is that we're always recommended by the parties. If you want a potential women candidate, *Swara Perempuan* is the place.

This movement is official. The head of village feels that women's issues can be handled by the *Posko*. On policy changes, back then the struggle was not in line with the government, we criticized them all the time and nothing changed. Then we tried a different approach and found out that the government actually did not know what to do. So we provided them with relevant information and inputs regarding which policy to change.¹⁸

Collective action members in positions of influence: *Balai Perempuan* and *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia*

Balai Perempuan attracts women with an interest in connecting with others and promoting gender equality. Members surveyed had a relatively high level of education, especially compared to members of other forms of collective action studied. A third perceived that their families were influential in their community.

Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia aims to work with people of influence and the authorising or enabling environment for greater gender equality. As a senior KPI cadre noted:

I have become a part of local government [and involved in] organising budget policy ... When I became an official, I was also a cadre of KPI and this [mind-set] cannot be separated ...

The success of *Balai Perempuan* and *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia* cadres depends on their relationships and networks. Several were, or subsequently became, heads of neighbourhoods and hamlets. Others are staff and management of civil society organisations or relevant government agencies, are involved in constituency groups or professional institutions in Parepare city. Many are involved in multiple activities.

This latter point, about providing information, and more specifically collecting and using data was cited as an important mode of operation in other forms of collective action. This ranged from having

¹⁵ KPI facilitator, group interview, Parepare, September 2016

¹⁶ Program manager, APM Permampu, in-depth interview, Jambi, October 2016

¹⁷ Former member, *Posko Lestari* - Desa Arakan, in-depth interview, Pungkol, South Minahasa, October 2016

¹⁸ *Swara Perempuan* MAMPU program management representative, group interview, South Minahasa, October 2016

better data to identify target populations and their needs, and potential group members (MUIWO – migrant workers, and *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif* – home workers), for mapping relevant issues (incidence of violence (*Posko*); service needs, such as for legal identity or social protection and health insurance cards (*Sekolah Perempuan*, *Serikat PEKKA*, *Balai Perempuan*)), and general conditions (*Sekolah Perempuan*, *Serikat PEKKA*):

The village officials, especially me, were very proud of the friends from *Sekolah Perempuan* because they held village activities ... there was a participatory mapping activity, as they called it, to develop a village profile ... taking data directly from the people, not based on rumours ... The parties who were invited at that time were public figures, religious figures, BPD (village deliberation board), village government and village officials.¹⁹

¹⁹ Head of Village Affairs (*Kaur Umum Desa*), in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016.



THE ROLE OF INTERMEDIARIES – SUPPORTING, AND PART OF, COLLECTIVE ACTION

One of the key findings of this research is the critical role played by intermediaries in establishing, supporting, and elevating the voices of, local level women's collective action. We define an intermediary as the entity that operates between the village-level collective action group, and the national partner.

Who or what plays the role of an intermediary is determined largely by the type of relationship between the national partner and collective action group as described on page 14 as well as the national partner's budget policy²⁰. For organisations with a multi-level vertical structure (Type A relationships), the main intermediary is the entity at the next level up in the hierarchy, where members have a higher level of experience and training and a designated oversight and supporting role. In these examples the intermediaries are cascading the approach and philosophy of the national partner through to the village level, for example:

- *Serikat PEKKA* village supports hamlet groups; *Serikat PEKKA* sub-district supports village groups and so on. Additional technical support, such as for training is provided by PEKKA field facilitators based in the district, and via the PEKKA national secretariat.
- *Balai Perempuan* are supported by a tiered *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia* structure, including by a centrally appointed representative in the district branch secretariat. This representative provides phased capacity development for *Balai Perempuan* cadres, assists with program management, bridges communication between the local and central level, and has input into policy discussions that can be initiated locally or nationally. They also connect to relevant government agencies, on behalf of, or with, *Balai Perempuan* cadres.
- 'Aisyiyah has a similar support structure through to *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah*, but are more directive in what the groups do,

When interests don't align: A challenge for an intermediary

The Social Analysis Research Institute (SARI) is part of Migrant Care's network for advocating for regulations for migrant worker protection. SARI also supports local returned and potential migrant worker groups in Wonosobo district, Central Java, and acts as an intermediary between these groups and Migrant Care.

SARI conducts monthly mentoring meetings with the migrant worker groups, including Migrant United Indonesia Wonosobo (MUIWO), one of the case studies in this research. These meetings are used to discuss development of local migrant worker regulations, and to build awareness of national regulations and of safe migration, agents, and the various procedures. SARI organises advocacy and community organising related training and workshops, and also networks with regional government agencies with responsibility for migrant worker support and protection.

However, the example of MUIWO also highlights potential challenges when all parts of the local collective action – intermediary sub-partner – national partner chain don't completely align.

Tensions arose when MUIWO leaders and members wanted a greater focus on their more immediate needs for income, rather than on advocacy for changes to the migrant worker regulatory and service provider environment as prioritised by SARI and Migrant Care.

SARI has had to acknowledge and support the desire for activities aiming to foster small businesses and other economic opportunities. At the same time, SARI is also working to make the group more open and to introduce a women's movement ideology to the way it operates, as the SARI program manager stated:

I want this group to be a pressure group, a group of migrant workers who are critical of government policy, who are able to actively help socialisation, safe migration coordination, and to help the troubled groups. I'm still trying to keep the ideology, but [I'm] not covering up the reality that the livelihood work is needed.

SARI has a key role in making the connection between the grassroots and higher level policy, and, while group members are more focused on the business of daily survival, SARI engages in advocacy on their behalf.

This example shows that, for some women, economic stability is a pre-requisite for more political collective action.

²⁰ Analysis of MAMPU's national partners program budget shows that budget policy shapes the scope of works of the intermediary organisations.

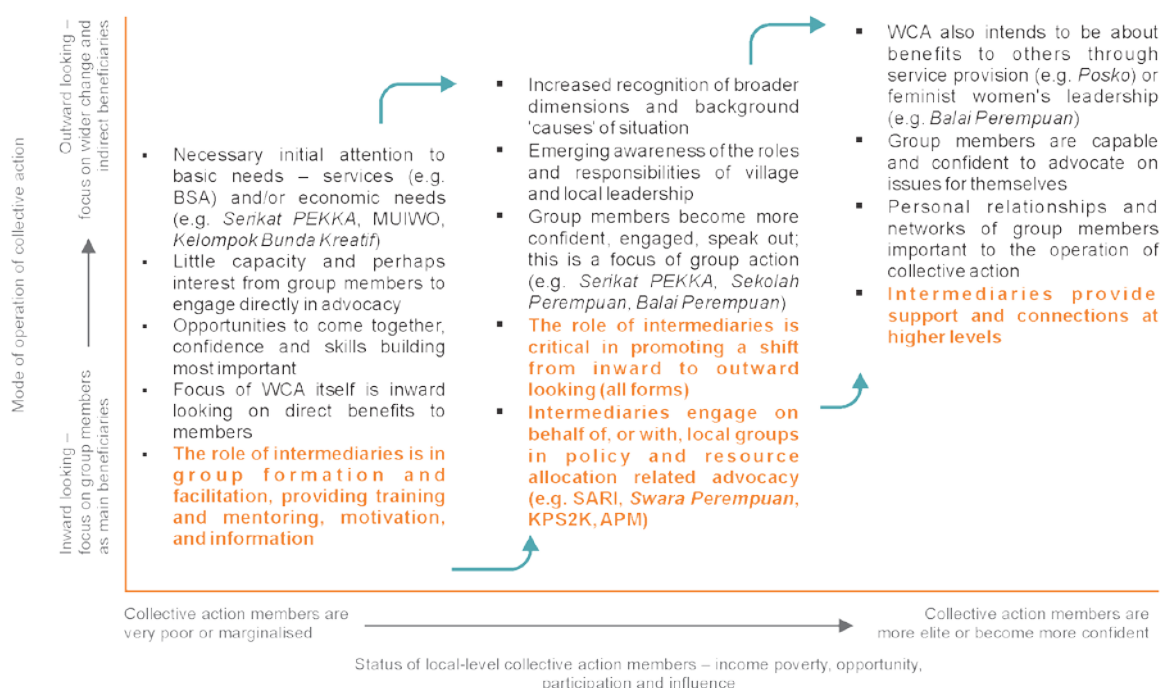
as it is intended to be in line with 'Aisyiyah's internal program.

In both Type B (sub-partner engagement) and C (multi-stakeholder activity) relationships, local or regional CSOs act as intermediaries, and the ways in which they do this are very diverse. In some cases, the intermediary is implementing a methodology on behalf of the national partner. For example, *Kelompok Perempuan dan Sumber-Sumber Kehidupan* (Women and Life Resources Group, KPS2K) is a member of the *Kapal Perempuan* alliance, and organises implementation of *Kapal Perempuan's Sekolah Perempuan* methodology in Gresik district. KPS2K receives funding from, and reports to *Kapal Perempuan* for these activities. KPS2K bridges communication between *Kapal* and *Sekolah Perempuan* groups, and also facilitates links between *Sekolah Perempuan* activities and village and district governments and sectoral agencies.

In other cases, the sub-partner and national partner are aligned according to shared interests, but the intermediary demonstrates greater independence in the way they work with the local collective action (see the boxed example of SARI and MUIWO).

The level and nature of intermediary engagement is also heavily influenced by the characteristics of the collective action members, noting that these characteristics change over time and with the influence of the collective action itself. When collective action involves women with little previous engagement with the power holders in the village and beyond, the intermediary will take on this role and advocate on behalf of collective action members, while focusing on how participation in collective action processes or groups can bring direct benefits to members. As collective action members become more aware of the various dimensions of their situation, the intermediary begins to accompany rather than lead. When collective action members already are, or become more skilled, confident, and connected to power structures, the intermediary acts as an equal partner or supports from behind. This progression is depicted in Figure 7 following.

Figure 7. The role of intermediaries in local level collective action



In the middle section of Figure 7, the lines between the intermediary and the collective action, particularly in terms of any advocacy, is very blurred. There is often cross over in membership between collection action and the intermediary, or intermediary-level facilitators may have been elevated from group membership. Some intermediaries clearly have close village relationships, and

often the advocacy to the government and other power holders is performed by the intermediary on behalf of, or with, the grass-roots group.

The relationship between intermediaries or national partners and collective action members can experience tension, particularly when the basic needs-related interests of group members conflict with the wider perspective of the intermediary, and the national partner. This tension is recognised by SARI in the case of MUIWO where members are more interested in potential income earning activities, than the advocacy focus on migrant worker policy (see box on previous page).

RELATIONSHIP WITH PRE-EXISTING FORMS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

We observed a relationship between the recruitment strategy and objectives for collective action associated with MAMPU partners, and its relationships with pre-existing or other examples of collective action. For example, *Balai Perempuan* and *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia* deliberately encourage membership from women with a range of roles and connections, such as village, Posyandu (community health post), family planning, or CSO cadres, and candidates for the local legislature. Similarly *Posko* members, being more elite, tended to be involved in other group activities. Women from poorer socio-economic backgrounds, such as *Serikat PEKKA* members tended not to have been previously involved in any other kind of group organising or women focused regular activities.

Relationships with other forms of collective action were due to the connections of individual members, rather than a broader agreement to work together. There were some examples of cross-partner interaction at the level of the intermediaries. For example, KPS2K reported being involved in the 16 days against violence against women campaign coordinated by Komnas Perempuan; *Aliansi Perempuan Merangin* (Community Center) and *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia (Balai Perempuan)* are connected through the *Jambi Forum Komunikasi Perempuan Akar Rumput* (Grassroots Women's Communication Forum).

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE PKK

The *reformasi* (reform) era of the post Suharto years has seen efforts to democratise the PKK. Theoretically, PKK leaders are now elected, and the full name has been changed to 'Family Welfare Empowerment' (*Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*). However, the influence of history means that real reform is difficult. The PKK is reactive to government funding, rather than proactive in its agenda, and its programming has tended to be in areas that reflect a narrow view of women's roles as wives and mothers. The PKK receives a set allocation (10-15 million rupiah) in the village budget, and this is often the only allocation made for women's groups or activities. Little innovation or real change is seen in the way the PKK operates, and its position continues to be contentious for Indonesia's more feminist women's movement.

Nevertheless, today's PKK operates from the national to village level; a reach that houses enormous potential. As historically it is the largest example of women's collective action in Indonesia we specifically explored village-level relationships between women's collective action linked to MAMPU and the PKK.

We found that all examples of collective action studied had a link with the local PKK. At the most minimal, in the example of *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah*, this was limited to shared interests in women's reproductive health due to PKK's oversight role of the Posyandu (community health post). *Sekolah Perempuan*, *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif*, *Posko*, MUIWO, *Serikat PEKKA*, and *Balai Perempuan* all reported having some common membership with the PKK. The closest ties were with *Posko*, where both examples (*Posko Lestari* and *Posko Mentari*) visited had considerable cross membership, including in leadership roles.

In some locations, PKK invites representatives from the collective action examples studied to make presentations and share information on certain topics. For example, *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* members have been invited to share information on early cancer screening; *Posko* on violence against women and children; and MUIWO have led discussions on migrant worker issues. The PKK has expressed interest in partnering with Community Center for service provision, although the details of this, beyond the PKK distributing information through the Community Center, are unclear.

There were also some tensions observed between MAMPU-linked collective action and the PKK. *Sekolah Perempuan* was discouraged from formalising as an independent entity, and was recommended instead to become part of the PKK program, but:

This created a problem for us. Our consideration, if (*Sekolah Perempuan*) became part of PKK program, ideologically it is different. We don't want the organisation that is subordinate to men or that admits the superiority of men in the family or in the community. The ideology is really different. The reason why we established *Sekolah Perempuan* is because we want women to have the autonomy for their body. But the ideology of PKK is that women are only *Konco Wingking*.²¹

Members of *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif* also discussed the different character of the PKK: '*it is more for household matters, like taking care of children, cooking, and others*'²². Interestingly however, they observed that participation in the women home worker activities has influenced women who are also members of the PKK to be '*more critical. They don't just stand still. They are braver in conveying their thoughts*'.²³

There was also some discussion of the greater opportunities by participation in women's collective action rather than PKK, including opportunities to attend events outside of the village. The MAMPU intermediaries also offer more diverse and advanced training:

APM equip potential women who sit on the BPD (Village Deliberation Council) or KAUR (Head of Village Affairs), with briefings on the village law, drafting the RPJMD (village development plan), and village regulations. There is no training like that in the PKK.²⁴

The PKK is evidently more limited in what they can do:

Posko handles issues such as domestic violence, child abuse, and extramarital pregnancy. PKK is introduced by the Bupati (regent), and (their role is) limited to meetings regarding the village or health competitions.²⁵

The PKK scope is only within the village, but our group reach extends until the district.²⁶

Overall the MAMPU-linked collective action and the PKK had their own identities. Allowing for some respondent bias and considering the views of village leadership and others who are not members of the collective action examples, the MAMPU-linked collective action appears to be more dynamic. In the case of more outward looking initiatives (*Balai Perempuan*, *Posko*, *Serikat PEKKA*, *Sekolah Perempuan*, Community Centre), MAMPU-linked collective action also appears better linked to a broader cross-section of community. There was no indication that PKK and MAMPU-linked collective action groups are collaborating for a more powerful voice to advocate for gender equality or achievement of women's human rights.

²¹ KPS2K management representative, group interview, Gresik, August 2016. *Konco Wingking* is a Javanese expression and cultural concept used to describe women that is translated variously as 'follower', 'a friend from behind', or 'a friend in the kitchen'.

²² Members, *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ APM Facilitator, group interview, Merangin, October 2016.

²⁵ Husbands of members of *Posko Lestari*, group interview, South Minahasa, October 2016.

²⁶ SARI field staff, in-depth interview, Wonosobo, October 2016

Participation in Collective Action – Effects on Individual and Collective Assets

In this section of the research report we discuss the range of results associated with women's participation in collective action. Results are discussed in relation to the five kinds of assets defined in MAMPU's empowerment framework.

Across all examples of collective action organisations studied, only five of the 169 group members surveyed felt that there had been no impact resulting from their participation. 12 felt there had been both positive and negative impacts, and 152 reported only positive impacts.

A. Human Assets (Power within)

Individual, or human assets in MAMPU's empowerment framework encompass levels of personal health and education, skills and knowledge – including literacy, numeracy, income and employment-related skills, and individual self-belief and confidence. For 69 percent of surveyed collective action members, this was the most strongly felt area of change. Members were asked if they felt that experienced individual benefits, such as increased self-confidence, knowledge, skills, or health status (as one question). As shown in Figure 8, almost all members across all examples studied reported change in relation to this domain of empowerment.

Figure 8. Proportion of surveyed members of women's collective action reporting positive changes in relation to human assets

Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah	Posko	Sekolah Perempuan	Balai Perempuan	MUIWO	Serikat PEKKA	Community Center	Kelompok Bunda Kreatif	All examples
96%	84%	100%	95%	80%	100%	95%	100%	94%

Data source: Collective action member survey (N=169). Yes / no response.

Gaining self-confidence was an important first step for women, particularly those from the more marginalised sections of communities. As described by one member of *Serikat PEKKA*:

I was afraid of joining PEKKA because in the past women were considered incapable. Women were not trusted, in the past, especially the widows ... we doubted whether we could be empowered by joining the group. Women were always marginalised, and our abilities were always undermined. I never went out of the house before.²⁷

Increased confidence was mentioned in relation to all examples of collective action, but it was strongest for women who had been more isolated, and then participated in structured personal development programs such as those facilitated by *Serikat PEKKA*, *Balai Perempuan*, and *Sekolah Perempuan*. Members of *Serikat PEKKA* referred to being in 'mind training about how to be able to speak in public, how we can fight for ourselves, and how to do something for the community'.²⁸

Sekolah Perempuan uses a range of tools including dance and singing for building women's confidence and self-esteem:

²⁷ Cadre, *Serikat PEKKA* Sukerede, group interview, Lingsar, October 2016

²⁸ Cadre, *Serikat PEKKA* Krisna Loka, group interview, Lingsar, October 2016

For poor women who are married, in the community, in the village, women didn't exist. By dancing, they showed their existence. Dancing also taught them about courage, discipline and practicing, memorising, working together and of course having fun. That was important for them.²⁹

In the examples of *Serikat PEKKA*, *Balai Perempuan*, and *Sekolah Perempuan*, it is apparent that the methodology of structured personal development programs helps make women to make a connection between their own changing capacities and doing something about their situation. More than other examples, women from *Serikat PEKKA* and *Sekolah Perempuan* made a shift from staying at home to action:

If we look from the outside, (members) have changed drastically. Those who used to be afraid, who just stayed at home, now they are braver.³⁰

Those who previously did not dare to speak, now they are bold. Those who previously did not dare to go to the village office because of shame, now, because of many activities of PEKKA, they go to the village office frequently.³¹

We were actually amazed at the development of the women who had got to the point that they achieved right now. They understand some basic concepts of gender - understand, not only memorising. They understand the mechanisms of Gender-Watch (an initiative of *Kapal Perempuan*), understand the right to social protection as women, they know that their health is a right, that education is a right, and know the mechanisms to claim that through negotiation or they come directly to the policy makers to ask for their rights. That was nice. And it started from strengthening of women's leadership, the courage to speak in public spaces. It was not an easy thing.³²

Balai Perempuan is similar, but many women already had a level of personal confidence and history of community activism on joining.

For members of Community Center, confidence was linked to having increased knowledge:

... since she has understood the law, and rules and so on, she is no longer reluctant to speak up;³³

and understanding about their own bodies:

I did not know how to answer if my daughter asked me, 'mum, what is menstruation and how does it happen?', I could not answer. Now I can answer.³⁴

For *Balai Perempuan* and *Posko* members, skills relate to being able to respond to cases of violence against women:

From marginalised to influencers: *Serikat PEKKA*

Participation in *Serikat PEKKA* enables women heads of families to unite and build collective power, that starts with having an opportunity for social interaction and peer support.

Local initiatives aiming to help women to meet their basic economic needs, such as through savings and loans and then access to larger forms of credit, have been an entry point that has been built on through information, training, and exposure to wider society through larger PEKKA gatherings and other exchanges.

