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# **MAMPU Indonesia: Maju Perempuan Indonesia untuk Penanggulangan Kemiskinan**

*Empowering Indonesian Women for Poverty  
Reduction*

**Program Design Document  
Part A: Situational Analysis & Program Overview**

**October 2012**

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## Acronyms

AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CBO	Community-based organisations
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DLP	AusAID Developmental Leadership Program
INGO	International Non-Government Organisation
MC	Managing Contractor
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NGO	Non-Government Organisations
NTT	Nusa Tenggara Timur (West Timor and surrounding islands)
ODE	Office of Development Effectiveness
QAI	Quality at Implementation
SBA	Strength based approach
TNP2K	Vice-President's Commission for the Accelerated Reduction of Poverty

## Terminology

The following terms are used throughout the document.

Agency	While structural or institutional factors constitute the environment in which individuals and organisations operate, <i>agency</i> refers to their capacity to act to change some institutional or structural aspect of that environment. That capacity, and the ‘room for manoeuvre’, will vary considerably from context to context, and actors (or agents) have to strategise within those political constraints. But in all cases, exercising agency involves understanding the past, being able to consider an alternative future and recognising the opportunities and obstacles in the present.
Coalition	A coalition is a more structured form of a network, as it exists when individuals or organisations work together in pursuing a common goal <sup>1</sup> . The main feature of a coalition as “bring[ing] together leaders, elites or organisations on a more or less temporary basis to achieve objectives they could not achieve on their own” <sup>2</sup> .
Developmental Leadership	A political process that takes different forms in different contexts. It involves the capacity to mobilise people (including, but not only, followers) and resources and to forge coalitions with other leaders

<sup>1</sup> For a more thorough discussion on the difference between a network and a coalition, see Grebe and Natrass, 2009, pp.5-6) and Pact Tanzania, n.d., *Building and Maintaining Networks and Coalitions*, Advocacy Expert Series Booklet, pp. 6-7. <<http://www.pactz.org/pdfs/Networks%20and%20Coalitions.pdf>>.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.dlprog.org/contents/about-us/our-core-focus/key-concepts.php#politics>

	and organisations, within and across the public and private sectors, in order to achieve change <sup>3</sup> .
Working politically	By “working politically” we mean that CSOs are able to identify allies and opponents within and outside the government, mobilise constituencies and engage in coalitions for change, and use their political power to negotiate agreements with elites on resource utilisation that promotes development (MacLaren et al 2011)
Network	A network is a link between individuals and or organisations sharing information, resources and ideas, either informally or formally. With this broad definition it is not necessary for a network to have a common goal to unify all its members. Rather, networks are merely established on the basis of repeated exchanges between two or more autonomous entities <sup>4</sup> .
Partners	For ease of reference, the term 'partners' is used in the document to describe both member organisations and partner organisations. However, it is acknowledged that for some organisations this term encompasses both members and partners. Partners could include government and private sector stakeholders or other civil society groups. A broad definition of the term civil society is used here which includes not only non-government organisations, but also groups such as farmers, fisherpersons, professional associations etc.
Voice	Voice refers to the capacity to express views and interests and to the exercise of this capacity. For the purposes of this design, voice is about poor women expressing their views and interests in an effort to influence government priorities and governance processes.

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<sup>3</sup> Drawn from the DLP's definition of leadership.

<sup>4</sup> Eduard Grebe and Nicoli Natrass, *Leaders, Networks and Coalitions in the AIDS Response A Comparison between Uganda and South Africa*, Developmental Leadership Program Research Paper 03, 2009. p. 6. <http://www.dlprog.org>.

## Executive Summary

This program aims to improve the welfare of poor women in Indonesia. Despite significant reforms, critical public services do not always reflect the needs of poor women, or are not accessible by poor women. This situation has been exacerbated by government decentralisation where local governments are increasingly expected to deliver social services for the poor despite generally weak capacity.

The program goal is:

*Improved access and livelihoods for poor women in Indonesia in selected geographic areas within the targeted themes.*

The program purpose is:

*To build broad-based networks and inclusive coalitions led by strengthened women's and gender-interested organisations, and parliamentarians in order to influence government policies, regulations and services, and in selected private sector arenas, to improve the access of poor women to critical services.*

Analysis and consultations identified five thematic areas where reform would make a significant difference for poor women and where there are promising opportunities to achieve significant change:

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.

There are a number of examples where women's or gender-interested civil society organisations in Indonesia have formed coalitions of stakeholders, and successfully achieved significant government reform. This program will build on the strengths of these organisations to increase their effectiveness and catalyse even greater results.