This has led to members working on issues with reach to the wider community (such as access to legal identity documents) and consequently *Serikat PEKKA* cadres have gained status and legitimacy. They gain confidence to speak out, they are seen as contributing to the villages, and positive reactions reinforce this change. Their successes have prompted a shift in the way women heads of families, as a formerly marginalised group, are perceived.

²⁹ KPS2K management representative, group interview, Gresik, August 2016

³⁰ Village government representative, in-depth interview, Lingsar, October 2016

³¹ Head of PKK, in-depth interview, Lingsar, October 2016

³² KPS2K management representative, group interview, Gresik, August 2016

³³ Husband of Community Center member, group interview, Jambi, October 2016

³⁴ Guidance and counselling trainer (*guru bimbingan dan konseling*), in-depth interview, Jambi, October 2016

If we take a look at our neighbours who are hit by their husbands, in the past we did not what to do and where to report, but now since KPI has been existed we can know and can do something for it;³⁵

... we were previously afraid, discouraged. Now many of us are courageous.³⁶

The 'women's school' initiatives of Yasanti with *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* and Kapal Perempuan with sub-partner KPS2K appears to be having some success at building women's critical awareness of gender, as shown in this personal reflection from a participant in *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* in Gresik:

For instance, my neighbour's husband was having an affair. The one that I blamed was the woman, and said it was because she didn't look after her appearance ... In fact, the one who was wrong was the man - right - but I blamed the woman. Now not anymore. And for example, the rape cases. Actually, who is the wrong person? Usually we blame the women due to their miniskirts, for example ... In my opinion if you want to wear the veil or something else [it is your business], but the men are the philanderers ... Now we cannot pretend to not know the women's issues in our village - now we are looking through different glasses. So, I feel that this is what is called 'being critical'.³⁷

For collective action with a focus on income development or economic opportunities, including the work of MUIWO, *Serikat PEKKA* and *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah*, changes in human assets also related to new skills in making things:

We get benefits such as skills improvement and marketing knowledge;³⁸

We did not know how to create foods from fish, we only knew fried or boiled; now we can make shredded fish... (laughs). We can make banana chips we can make nuggets, from tofu, tofu nuggets.³⁹

Changes in income related to these skills are discussed in the following section.

B. Financial and Resource Assets (Control)

This domain of empowerment in MAMPU refers to increased income and savings, the ability to borrow funds, access to markets, and increased productive inputs including tools and consumables. This was not an area of strong investment for many MAMPU partners, and this is reflected in the generally lower proportions of collective action group members reporting changes in this area (Figure 9). Members were asked if they felt that they had received financial benefits such as increased income, the ability to save or borrow, increased access to markets, or assistance for inputs and productive assets (as one question).

Figure 9. Proportion of surveyed members of women's collective action reporting positive changes in relation to financial and resource assets

<i>Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah</i>	<i>Posko</i>	<i>Sekolah Perempuan</i>	<i>Balai Perempuan</i>	MUIWO	<i>Serikat PEKKA</i>	Community Center	<i>Kelompok Bunda Kreatif</i>	All examples
12%	5%	5%	27%	25%	100%	0%	50%	28%

Data source: Collective action member survey (N=169). Yes / no response.

³⁵ Member, *Balai Perempuan* Labukkang, group interview, Parepare, September 2016.

³⁶ Non-member, *Posko* Lestari, in-depth interview, Pungkol, South Minahasa, October 2016

³⁷ Village Coordinator, *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* Kesamben Kulon, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016

³⁸ *Buruh Migran Indonesia* leader, in-depth interview, Wonosobo, October 2016

³⁹ Member, *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah* group interview, Pangkep September 2016.

There were a very small number of examples of groups being able to access financial support for the group from the village, for example for workplace health and safety training for *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* members,⁴⁰ budget for stationary and other organisational needs for MUIWO.⁴¹ However, for the most part groups wait with optimism for more substantial tangible support to eventuate. *Posko* and MUIWO are expecting to receive funds in the 2017 village budget.

MUIWO, *Sekolah Perempuan*, and *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah* have some attention to income-related skill development, and, *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* and MUIWO, to improving employment-related opportunities, but only *Serikat PEKKA* has attention to building financial and resource assets as a core strategy. PEKKA recognises that potential group members' first priority is often their economic status, and so starts with savings and loans activities as an entry point. Savings and loans activities motivate and encourage group membership, through both productive and protective dimensions: each member comes to save their money, the group cycles the savings through as loans for each member to develop productive activities; and the group serves as a social safety net for members, assisting them to cope with crises such as death or illness:

In addition to compulsory saving, principal savings and voluntary savings, there are also death benefits, and health benefits. Members can contribute 25,000 rupiah per year to the health benefit, 5,000 per year as death benefit. If there are members who are sick, we give the health benefit, half from the group, half from the cooperative. For the death benefit, if there are members who passed away, we give 300,000 rupiah.⁴²

In each of the three group interviews with *Serikat PEKKA* members, changes were reported in terms of financial inclusion, particularly in terms of access to credit:

We used to be afraid to borrow, no one believed us, especially as widows. "Who will pay the debt if she borrows?" But as a group, we can borrow ... At first we borrowed 100,000 rupiah, then 200,000. Then after we joined the cooperative, we borrowed 500,000. Over time we can borrow five or six million. We use the money for fish farming, purchasing seeds, and feed.⁴³

The mention of the power of the group is underlined in the above quote, because it demonstrates collective, rather than individual empowerment; this is one of the clearer examples of collective empowerment identified through this research. There were other small examples of collective financial empowerment in the research:

- *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* also implements a savings and loans initiative;
- *Balai Perempuan* implements a member dues system, with the common pot being available to support members experiencing financial hardship;
- Members of MUIWO have used the pocket money and transportation allowance provided for attending meetings or training outside of the village to establish a savings and loans initiative, which they intend to continue it goes smoothly.

Without more in-depth investigation, it is difficult to accurately identify where real change in financial and resource assets, particularly in the form of increased income, has taken place, and where it is member optimism. For example, *Sekolah Perempuan* members report 'we also learnt how to manage money, we made the garbage bank together, yes.. it is still small but who knows in the future it can

⁴⁰ Member, *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

⁴¹ *Buruh Migran Indonesia* Founder, in-depth interview, Wonosobo, October 2016. A group member reported that the proposal was for 10 million rupiah for batik making materials, and what was provided was 500,000 rupiah for stationary (group interview, Wonosobo, October 2016).

⁴² Cadre, *Serikat PEKKA* Kecamatan Lingsar, group interview, Lingsar, October 2016

⁴³ Cadre, *Serikat PEKKA* Sukerede, group interview, Lingsar, October 2016.

become our savings for independent small businesses ...⁴⁴ but the benefits have not yet been realised.

The connection to Yasanti has also been attributed with opening up new market opportunities for members of *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif*.

The turnover may be bigger now ... our market has reached Solo. In the past, we only marketed it to Prambanan, Malioboro, Beringharjo, and other tourism attractions in Yogya.⁴⁵

However, increased income was not a feature of the interviews with *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif* members. One member noted that training on entrepreneurship was needed as they needed to be better at setting profitable sale prices.⁴⁶

Members of MUIWO and their spouses have participated in a range of income generation-related skills training, but results are mixed:

From batik we haven't got any income. We just keep producing and producing, nothing has been sold yet ... Honestly we ran out of capital, we need capital investment.⁴⁷

As recognised by SARI's field staff 'It won't be very effective if there is only training'⁴⁸ noting the need to 'change the mind-set to not only think about the allowance but also follow up such as marketing ...'⁴⁹

The existing 'Aisyiyah infrastructure, including BUEKA (Aisyiyah's Family Business Development Agency), suggests that that members of Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah have some access to a market for their handicrafts and processed foods, and BUEKA reports that there are some members receiving some profits from their handicrafts,⁵⁰ but from members it appears that this is limited.

These examples are consistent with international experience of small scale women's economic empowerment programs, that often fail to deliver significant financial rewards. There are various reasons for this, but notably often in response to requests from women themselves, projects focus on activities associated with women's traditional roles (sewing, cooking, handicrafts) that are often labour intensive with low if any profit margin and in vulnerable sectors of the economy.⁵¹ Such projects tend to start with the skill rather than the market, and have insufficient attention to product diversity, quality, and demand. It is unrealistic to expect anything other than marginal changes to the economic situation of women engaged in small scale collective action, without attention to a more comprehensive approach.

C. Agency Assets (Power to)

Within MAMPU's framework, 'agency assets' refers to increased participation and influence of women in the family and community, access to better work and access to services and government programs.

Although the reporting of changes in agency assets was mixed (Figure 10) within all examples of collective action studied, there were good examples of changes in relation to this domain. In the

⁴⁴ Member, *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat*, group interview, Gresik, August 2016.

⁴⁵ Member, *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Member, *Buruh Migran Indonesia*, group interview, Wonosobo, October 2016

⁴⁸ SARI Field Staff #1, in-depth interview, Wonosobo, October 2016

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ BUEKA management, in-depth interview, Pangkep, September 2016

⁵¹ See Leach (1996). Women in the informal sector. *Development in Practice*, 6(1), 25-36; Mayoux L (1998). Women's empowerment and micro-finance programmes: strategies for increasing impact. *Development in Practice*, 8(2), 235 — 241; Vargas-Lundius (2007). *Polishing the stone: A journey through the promotion of gender equality in development projects*. Rome: IFAD.

member survey, members were asked if their participation or influence in family or community decisions had increased, if they were able to access better employment or able to access government services as a result of their participation in collective action. The qualitative data showed the area of greatest change to be in relation to participation in community discussions and decision-making forums, particularly the village-level development planning (Musrenbang).

Figure 10. Proportion of surveyed members of women's collective action groups reporting positive changes in relation to agency assets

Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah	Posko	Sekolah Perempuan	Balai Perempuan	MUIWO	Serikat PEKKA	Community Center	Kelompok Bunda Kreatif	All forms
28%	74%	25%	82%	5%	62%	45%	30%	44%

Data source: Collective action member survey (N=169). Yes / no response.

Collective action members have spoken out about access to social protection (*Balai Perempuan*, *Serikat PEKKA*), gender equality (*Sekolah Perempuan*), protection of migrant workers (MUIWO) and recognition of homeworkers (*Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*), access to sexual and reproductive health services (Community Center, *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah'*), the protection of women and children affected by violence (*Posko*, *Balai Perempuan*, Community Center), and access to legal identity (*Serikat PEKKA*, *Sekolah Perempuan*, MUIWO, and *Balai Perempuan*).

The service delivery focus of Community Center, *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah'*, and *Posko* have increased access to those services. In the case of *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah'*, the group serves as a conduit for information and members then attend – in this case, about early cancer screening; in the case of Community Center and *Posko*, the services are for the benefit of a wider catchment group.

Recognition of the useful role played by the groups is indicated by the village leadership inviting the groups to present or submit proposals to the Musrenbang in some locations, as in this example related to *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah'*:

During Musrenbang (development planning forum) at the kelurahan (village) level, we intentionally invited BSA representatives to speak about their future programs and it was responded to well by the kelurahan officials. Then, it was escalated to the district government, and now we wait for the result. There are three items that they have proposed ... We backed them up at the province and national level ...⁵²

A further example of the increased agency of collective action group members is the role that some now play in supporting others to access services:

I gained trust from people to handle business with the village office. If there are neighbours who have problems with making a KTP (identity card), or basic services, I can help ...

The ones which I have handled are at village or sub-district level ... I have also accompanied

Influencing village development implementation and accountability: *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat*

Sekolah Perempuan Hebat was involved in drafting a proposal for village funding for clean water facilities. With the success of the proposal, the village head assigned *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* to help implement the program, valued at more than 300 million rupiah.

Sekolah Perempuan Hebat members have also been involved in distributing eligibility cards for health and education related social assistance and in increasing the accountability of these programs.

A representative of KPS2K, the intermediary CSO that supports *Sekolah Perempuan* activities in Gresik district of East Java notes that social assistance programs used to discriminate against, rather than prioritise the poor: 'but now [the village officials] know the women at *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* can go [to complain] directly to the district they have changed their behaviour, they are willing to check the [social assistance eligibility] lists and provide services to poor women.'

Source: In depth interviews, *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* Village Coordinator, Mondoluku, and KPS2K management representative, Gresik, August 2016

⁵² Village government representative, in-depth interview, Pangkep, September 2016

my friend to hospital on behalf of Sekolah Perempuan. I feel appreciated and recognised by the people in the hospital. I can articulate or state my complaint. When I am invited in Musrenbang, or invited to communicate with the head of the village, I became brave to speak. It aroused my bravery to get out from my neighbourhood, defeating my worry and fear. Fear of my own physical condition, our parents, and our husband who always forbid us, and fear of being apart from our children. I fought all of them.⁵³

In turn, this support role increases the recognition of the individual and the group. This has been particularly the case with the role played by PEKKA / *Serikat PEKKA* and *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia / Balai Perempuan* in assisting community members to get legal identity documents such as marriage and birth certificates. As discussed in part 1, a collaborative way of working with village leadership for the most part represents a pragmatic approach. Being able to demonstrate that the groups can provide a useful community service strengthens their social capital, potentially opening the door for discussion of more contentious issues of gender equality and women's rights.

While there is a strong and widespread indication across all examples of collective action that members are increasingly confident to speak up and participate in community discussion, some negotiation is evidently required at home. Where the collective action includes potential income generation it was easier to gain acceptance for membership of the group, as one husband notes '*I personally can consider it because it is to support the family's economy. For instance, the sewing can add to my income. I think that it is good and clear*'.⁵⁴

For women involved in collective action where permission from their husbands is an issue, the negotiation process often involves one or both of two strategies –convincing the husband that there will be benefits to the family, and building understanding of the activity, as recommended by Community Center:

We advise them to tell their husbands what we have discussed, so that their husband can understand and support them, since the goal is to empower women and boost family welfare. If they do not tell their husbands, their husbands will assume that these women are only attending regular social gathering or meetings which give no results.⁵⁵

If the benefits are not forthcoming, or the activity is not understood, then some women cease to be active:

Some (women) were forbidden by their husbands... joining (the collective action) did not make them get money like what they hoped.⁵⁶

When my husband did not permit me, he said to me that what is that activity for? Why do you join that? My husband forbade me because he did not understand.⁵⁷

Nevertheless, there were a few examples of members reporting that they had been able to influence their husbands' behaviour at home, including greater sharing of domestic chores and support for participation in non-household activities.

D. Social Assets (Power with)

Social assets are defined as including friends and social networks, gaining inspiration and support for others, and having access to people of influence. As discussed in Part 1, a desire for increased social interaction was and continues to be a primary motivator for women to join and participate in collective action. In the member survey, members were asked if they attributed an increase in social

⁵³ Sekolah Perempuan Hebat Village Coordinator-Mondoluku, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016

⁵⁴ Husband of *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* member, group interview, Bantul, October 2016

⁵⁵ APM Director, in-depth interview, Jambi, October 2017

⁵⁶ Member, *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat*, group interview, Gresik, August 2016

⁵⁷ Member, *Balai Perempuan* and PKK, in-depth interview #1, Parepare, September 2016

assets, explained as more friends and social network, inspiration from others, facilitation, and access to people of influence in the community or government. Results are included in Figure 11.

Figure 11. Proportion of surveyed members of women's collective action reporting positive changes in relation to social assets

<i>Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah</i>	<i>Posko</i>	<i>Sekolah Perempuan</i>	<i>Balai Perempuan</i>	MUIWO	<i>Serikat PEKKA</i>	Community Center	<i>Kelompok Bunda Kreatif</i>	All examples
60%	74%	60%	73%	45%	86%	9%	85%	61%

Data source: Collective action member survey (N=169). Yes / no response.

The experience of group interaction is an important aspect of the collection action examples studied, and in itself a factor in building confidence for women:

I personally think that as I have been joining... I can say that now I can speak in front of many people. I was shy to do it back then and was just a listener. Now I can deliver my thoughts. It gives us many influences ... now in every meeting we can share stories with our friends whom I did not know at first and now I do.⁵⁸

Certainly, the group membership has assisted women to build their networks, including through to service providers and government officials – *'besides acquiring knowledge, I also gained many friends and relationships. We are brave enough to face the Kapolres (local police).'*⁵⁹ More homogenous groups, made up of members that share certain characteristics such as *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah*, *Serikat PEKKA*, and the groups of homeworkers and returned migrant workers of MUIWO and *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif* foster mutual support to women who had previously been isolated. Networks extend to other villages through outreach or gatherings arranged by the intermediary or national partner:

We also have many friends ... Sometimes we celebrate events such as international woman's day. There, women could express their talents by support a campaign. There was dance and drama. We also participated in activities out of town. The events were so interesting.⁶⁰

We have many friends. The unknown becomes known. If we are only housewives, we just stay in house. But when we are members, we can go everywhere, for example to Makassar. It is impossible to go to Makassar if we are not members...Yes. There is phone number, just make a contact ... (we) have friends, from six villages, also from Minahasa Utara.⁶¹

Through the scheduled meetings, group facilitation, and other interactions, mutual trust and a shared ideology develop. The intermediaries are the first mentors of the group members and then also their first step to a wider network, and play a role in introducing the group to leaders, government agencies, and other institutions from village to the district and sometimes national level. As noted previously it can be difficult to determine where the collective action group ends and the intermediary begins

Increased access to services: *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah*

'Aisyiyah's organisation and multi-level structure combined with sectoral assistance clearly assist in connecting the *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah* members to health services and the government. Advocacy has resulted in greater accessibility to cancer screening, and financial support for women who are poor.

It appears that BSA will continue beyond the period of MAMPU assistance because the groups are being strengthened within a larger structure, are being linked to different levels of government. Groups also benefit from a range of ages in membership with many younger women involved.

⁵⁸ Member, *Balai Perempuan* Labukkang, group interview, Parepare, September 2016.

⁵⁹ Member, *Balai Perempuan* Soreang, group interview, Parepare, September 2016.

⁶⁰ Member, Forum Perempuan Muda, APM Permampu, in-depth interview, Jambi 21 Oktober 2016.

⁶¹ Member, *Posko Lestari*, group interview, South Minahasa, October 2016.

E. Enabling Assets

Enabling assets include access to administrative or legal documents, legal protection, and so on. This area of empowerment was reported be the smallest proportion of collective action members surveyed. In the member survey, members were asked if they experienced changes in the legal identity documents they possessed, or in legal protection through laws and policies.

Figure 12. Proportion of surveyed members of women's collective action reporting positive changes in relation to enabling assets

<i>Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah</i>	<i>Posko</i>	<i>Sekolah Perempuan</i>	<i>Balai Perempuan</i>	MUIWO	<i>Serikat PEKKA</i>	Community Center	<i>Kelompok Bunda Kreatif</i>	All examples
0%	42%	25%	27%	0%	43%	0%	15%	18%

Data source: Collective action member survey (N=169). Yes / no response.

Some examples of collective action, particularly MUIWO and *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* are underpinned by a focus on enabling assets – legal status, access to information, protection of labour rights. Most examples demonstrate a level of awareness about regulations having the potential to trigger wider action and benefits, as the following examples indicate.

MUIWO has worked with SARI to advocate for local-level regulations at district level (now finalised) and village levels on migrant worker protection, initiating consultation meetings and contributing to draft regulations.⁶² An information service centre has also been set up, so that people can get information about good employers, how to be an independent and safe migrant worker, and how to avoid unnecessary agents or brokers. MUIWO and SARI have stopped unscrupulous recruiters of migrant workers from entering the villages of Mergosari and Kuripan, requiring instead that they present to the village head first and show their authorising documents.⁶³ *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* have used the process of collecting data on homeworkers to advocate for recognition of their existence, and in turn access free health care and register for health insurance:

Recently we coordinated with the provincial authorities. First, we went there [to the provincial office], and as we did not have any data ... we had no proof. Alhamdulillah, recently we put in a proposal by name and by address for the group members here so they could access health care for free ... There were 30 people of this group who could access that program. Next, we revisited the provincial labour office. We brought the data, and we were asked for that data when we were there ... We had the data by name, by address, ID number, and age, and it was very detailed.⁶⁴

As noted previously, groups have advocated for, or assisted others to get, legal identity documents. *Serikat PEKKA* members can access identity documents including birth and marriage certificates for no charge, and some cadres are involved in supporting others to access these services.⁶⁵ *Sekolah Perempuan* and *Balai Perempuan* have both worked on transparency and eligibility related to social protection:

In our opinion, there are still some people who actually are eligible to get Raskin (subsidised rice for poor families), but then they don't get it because their names are not registered. The name list is

⁶² SARI Field Staff, in-depth interview #1, Wonosobo, October 2016

⁶³ SARI Field Staff, in-depth interview #2, Wonosobo, October 2016

⁶⁴ *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* Secretary, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

⁶⁵ PEKKA Field Facilitator, in-depth interview, Lingsar, October 2016

from the centre, and it sometimes does not fit the reality. We attempt to input the names of the people who are supposed to get Raskin and then do not get it on the list.⁶⁶

Community Center through Aliansi Perempuan Merangin has advocated for local regulations for reducing the number of underage marriages, and are also working on an inter-agency MoU for women friendly sexual and reproductive health services, because *'so far at primary health services, treatment of women is different; the service is determined by looking at her physical appearance, who she is, her economic status. If she is not rich she will not get immediate care'*.⁶⁷ Posko's work is supported by a village decree formalising its role in responding to cases of violence against the women and children,⁶⁸ and Posko Mentari has cooperative arrangements with the Office of Social Affairs for cases of child neglect, the education office and schools for distribution of information about preventing violence against children, and the district police (through the village head) for legal issues.⁶⁹

A striking feature of the Posko case study was the frequency at which it was mentioned that violence in the two Posko locations had decreased, with this being attributed to fear, increased knowledge of the law, and the threat of women having somewhere to report cases to:

For example, here there are parents that want to hit their children, we may be a little afraid, because now people know there is Posko here, don't let it happen, because there is law... Domestic abuse? Yes, it has decreased ... In the past, some got injured, but it does not happen anymore now.⁷⁰

Ever since the Posko is there, my husband rarely hits me... there were many, before this Posko was established, there were many cases... It's getting less frequent; they are afraid now.⁷¹

Men echoed this sense of being afraid of the ramifications of their violence. The influence is also reported to have extended to other villages where the Posko support cases.⁷²

If collective action has influence on enabling assets, such as the policy environment, personal security and freedom from violence, and access to services, it extends the potential benefits beyond those directly involved in activities or seeking assistance. It also signifies a shift in the nature of collective action, from the activities of a small group looking in to its members, to something that is outward looking to the broader community, and part of a broader transformation.

⁶⁶ Member, Balai Perempuan Soreang, group interview, Parepare, September 2016.

⁶⁷ Member, Aliansi Perempuan Merangin, group interview, South Minahasa, October 2016

⁶⁸ Member, Posko Lestari, group interview, South Minahasa, October 2016

⁶⁹ Member, Posko Mentari, group interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

⁷⁰ PKK Representative and head of hamlet, in-depth interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

⁷¹ PKK Representative #2, in-depth interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

⁷² Members of Posko Lestari, male leaders/husbands of members, Posko Lestari and Posko Mentari, group interviews; non-member, Posko Lestari, in-depth interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

Negative Consequences of Women's Collective Action

Tracking negative impacts or backlash from activities is an important aspect of feminist research and evaluation. The identification of negative consequences can be an indicator that uncomfortable messages are getting through, and that those with a vested interest in maintaining an unbalanced status quo are feeling a bit uneasy with their position. Identifying negative outcomes and backlash is also important to ensure that women's rights activists are adequately protected and kept safe. Therefore, we asked specifically about negative consequences linked to collective action in interviews and surveys at different levels.

While only a small proportion of group members, and no facilitators surveyed, considered there to have been any negative impacts from participation in collective action, the interviews with group members identified some concerns. For the most part, such impacts were felt individually.

Collective action members most commonly mentioned the difficulties of negotiating participation in activities with their husbands amidst rigid gender norms that impose that women must look after their families first, and a perception that participating in outside activities will take them away from these duties. Some have experienced direct criticisms:

There were some husbands who forbade their wives to join (the collective action), they came and asked their wives to go home. The women were considered as bad woman, leaving the children at home ... we go for learning, sometimes out of town in a hotel. This is what makes them judge – why is this in a hotel? A hotel is a place for bad women;⁷³

Mrs X tried to discontinue, maybe because she heard what people said about her – 'she always goes here and there, and does not take care of her own family';⁷⁴

For women who have children, the time for their family is reduced... the family is being left behind for them to be able to join';⁷⁵

Sometimes our husbands think that if we're gathering we are leaving our fields neglected, or we don't take enough care of our children'.⁷⁶

Other women reported the pressures of having to fit everything in:

(Women who join) must be able to manage the time wisely... before leaving, finish the housework first;⁷⁷

The work has to be done today until two in the morning in order for me to join the event the next day;⁷⁸

This responsibility was echoed in interviews with men:

As a husband it is my duty to give direction to my wife. The first is to maintain her health. Secondly, (I say) you have to finish the housework before you leave.⁷⁹

There were a small number of reports about fears that women will consider themselves to be too powerful because of their involvement in collective action, and the potential for backlash to result:

⁷³ Sekolah Perempuan Hebat members, group interview, Gresik, August 2016

⁷⁴ Head of Puskesmas, in-depth interview, Jambi, October 2016

⁷⁵ Hamlet Head (Kepala Dusun), in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016.

⁷⁶ Members, *Buruh Migran Indonesia*, group interview, Wonosobo, October 2016

⁷⁷ PKK Treasurer, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016

⁷⁸ Members, *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

⁷⁹ Husbands of *Buruh Migran Indonesia* members, group interview, Wonosobo, October 2016

... if there is still a group that disagrees (with the collective action), it is more due to the actions of these women, who fight for gender equity ... if it is equal that will not be a problem, but if it is higher ...⁸⁰

There are many people who do not understand about gender, there are also some who misunderstand that (the collective action) teaches women to challenge their husbands...⁸¹

As long as they stay in their own positions as housewives ... If they join those activities, it is good as long as they are not out of line. What I mean is, as long as they don't abandon their responsibility as a mother from their children and as a wife from their husbands ... but if they disobey it, it will automatically raise a problem.⁸²

The only negative consequences in terms of the safety and security of women's collective action members was found where they were responding to cases of violence against women. This was a common feature in interviews with members of the *Posko* and Community Center:

Those who are disagree with our activities are the husbands of the victims. They usually argue that we are nosing into other people's business ... some members of the *Posko* were also at risk from physical assault ... once a *Posko* member was chased by a (man who was violent) who wanted to beat her.⁸³

As a counsellor, I was threatened ... Sometimes from our own friends, women friends, they are not pleased, (nor are) the religious figures.⁸⁴

We are still lacking in confidence in handling a case that involves prominent figures, members of police or military families. We tend to feel reluctant to handle such cases ... We are afraid to become victims ourselves if the case involves criminals or drug addicts. It happened to a colleague.⁸⁵

These matters are indeed controversial, especially when the perpetrator lives in the village. That's one of the greatest challenges I emphasised that (the collective action members) are defenders of human rights and very vulnerable, so they have to be cautious ... So far there's only one case that inflicted actual harm. Not everyone is pleased by the existence of the *Posko*.⁸⁶

There were a small number of examples of friction between the the collective action linked to MAMPU partners and other examples of community organising and of tensions emerging within groups, but these were not significant.

⁸⁰ Husbands of Community Center members, group interview, Jambi, October 2016

⁸¹ *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* Village Coordinator - Soko, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016

⁸² Sub-Village Head, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

⁸³ Member, *Posko* Lestari, group interview, South Minahasa, October 2016

⁸⁴ Head of Community Centre, in-depth interview, Jambi, October 2016

⁸⁵ Member, Community Centre Mentari Sehat, group interview, Merangin, October 2016

⁸⁶ Swara Perempuan MAMPU Program management, group interview, South Minahasa, October 2016



Key Findings and the Way Forward

MAMPU is now in its second phase and intends to foster collective action at the village, district, and national level with an increased policy focus.⁸⁷ **This section summarises the key findings of this research, and highlights some options for MAMPU going forward aligned with the second phase focus.**

The key features of each example of collective action are influenced by the nature of the relationship between local level groups and national partners. As expected, this influences the focus of group activity, but it also influences the membership, group identity, model of engagement, and support or facilitation structure. MAMPU should continue to recognise and value the diversity that is found in the eight examples of collective action studied.

Engagement with MAMPU has enabled expansion and development of local level collective action through three main mechanisms: (i) expansion of existing models into new geographic areas; (ii) establishment of new groups and new ways of connecting to the grassroots for national partners; and (iii) reinvigorating and recasting existing relationships into action with a gender equality or women's empowerment focus.

There is a mix of approaches in terms of engagement with the poor. We observed deliberate targeting of those experiencing economic poverty (*Serikat PEKKA* and *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah*), through focus on interest groups who may be marginalised socially and politically, but not necessarily the poorest economically (*Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, MUIWO). We also observed deliberate mixing of women with different backgrounds (*Sekolah Perempuan*, Community Center) and more elite engagement, that may benefit the poor as service users or through wider social changes (*Balai Perempuan*, *Posko*).

This research indicates that when engaging women in collective action, or starting new groups, **there first needs to be attention to members' economic situation.** For the poor, interest to participate – and family approval for the time away – is helped by the potential of economic benefits from new skills and the potential of group enterprises. However, it appears that with MAMPU, there is not currently sufficient technical support or follow through for development of viable enterprises that are linked to sustainable markets. Despite well-meaning training, benefits have not materialised. This is a possible tension in the collective action model – if potential group members want economic development through small enterprise development, but partners and intermediaries are focused on the policy environment, then who wins? **MAMPU should consider building internal capacity to advise on more viable economic development activities.**

At the other end of the spectrum, where group members represent the more elite, they are able to be more engaged politically as individuals and through the group networks. The focus of the collective action becomes more outward looking. The research suggests that **engaging developmentally minded elite and influential women in collective action, particularly on contentious issues, is an effective strategy.** However, this research also shows that with the right opportunities and structured development programs, **women from the most marginalised backgrounds can also become strong advocates for change.** There is room for everyone.

There was very **limited evidence of engagement with young women as a distinct group** in any of the eight case studies, although some members were young. MAMPU and partners are perhaps missing an opportunity to broaden the network with members of the new generation of better educated, more technology savvy, but currently politically disengaged, young women. **MAMPU can**

⁸⁷ MAMPU (2016) Forward Plan July 2016 – June 2020. p.6-2.

explore if there are interested and compatible young women's associations or organisations that can become part of the movement.

There also needs to be **attention to the economic viability** of the group if the collective action is through a group structure, as was the case in these eight examples. The national partners and intermediaries can consider how the groups can sustain their activity, such as through member dues, funds from government, or other sources. Linked to this, MAMPU and partners would benefit from **an analysis of the village law and opportunities for accessing village funds** (*dana desa*), and successful strategies for doing so. There is apparently some misinformation – such as that only the PKK can be funded, circulating.

From the starting point of initiating group formation, to engaging in a range of activities, **the role of intermediaries is critical**, and this is an area for greater investment. Intermediaries, either as individuals or CSOs, support, motivate, train, and encourage local level groups. They make the connections to policy or other areas of influence. Often the role of the intermediary cannot be separated from the action of the group.

This research offers a rationale **for increased investment in intermediaries**, as a complement to, and at times a substitute for, local group based models of collective action. This is based on the apparent valuable linking and supporting roles played by SARI, KP2SK, Yasanti, and APM, as well as the national partner hierarchies.

Development of human assets, particularly confidence, self-belief, and as called by many interviewees, 'courage', appears to be a pre-requisite for other forms of empowerment.

Members of each example of collective action studied reported a progression from growing confidence and knowledge – changes in human or individual assets, to speaking out and participating in or presenting to community forums, such as the Musrenbang – agency assets, and then some expectation that this will lead to either finance and resource assets or enabling assets, and these will reinforce each other. Changes in social assets, particularly the effects of new friends and exposure to different opportunities, is cross cutting.

It can be **difficult to differentiate between individual and collective empowerment**. In some areas, such as group savings and loans, the collective dimension is clear; in others, benefits appear to accrue to individuals. It does appear that the status as a group makes issues more visible and opens up opportunities to participate in village discussions and decisions, such as through the Musrenbang, even though there may be one or two more empowered individuals that speak for the group.

In all cases the **advocacy or policy influencing dimension is localised** – targeting the village, or at most through to the district. There is no apparent connection with national policy or the national women's movement beyond the directly linked national partner, with the exception perhaps of groups participating in the 16 days of activism on violence against women campaign.

There is good experience within MAMPU national partners of implementing a range of different capacity development approaches for collective action members. The structured approaches of PEKKA, KPI, Kapal Perempuan, and Yasanti appear to be associated with changes in women's internal confidence and self-belief progressing to changes in relation to other empowerment assets. **MAMPU and partners can explore opportunities to share capacity development approaches**, and identify how they may be scaled up both within and external to, the MAMPU network. We recommend **further investment in structured approaches to building the capacities and motivations of collective action members**, building on the tested methodologies of current partners.

There is an opportunity to **facilitate cross-learning** related to different approaches of linking women to services, such as those of *Balai Sakinah*, *Aisyiyah* and Community Center.

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Part 3

Case Studies of Each Example of Collective Action



1. Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah

Case study focus:

Biraeng, Minasatene Sub-District, Pangkajene dan Kepulauan (Pangkep) District, South Sulawesi Province

Associated MAMPU Partner: **'Aisyiyah**

FOCUS AND ORIGIN OF WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION

'Aisyiyah, as the umbrella organisation of *Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah* (BSA), is an autonomous women's organisation under Muhammadiyah,⁸⁸ one of the two largest Islamic organisations in Indonesia. 'Aisyiyah was formed in 1917, its focus is on the advancement of religion, education, health and social services to the public, and on improving women's quality of life to achieve *sakinah* (peaceful family) in a good society (*qaryah thayyibah*). 'Aisyiyah's focus has broadened, from being primarily concerned with religious issues, they have expanded to livelihoods, and now also advocate for increased access to health insurance and health services.⁸⁹

Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah is a pre-existing (to MAMPU) example of women's collective action initiated by 'Aisyiyah as a national program. It has been expanded and developed with support and funding from MAMPU, including to three of the five sub-districts in Pangkep district. This includes Minasatene sub-district, the field site selected for this case study. 'Aisyiyah staff see a dual benefit from this situation:

If the program of MAMPU is completed, the motivators (group facilitators) will remain because they are part of 'Aisyiyah; the cadres are part of sub-branch boards. So, in fact this is also beneficial for the two parties, the program of MAMPU and 'Aisyiyah, because the program of MAMPU can help us to accelerate the strengthening of organisation to the sub-branch level.⁹⁰

This case study focuses on the urban Biraeng community, which has five BSA groups at kampung or hamlet level – BSA of Bonto Punga, Bontotajoro, Penas, Griya Citra Mas and Belae. These groups focus on five issues - family planning, exclusive breastfeeding, access to National Health Insurance (*Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional*, JKN), access to social protection, and women's reproductive health with a specific focus on early detection or prevention of cancers.⁹¹ The latter two being confirmed in the group discussions with BSA members and cadres as priority issues.

FEATURES OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

'Aisyiyah has a hierarchical management structure from central (national), local (province), territory (district), branch (sub-district), to sub-branch (village). There are 22 territory boards⁹² in South Sulawesi province; the Pangkajene dan Kepulauan (Pangkep) district territorial board has branch

⁸⁸ 'Aisyiyah's operation cannot be separated from the focus and interest of their umbrella organisation, Muhammadiyah.

⁸⁹ For further information about 'Aisyiyah and its history, see Syamsiyatun (2007) A Daughter in the Indonesian Muhammadiyah: Nasyiatul Aisyiyah Negotiates a New Status and Image. *Journal of Islamic Studies* 18:1, pp 69–94.

⁹⁰ 'Aisyiyah / MAMPU Coordination Team, in-depth interview, Pangkep, September 2016.

⁹¹ BSA and 'Aisyiyah focus on breast cancer early detection, access to pap-smears and visual inspection with acetic acid (VIA) tests for cervical cancer.

⁹² According to 'Aisyiyah's statute, the board members are selected by the members in a congress that held every five year. In general, the board members are composed of local women leaders and academicians.

managers in five sub-districts. These boards then facilitate group formation based on the operational guidelines (*juklak*) from 'Aisyiyah's central leadership. These groups then become the mechanism through which information, such as on reproductive health, is disseminated.⁹³ In Pangkep there are 28 BSA groups covering two villages and four urban communities and including more than 600 members.⁹⁴

Hamlet level BSA are coordinated by an 'Aisyiyah cadre. There are also two village level volunteers, known as motivators that facilitate certain activities - a midwife motivator and a motivator from 'Aisyiyah sub-branch. BSA has a standard organisation structure with a chairperson, secretary, and treasurer.

The base structure of BSA is as a religious-based social association. The main driver is the solidarity of members as part of Muhammadiyah. The super-structure is provided by women's day-to-day issues. Activities that reflected the base structure are around religious gathering and rituals (*Qur'an* recitations) and the super-structure activities are around pragmatic issues such as training and reproductive health services (cancer screening). BSA groups have regular monthly meetings, for which members are expected to contribute topic ideas. Members undertake social services, including visits to prisons, hospitals, orphanages and Islamic boarding schools.⁹⁵ Skills development related to income generation is assisted by 'Aisyiyah Family Business Development Agency (*Bina Usaha Keluarga 'Aisyiyah*, BUEKA). Products made by BSA members are sold through the BUEKA Secretariat and the 'Aisyiyah office, stalls, bazaars, and exhibitions, and are promoted through 'Aisyiyah's Facebook page.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership criteria include being of reproductive age, being poor, and having limited access to information and knowledge. Members are not required to be members of 'Aisyiyah and Muhammadiyah, but *'when they joined BSA and were not 'Aisyiyah, after they knew about the activities in 'Aisyiyah, they were interested and wanted to be 'Aisyiyah's member'*.⁹⁶

Village leaders suggest that being open (to others not part of Muhammadiyah) contributes to social cohesion 'Now with BSA, society which was originally closed is now open. Before there was the option that 'Aisyiyah is an exclusive organisation with activities only for Muhammadiyah. Now, with BSA, people who were closed to 'Aisyiyah have become more open... the difference that there was has become less.'⁹⁷

The following table provides some data on key demographic characteristics of the BSA members in the field study site. Compared to other examples studied, BSA members were generally considered themselves to be poorer, and were less likely to be in formal employment.

Table 5. Demographic characteristics of surveyed members of BSA Pangkep

Average age	37 years, range 26-58 years
Marital status	24 married, 1 divorced
Head of household	2 respondents
Average household size	5, range from 2-11 family members

⁹³ 'Aisyiyah program staff, in-depth interview Pangkep, September 2016.

⁹⁴ 'Aisyiyah / MAMPU Coordination Team, in-depth interview, Pangkep, September 2016.

⁹⁵ BSA members, Aisyiyah program staff, BSA Cadres, group interviews, Pangkep September 2016.

⁹⁶ 'Aisyiyah / MAMPU Coordination Team, in-depth interview, Pangkep, September 2016.

⁹⁷ Village Government representatives, in-depth interview, Pangkep, September 2016.

Education	Elementary School (20%), Junior High School (20%), High School (56%), Paket A/B/C (4% - one respondent) ⁹⁸
Members or family members with disability	Yes, 1 respondent has a child with a disability
Socio-economic status	64% perceive themselves in the middle economic level, none perceive themselves above average and 36% below the average. 60% perceive their households have average influence, 32% perceive they are in the decision making or influential group, and 8% in the more marginal group of the community.
Employment and income	Domestic duties (72%); paid work from home (16% full time); paid work outside the home (8% part time, 4% full time). 12% have regular income, 16% irregular income, and 72% no income
Legal identity and social protection	All have a personal identity card (KTP) 4 of the 9 members (44%) consider their household to be poorer than most have a social protection card (KPS), and 2 (22%) have a poverty status verification letter (SKTM). Overall, 32% have a KPS and 36% a SKTM. 28% have an Indonesian Health Card (KIS). 40% of respondents reported receiving Raskin in the previous year, and 24% were recipients of Jamkesmas, and 24% Assistance for Poor Students (Bantuan Siswa Miskin).