The program will support a selection of national women and gender-interested organisations and their local partners to forge coalitions with others within the public and private sectors. Working through multi-stakeholder processes, the organisations will analyse constraints, identify and test solutions, work with the media, and use an evidence base to advocate for change.

In contrast to many civil society programs, this program will directly connect the women's and gender-interested organisations to the highest levels of government through the strategic oversight and management of the Vice-President's Commission for the Accelerated Reduction of Poverty (TNP2K). The program will also support the organisations to work with the national and local women's parliamentary caucuses, and male gender advocate parliamentarians as a way to mobilise both male and female parliamentarians to advocate for reform from within government.

The program's efforts to strengthen the women's and gender-interested organisations and networks are a means to an end. Ultimately this program's success will be judged on the extent to which it has contributed towards an improvement in the lives of poor women. It is anticipated that within the eight-year time-frame, the program will lead to changes in governments' policies, regulations and services which will directly benefit over three million poor women in Indonesia.

A Managing Contractor (MC) will be recruited to work closely with partners to facilitate and support (but not direct) the implementation of the program. The MC is intended to reduce the administrative burden for national partners and AusAID, and provide a quick and flexible service to access a range of international and national skills.

This program has been designed with the assistance of ten women's and gender-interested organisations and a cross-section of local partners. Senior representatives from these national organisations have reviewed, revised and endorsed the program goal, the intended outcomes, and the theory of change; the program's governance and management arrangements and the program's name. In keeping with this participatory approach, the program design provides an overarching framework and partners will be supported to develop their initiatives in detail during the first year of implementation (a design and implement approach). This provides civil society partners with the flexibility to design initiatives which are based on their own mandates, experience and knowledge of what works within the Indonesian context. This approach not only reflects international best practice in the field of gender, it aligns with AusAID's commitment to supporting partners to drive long-term change.

# 1. Situational analysis

## 1.1. Poverty and Gender Context in Indonesia

Indonesia has made significant progress in improving the welfare of its citizens over the last 40 years. High levels of national economic growth have contributed to improvements in government delivery of services. This, in turn, has positively affected gender equality in some important domains, particularly in the areas of access to education and income. The gap between girls and boys school enrolments is virtually non-existent, and gross enrolment at university level is higher for women than men. Women constitute an increasingly large share of Indonesia's formal sector workforce, which can bring with it better pay, more autonomy, and upwardly mobile futures.

Economic growth, however, has not reduced inequalities in all areas and many Indonesians remain vulnerable. In 2011, 12.5 per cent of the population lived below the national poverty line, and almost half were 'near poor,' with consumption levels below US\$2 per day. Women are disproportionately vulnerable and poor, as revealed in Indonesia's 2010 Gender Development Index performance rank of 108 out of 166 countries. This ranking reflects a combination of a lower literacy rate for women and fewer years of schooling, a smaller share of earned income, one of the highest maternal mortality rates in the region, and political under-representation.

Indonesia is now strongly committed to reducing the number of people living in poverty and has moved poverty reduction to the centre of its development agenda. To demonstrate the Government's commitment to poverty reduction, the coordination and oversight of the national poverty reduction strategy has been elevated to the Office of the Vice-President. The National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (*Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan*, TNP2K), established within the Office of the Vice-President, is leading this work<sup>5</sup>.

Despite its commitments, Indonesia still faces substantial challenges in its efforts to reach and serve the poor, especially poor women. While women actively contribute to the national and household economy, they are excluded from many decision-making structures and processes at the family, local and national level<sup>6</sup>. Even when women are involved in decision-making positions, they are often kept at the margins or occupy low level positions. Women's lack of representation in decision-making positions is also a critical barrier to the development of economic and social policies that take into account their specific social, political and economic perspectives and interests.

Women leaders, gender-interested community service organisations and coalitions have historically been at the forefront of efforts to define gender issues and gender equality strategies in Indonesia. Since the fall of the New Order government, civil society organisations have successfully exerted pressure on government and

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<sup>5</sup> TNP2K is responsible for improving the performance of key national poverty reduction and social assistance programs which in 2011 had a budget of AUS\$9.6 billion. Australia has committed AUS\$57 million over 2010 -2015 to support TNP2K and the government meet its poverty reduction targets.

<sup>6</sup> For example, despite comprising 38% of the civil service, women only hold 14% of the senior positions.

strategically identified reformers within various branches to support challenges to discriminatory policies and legislation as well as to advance new legal protections for women. Significant achievements include national commitments to ending violence against women; promoting Indonesian leadership on migrant worker's issues within ASEAN; pro-women reforms in the police and judicial sector; and a growing number of pro-women policies and programs intended to reduce poverty and support social development.