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=25)

All surveyed members had participated in two or more activities in the previous three months, primarily social activities (88 percent) and training (84 percent). The main initial motivations to participate were for capacity and skill development (80 percent), and social interaction (72 percent). These remain the main two motivations, although in the reverse order – capacity and skill development (76 percent) and social interactions (80 percent). The most liked and joined activities were capacity building (for 56 percent of respondents), followed by social activities (24 percent of respondents).

⁹⁸ Paket A/B/C are out of school education packages corresponding with elementary (A), junior high (B), and high school (C).

RESULTS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

All but one of the 25 members surveyed felt that their participation in BSA had brought positive results; one of these also felt there had been some negative impacts. One person felt there had been no impact. One person felt both positive and negative. As shown in Table 6, individual benefits were the most commonly reported.

Table 6. Changes in empowerment assets since becoming involved with the collective action, as reported by surveyed members of Balai Sakinah 'Aisiyiah

Individual benefits (human assets (power within))	100%
Financial and resource assets (control)	12%
Increased participation (agency assets (power to))	29%
Social assets (power with)	62%
Enabling assets	0%

The VIA (cervical cancer screening) test used to be free during special events but now it is regularly free ... At the beginning, there was no such service because there wasn't enough budget. However, after advocacy and support from the midwives, finally the puskesmas leader allocated some budget. So, now Bowong Cidea puskesmas, Bungaro puskesmas, Minasatene puskesmas, and Pangkajene Assisting puskesmas have provided free VIA tests as the result of advocacy from BSA 'Aisiyiah.

('Aisiyiah program staff, in-depth interview, Pangkep, September 2016)

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=25)

During interviews with village leaders and other non-members, there was some mention of noticeably increased confidence - *'Female members became more confident and courageous to speak out. I can say so because I know almost all BSA members very well'*,⁹⁹ but this was not a strong feature of interviews with the members themselves. There was some mention of gaining new skills - *'We did not know how to create foods from fish, we only knew fried or boiled; now we can make shredded fish... (laughs). We can make banana chips ... we can make nuggets, from tofu, tofu nuggets'*,¹⁰⁰ however, the emphasis was clearly on changes in access to reproductive health services.

Several interviewees spoke at length about BSA and 'Aisiyiah's influence in building women's reproductive health knowledge and access to health services, particularly those related to women's cancers.¹⁰¹ These services have become the magnet for BSA membership, and BSA has contributed to breaking long-standing taboos that have left women in the dark about their own bodies:

Although this region is close to downtown, but in some cases people here still lacked information, especially on reproductive health, people were still embarrassed even to ask questions about reproductive health.¹⁰²

In the BSA member group interview, it was estimated that about 70 percent of members have accessed these services. 'Aisiyiah and BSA have successfully advocated for increased services at the local community health centres (*puskesmas*) in Biraeng, and outreach by health workers to provide information to women:

(The service) is free. At first we were scared, but then we were invited, invited again, and then finally we were influenced [to attend the service]! ... "It is better to prevent [cancer] than be too late" ... we gained knowledge, but the first time we [attended a meeting] were afraid and

⁹⁹ Village Government representatives, in-depth interview, Pangkep, September 2016.

¹⁰⁰ BSA members, group interview, Pangkep September 2016.

¹⁰¹ As well as all interviews with 'Aisiyiah staff, this was a strong feature of interviews with spouses of BSA members; BSA Cadres; the Village Midwife / Head of Puskesmas; village government representative; and Camat, Kecamatan Minasatene (all interviewed September 2016).

¹⁰² 'Aisiyiah / MAMPU Coordination Team, in-depth interview, Pangkep, September 2016.

embarrassed. But thank God, the midwife came down to the community (through BSA) and explained [about the service], and opened our minds.¹⁰³

Through BSA, their knowledge and information can improve ... they know about reproductive health... 'Aisiyiah has made a breakthrough by facilitating the VIA test for free. Experience shows that they are not reluctant to be checked if they come with a crowd. Yesterday, there were approximately 100 women to be checked with 50 using National Health Insurance.¹⁰⁴

With the success of increasing access to the early detection tests, 'Aisiyiah and BSA turned to another problem - medical treatment for those who returned positive tests. This prompted the birth of *Gerakan Infaq Sayang Ibu* (the 'Assistance for Beloved Mothers' movement, or GISI). This aims to supplement assistance available through the national health insurance scheme, which can pay for the treatment, with funds for transport, accommodation, and meals for the patient and a companion. Funds were firstly raised through BSA member contributions. 'Aisiyiah then brought GISI to higher level government recognition, and on world breast cancer day (23 October), the Governor of South Sulawesi announced '*Through the momentum of this cancer day known as pink day, we plan that Pangkep district is a district that is concerned with the Infaq Sayang Ibu Movement (GISI). Your donation can save a mother*'.¹⁰⁵

This work has built recognition of the group, resulting in village leadership reaching out to BSA:

During the Musrenbang (village development planning meeting) we intentionally invited BSA representatives to speak about their future programs. The village officials responded well, and it has been escalated to the district government, and now we wait for the results. There are three items that they propose; one of them being capital aid ... We back them up at the province and national level with the help of ('Aisiyiah) at the national and province levels to get approval.¹⁰⁶

CONCLUSIONS

BSA has a religious foundation in its membership and core activities, and has expanded from this to respond to women's practical needs, particularly access to reproductive health services. This has stimulated other benefits. These include improved connections and cross membership with other community groups, including members of Indonesia's other major Islamic organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and an emerging increase in participation in village affairs – or at least a wider recognition of women's reproductive health as an area of concern.

'Aisiyiah's organisation and multi-level structure combined with sectoral assistance (such as midwife motivators and BUEKA) clearly assist in connecting the BSA members to health services and the government. Advocacy has resulted in greater accessibility to cancer screening tests, and now GISI is emerging to assist women who are poor. It appears that BSA will continue beyond the period of MAMPU assistance because the groups are being strengthened within a larger structure, are being linked to different levels of government, and also benefit from a range of ages in membership with many younger women involved. 'Aisiyiah Pangkep is committed to ongoing assistance and a strategy to increase membership through openness to women who are not members of 'Aisiyiah.

The approach to women's reproductive health is clinically focused – that is, it is about access to a specific, generally uncontroversial procedure, and members appear to be more participants in services rather than as part of collective 'action'. 'Aisiyiah could perhaps capitalise more on the reproductive health entry point, and incorporate discussion of rights, different areas of knowledge, and decision-making power. This is a critical, and challenging issue for faith-based organisations,

¹⁰³ BSA members, group interview, Pangkep September 2016.

¹⁰⁴ Village Midwife and Head of Puskesmas Pangkep, in-depth interview, September 2016.

¹⁰⁵ See <http://www.aktualita.co/pink-day-'Aisiyiah-pangkep-launching-program-gisi/11522/>

¹⁰⁶ Village Government representatives, in-depth interview, Pangkep, September 2016.

but within MAMPU it is one to be explored. Without this, the risk is that BSA will perpetuate reproductive health as a women's issue, addressed in a piecemeal or inadequately prioritised way, rather than through a more holistic analysis of gender and poverty within the household, community and society.

ATTACHMENT: SUMMARY OF FIELD WORK

Field work was undertaken in September 2016 and consisted of group discussions and in-depth interviews, and administration of the member and facilitator survey. The field study is complemented by an earlier interview with 'Aisyiyah MAMPU program coordinator, community development staff, and organisational development staff conducted in July 2016 in Yogyakarta, and document review.

Table 7. Participants in field study: Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah, Pangkep

Description	Women	Men
Group discussions		
BSA members, Biraeng village	8	
Representatives of spouses of members		6
Community organisers (BSA cadres at village level)	7	
'Aisyiyah Management team	5	
Key informants		
Midwife coordinator and head of Minasatene puskesmas	2	
Head and staff of Biraeng village		2
Camat, Kecamatan Minasatene		1
BUEKA administrator / BSA member	1	
BSA district staff	1	
District coordination team 'Aisyiyah-MAMPU	4	
Surveys		
Collective action members – randomised sample so each BSA was represented by its five members	25	
Facilitators/staff	14	

2. Serikat PEKKA (PEKKA Union)

Case study focus:

Lingsar sub-district, Sukerede, Krisna Loka, groups and a joint group from Batu Kumbung village consisting of members from Embun Pagi, Pondok Indah, and Pondok Harapan groups, Lingsar, West Lombok district, NTB

Associated MAMPU Partner

Empowerment of Female Headed Household (Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga, PEKKA) Foundation (PEKKA National Secretariat)

FOCUS AND ORIGIN OF WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION

PEKKA began in 2000, from an initial idea of the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan), to document the life of widows in the Aceh conflict region, and the intention of the Kecamatan Development Program to assist them to access resources to overcome their economic problems and trauma.¹⁰⁷ PEKKA now has now grown to be the largest organisation working for female-headed households in Indonesia, present in 20 provinces, 65 districts, 229 sub-districts and 855 villages.

PEKKA's backbone is its network of cadres at sub-district level. These cadres lead formation of village-level groups, known as *Serikat PEKKA*. PEKKA cadres encourage village or hamlet leaders, women leaders and other stakeholders to support development of female headed households. PEKKA has worked hard to address the burdens on, and stereotypes about, widows or unmarried, divorced or separated women. In many settings in Indonesia, the local culture dictates that they should not have a social life or appear in public.

PEKKA's entry point for *Serikat PEKKA* members, is establishment of savings and loans activities with the aim to increase members' economic opportunities and social security, with a later progression to other capacities and areas of knowledge. Support from MAMPU has been used to help the expansion of *Serikat PEKKA* groups, including for training, administration, field visits and mentoring, and advocacy efforts.¹⁰⁸

Prior to MAMPU, PEKKA had about 10 groups in Lingsar sub-district, the focus of this study, which has now grown to 13 groups, with further expansion in other sub-districts. Of the groups included in this case study, the Sukerede group is long standing, having been established in 2005. Krisna Loka was established in 2014 as part of the expansion under MAMPU. Pondok Indah, Pondok Harapan, and Embun Pagi were established in 2003, 2006 and 2011 respectively.

FEATURES OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

Serikat PEKKA operate at village, sub-district, district, and provincial levels. The vision and mission of PEKKA and its programmatic focus is cascaded through each level, and PEKKA's clear focus on supporting and empowering women heads of families guides all interaction.

Groups have a standard structure with head, treasurer, and secretary for each group, and for the most part a list of members. Administrators are generally trained by the National Secretariat in core

¹⁰⁷ Taken from <http://www.pekka.or.id/index.php/en/about-us.html>

¹⁰⁸ PEKKA Field Facilitator, in-depth interview, Lingsar, October 2016.

areas including paralegal skills and law, and bookkeeping. They also can participate in thematic training such as in reproductive health, permaculture, and so on. Administrators then often pass this training content on to *Serikat PEKKA* members through group meetings.

The activities of village *Serikat PEKKA* groups include regular social gatherings, monthly meetings, and savings and loans through a revolving fund. As groups develop, they also become involved in advocacy targeting greater access to public services, and in raising broader community awareness about a range of issues. In recent years, there has been a focus on disseminating information about the importance of legal identity documents, including the personal identity card (KTP), family card, marriage certificate, and birth certificate, and on advocacy for more accessible and free or low cost legal identity services and access to social assistance and insurances such as health insurance (*Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional*, JKN).

For members with minimal education, some groups provide opportunities to learn to read, write, and obtain information through the *Kelompok Belajar Paket A* (out of school education – elementary school) program. Cadres can also continue to further education programs encompassing law, book-keeping, gender, public speaking, advocacy, and organisational operation.¹⁰⁹ For example, members of the *Krisna Loka* group have learned about accessing business capital, as well as gender awareness, and legal identity; *Pondok Harapan*, *Embun Pagi* and *Pondok Indah* groups focus primarily on savings and loans, but over time have begun to expand interests to include access to information and public services. *Serikat PEKKA* Sukerede has joined the *Nur Falah* cooperative, a savings and loans based legal entity established by PEKKA in NTB.¹¹⁰

PEKKA groups have close relationships with a range of other government and non-government groups: ‘activities intersect with the Bupati and staff, other CSOs such as KPI (Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia/Indonesia Women’s Coalition), BAKTI, LPA (Lembaga Perlindungan Anak/Institute for Child Protection), academics, PPSW (Pusat Pengembangan Sumberdaya Wanita/Centre for Women’s Resource Development)’.¹¹¹

MEMBERSHIP

Traditionally, *Serikat PEKKA* members were female heads of families; a situation that generally had occurred through widowhood, divorce and separation, or desertion. Members tended to be in the poorer, more vulnerable strata of communities.

The *Krisna Loka* group is made of female heads of families from the Hindu minority in an otherwise Muslim community. Most have not completed even elementary school, and are illiterate. They make their livelihoods through small market stalls, as labourers or domestic workers, or as scavengers. Like in other regions, members faced early cultural barriers to their participation due to entrenched taboos about women joining groups or organisations.

Serikat PEKKA of *Pondok Harapan*, *Embun Pagi* and *Pondok Indah* represent a shift in group formation with membership being open to women who are currently married and living with their husband; although married women represent only around a quarter of group membership. *Serikat PEKKA* Sukerede is larger with 35 members, all women heads of families, and generally without previous experience of organising or participating in groups. *Serikat PEKKA* Lingsar sub-district comprises administrators of village level groups. Members are cadres with a higher level of training, skills and self-development provided by the National Secretariat/Foundation. The sub-district

¹⁰⁹ PEKKA Field Facilitator, Head of PKK, in-depth interviews, Lingsar, October 2016.

¹¹⁰ To be able to join, groups must be able to demonstrate sufficient organisational strength, including regular activities, and at least a two-year history of a functioning savings and loans program. *Nur Falah* cooperative has built up capital of approximately four billion rupiah that is used to provide loans to members.

¹¹¹ PEKKA Field Facilitator, in-depth interview, Lingsar, October 2016.

representatives originate from the village groups, and therefore are of the same background, formal education levels, and experience of marginalisation as women heads of families. The administrators have key roles within PEKKA's model of collective action - they '*are the ones with capacity, time, and commitment*'.¹¹²

The quantitative survey administered to group members found that compared to the other examples of collective action studied, *Serikat PEKKA* members are more likely to have little or no education, and to consider their households to be poor than average in their location (see Table 8).

Table 8. Demographic characteristics of surveyed members of Serikat PEKKA

Average age	52, range 32-77
Marital status	4 married, 6 separated, 2 single, 9 divorced
Head of household	17 (81 percent)
Average household size	3, range 1-5 family members
Education	No education (43%), Elementary School (28%), Junior High School (19%), High School (5% - 1 respondent), Paket A/B/C (5% - 1 respondent)
Members or family members with disability	Yes, 1 respondent's parent
Socio-economic status	57% perceive themselves in the middle economic level, 5% perceive themselves above average and 38% below the average. 71% perceive their households have average influence, 29% perceive they are in the decision making or influential group, and none in the more marginal group of the community.
Employment and income	Domestic duties (14%); paid work from home (48% full time); paid work outside the home (10% part time, 29% full time). No respondents have a regular income, 86% irregular income, and 14% no income
Legal identity and social protection	All have a personal identity card (KTP). 7 (33%) have an Indonesian Health Card (KIS). Overall 3 respondents (14%) have a poverty verification letter (SKTM), and 7 (33%) a social protection card (KPS). 33 % have a health insurance card. None of the 8 women who consider their households to be poorer than average have a KPS, and 1 has a SKTM.

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=21)

The initial motivations for surveyed members to join *Serikat PEKKA* were for social interaction (43 percent), to improve income (29 percent), and to improve the personal capacity and skills (33 percent). The motivation to continue has shifted. For all members surveyed, the motivations are social interaction and to improve personal skills and capacity, and for 90 percent of respondents to improve income.

Most (86 percent) surveyed members had participated in three activities in the previous three months, the others, in six activities. The activities joined by most members were savings and loans (all respondents), social activities (95 percent), and advocacy (48 percent). Savings and loans were the most enjoyed by 81 percent of respondents.

¹¹² Ibid.

The strong desire for social interaction is perhaps linked to the perceived distrust and stigma of widows – something that women in all three group discussions reported experiencing prior to joining the group:

They thought that if a widow walked outside her house, she was going after someone else's husband. We were harassed, belittled and marginalised. When we spoke up, we were never valued nor appreciated.¹¹³

Some people laughed, we were being underestimated and mocked;¹¹⁴

Before PEKKA existed, there was the assumption that widows should never go out from home and never go anywhere. If we went out, it was considered that we were disturbing other women's husbands. It negative.¹¹⁵

RESULTS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

All respondents to the member survey reported that their participation had a positive impact, and none reported negative or mixed impacts. As shown in Table 9, all respondents felt that they had benefited in terms of their individual self-belief, confidence and skills, and in terms of their financial situation. An increase in finance and resource assets was the most strongly felt benefit for two-thirds of respondents.

Table 9. Changes in empowerment assets reported by surveyed members of *Serikat PEKKA*

Individual benefits (human assets (power within))	100%
Financial and resource assets (power over)	100%
Increased participation (agency assets (power to))	62%
Social assets (power with)	86%
Enabling assets	43%

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=21)

Members of *Serikat PEKKA* firstly report an increase in confidence linked to feeling part of an organisation, particularly because 'they have never joined a women's organisation before ... The groups enable the members to express themselves and to obtain useful information'.¹¹⁶ The social interactions, particularly with other women heads of families, give them a sense of collegiality - 'when meeting friends, we can laugh, joke, and think. There is information. (I have) so many friends now'.¹¹⁷

In each group, there was also mention of changes in economic opportunities, particularly access to credit, and in some cases, greater economic independence:

We used to be afraid to borrow, no one believed us, especially as widows. "Who will pay the debt if she borrows?" But as a group, we can borrow ... At first we borrowed 100,000 rupiah, then 200,000. Then after we joined the cooperative, we borrowed 500,000. Over time we have been able to borrow five or six million. We use the money for fish farming, purchasing seeds, and feed.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Cadre, *Serikat PEKKA* Sukerede, group interview, Lingsar, October 2016.

¹¹⁴ Cadre, *Serikat PEKKA* Krisna Loka, group interview, Lingsar, October 2016.

¹¹⁵ Cadre, *Serikat PEKKA* Kecamatan Lingsar, group interview, Lingsar, October 2016.

¹¹⁶ PEKKA Field Facilitator, in-depth interview, Lingsar, October 2016.

¹¹⁷ Cadre, *Serikat PEKKA* Sukerede, group interview, Lingsar, October 2016.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*

Before I did not have a shop, and now I do. As a member (of PEKKA), I can borrow the money for the shop ... now I have my own income. Before, if I wanted something, I did not dare [buy it] because I have to ask my husband first. Now, if I want to buy something, I can use my own money.¹¹⁹

My job now is a fruit seller, I have three children, my husband died 15 years ago. All my children are unmarried; they work odd jobs. For every day needs, I used to be helped by my children ... I am happy to join the group because I can borrow money, I've borrowed up to 2 million for capital as a fruit seller. Borrowing in the business group is profitable, because the interest is low. Once I borrowed from a moneylender, the interest was so high; now there is the group, I won't borrow from the moneylender (Bank Rontok) anymore.¹²⁰

With increased confidence and knowledge, *Serikat PEKKA* cadres progress to public speaking, something that is noticed by the village leadership: '*Before joining PEKKA, they were shy and did not dare to speak in public. And now I can see ... even in a forum they speak up ... They can speak well. They are different from (other) local people with little education and experience*'.¹²¹

Cadres sometimes move into other roles in the community and facilitate access to services; the group administrator of *Krisna Loka* is also a *posyandu* (community health post) cadre and is in the PKK health working group. A cadre of the *Embun Pagi* group is a *posyandu* cadre and is also involved in disseminating information about legal identity documents. PEKKA cadres have been involved in assisting women affected by violence, participated in development planning forums including providing information for the village budget, advocated for increased access to legal identity and social protection for poor women, and provided data from the previously conducted community poverty mapping.

After we joined the group, the people began to see us, but they were suspicious. If we were invited to a meeting at a hotel, neighbours said we wanted to be sold, sent to Jakarta, or 'made into fertiliser'. It is different now. The legal training, for example, provides benefit ...

We got the training, we knew the benefit, then we shared to the group, outside the group, to neighbors ... they see the proof. Thus, many people wanted to hear our advice, not just the members.

Serikat PEKKA Sukerede cadre, group interview, Lingsar, October 2016.

These wider community roles have led to *Serikat PEKKA* cadres being viewed as useful to the community, as being part of solutions to community problems. This process appears to be dismantling some of the stigma of being without a husband, and the view that widows and divorcees are a burden.

CONCLUSIONS

Serikat PEKKA enables women heads of families to unite and build collective power to address cultural barriers and to gain political and economic access and opportunities. The methodology starts with social interaction and peer support, and then aims to help women to meet their basic economic needs, such as through savings and loans and then access to larger forms of credit. These entry points have been built on through information, training, and exposure to wider society through larger PEKKA gatherings and other exchanges. This has led to members working on issues with reach to the wider community (such as access to legal identity documents). Consequently, *Serikat PEKKA* members have gained status and legitimacy. Members gain confidence to speak out, they are seen as contributing to the villages, and positive reactions reinforce this change.

In addition to the solidarity values, the sustainability of the groups – particularly the motivation of the members to continue, appears to be founded on the potential for economic benefits through the

¹¹⁹ Cadre, *Serikat PEKKA* Kecamatan Lingsar, group interview, Lingsar, October 2016.

¹²⁰ Cadre, *Serikat PEKKA* Krisna Loka, group interview, Lingsar, October 2016.

¹²¹ Village Head, in-depth interview, Lingsar, October 2016.

savings and loans activities, and the social interactions made possible for otherwise isolated women. The staged and varied training and information provision, that includes a focus on developing advocacy skills, has equipped *Serikat PEKKA* with a spirit of volunteerism, and the tools and motivation to engage with services and traditional power holders to meet particular needs for women and the community. The successes have prompted a shift in the way members, as a previously marginalised group, are perceived.

ATTACHMENT: SUMMARY OF FIELD WORK – *SERIKAT PEKKA*

Field work was undertaken in October 2016 and consisted of group discussions and in-depth interviews conducted in Lingsar sub district, West Lombok. Researchers also observed daily life and interactions of the village. The field study is complemented by an earlier interview with PEKKA National Coordinators and staff conducted in July 2016, and document review.

Table 10. Participants in field study: *Serikat* PEKKA, Lingsar, West Lombok district

Description	Women	Men
Group discussions		
District level cadre	10	
Members without husbands	11	
Members with husbands	11	
Husbands of members		10
New group	11	
Key informants		
Head of Batu Kumbung Hamlet		1
Community Empowerment Institution (LPM) Batu Kumbung.		1
Head of Pemangkalan Hamlet		1
Head of Batu Mekar Village		1
Head of PKK	1	
Members of BPD (Badan Permusyawaratan Desa)		1
Midwife	1	
PEKKA field staff	1	
Head of village community empowerment section		1
Surveys		
Member survey	21	
Facilitator survey (National =4, Provincial =15, District=1)	20	

3. *Sekolah Perempuan* (Women's School)

Case study focus:	Sekolah Perempuan Hebat, 122 Kesamben Kulon village, Gresik District, East Java
Associated MAMPU Partner	KAPAL Perempuan with sub-partner Women's and Life Resources Group (Kelompok Perempuan dan Sumber-Sumber Kehidupan, KP2SK)

FOCUS AND ORIGIN OF WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION

Sekolah Perempuan Hebat is a village-level study group established to provide popular education and undertake advocacy for the poor. Its inception was facilitated by KAPAL Perempuan as part of its MAMPU-supported activities in partnership with the local CSO KPS2K Gresik. KPS2K has established four *Sekolah Perempuan* in Gresik district, focusing on poor areas (red zones), as identified by the Gresik district administration.

KPS2K established the first two *Sekolah Perempuan* in Kesamben Kulon (the focus of this case study) and Sooko villages, and then expanding to Mondokulu Village and Sumbergede Village.

As most *Sekolah Perempuan* members are poor landless farmers, the topics and schedule are shaped by farmers' working environments.

To establish the *Sekolah Perempuan* activities, locally known and respected KPS2K field staff started by identifying poor women in Kesamben Kulon and Sooko villages in 2013. The field staff built the trust and interest of women in the communities to join, and the initiative was launched in Kesamben Kulon village in 2014, attended by the sub-district head and district representatives. Today, *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat's* activities are numerous:

We participated in the MAMPU community forum, in village development planning meetings from village to sub-district, the Car Free Day in Gresik, Jamboree, radio show, book launching in Jember, cultural parade, District Government parenting seminar, 'A Week of Education Action' in Unair Surabaya, the District Government Remo Dance, (facilitated access to) VIA (cancer screening) tests, administer the Surat Pernyataan Miskin (poverty status verification letter) and identification cards, manage the farm collective, and now the waste bank.¹²³

FEATURES OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

Sekolah Perempuan Hebat groups have a daily administration body consisting of a head, secretary and treasurer. A sub-district community supervision team - *Tim Pemantauan Komunitas* or TP-Kom, covers the four villages where *Sekolah Perempuan* groups have been established, and is 'the bridge between communities and the district for things like information, data, and activity monitoring'.¹²⁴ TP-Kom is involved in monitoring government program implementation, such as social protection

¹²² This can be translated as 'School for Strong Women'. We have used the Indonesian name throughout.

¹²³ Member, *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat*, group interview, Gresik, August 2016.

¹²⁴ KPS2K management representative, in-depth interview, Gresik, September 2016.

eligibility and receipt for poor families. This team is made up of active members of *Sekolah Perempuan*, with effort to choose women who are poor.

Multi-party forums are implemented at village and district level with the purpose of encouraging external networking, facilitating access to the secondary data that is needed by *Sekolah Perempuan* and TP-Kom, and enabling the sharing of resources such as budget and facilities. These forums have broader participation and deliberately involve more elite members from the village and district that can exert influence to support or follow-up the findings of district supervisory team.

Members of *Sekolah Perempuan* highlighted the importance of the intermediary from KPS2K, who was involved in the initial establishment of the groups. She has been able to manage all groups and is respected by all members. They worry what will happen with a staff change.

MEMBERSHIP

Members of *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* are selected with an effort to have a split between poorer women (approximately 80 percent) and more middle class women (20 percent). More influential members often hold other roles such as membership of the PKK and involvement with the posyandu. KPS2K reported this as a deliberate strategy to encourage dynamism and non-exclusivity within the group. Table 11 shows this mixed nature of group membership, with a combination of perceptions of different levels of influence and economic status.

Table 11. Demographic characteristics of surveyed members of *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat*

Average age	33, range 20-48 years
Marital status	17 married, 1 single, 2 divorced
Head of household	1
Average household size	4 members, range 1-7 members
Education	No education (5% - 1 respondent) Elementary School (45%), Junior High School (45%) Paket A/B/C (5%)
Members or family members with disability	No
Socio-economic status	65% perceive themselves in the middle economic level, 5% perceive themselves above average and 30% below the average. 65% perceive their households have average influence, 20% perceive they are in the decision making or influential group, and 15% in the more marginal group of the community.
Employment and income	Domestic duties (35%); paid work from home (25% part time, 20% full time); paid work outside the home (20% part time). 45% have regular income, 20% irregular income, and 35% no income
Legal identity and social protection	All have a personal identity card (KTP). All 6 members who consider their household to be poorer than most have a social protection card (KPS), and 1 (17%) has a poverty verification letter (SKTM). Overall, 65% have a KPS and 20% a SKTM. 28% have an Indonesian Health Card (KIS). 95% of respondents reported receiving Raskin in the previous year, and 75% were recipients of social health insurance (Jamkesmas), and 25% Program Keluarga Harapan (conditional cash transfers for poor families)

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=20)

Members appear to be active, with 75 percent reporting that they had participated in six or more activities in the previous three months. Participation however does wane with the farming season. The two main initial motivations for women to join *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* were capacity building (for about two-thirds of members surveyed) and socialising (half of members surveyed). These continue to be the main motivations for women remaining to be active. 95 percent of respondents had joined capacity development activities, and of all the activities, the most enjoyed were related to women's empowerment (for 45 percent) and general training and skills development (for 30 percent).

RESULTS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

All survey respondents felt that their participation in *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* had brought positive impacts – 85 percent. 15 percent thought there had been some negative impacts as well as the positive, mainly in terms of the time commitment conflicting with income earning responsibilities.

Table 12. Changes in empowerment assets reported by surveyed members of Sekolah Perempuan Hebat

Individual benefits (human assets (power within))	100%
Financial and resource assets (power over)	5%
Increased participation (agency assets (power to))	25%
Social assets (power with)	60%
Enabling assets	25%

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=20)

Changes in empowerment stem from the increased confidence - '*The point of view of life changes, the confidence increases*',¹²⁵ which enables women to speak out and participate more fully:

I have never been invited in Musrenbang before, then I was invited ... previously I was never brave to speak in front of many people, now I can become an MC for the program.¹²⁶

This increased confidence was widely confirmed by observers of the groups:

The advantages of joining these activities are that the female members can be more independent, confident, brave to show up. Besides it can be beneficial for society due to the existence of the waste bank, data input, and data about pregnant women or the elderly.¹²⁷

Back then, they rarely went outside of their house and were too embarrassed to speak up. Now, after they join as a member, they become more confident. A lot of them later got involved in various events in the village, such as Musrenbangdes (village development planning meeting).¹²⁸

Sekolah Perempuan Hebat aroused my bravery to get out from my neighborhood, defeating my worry and fear; fear of my own physical condition, our parents, and our husbands who always forbid us, and fear of being apart from our children. I fought all of these ... I can articulate or state my complaint. When I am invited in Musrenbang, or invited to communicate with the head of the village, I became brave to speak.

(*Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* and TP-Kom member, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016)

Men also noted that 'women used to always sit at the back. Not anymore. Women have the courage to sit at the front and speak up'.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* Village Coordinator - Kesamben Kulon, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016

¹²⁶ Member, *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat*, group interview, Gresik, August 2016.

¹²⁷ PKK Treasurer, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016

¹²⁸ Village midwife, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016

¹²⁹ Husband of *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* member, group interview, Gresik, August 2016.

Sekolah Perempuan Hebat has contributed to increasing access to services, including clean water facilities:

Sekolah Perempuan played a part in developing clean water facilities that cost more than 300 million rupiah. The process of writing the proposal was helped by Sekolah Perempuan. The village head also assigned them to help implement the program.¹³⁰

Members have been involved in the distribution of cards for health and education related social assistance and in increasing the accountability of these programs:

Sekolah Perempuan Hebat makes me dare to remove residents who don't have the right to get Raskin (rice for the poor) or other assistance;¹³¹

as well as of health services:

They used to discriminate against the poor, now they know the women at Sekolah Perempuan Hebat could access the service to the district directly. Now they have changed their behaviour, they are willing to check and provide services to poor women.¹³²

While a sense of increased participation in community discussions was strongly apparent, this has not yet resulted in significant tangible support from the village government. For example, in the last village development planning forum, *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* put forward 10 items – none of which were included in the final plan and budget 'because the cost was too high'.¹³³

There were limited examples of changes in financial and resource assets (as indicated also in the member survey, see Tabel 12), but a sense of optimism:

... we also learnt how to manage money, make the garbage bank together, ya it is still small but who knows in the future it can become our savings for independent small business...¹³⁴

They can think ahead (they) used to only know how to do their job then go home ... They used to be stuck in that mind-set. Now, they spend the money to buy cows, goats, and ducks until eventually it becomes a small farm.¹³⁵

There was some evidence that the activities of *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* have begun to shift gender norms:

At the beginning, when I did not know anything about them, I did not like (Sekolah Perempuan Hebat). However, after they held various events, I began to realise that women have an important role in our lives ... Now I personally urge women to join Sekolah Perempuan because the knowledge will be very useful and it can elevate their status.¹³⁶

Members, coordinators and external observers interviewed also reported some challenges with *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* activities, because gender related discussion are unfamiliar to many people in the village. This can lead to misunderstandings and some backlash or negative consequences from participation

There are many people who do not understand about gender, there are also some who misunderstand that Sekolah Perempuan teaches women to challenge their husbands... Some do not understand why we should have events out of town.¹³⁷

¹³⁰ Head of Village Public Affairs (Kaur Umum desa), in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016.

¹³¹ *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* Village Coordinator - Mondoluku, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016

¹³² KPS2K management representative, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016

¹³³ *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* Village Coordinator - Sooko, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016.

¹³⁴ Member, *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat*, group interview, Gresik, August 2016.

¹³⁵ BPD member, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016.

¹³⁶ Husband of *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* member, group interview, Gresik, August 2016.

¹³⁷ *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* Village Coordinator – Sooko, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016.

Up to now, there are still some people asking: why staying at hotels if you are studying at school? ... How could a Mondolokuneese challenge her husband?¹³⁸

Two of the men interviewed commented on the group activities taking women away from their family responsibilities:

... for women who have children, the time for their family is reduced... the downside, the family is being left behind (for the woman) to be able to join Sekolah Perempuan. I think there needs to be a way to get around this.¹³⁹

To join the school, the women have to often go outside the house, their husbands get angry with them ... the problem is the time because most of them are farmers so that they cannot adjust the time to join the activity.¹⁴⁰

This time management sentiment was echoed by the PKK representative:

They must be able to manage the time wisely, which ones are important, and which ones are not. Before leaving, finish the housework first.¹⁴¹

Some members felt that they were judged as being arrogant or bad women because of going out to meetings – but take some pride in this:

Probably the village officials felt threatened, afraid to be protested against, but we become fierce and brave to speak now - hehehe...¹⁴²

I just ignore those assumptions and I use them to motivate myself to prove that someday they will realise and consider the things that we do as something 'wow'.¹⁴³

CONCLUSIONS

Sekolah Perempuan Hebat clearly empowers poor women to handle various issues in both public and domestic arenas. There are some good examples of *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* having increased access to services, and of members increasingly participating in, and slowly influencing village political dynamics particularly through the Musrenbangdes. To a small extent there is also optimism about possible benefits from new livelihoods related skills. At the same time, there have certainly been some setbacks. While male leaders and male spouses were vocal in their support for the activities of the groups, often expressing a reversal from an initial negative opinion, more tangible support – particularly funding and formalisation of the status of the groups through village or District Governor's Decree – is still to come.

The strongest result of *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* in the field study area was the enhancement of women's confidence, skills and knowledge. This appears then to follow a flow to women negotiating more with their husbands to push for a wider role and different experience, and then being able to speak out and become more involved in wider village affairs and planning processes. In turn women are recognised for this by the predominantly male village leadership, and women are more trusted and considered important by the community.

¹³⁸ *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* Village Coordinator - Kesamben Kulon, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016.

¹³⁹ Hamlet Head (Kepala Dusun), in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016.

¹⁴⁰ Head of Village Public Affairs (Kaur Umum desa), in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016.

¹⁴¹ *PKK Treasurer*, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016.

¹⁴² Member, *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* group interview, Gresik, August 2016.

¹⁴³ Interview, *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat* Village Coordinator - Kesamben Kulon, in-depth interview, Gresik, August 2016.

ATTACHMENT: SUMMARY OF FIELD WORK

Field work was undertaken in August – September 2016 and consisted of group discussions and in-depth interviews conducted at the KPS2K office and Kesamben Kulon village hall, and administration of the member and facilitator survey (refer detail in Table 13). Researchers also observed daily life and interactions of the village, visited the minority group Hindu-Java, and observed the Istighosah religion recitation and Hajat Bumi rites.

The field study is complemented by an earlier interview with the KAPAL Perempuan Director and staff conducted in July 2016, and document review.

Table 13. Participants in field study: *Sekolah Perempuan Hebat*, Gresik district

Description	Women	Men
Group discussions		
Representatives of <i>Sekolah Perempuan</i> members from four villages involved in the WCA	11	
Program Coordinator and staff currently or previously involved in field facilitation	3	
Representatives of spouses of members and non-members	0	7
Key informants		
Coordinators for Kesamben Kulon and Sooko villages; had started as members	6	
PKK Treasurer	1	
Village midwife	1	
Head of the hamlet where WCA is located		1
Member of <i>Badan Permusyawaratan Desa</i> (Village Deliberation Council)		1
<i>Kepala Urusan Umum Desa</i> (Head of Village Public Affairs)		1
Surveys		
Member survey	20	
Facilitator survey	1	

4. Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia Parepare

Case study focus:	Balai Perempuan Watang Soreang, Lappakde, and Labbukang Villages
Associated MAMPU Partner	Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesia Women's Coalition) national and sub-partner Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia Parepare City

FOCUS AND ORIGIN OF WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION

Balai Perempuan is the most important element for the existence of *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia* at the village level. As at October 2016, Parepare city has 22 *Balai Perempuan*, an increase from nine in 2013.¹⁴⁴

Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia is a mass organisation that works to mobilise individual membership into a more powerful group. Its goal is to promote more just and democratic political, economic, social and cultural development that is founded on the equality of men and women. The three *Balai Perempuan* that are the focus of this case study were established in 2013, and received six months (from December 2015-June 2016) support through *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia*'s MAMPU program in 2016. This was for capacity development and technical assistance to regular meetings.

FEATURES OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia has a tiered organisational structure reaching from national to village level, with national, regional (provincial), branch (district/city) secretariats, and then *Balai Perempuan* in village or urban communities. To form a branch secretariat, at least three *Balai Perempuan* in the district or city are required; five branch secretariats are required in a province to form a regional secretariat. Members join *Balai Perempuan* by registering themselves as cadres.

Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia aims that each *Balai Perempuan* has at least 30 members, linking up in various interest groups (*kelompok kepentingan*) determined by the interests of the members. *Balai Perempuan* in Watang Soreang, Labukkang, and Lapadde have four interest groups: professional women, urban poor women, women in the informal sector, and homemakers. *Balai Perempuan* are led by a secretary and the Council of Interest Groups. These individuals are selected through a discussion forum that is also attended by representatives from the higher level.

Balai Perempuan members take on various roles, including in local institutions and community mobilisation, and intervene in defence of women's rights and the rights of citizens in general. The

All *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia*'s members come from various professions and backgrounds ... In the Council of Interest Groups, there are professional women, homemakers, urban poor women, women in the informal sector, and college students. For example, like me, my friends in the professional interest group have professions like teacher, doctor; For informal interest group, the examples are freelancers, homemakers, urban poor women.

KPI Parepare Branch senior cadre, group interview, KPI staff and facilitators, Parepare, September 2016

¹⁴⁴ This increase was driven by a Parepare branch cadre undertaking a new member initiation process.

success of cadres depends on their relationships and networks; many branch cadres are or have become heads of neighbourhoods and hamlets, staff and management of civil society organisations or relevant government agencies, or are involved in constituency groups¹⁴⁵ or professional institutions in Parepare city. Many are involved in multiple activities.

Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia provides phased capacity development for cadres, commencing with primary cadre education at *Balai Perempuan* level. This encompasses gender inequality, social analysis and advocacy. Secondary cadre education covers organisational management, advanced advocacy, and the history of the women's movement, and further cadre education discusses world ideologies and feminism, and develops advanced advocacy skills. Branch cadres have been through this education program and have a demonstrated commitment and ideological ties to KPI's aims and ideals, and are self-motivated to advance themselves and the interests of women in social and political domains.

Balai Perempuan members pay dues, in this case 1,000 rupiah per member per month. The dues are used to fund group activities, and to assist members when needed:

Recently, there was somebody who passed away, (a member's husband). Yes, we paid from the dues to help her.¹⁴⁶

Our *Balai Perempuan* has used (the dues) for helping one of our member's BPJS Mandiri (social insurance) fee because she could not pay for it that time.¹⁴⁷

MEMBERSHIP

Balai Perempuan appears to attract more elite¹⁴⁸ women in the community who have an interest in connecting with others and the promotion of gender equality. This recruitment strategy aims to work with people of influence and the authorising or enabling environment for greater gender equality. As seen in Table 14, cadres have a relatively high level of education (especially compared to members of other forms of collective action studied), and a third perceive they are in influential households.