There is a growing body of international evidence that empowering women as political and social actors can influence government policies and services and lead to redistribution of public goods to disadvantaged groups<sup>7</sup>. At the same time, the role of women in Indonesia society remains deeply contested at the national level. Indonesia's gender groups have been on balance more successful than elites at promoting reform in local government or in the town and villages where most poor women still live.

In the context of Indonesia's ongoing decentralisation, this is an important finding. The absence of diverse voices at this level is reflected by local regulations serving to discriminate against women. One hundred and fifty four discriminatory regulations issued at provincial, municipal, and village levels from 1999 to 2009 were identified by Indonesia's Commission on Violence Against Women, of which 63 violate women's rights concerning expression, protection and work<sup>8</sup>. In addition, a 2010 study of 41 districts and cities confirmed that district governments were weak in applying principles of gender equality for development planning and budgeting despite strong central government commitment to more equal local level development outcomes<sup>9</sup>.

A more detailed analysis of challenges and opportunities for gender equality within Indonesia within the targeted themes is outlined in section 1.2.

International research has highlighted the power of coalitions in achieving change. Notably, when women and men do not have equal opportunities to be socially and politically active within formal governance systems, collective action has been found to generate new channels of influence which can change laws, policies and institutions<sup>10</sup>. The effectiveness of coalitions in driving change in the international and Indonesian context is described in Section 6.4.

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<sup>7</sup> For example, female suffrage in the United States led policy makers to turn their attention to child and maternal health and helped lower infant mortality by up to 15 percent (2012 *World Development Report- Gender Equality and Development*, World Bank, 2012). In India, giving power to women at the local level (through political quotas) led to increases in the provision of public goods (both female-preferred ones such as water and sanitation and male-preferred goods such as irrigation and schools) and reduced corruption (*The Impact of Women Policy Makers on Public Goods in India*, J-Pal Poverty Action Lab, 2002).

<sup>8</sup> In the Name of Regional Autonomy: Institutionalization of Discrimination in the State Structure of Indonesia, *Atas Nama Otonomi Daerah: Pelembagaan Diskriminasi dalam Tata Negara Bangsa Indonesia* Komnas Perempuan, 2010.

<sup>9</sup> 'Local Budget Index', Budget Information Indonesia, 2010. <http://www.budget-info.com>

<sup>10</sup> Findings from the Developmental Leadership Program. See <http://www.dlprog.org>



## 1.2. Targeted themes - rationale for selection and potential program entry points

Five thematic areas were selected for this program's focus on the basis of analysis and consultations with stakeholders during the design process. They represent priorities of both GoI and GoA and are considered areas where reform would make a significant difference for poor women. It is acknowledged that other areas exist which could have been selected. The program could, in the future, take on additional areas based on further gender and poverty analysis, and as long as there was no adverse impact on the quality of the original program.

### **Thematic Area 1: Access to Social protection and Poverty Reduction Programs**

The Government of Indonesia has prioritised the development of a national system for social protection as a central plank of its poverty reduction efforts. Social protection currently accounts for 1.2 per cent of GDP, of which around one third (0.5 per cent) goes to household social assistance, to help poor and vulnerable men, women and children manage the impacts of financial shocks and lift themselves out of poverty<sup>11</sup>.

While there are no formal restrictions on women accessing social protection and poverty reduction programs, there are intangible barriers which prevent them from taking up these opportunities. The 2007–2009 Access and Equity Survey found significant issues with program targeting<sup>12</sup> and that female headed households were generally too poor to afford the transportation and court fee costs required to gain legal recognition of their head of household status<sup>13</sup>.

Design consultations and research identified four possible entry points for the program. The first is social assistance targeting and the development of the new unified beneficiary database which aims to produce more accurate lists of eligible beneficiaries. A second, related area for reform is the programs' grievance mechanisms. Ensuring that complaints handling systems are accessible to women, and effective at both resolving individual problems and aggregating complaints data to identify patterns with broader policy implications, will be important for improving poor women's access.

A third entry point is the 'socialisation' of program eligibility requirements and registration procedures. Poor women with low education or literacy and poor access to media (in remote areas, for example) are among the most vulnerable. A fourth access issue is access to identification documents. PEKKA, a CSO working with approximately 16000 poor households, has identified this as a major barrier, and provided excellent support to its members in accessing identification and other

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<sup>11</sup> The remaining two-thirds are spent on social insurance, comprising mostly pensions and health benefits for civil servants. *Protecting Poor and Vulnerable Families in Indonesia: A comprehensive review of Indonesia's social assistance programs and public expenditures, to support the building of a true social safety net for all poor and vulnerable households*, World Bank, 2011. Jakarta. p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> A test survey carried out during preparation of this program found that GoI's updated targeting instruments still missed 30 percent of total poor headcount households and 62 per cent of poor female-headed households.