Table 14. Demographic characteristics of surveyed members of *Balai Perempuan*, Parepare city

Average age	41, range 24-54
Marital status	17 married, 1 separated, 4 divorced
Head of household	6 respondents
Average household size	6, range from 4-8 family members
Education	High School (64%), College (36%)
Members or family members with disability	No
Socio-economic status	86% perceive themselves in the middle economic level, 5% perceive themselves above average and 9% below the average. 64% perceive their households have average influence, 36% perceive they are in the decision making or influential group, and none in the more marginal group of the community

¹⁴⁵ For example, the Foundation for Research on Community Economic Empowerment (*Yayasan Lembaga Pengkajian Pengembangan Ekonomi Masyarakat*, YLP2EM), a local NGO established in 1996 focused on advocating for access to basic services for marginalised groups in Ajatappareng (South Sulawesi). From December 2015 to June 2016 it was supported by MAMPU through KPI.

¹⁴⁶ Head of Hamlet, in-depth interview, Parepare, September 2016

¹⁴⁷ Member, *Balai Perempuan*, group interview, Watang Soreang, Parepare, September 2016

¹⁴⁸ As noted in the main report, we have defined 'elite' as having greater influence, personal connections to decision-makers, or relative wealth. There are no negative connotations attached to the use of this term.

Employment and income	Domestic duties (41%); paid work from home (27% part time); paid work outside the home (14% part time, 18% full time). 36% have regular income, 23% irregular income, and 41% no income
Legal identity and social protection	All have a personal identity card (KTP). 1 of the 2 members who considers their household to be poorer than most has a social protection card (KPS), and 1 has a poverty verification letter (SKTM). Overall, 36% have a KPS and 23% a SKTM. 28% have a Kartu Indonesia Sehat. 32% of respondents reported receiving Raskin in the previous year, and 50% were recipients of social health insurance (Jamkesmas), and 45% regional health insurance (Jamkesda).

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=22).

For the 22 members surveyed, the main initial motivations to participate were social (for 77 percent) and to promote gender equality (for 59 percent). Motivations to continue are social (for 77 percent of respondents), followed by to improve personal skills and capacity (for 68 percent). Promoting gender equality remains a key motivation for half of the surveyed members. This was the highest proportion of group members across the eight examples for which promoting gender equality was a key motivation to participate in collective action.

All surveyed members had participated in two or more activities in the previous three months, primarily social activities (82 percent) and training (77 percent). Training (50%) and social (14%) were the most preferred by half of the respondents.

RESULTS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

All members surveyed felt that their participation in *Balai Perempuan* had had a positive impact. None thought there had been a negative impact. Both internal (self-belief, confidence, knowledge and skills) and external (organising for gender equality) benefits are observed. As shown in Table 15, almost all considered that there had been individual benefits. This was also the area of most felt positive impact for 86 percent of respondents. Empowerment, in terms of increased participation in decision making and increased social assets such as new friends and networks, was also commonly reported by surveyed members.

Table 15. Changes in empowerment assets reported by surveyed members of *Balai Perempuan*

Individual benefits (human assets (power within))	95%
Financial and resource Assets (power over)	27%
Increased participation (agency assets (power to))	82%
Social assets (power with)	73%
Enabling assets	27%

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=22)

As well as enjoying the new social networks,¹⁴⁹ several women discussed feeling more confident:

After joining, I who could not speak in front of many people can do it now. Now, I can speak in a forum to deliver my thoughts.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Members, *Balai Perempuan* Watang Soreang and Labukkang, group interviews, Parepare, September 2016.

¹⁵⁰ Members, *Balai Perempuan* Labukkang, group interviews, Parepare, September 2016.

For me, when I join, I can now speak in public, before we were afraid and were just listeners, now we can give an opinion. At least there are many influences on us who before were not brave to speak, so afraid. Being women meant 'weak'.¹⁵¹

We are always taught some understanding in every meeting. Finally, it enriches our knowledge, and we become braver.¹⁵²

Participation in *Balai Perempuan* has given members more knowledge and confidence to report cases of violence, as shown in the box at right. Members have also assisted access to government services such as social insurance (BPJS Mandiri) and Raskin:

One family wanted to join, but could not pay for the administration. *Balai Perempuan* then applied for them to be the member of BPJS PBI (health insurance for the poor). We went to Dinkes (health department) attaching the SKTM (verification letter of poverty status).¹⁵³

Along with the village officials, we visited the ones whom we consider are able to survive. If the ones that got (Raskin) feel that they can, they will give the coupon to other families who have the right to it.¹⁵⁴

Balai Perempuan members are able to connect through their own networks and the Parepare branch of KPI to relevant government agencies:

The female cadres of KPI and *Balai Perempuan* can just move because the communication is good. We often communicate with them including with DPRD (local parliament), district government including Dinkes (health office), and local development planning agency. We even text each other, especially the local government such as the head of RW, the head of RT, and lurah (urban 'village').¹⁵⁵

Balai Perempuan give members confidence and knowledge to act against violence

'Usually, if we get a case, we call her, we go together to the police station or court. We will call all the family members'.

(Member, *Balai Perempuan* and PKK #1, in-depth interview, Parepare, September 2016)

'For example, if there is violence against woman in a family, we visit the family and ask her for what she wants to do, does she want to report the husband or do the other things?'

'If we take a look at our neighbours who are hit by their husbands, in the past we did not what to do and where to report, but now ... we know and can do something for it.'

'Usually when we get hit by men, we cannot fight them back as we are women, but now we can fight them back by joining KPI. We also know the rules.'

(*Balai Perempuan* Labukkang members, group interview, Parepare, September 2016)

'We are brave enough to face the Kapolres (district police). I feel more confident. I was afraid when meeting police, but now I am brave because I know the rules and the mechanisms. I can speak and be honest.'

(*Balai Perempuan* Watang Soreang member, group interview, Parepare, September 2016)

CONCLUSIONS

Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia's strength derives from the dedication of its cadres, its tiered ideological education, and a structure from national to urban community or village level. Cadres bring diverse networks and their formation into interest groups consolidates their influence. KPI's attention to political awareness about the importance of women's rights, and how to access various services is translating to increased activism and promotion of service accountability, at least for the groups met for this case study.

During the field study it was apparent that some view *Balai Perempuan* as a stepping stone for elite women with political ambitions; their membership providing them with support for their political candidature. Certainly, in the case study area there is a high proportion of women in formal

¹⁵¹ Head of Hamlet, in-depth interview, Parepare, September 2016.

¹⁵² Member, *Balai Perempuan* and PKK, in-depth interview #1, Parepare, September 2016

¹⁵³ KPI staff and facilitators, group interview #1, Parepare, September 2016

¹⁵⁴ Member, *Balai Perempuan* Watang Soreang, group interview, Parepare, September 2016

¹⁵⁵ KPI staff and facilitators, group interview #1, Parepare, September 2016

leadership roles.¹⁵⁶ If women with the feminist ideological education and commitment engendered through their participation in *Balai Perempuan* successfully run for political office then surely this is a positive outcome. The challenge for such women however is in being able to promote gender aware development when this is inconsistent with the agenda of their party.

ATTACHMENT: SUMMARY OF FIELD WORK

Field work was undertaken in September 2016 in Watang Soreang, Labukkang, and Lapadde urban communities of Parepare City. It consisted of group discussions and in-depth interviews, and administration of the member and facilitator survey (refer detail in Table 16). The field research is complemented by an earlier interview with representatives of KPI national office conducted in July 2016, and document review.

Table 16. Participants in field study: *Balai Perempuan* / *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia*, Parepare city

Description	Women	Men
Group discussions		
Representatives of members from <i>Balai Perempuan</i> , Watang Soreang village	4	
Representatives of members from <i>Balai Perempuan</i> , Lappakde village	10	
Representatives of members from <i>Balai Perempuan</i> , Labbukang village	12	
<i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia</i> district coordinator and field staff of <i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia</i> District Level Representatives of member from 3 villages involved in the WCA, board and project officer of MAMPU Program	6	
<i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia</i> district coordinator and field staff of <i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia</i> District Level Representatives of member from 3 villages involved in the WCA, board and project officer of MAMPU Program	7	
Key informants		
Coordinators for <i>Kelompok Kepentingan</i> (Interest Group) from Bhakti MAMPU Program	1	
PKK Secretary and <i>Balai Perempuan</i> cadre	1	
PKK member and <i>Balai Perempuan</i> cadre	2	
Head of the hamlet where WCA is located	1	
Member of <i>Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kelurahan</i> (Village Community Empowerment Institute)		1
Surveys		
Member survey	22	
From <i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia</i> District Level, field staff, staff and project management of MAMPU- <i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia</i> Program	12	

¹⁵⁶ In the Labukkang *Balai Perempuan* members group interview it was reported that among the eight RW (hamlets) four are led by women, as well as an unspecified proportion of Neighbourhood Associations (RT) (group interview, Parepare, September 2016).

5. *Buruh Migran Indonesia* (Indonesia Migrant Workers)

Case study focus:	Migrant United Indonesia Wonosobo (MUIWO), Lipursari village, Wonosobo District, Central Java
Associated MAMPU Partner	Migrant CARE with sub-partner the Social Analyst Research Institute (SARI)

FOCUS AND ORIGIN OF WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION

Buruh Migran Indonesia groups have been established with support from Migrant CARE under MAMPU to focus on migrant worker protection and migrant worker related policy advocacy targeting both local and village regulations.¹⁵⁷ This case study focuses on one group for women migrant workers, *Migrant United Indonesia Wonosobo*, or *MUIWO*. The name, using English, was chosen to reflect the members' international experience - in Singapore, Hong Kong, Macau, Malaysia, Taiwan, and South Korea.¹⁵⁸

MUIWO's current activities include skills development for income generation activities such as batik making and food processing, paralegal training, and participation in the national migrant worker Jamboree. Training is sometimes provided by the district office for labour (*Dinas Tenaga Kerja*), and agencies for the placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers (*Badan Nasional / Badan Pelayanan Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia*, BNP2TKI / BP3TKI). Group members also take turns to follow the meetings and workshops held by SARI in Wonosobo city. Regular meetings are used to exchange information, provide learning opportunities, and strengthen stakeholder networks.

FEATURES OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

MUIWO has a definitive structure with a leader, secretary, treasurer and representatives for various types of activities. However, in the case of MUIWO in Lipursari village, this structure is dominated by one family¹⁵⁹ and reportedly operates differently to *Buruh Migran Indonesia* groups in other villages¹⁶⁰.

MUIWO is the only active women focused group in Lipursari village, other than the PKK. There is some cross over in membership, but generally PKK involves more elite women and the wives of village leaders, and MUIWO membership criteria is status as a former migrant worker.

Mentoring by SARI has been conducted since 2015 through monthly village meetings and monitoring visits. The connections are close, with one of SARI's field staff being from Lipursari, a former migrant worker, and MUIWO member. SARI is now working to strengthen MUIWO and increase the

¹⁵⁷ There are six migrant worker groups throughout Wonosobo. Groups in Kuripan, Mergosari, and Lipursari villages were established in 2014. Additional groups were established in Paesbumi (2015), and in Bumi Sejati and Sindubumi villages (2016).

¹⁵⁸ Members were generally working abroad from one to five years at a time, often with recurrent placements.

¹⁵⁹ The group is under the influence of the founder, a strong local identity and key figure in the Wonosobo migrant worker community. Key positions in MUIWO and SARI are filled by family members. There is some criticism of lack of transparency and nepotism, but also recognition of the motivation and personal contributions.

¹⁶⁰ In the villages, MUIWO is governed collectively whose members come from various groups.

membership by conducting outreach to families and communities. SARI's field staff provide information on safe migration with correct procedures and information and access on savings and loans mechanisms to enhance capital for those who want to start or expand businesses. They advocate for policies to increase access to services and provide protection for workers, and assist MUIWO in relation to specific issues, such as unethical recruitment practices and issues with labour services companies (*Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia, PJTKI*).¹⁶¹

Governance issues and a lack of organisational readiness almost saw the collapse of MUIWO in Lipursari. MAMPU funding via Migrant CARE enabled SARI to arrange a series of meetings and training to recalibrate the MUIWO vision, mission and related activities. This has included facilitating closer connections with the village administration, resulting in an allocation from the village budget to MUIWO organisational needs – *'it was small indeed, only 500,000. It is a small amount but it does not matter at all, it could increase'*.¹⁶²

Some migrant worker groups have been involved in developing village decrees to become village-level migrant worker service centres, and some are receiving more significant support from the village fund. Lipursari village is still waiting for their decree to be signed by the head of the village.¹⁶³

This case study demonstrates interesting tensions between the more advocacy, wider-change focus of SARI and Migrant CARE – and indeed MAMPU, and the focus of MUIWO members on their more immediate needs. MUIWO's focus and the priority of the MUIWO leaders increasingly was on fostering small business and economic opportunities, creating friction with the vision of SARI and Migrant CARE who are more focused on migrant worker rights and policy:

Before they were flooded with training, the groups were active in advocacy related to local migrant worker regulations ... it is infuriating ... Because we were originally mentoring groups for advocacy, we didn't talk about economic development. But now the groups are struggling only about the economy ... It is important, but we can't just focus on that ... the vision of the organisation must still migrant worker advocacy.¹⁶⁴

With the rejuvenation, MUIWO now has two directions: (1) focusing on former migrant workers to build their independence and income; and (2) focusing on temporarily returned and potential migrant workers to build their understanding of how to migrate safely, to connect them with services, and promote legal protection.

MEMBERSHIP

Since MUIWO's establishment is partly based on solidarity and due to a high mobility of its members' employment status, MUIWO membership has fluctuated since its inception. 20 women are currently active. SARI's recent outreach strategy appears to be effective in regenerating membership.

Table 17. Demographic characteristics of surveyed members of MUIWO

Average age	37 years, range 26-52 years
Marital status	18 married, 1 single, 1 separated
Head of household	3
Average household size	4, range 2-6 members

¹⁶¹ SARI field staff, in-depth interview, Wonosobo, October 2016.

¹⁶² MUIWO Founder, in-depth interview, Wonosobo, October 2016. A group member reported that the proposal was for 10 million rupiah for batik making materials, and what was provided was 500,000 rupiah for stationery (MUIWO member, group interview, Wonosobo, October 2016).

¹⁶³ SARI Field Staff, in-depth interview, Wonosobo, October 2016.

¹⁶⁴ SARI Program Manager, in-depth interview, Wonosobo, October 2016.

Education	Elementary School (58%), Junior High School (26%) 16% High School
Members or family members with disability	1 member reported having a disability
Socio-economic status	64% perceive themselves in the middle economic level, none perceive themselves above average and 36% below the average. 60% perceive their households have average influence, 32% perceive they are in the decision making or influential group, and 8% in the more marginal group of the community.
Employment and income	Domestic duties (40%); paid work from home (35% part time, 15% full time); paid work outside the home (5% part time, 5% full time) 5% have regular income, 50% irregular income, and 45% no income
Legal identity and social protection	All have a personal identity card (KTP). Only 1 of the 4 members who consider their household to be poorer than most has a social protection card (KPS), and none have a poverty verification letter (SKTM). Overall, 20% have a KPS and 5% a SKTM). 28% have an Indonesian Health Card (KIS). 58% of respondents reported receiving Raskin in the previous year, and 16% were recipients of social health insurance (Jamkesmas), and 5% Assistance for Poor Students (<i>Bantuan Siswa Miskin</i>).

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=20)

All those surveyed answered that they had participated in three activities in the previous three months, related to capacity development (90 percent), savings and loans (65 percent), gender equality (55 percent) and income-generation (30 percent). The early motivations of for joining MUIWO were for social activities (70 percent), capacity development (50 percent) and income improvement (20 percent). Current motivations have slightly shifted – with 75 percent answering for capacity development, 60 percent social reasons, and 45 percent income improvement. Capacity building activities were the most enjoyed, (65 percent), followed by income improvement (15 percent) and gender equality (10 percent).

RESULTS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

65 percent of members surveyed perceive that participation in the collective action has had a positive impact on them. The strongest felt positive impacts were in terms of individual benefits (for 94 percent of respondents) and social assets (for 53 percent of respondents). Three respondents (15%) felt that participation in MUIWO had not had any impact on them as individuals, and four (20%) felt there had been both positive and negative impacts.

Table 18. Changes in empowerment assets reported by surveyed members of MUIWO

Individual benefits (human assets (power within))	94%
Financial and resource assets (power over)	29%
Increased participation (agency assets (power to))	6%
Social assets (power with)	53%
Enabling assets	0%

Collective action member survey (n=20)

For group members, having new experiences was an important benefit: '(My wife) told me some things that I've never experienced. First, she's very happy there: "Pak, I'm sleeping in a hotel. We do sports in the morning. It's a good life";¹⁶⁵ 'The advantage for me after join MUIWO was that I got more experiences'.¹⁶⁶

New skills were also valued 'After training, we have skills to earn more income. Since there is training to make batik, now we can produce batik. As well as make salak syrup'.¹⁶⁷

However, getting the enterprises off the ground is still a challenge – 'Batik needs a large capital investment...Honestly, our batik is stagnant because no capital... From batik, we haven't got any income yet',¹⁶⁸ although organisers were more positive - 'Oh batik, batik is also running well'.¹⁶⁹

While economic benefits are still forthcoming, group members used the pocket money and transportation allowance provided for attending meetings outside of the village to establish a savings and loans initiative – 'So far we have collected 1.3 million rupiah in cash...We will continue this if it goes smoothly'.¹⁷⁰

Group facilitators see an increase in group members' skills and confidence, and in their wider networks, and that the group can support the improvement of understanding on the migrant worker related issues, and report increased participation in the Musrenbangdes (village development planning forum),¹⁷¹ and that this 'sparks their motivation (that they are) seen as more significant and useful by the society (and) that makes them proud'.¹⁷²

MUIWO reportedly has a strengthened network with local government, although this is perhaps more through SARI, rather than directly.¹⁷³ MUIWO representatives were involved in drafting a local regulation (Perda No.8 of 2016 regarding the placement and protection of migrant workers), that was finalised in late 2016,¹⁷⁴ and one interview suggested that female migrant workers in the village are using safer mechanisms following MUIWO and SARI activities.¹⁷⁵

CONCLUSIONS

Although there are clear limitations and challenges with MUIWO, there is also some evidence that members experience a sense of empowerment in a range of areas, particularly skills and engagement with formal processes such as village development planning and development of protective regulations. This latter engagement has been responded to positively by the local government, and representatives have been given greater opportunities to speak.

MUIWO also provides a clear example of observed and potential tensions arising from conflicting visions and priorities between different actors. Engagement with MAMPU through Migrant CARE and SARI is assisting to resolve some of the governance issues and make the group more open, as well as introducing a women's movement ideology. As a local partner, SARI has played a key role in

¹⁶⁵ Husbands of MUIWO members, group interview, Wonosobo, October 2016.

¹⁶⁶ Non-active MUIWO member, in-depth interview, Wonosobo, October 2016.

¹⁶⁷ MUIWO members, group interview, Wonosobo, October 2016.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ MUIWO Founder, Program Manager, SARI Solo, MUIWO facilitator (SARI staff), SARI Field Staff, in-depth interviews, Wonosobo, October 2016.

¹⁷² SARI Field Staff, in-depth interview, Wonosobo, October 2016.

¹⁷³ The former Wonosobo Bupati (District Governor) was committed to migrant worker protection and actively encouraged and coordinated the passing of a related local regulation. SARI staff used their personal connections with key figures including the former Bupati and village heads who care about migrant worker issues to advocate for this regulation.

¹⁷⁴ MUIWO leader and SARI Field Staff, in-depth interviews, Wonosobo, October 2016

¹⁷⁵ Husbands of MUIWO members, group interview, Wonosobo, October 2016.

making the connection between the grassroots and higher level policy. This importance of the role of an intermediary is perhaps the standout lesson from this case study. It may be unrealistic and unfair to expect that women busy with the business of survival – earning an income, looking after their families – will take the time to look up and engage in advocacy that they feel is not directly relevant to their current circumstance. The intermediary however can take their experience and engage on their behalf. For some women, economic stability may be a pre-requisite for more political collective action.

ATTACHMENT: SUMMARY OF FIELD WORK – MUIWO

Field work was undertaken in October 2016 and consisted of group discussions, in-depth interviews, and administration of the member and facilitator survey (refer detail in Table 19. Participants in field study: MUIWO Wonosobo). The field study is complemented by an earlier document review and an interview with Migrant CARE conducted in August 2016.

Table 19. Participants in field study: MUIWO Wonosobo

Description	Women	Men
Group discussions		
The collective action members, Lipursari village	7	
Representatives of spouses of members		7
Key informants		
MUIWO founder	1	
MUIWO leader		1
The collective action member and PKK member	1	
The collective action member / paralegal	1	
Former collective action member	1	
Head of BMI Wonosobo / community leader	1	
Program Manager, SARI, Solo		
SARI field staff (interviewed separately)	1	1
Woman leader/PKK representative	1	
Member of <i>Badan Permusyawaratan Desa</i> (Village Deliberation Council), Lipursari village		1
Surveys		
Member survey	20	
Facilitators/staff		3

6. Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan (Women Homeworkers)

Case study focus:	Kelompok Kreatif Bunda (Creative Mothers' Group), Wonolelo Village, Bantul District, DI Yogyakarta
Associated MAMPU Partner	Yasanti

FOCUS AND ORIGIN OF WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION

Yasanti manages three women homeworker initiatives – one in Bantul district and one in DI Yogyakarta (Yogyakarta Special Region), where workers supply the needs of small and medium enterprises, and the last one in Semarang city, Central Java, where workers are engaged in the garment industry. This difference in the mode of homeworker engagement flows through to a difference in employee-employer relations, with those in Bantul in more informal arrangements. This case study focuses on the Bantul example, where Yasanti supports a pre-existing group *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif* – Creative Mothers' Group.

The relationship between Yasanti and the Bantul site can be traced back to the Yogyakarta Earthquake in 2006. Several organisations came to give assistance, one of which was *Solidaritas Perempuan* (Women's Solidarity).¹⁷⁶ Yasanti continued from *Solidaritas Perempuan*, with the same core staff member, and over time began to focus on homeworkers. The women homeworkers initiatives aim to increase members' income, but is more about building knowledge of their rights and opportunities for protection, and access to relevant services:

Kreatif Bunda doesn't only merely think about the business capital ... but indeed without capital maybe it won't last long. But now what they need is the awareness of their rights, that's our perspective.¹⁷⁷

Women homeworkers 'are just like a ghost that is between visible and invisible'¹⁷⁸ and so Yasanti firstly aims to make homeworkers recognised. While the economic activity of homeworkers is real, legally there is no official employer, meaning that the protections offered by labour legislation can be shirked. Homeworkers are therefore very vulnerable to unsafe conditions and exploitation. Yasanti's advocacy focuses on encouraging formal acknowledgement about homebased worker rights through a government regulation, and more secure work arrangements with employers through written acknowledgement of the outsourcing arrangements.¹⁷⁹

Then we met Yasanti, and built cooperation with them. I do not know how, but there was someone who came to me. I went to training, and I was introduced at the beginning as the village officials. There were reports that there was a group of mothers with Yasanti doing some activities.

Alhamdulillah, when accompanied by Yasanti, the mothers dared to do something. Now they are brave to speak and to become active.

Head of village, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

¹⁷⁶ *Solidaritas Perempuan* experienced difficulties in the relief efforts because they were seen to be engaged in Christianisation. Yasanti was able to operate without this misassumption.

¹⁷⁷ Yasanti administrator - *Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

¹⁷⁸ Members, *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

¹⁷⁹ Yasanti administrator - *Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

An early step in the process is collecting data on women home workers in the area:

There is an official to do it if it is the government thing, but in Kreatif Bunda it is our member who collects the data. It makes them learn how to meet new people and explain what is meant by homeworkers. We are taught how to meet the government and how to communicate with them in the school of Yasanti. They give us a chance to feel free in asking and answering questions.¹⁸⁰

Group facilitators come from Yasanti's *Sekolah Perempuan* (women's school). Through the school Yasanti develops and delivers participatory modules on home based women workers' rights, human rights, advocacy skills, and community organising. Within the women's school approach is *kelompok sel* (cell group), which offers practice experience in advocacy and group organising. This focuses on developing new homeworker groups and engaging with different levels of government, employers, and homeworkers and their families.

FEATURES OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

Facilitator survey respondents report that the women homeworker groups have a formal structure and list of members, to encourage a sense of a shared vision and working as a group for larger change.¹⁸¹ It has a feminist underpinning, with a focus on rights and access to services. Yasanti has an active role, being in regular contact with the women homeworker groups. It does not appear that *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* members are strongly connected to the village leadership or village elite, although some links are forming. It appears to operate reasonably informally, without dominant or overly controlling leadership, and an emphasis on group solidarity:

PKK is different to us. PKK is more about household matters, like taking care of children, cooking, and so on. The members of *Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan* in PKK now are more critical. They don't just stand still. They are braver in conveying their thoughts.

(*Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* member in group interview, Bantul, October 2016)

The difference between this group and another group is that in another group we just listen to the speaker, but in this group, we don't only listen to the speaker but we also speak. It offers an enjoyable discussion and [we make] a lot of friends. All suggestions are combined, and [we find] a solution for all ... Usually in other organisations, no-one dares to question the chairperson, but here, the members can speak up, it is resolved openly'.¹⁸²

MEMBERSHIP

Membership has been limited to women homeworkers. Most make patchwork bags for sale through handicraft shops and clothing for local markets. There are plans to extend membership to all women, with the intention of increasing access to opportunities to earn an income.¹⁸³ Membership fluctuates; at the time of the field study there were reportedly 39 members. As shown in Table 20, members consider that they are generally of average economic status and influence in the community. Due to the membership criteria, unlike other groups, all members are in paid employment, though for most, their income is irregular.

Table 20. Demographic characteristics of surveyed members of *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif*

Average age	Average 38, range 30-51
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¹⁸⁰ Members, *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

¹⁸¹ Yasanti respondents to facilitator survey (n=2, Bantul and Semarang).

¹⁸² Member, *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

¹⁸³ *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* Secretary, in-depth interview Bantul, October 2016

Marital status	19 married, 1 separated
Head of household (breadwinner)	5 members
Average household size	4, range 2-5 family members
Education	Elementary School (30%), Junior High School (35%) High School (35%)
Members or family members with disability	1 respondent has a child with a disability
Socio-economic status	75% perceive themselves in the middle economic level, none perceive themselves above average and 25% below the average. 85% perceive their households have average influence, 15% perceive they are in the decision making or influential group, and none in the more marginal group of the community.
Employment and income	Domestic duties (0%); paid work from home (50% part time, 40% full time); paid work outside the home (10% part time). All have some form of income - 20% regular income, 80% irregular income
Legal identity and social protection	All have a personal identity card (KTP). 2 of the 5 members (40%) who consider their household to be poorer than most has a social protection card (KPS), but none have a poverty verification letter (SKTM). Overall, 40% have a KPS and 10% a SKTM). 28% have a health insurance card (Indonesia Health Card (KIS) or other). 50% of respondents reported receiving Raskin in the previous year, and 10% were recipients of social health insurance (Jamkesmas), and 15% <i>Program Keluarga Harapan</i> (conditional cash transfers for poor families)

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=20)

All but one surveyed members had participated in two or more activities in the previous three months. All had participated in at least one savings and loans activity and in training or skills development. Savings and loan activities were the most enjoyed or participated in for half the respondents. At the beginning, women joined the group because of social motivations (for 75 percent) and to increase personal capacity and skills (for 65 percent). The two most preferred activities were saving and loans (50%) and training (25%).

RESULTS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

18 members surveyed felt that there had been positive impacts from their participation in the collective action, with two of these respondents (10%) also thinking that there had been some negative consequences as well as positive consequences. As shown in , all surveyed members reported individual benefits, and these were also the strongest benefits felt (for 100 percent of respondents, followed by increased social assets (for 85 percent).

I cannot believe that I can speak this way. I cannot believe it. My husband also cannot believe that I could speak this way. And now I am here. I did not have any friends back then, but now I have more courage ... When I visit the head of the village and the village office, I even think that it is just a common thing ... I can say that I have changed a lot.

Kreatif Bunda Secretary, Bantul, October 2016

Table 21. Changes in empowerment assets reported by surveyed members of *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*

Individual benefits (human assets (power within))	100%
Financial and resource assets (power over)	50%

Increased participation (agency assets (power to))	30%
Social assets (power with)	85%
Enabling assets	15%

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=20)

Some members interviewed reported an increase in self-confidence: *'I could not speak in front of many people, but now I can do it'*, and an increase in their knowledge resulting from Yasanti's activities:

Once (we) did not know the rights as the women homeworkers, but now (we) know it although we do not memorise them all, once (we) did not know what is women homeworkers, but now we know. Then the gender equality between the men and women, now we know it.¹⁸⁴

The connection to Yasanti has also been attributed with opening up new market opportunities:

The turnover may be bigger now ... our market has reached Solo. In the past, we only marketed it to Prambanan, Malioboro, Beringharjo, and tourism attractions in Yogya. After being introduced by Yasanti, whenever we go we get an order. When we attend training, there are some who order bags from us'.¹⁸⁵

Generally however, increased income was not a feature of the interviews, with one member noting that training on entrepreneurship was needed as they needed to be better at setting profitable sale prices.¹⁸⁶

There were a few mentions of *Kreatif Bunda* becoming more involved in village planning processes, and through this being able to access village government support for workplace health and safety training (*Pelatihan Keselamatan dan Kesehatan Kerja*, K3):

We were invited to join the Musrenbang (village development planning meeting), and we proposed the Kreatif Bunda's programs there. Alhamdulillah, in 2016 we can join K3 (occupational health and safety) training.¹⁸⁷

The group has been invited to propose what program – by name and address – they want to join to the district planning agency in January each year – the problem is, the group is unaware of what the options are, but intend to ask questions with their new-found courage.¹⁸⁸

Nevertheless, in their home lives women are still facing entrenched gender roles, limiting their time to participate in the activities, as well as their home-based work:

It is not that easy to ensure my husband's support because it is like culture that women are supposed to do the dishes and wash laundry ... At first it was really difficult to change him'.¹⁸⁹

Participation in the group is OK 'as long as it does not interrupt the family responsibility and routines',¹⁹⁰ and men being left to look after the children has been viewed as 'annoying'.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁴ Member, *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

¹⁸⁵ Village Head, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Members, *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

¹⁸⁸ *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* Secretary, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

¹⁸⁹ Members, *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

¹⁹⁰ Sub-Village Head, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

¹⁹¹ Husbands of members, *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

The group secretary reports subsequently being very disciplined and efficient with group meetings so as to minimise the time requirement ‘at 10 we start the event even though there are only two members present, and at 12 we finish the event’.¹⁹²

CONCLUSION

There were a mix of interests, context and motives of the establishment of *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda*. The dual strategy of a woman’s schools and cell-group (*kelompok sel* in Indonesian) appears to be well founded, building capacity while expanding the circle of influence. Using an existing curriculum has accelerated the growth and village level influence of the group. The approach to group development emphasises member solidarity rather than strongly institutionalising a representative or decision making structure. *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* appears to operate as a flat structure, just with the necessary coordination to help things to happen.

Prior to Yasanti joining MAMPU, its women’s school curriculum did not explore the practical issues of protection of homeworkers. MAMPU funding has enabled Yasanti to make a connection between its feminist approach and the downstream issue of the invisibility of homeworkers. This is expected to lead to acknowledgment of women homeworkers’ political and economic rights, and assisting them to access relevant social protection schemes.

ATTACHMENT: SUMMARY OF FIELD WORK

Field work was undertaken in October 2016 in Bojong Hamlet, Wonolelo Village, Bantul district. It involved group discussions and in-depth interviews, and administration of the member and facilitator survey (refer detail in Table 22). Researchers also observed daily life and interactions of the village. The field study is complemented by an earlier document review.

Table 22. Participants in field study: *Kelompok Bunda Kreatif*, Bantul district

Description	Women	Men
Group discussions		
Representatives of members of women homeworkers from 2 villages	10	
Representatives of husbands of women homeworkers members and community leaders		8
Key informants		
Member and Secretary of collective action	1	
Head of the hamlet (interviewed separately)		2
Head of village	1	
Non-member	1	
Yasanti MAMPU Program Coordinator	1	
Surveys		
Member survey	20	
Facilitators	2	

¹⁹² *Kelompok Kreatif Bunda* Secretary, in-depth interview, Bantul, October 2016

7. Community Center

Case study focus:	Community Center Mentari Sehat, Bukit Bungkul village, Merangin district, Jambi province
Associated MAMPU Partner	Permampu, with local partner Merangin Women Alliance (Aliansi Perempuan Merangin, APM)

FOCUS AND ORIGIN OF WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION

In early 1997, five women in Pulau Tujuh village formed a group because they were concerned about issues facing local women, including maternal mortality, violence against women, and unwanted teenage pregnancy. This group became the *Sehat Mandiri* study group. In 1998, the Jambi branch of the Indonesian Family Planning Program (*Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia*, PKBI) provided some capacity development support related to the rights of women in rural areas, thus building the group's awareness of reproductive health from a gender perspective.

The *Sehat Mandiri* study group then went on to receive some training from Komnas Perempuan, and became part of their network for documenting cases of violence, and participated in the 16-days of action against violence campaign. This study group was transformed into 'Community Center' in 2001, a more structured governance that internally was designed to have a more clarity on division of roles and responsibility, and externally was considered a name that more recognisable and represented what they were – a place where people could come together to share and learn. There are now 18 Community Centers in seven sub-districts in Merangin. This case study focuses on one example, in Bukit Bungkul village.

'The independent implementation cannot be doubted. Once there was an activity in Manau and that was not fully supported by APM. But we persisted, and it was still held because we had a responsibility'.

Community Leader, in-depth interview, Merangin, October 2016

To deal with higher level organisational and consolidation challenges, these Community Centers then established the Merangin Women's Alliance (*Aliansi Perempuan Merangin*, APM), which became a legal entity in 2003. The Alliance's stated mission is *to struggle for women's rights and autonomy, including the right to reproductive health in family and community life*,¹⁹³ and their work has a strong advocacy focus, targeting policy makers and various levels of leadership. Between 2004 and 2006, APM successfully advocated for construction of a reproductive health clinic, public action against violence against women, and a village asphalt access road as part of a strategy to reduce maternal and infant mortality. APM realised their power was in amplifying village level advocacy. They have received international support from the Ford Foundation and HIVOS.

Permampu has fostered a partnership with APM since 2015. With MAMPU support this partnership has become a driver of Community Center activities by re-identifying local factors that hamper women's rights, including conservative cultural and religious views.

¹⁹³ <http://aliansiperempuanmerangin.blogspot.com.au>

FEATURES OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

Community Center Mentari Sehat has a formal organisational structure, with an administrative committee and organisational protocols. It develops an annual work plan, including human resources development, women's rights, sports, information and communications, and religious activities.

Historically Community Center experienced public prejudice, and worked to resolve this through members building relationships with village leaders and the local government. In the last few years, Community Center has intensified its advocacy, for example commemorating International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women (25 November) by inviting public officials to the village for a symbolic mass demonstration. Since linking with MAMPU through APM and Permampu, Community Center has facilitated interest group forums to support advocacy and build understanding of sexual and reproductive health rights. These have included forums for husbands, young men, young women, teenagers in school, indigenous leaders, and religious leaders.

Community Center has long standing leadership from its pioneers, who bring a historic knowledge and perspective. Regeneration and succession of this leadership is a challenge. Community Center emphasises the importance of its independence, and this is expected to enable sustainability. It has begun to self-fund some activities through member dues, and is advocating for an allocation from the village budget and more broadly for more gender sensitive budgeting at district level.

MEMBERSHIP

Members of Community Center are generally the descendants of Javanese migrants who settled in Merangin district. Many work in the farming sector, some are civil servants, teachers or other waged employees. Membership is influenced by the farming cycle or other employment demands:

Of the 70 members, sometimes there are only 40 active members. In addition to work, the members are also fewer because they help their husbands who work in PT Sawit, tap the rubber in the forest, or help their husbands working in the field or palm oil plantations. Some of them cannot be active members because they have become the heads of the PAUD (early childhood education centres) and the meeting schedules coincide with teaching duties.¹⁹⁴

As described in Table 23 below, members tend to see themselves as being in the middle economic group in their community. Community Center members had some of the highest level of education of the examples studied.

Table 23. Demographic characteristics of surveyed members of Community Center

Average age	43, range 30-61 years
Marital status	21 married, 1 separated
Head of household	2
Average household size	4, range 2-6 family members
Education	Elementary School (23%), Junior High School (27%) High School (36%) College (9%)
Members or family members with disability	No
Socio-economic status	77% perceive themselves in the middle economic level, 9% perceive themselves above average and 14% below the average.

¹⁹⁴ Member, Community Center Mentari Sehat, group interview, Merangin, October 2016

	59% consider their household in the more influential or decision making group, and 41% of average influence.
Employment and income	23% have a regular income, 27% irregular income, and 50% no income.
Legal identity and social protection	2 of the 3 women who perceive their households to be at the lower economic level report their household having a social protection card (KPS), and 1 has a poverty verification letter (SKTM). Overall, 50% of members' households have a KPS and 14% a SKTM). 45% have an Indonesia Health Card (KIS). Participation in social assistance programs was low - 27% of respondents reported receiving Raskin in the previous year. None had accessed social health insurance (Jamkesmas).

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=22)

All surveyed members reported participating in three activities in the previous three months. These were mostly training and skills development (all surveyed members), activities related to women's empowerment (86 percent), and savings and loans related activities (73 percent). Two most preferred activities were training (for 82 percent of surveyed members) and women's empowerment activities (18 percent). The main initial motivation to participate in Community Center was increase personal skills and capacity (for 82 percent of surveyed members). This remains the motivation for ongoing participation for 91 percent of those surveyed, followed by social motivations (32 percent) and being involved in promoting gender equality (for 23 percent of those surveyed).

RESULTS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

All members surveyed felt that their participation in Community Center had positive impact, for almost all this was in the form of individual benefits such as increased confidence and self-belief (see Table 24) and almost half also felt that their participation had increased.

Table 24. Changes in empowerment assets reported by surveyed members of Community Center

Individual benefits (human assets (power within))	95%
Financial and resource assets (power over)	0%
Increased participation (agency assets (power to))	45%
Social assets (power with)	9%
Enabling assets	0%

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=20)

Permampu has conducted several training events for Community Center members under its MAMPU program about sexual and reproductive health rights. These have developed members' knowledge, and enabled them to see their own sexual and reproductive health as linked to gender and power relations, rather than just women's physical condition:

I used to be very blind, I did not ever get information on reproductive health ... When I gave birth for the first time in 1995, there was mobile loudspeaker (promoting) mobile family planning. I came to the village hall - I did not know about the types of family planning, I did not know about the side effects, I just came. It turned out of so many who joined, almost 50 percent experienced bleeding. We were shocked, we did not know where we should ask about it. Then, in our study group, we learned about the impact of family planning. Thus, we understood that information is our right because family planning affects our body, our reproductive health.¹⁹⁵

Some members also reporting being able to pass their new knowledge on to others: 'I did not know how to answer if my daughter asked me, "Mum what is menstruation?" I could not answer. Now I can answer'.¹⁹⁶

Community Center and APM have also worked to identify 'upstream' sexual and reproductive health issues, one of these is early marriage. This includes advocating for a village regulation in Pulau Tujuh Village:

I was married at 21 years old. Generally, we were married at that age, but now there are a lot of child marriages, even worse, they are pregnant at 13 or 14 years old. One of the efforts of women in APM is to urge the government, related parties such as KUA (Office of Religious Affairs) to prevent early marriage. Previously, we gathered women sitting in BPD (Village

Community Center member views on the benefits of their participation

'Basically I really find [Community Center] is very good because I experience a lot of things. I can participate in training either about economics and any other training. It really helps me a lot, from knowing nothing to come to know more, to becoming independent.'

'Since I join the CC, I became independent, I became an independent woman. Before I was a spoilt woman. (Now) I know about family issues, health issues in the family, how the family can live in harmony. I know now how to make it better.'

'I gained knowledge and experience. From not knowing, to knowing something.'

'I was impressed in following the CC because I can understand about the pap smear.'

'My knowledge about women's health, family, and especially children (has improved).'

'In the CC, I have more friends, more experience, I know more about health issues, and how to manage the family.'

'After learning in CC, if we have a household budget, what we need is what we buy. It means the CC have given knowledge about family management.'

'Before we did not know anything, now we know a little bit about health, reproduction, and I shared the knowledge to my children.'

Members, Community Center Mentari Sehat, group interview, Merangin, October 2016

¹⁹⁵ APM Field Facilitators, group interview, Merangin, October 2016.

¹⁹⁶ Local teacher and student counsellor (former Community Center member), in-depth interview, Merangin, October 2016.

Deliberation Council) and in village affairs, to give them an understanding about the impact of child marriage. They then returned to their villages, they held discussions in their villages, they talked with the village government regarding the issuance of village regulation. The village regulation aims to overcome early marriage.¹⁹⁷

The young people forums have also been an important strategy for building young peoples' understanding of sexual and reproductive health:

It was just the same with my friends, if we take part in OPBUBU (Bukit Mungkul Women's Organisation) we could gain knowledge about sexual reproduction. In Karang Taruna we could not experience that. In another organisation, if we discuss about sexual issues, it is still considered as taboo, as inappropriate. While here we were told the truth.¹⁹⁸

Some resistance is reported from some in the community: '*Many people are happy; many people are not happy*'.¹⁹⁹ This appears to be mainly about the impacts of changing gender roles on family dynamics:

... according to the husbands, if it is equal it will not be a problem, but if it is higher, then there will be tendency for them to have control over the husbands.²⁰⁰

Members recognise that 'there are a lot of stumbling blocks, (those) who think that Community Center members are disobedient to their husbands',²⁰¹ and that 'if there is still a group that disagrees, it is more due to the actions of the women who fight for gender equality'.

There has also been some reaction to the sensitivity of the subject matter 'as counsellor I was threatened ... Sometimes our own friends, women friends, they are not pleased, also from the religious figures',²⁰² but this was not a strong finding in the field study.

CONCLUSIONS

In this example, collective action can be viewed different levels – the work of, and group formed by the Community Center members, who come together to discuss and learn about, and shift attitudes concerning sexual and reproductive health; and then at the level of APM, with Community Centers as members. The Alliance brings more power to Community Centers, as well as providing access to external support, including that of MAMPU. While Permampu and MAMPU have supported the dynamism of Community Center and APM, their operation is founded in a long history of women organising. External actors have supported the groups and networks to frame their issues within an analysis of gender, and to provide critical education for grassroots women, now extending to many other groups in the community. This wider collaboration with men, young people, government, and other interest groups is a strategic tactic to help Community Center achieves its goals, and mitigate the community resistance linked to the sensitivity of the issues being discussed.

ATTACHMENT: SUMMARY OF FIELD WORK – COMMUNITY CENTER

Field work was undertaken in October 2016 and consisted of group discussions and in-depth interviews conducted in three villages (Bukit Bungkul, Pulau Tujuh, and Mampun Baru) (see Table 25 for details). The field study is complemented by an earlier interview with Permampu conducted in August 2016 and document review.

¹⁹⁷ APM Field Facilitators, group interview, Merangin, October 2016.

¹⁹⁸ Representative of Community Centre Young Peoples' Forum, in-depth interview, Merangin, October 2016.

¹⁹⁹ Member, Community Center Mentari Sehat, group interview, Merangin, October 2016.

²⁰⁰ Husbands of Community Center members and male leaders, group interview, Merangin, October 2016.

²⁰¹ Member, Community Center Mentari Sehat, group interview, Merangin, October 2016.

²⁰² Head of Community Center Mentari Sehat, in-depth interview, Merangin, October 2016.

Table 25. Participants in field study: Community Center, APM Merangin

Description	Women	Men
Group discussions		
Field facilitators	5	1
Members of Community Center <i>Mentari Sehat</i>	13	
Husbands of Community Center members, male leaders (village and government)		6
Key informants		
Head of <i>Mentari Sehat</i> Community Center	1	
Community leader (teacher)	1	
Head of Community Health Center	1	
Head of village where Community Center is located		1
Former head of village		1
Young Women's Forum Board	1	
Young Men's Forum Coordinator		1
Traditional birth attendant	1	
APM Merangin Director	1	
APM Merangin Program Manager	1	
Surveys		
Member survey	22	
Facilitators / staff	21	

8. *Posko* (Coordination Post) Lestari and Mentari

Case study focus:	Arakan village (Lestari) and Pungkol village (Mentari), Tatapaa sub-district, South Minahasa district, North Sulawesi
Associated MAMPU Partner	National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komisi Nasional Anti-Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan, Komnas Perempuan) with local partner Swara Perempuan

FOCUS AND ORIGIN OF WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION

Posko Lestari and *Posko Mentari* are supported by Swara Perempuan, a member of the North Sulawesi Service Provider Forum (*Forum Pengadaan Layanan*, FPL), that is part of the network of Komnas Perempuan.²⁰³ The *Posko* aid, and advocate on behalf of, women and children experiencing violence.

Posko Lestari has grown from a community awareness group established in 1994 that campaigned about environmental issues. Swara Perempuan connected with the group in 1998, and provided mentoring and information on a range of issues, including violence against women and children. Arakan village then began referring cases of violence to Swara Perempuan.

On joining MAMPU in late 2014, Swara Perempuan invited several women from Arakan village, including from the community awareness group, to meet to hear about MAMPU and discuss possible activities. 20 women attended this first meeting, 18 of whom were interested to become involved in collective action focusing on assistance to, and advocacy on behalf of, women and children experiencing violence. *Posko Lestari* was established in December 2014 and has built a steady workflow in assisting and finding solutions, primarily for domestic violence cases.

Swara Perempuan also convened a group of interested women in Pungkol village, and provided training in case handling, counselling, and advocacy. *Posko Mentari* was established in late 2014 and like *Posko Lestari* assists in situations of violence against women and children, as well as in trafficking cases.

(*Posko Lestari*) has been working actively since January 2015 and up until now ... During (establishment), we found that the village government didn't have a suitable network and didn't know what to do, whereas these were daily issues for Swapar ... You can say we're Swapar's wings. So, when there's a violence case, people would report to us. When it is possible for us to directly address the case, we would handle it. However, when it becomes too difficult for us to handle advocacy, we would ask for assistance from Swapar.

(Former member of *Posko Lestari*, in-depth interview, Pungkol, October 2016)

²⁰³ FPL, previously known as *Forum Belajar* (Learning Forum), was initiated by Komnas Perempuan prior to MAMPU to strengthen provincial and district networks of violence against women and children service providers. Prior to MAMPU, Komnas Perempuan supported FPL in 16 provinces, and this has increased with MAMPU assistance (Interview, Komnas Perempuan management, Jakarta, August 2016).

FEATURES OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

The *Posko* have a standard formal structure of coordinator, secretary, and treasurer. They meet regularly, and as required to respond to cases.

The roles of both *Posko* have been formalised through a village decree. The *Posko Mentari* decree includes the names of the core members, thus validating their roles in responding to violence cases within the village structure. Similarly, *Posko Lestari* members have been issued with formal

We provide them with knowledge, and then they realised that they can do something in their village. The women are more aware of cases now. Before, they used to think that domestic violence was common but were afraid to provide help in others' domestic issues, afraid that it will lead to a fight. But now they know the Law of Domestic Violence Eradication, Law of Child Protection, and they socialize these in their own village... (for example) they used to have a regular meeting which invited the *majelis taklim* to talk about standard topics. But now they'd like to discuss about the Law, the Law of Domestic Violence Eradication, Law of Child Protection and the issue of Law of Village. It's impossible for them to discuss these matters individually, they need to be in a group.

(Swara Perempuan staff member, in-depth interview, Pungkol, October 2016)

identification cards to reinforce their roles in assisting in what can be confrontational and sensitive situations. *Posko Mentari* had raised their own funding for activities, but are expecting an allocation in the 2017 village budget.²⁰⁴

Both *Posko* have close relationships with the village apparatus and the PKK and take a collaborative approach to working with village structures.

Swara Perempuan has a strong role in supporting the group; the village head of Arakan stating that the group is still dependent on the support of the *Swara Perempuan* facilitator.²⁰⁵ This facilitator fulfils an intermediary role, connecting the *Posko* to Swara Perempuan support and also facilitating links to village governance structures.

MEMBERSHIP

Swara Perempuan has a deliberate strategy to engage elite women in the *Posko*. In this context, elite women are those in influential positions, such the head of the *majelis taklim* (religious study group), wife of the head of the village, and those in leadership positions in the PKK. As seen in Table 26, three-quarters of members surveyed perceive they are in the decision making or influential group of their communities, and the rest of average influence. Both *Posko* have strong connections and cross membership with the PKK. The coordinator of *Posko Lestari* is also the chair of the *majelis taklim* (religious education institution), and other members include a member of the village deliberation council (*Badan Permusyawaratan Desa*, BPD), teachers, and the wife of the head of the hamlet.²⁰⁶ The coordinator of *Posko Mentari* is also the head of the PKK motivators team, and other members include the PKK secretary, village head, and representative of *Hukum Tua* (Old Law). Two of the group members are men. This membership assists the *Posko* to have greater authority and village leadership support when handling case of violence.

Posko do not involve poorer or more marginalised women as members, although it can be argued that *Posko* activities bring benefits to poorer or more marginalised women if they are facing violence.

Table 26. Demographic characteristics of surveyed members of *Posko*

Average age	40, range 27-63 years
Marital status	18 married and living together, 1 divorced

²⁰⁴ Member, *Posko Mentari*, group interview, Pungkol, October 2016

²⁰⁵ Head of Hamlet, Arakan, in-depth interview, Kecamatan Tatapaan, October 2016

²⁰⁶ Member, *Posko Lestari*, group interview, Kecamatan Tatapaan, October 2016

Head of household	3 (16%) members*
Average household size	4 (range 2-9)
Education	Elementary school (21%), junior high school (27% senior high school (21%), Paket A/B/C (11%), College (21%)
Members or family members with disability	1 member has a child with a disability
Socio-economic status	84% perceive themselves in the middle economic level, 11% perceive themselves to be above average and 5% below the average. 26% perceive their households have average influence, 74% perceive they are in the decision making or influential group, and none in the more marginal group of the community.
Employment and income	Domestic duties (47%); paid work from home (11% part time, 5% full time); paid work outside the home (37% full time) 42% have regular income, 11% irregular income, and 47% no income
Legal identity and social protection	All but 1 have a personal identity card (KTP) The 1 member who considers her household to be poorer than most has a social protection card (KPS), but not a poverty verification letter (SKTM). Overall, 58% have a KPS and 10% a SKTM). 28% have an Indonesian Health Card (KIS). 95% of respondents reported receiving Raskin in the previous year, and 11% were recipients of Jamkesmas, and 11% Program Keluarga Harapan (conditional cash transfers for poor families).

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=19, includes 2 men)

All surveyed members had participated in three or more activities in the previous three months, most commonly advocacy (84 percent) and women's empowerment related activities (79 percent). The two most participated in or preferred activities were advocacy (for 42 percent of respondents) and training or capacity development activities (for 26 percent). For just over half of the surveyed members, being involved in advocacy was a motivation to join the *Posko*, and advocacy is now the main motivation to now be involved for 18 of the 19 surveyed. It was clear from the group interviews with *Posko* members that a sense of solidarity with women and children experiencing violence, and a desire to help them, was a powerful motivation:

Violent incidents are less frequent within the community, so we are no longer afraid in the face of violence. If what we do is positive, we will continue to do so. At least violence against women becomes less frequent. That is my motivation.²⁰⁷

I am the coordinator of the *Posko*, also the Head of the PKK motivator team. I like to be in the *Posko* because I learn advocacy ... I do not find that in the PKK.

(Member of *Posko* Mentari, in-depth interview, Pungkol, October 2016)

RESULTS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

16 of the 19 members surveyed felt that their participation in the *Posko* had brought positive impacts; two also felt both positive and negative changes. One person felt there had been no impact. As shown in Table 27, individual benefits were the most commonly reported, and were also the most strongly felt benefits for half of the members surveyed. Most members also reported benefits in terms of participation and social assets.

²⁰⁷ Members of *Posko* Mentari, group interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

Table 27. Changes in empowerment assets reported by surveyed members of *Posko - Swara Perempuan*

Individual benefits (human assets (power within))	89%
Financial and resource assets (power over)	6%
Increased participation (agency assets (power to))	78%
Social assets (power with)	78%
Enabling assets	44%

Data source: Collective action member survey (n=19)

The *Posko* experience been attributed with increasing women's confidence to speak in public,²⁰⁸ and they have been invited to speak at the village forum.²⁰⁹ It is noted that members were already amongst the more elite in the village, but there was some indication that participation in *Posko* activities were recognised for their efforts and this increased their status:

(When the women join the *Posko*) they are more prominent ... these women often attend the meeting of PKK, the church and worship ... they are involved in all activities.²¹⁰

There was some small indication of changes in gender roles: 'it is believed that it is wrong for Bajo husbands to be in the kitchen or wash dishes. But now those in Arakan are starting to wash their dishes on the streets, because their well is located nearby the street. It's one of the changes',²¹¹ but the more striking observation was that in nine of the fifteen interviews it was mentioned that violence in the two *Posko* locations had decreased, with this being attributed to fear, increased knowledge of the law, and the threat of women having somewhere to report cases to:

For example, here there are parents that want to hit their children, we may be a little afraid, because now people know there is *Posko* here, don't let it happen, because there is law... Domestic abuse? Yes, it reduces... In the past, some got injured, but it does not happen anymore now.²¹²

Ever since the *Posko* is there, my husband rarely hits me... there were many, before this *Posko* was established, there were many

As the head of the village here, I am very proud of the establishment of the *Posko* because it really helps me to deliver the service. As the head of the village we are cautious about the cases of domestic violence ... The *Posko* really makes people protect themselves even more and from our experience, after this *Posko* was established and from the stories and history as told by me previously, what my colleagues have just said herein actually happened in this village.

We had a Women's and Children's Protection (police initiative) before, but nobody wanted to facilitate that. In the past, if there were violence cases, people would just watch it. Nowadays, people will think and not only watch, they will do something about it because we have a *Posko*. So, to confirm what my colleagues here have just said about the *Posko*, the *Posko* really helps the village government here.

(Participant in male leaders/husbands of members group interview, *Posko* Mentari, Pungkol, October 2016).

²⁰⁸ PKK Representative / wife of village head, Arakan, in-depth interview; Male leaders/husbands of members, *Posko* Mentari, group interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

²⁰⁹ Members of *Posko* Lestari, members of *Posko* Mentari, group interviews, Pungkol, October 2016.

²¹⁰ PKK Representative #1, in-depth interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

²¹¹ Swara Perempuan MAMPU program management representative, group interview, South Minahasa, October 2016.

²¹² PKK Representative and kepala dusun, in-depth interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

cases... It's getting less frequent; they are afraid now.²¹³

Maybe the number of husband hitting the wife is getting lesser because they have known the information on the domestic violence.²¹⁴

My husband used to get angry easily, but now he is afraid.²¹⁵

When the men were drinking outside all night long and hit their wives, (the women) will go directly to the post ... So, the men must be careful to the women.²¹⁶

Men echoed this sense of now being afraid to use violence in their families:

... when we have problem in the family, we're afraid if to be violent ... There are limitations now if the man wants to give a lesson to a woman and the children.

After this women's organisation was established, the members of the Pungkol village community are getting more mature. Whenever there is a conflict in their family, the husbands are afraid to do as they please to their wives and kids because the wives and kids are protected by the law ...

There was a significant change. I will tell you about myself first. Prior to the establishment of the Posko, I myself did what was supposed to be banned...I did physical abuse, using my hands to hit or legs to kick.

Both *Posko* are reported to be extending their reach to other villages:

There were even cases in other villages that were handled by this Posko. Therefore, it was not only the member of the Pungkol village community who were more cautious of doing arbitrary acts (in the family), but also member of other villages.²¹⁷

The referrals from a wider geographic area is an indicator that something very positive is going on. The referral networks have also been strengthened, with clearer mechanisms to handle cases.²¹⁸ For example, *Posko* Mentari has cooperative arrangements with the Office of Social Affairs for cases of child neglect, the education office and schools for distribution of information about preventing violence against children, the district police (through the village head) for legal issues, Regional House of Representatives, and the district government in relation to funding requests.²¹⁹ Some of these meetings have been facilitated by *Swara Perempuan*.²²⁰

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the work on such a contentious issue has resulted in some negative consequences. The most prominent of these is the discomfort or backlash that can come from working to protect women and children against those who are violent: *'Taking care of domestic violence committee is so hard, so difficult, we may have a conflict with the victim's family or husband'*.²²¹ This can be even more challenging when members are afraid of the accused, or cases that involve prominent figures, members of the police or military families.²²² Members also report being accused of being arrogant, dominating their husbands, interfering in others' business, and not understanding the community law.²²³

²¹³ PKK Representative #2, in-depth interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

²¹⁴ PKK Representative / wife of village head, Arakan, in-depth interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

²¹⁵ Member, *Posko* Mentari, group interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

²¹⁶ Husbands of members of *Posko* Lestari, group interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

²¹⁷ Male leaders/husbands of members, group interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

²¹⁸ Head of Hamlet, Arakan, in-depth interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

²¹⁹ *Posko* Mentari, group interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

²²⁰ *Swara Perempuan* MAMPU program management representative, group interview, South Minahasa, October 2016.

²²¹ *Posko* Lestari, group interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

²²² *Posko* Mentari, group interview, Pungkol, October 2016.

²²³ Members of *Posko* Lestari, members of *Posko* Mentari, *Swara Perempuan* MAMPU program management, group interviews, South Minahasa, October 2016.

CONCLUSIONS

In a relatively short time, this example of collective action is showing promising results. Its existence has been stimulated by MAMPU as an external actor, but in response to real problems faced by the community, with guidance from a trusted and experienced local partner (*Swara Perempuan*), linked to the national agenda (Komnas Perempuan). These organisations have developed both advocacy and case handling skills for the *Posko*.

The existence of a village-level decree in both locations is an important element. The decrees formalise and add legitimacy to the *Posko* and members. The decrees also are evidence of the village leadership recognising the useful role of the *Posko*. If anticipated funding is indeed forthcoming this will be further confirmation of this perception.

It is entirely likely that women from less elite backgrounds, without the direct connections with, or own participation in the village leadership, would be able to work in such a sensitive sector with the same level of institutional support in the short time period. The case study provides a good example of fostering developmental leadership that is leadership for the benefit of others who are less advantaged.

ATTACHMENT: SUMMARY OF FIELD WORK - *POSKO*

Field work was undertaken in October 2016 and consisted of group discussions and in-depth interviews, and administration of the member and facilitator survey (refer detail in **Table 28**).

The field study is complemented by an earlier interview with Komnas Perempuan conducted in August 2016, and document review.

Table 28. Participants in WCA field study: *Posko-Swara Perempuan*

Description	Women	Men
Group discussions		
Collective action members, <i>Posko Lestari</i>	7	0
Collective action members, <i>Posko Mentari</i>	8	2
Husbands of collective action members, <i>Posko Lestari</i>		3
Husbands of collective action members, <i>Posko Pungkol</i>		6
Swara Perempuan MAMPU program management (coordinator and staff)	2	1
Key informants		
PKK members	6	
PKK secretary	1	
Non-active member	1	
Wife of head of village	1	
Head of the hamlet where WCA is located		1
Surveys		
Members survey	19	
Facilitators		4

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