<sup>13</sup> *Increasing Access to Justice for Women, the Poor, and Those Living in Remote Areas: An Indonesian Case Study*, 2011, World Bank

important official documents, such as marriage and divorce certificates. Government agencies have been very supportive of PEKKA's work to provide the documentation that female-headed households urgently need to become eligible for social protection programs, and in fact have begun providing new counterpart budget funds, a move which bodes well for its replication and scale-up under this project.

The proposed outcomes from working in this area include (i) improved targeting systems; (ii) redress and grievance mechanisms accessible to poor women; (iii) eligibility awareness among beneficiaries; and (iv) monitoring and feedback systems that reduce the number of poor women excluded from government safety net programs.

## **Thematic Area 2: Increasing women's access to jobs and removing workplace discrimination**

For poor women, access to wage employment (as well as self-employment) is an important strategy to increasing income and overcoming poverty. There is also emerging evidence that access to labour market opportunities can positively impact the lives of poor women more widely. For example, a recent study found that making employment opportunities for women more accessible can lead to increases in human capital investments for girls, delayed marriage and childbearing for women<sup>14</sup>.

In Indonesia, female labour force participation has risen over the last decade to approximately 51 per cent. However this is still significantly lower than the 85 per cent labour force participation of men<sup>15</sup>. Furthermore, even in similar occupations, Indonesian women's wages lag behind men's by 25 per cent. Simulations conducted by the International Poverty Centre on the economic consequences of gender discrimination in Latin America have shown that if women faced no barriers to enter the labour market, the incidence of poverty would be reduced by at least 25 per cent in Argentina and Brazil and by as much as 40 per cent in Chile.<sup>16</sup> Estimates suggest that Indonesia loses about US\$2.4 billion a year in possible earnings due to inequalities in labour market participation between men and women<sup>17</sup>.

Inequality is reflected in the gendered division of labour found across the country. Women are more likely than men to engage in low-productivity activities. In the formal employment sector, they concentrate in 'female' occupations and sectors such as manufacturing and domestic work. This differentiated employment has contributed to a gap in earnings where women generally do not receive equal pay for equal work. They are also more likely to be in wage or unpaid family employment and have a disproportionate share of caring and household work. There are a range of key factors driving labour segregation and consequent earnings gap including the influence of highly gendered policies and laws produced during Suharto's New Order

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<sup>14</sup> The findings are based on a randomised trial that tested whether an increase in employment opportunities for women affected marriage and fertility decisions in an Indian village. *Do labour market opportunities affect young women's work and family decisions? Experimental evidence from India*. 2012. Robert Jensen. <http://publicaffairs.ucla.edu>.

<sup>15</sup> See ILO, *Decent Work Indicators: Indonesia*, 2011.

<sup>16</sup> J. Costa, E. Silva and M. Medeiros, "The Growth Equivalent of Reducing Gender Inequalities in Latin America", IPC Working Paper.

<sup>17</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, *Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific: Surging Ahead in Uncertain Times*, Bangkok, 2007.

which continue to reinforce social norms about the role of women. Traditional law (adat) also places strict limits on what women can or cannot do.

Design consultations and research have found a number of possible entry points for the program. Among the entry points is the collection and dissemination of data on constraints to women's access to and equal participation in the formal economy, which are preliminary steps to reforming national legal, policy and program commitments. A second entry point is to engage the private sector to strengthen the 'business case' for gender equality at work. This is necessary to overcome discriminatory perceptions as well as the higher costs borne by employers for hiring women. Another entry point is to pilot innovative solutions to address constraints to women's access to formal employment, particularly in rural areas, including trialling the establishment of child care, care for the elderly or transportation services which could be later financed by employers.

Work in this area will pursue two overall strategies. First, it will identify ways to reduce barriers to access for women's formal employment. Second, it will address discrimination in formal sector employment. For the first objective, the program will work with the large social transfer programs that are coordinated by TNP2K and Bappenas to increase information outreach and to enable investments that will improve poor women's access to formal sector jobs. In programs such as PNPM, KUR and others within the poverty suite, investment resources are given directly to local governments and villages. At present these funds are always spent on "within village" activities, such as small shops or small-scale infrastructure repair. Providing the information and facilitation needed to encourage community members to spend these funds instead on village investments that would remove poor women's constraints to accessing formal sector jobs – examples might include transportation, job training, childcare etc – could in many cases prove much more effective in combating poverty.

For the second stream of work on formal sector improvements, the program will concentrate on institutional strengthening for private sector associations, unions, and civil society advocacy groups that can address issues of workplace discrimination. Within government, both TNP2K and the Ministry of Labor (Depnaker) have already confirmed their support in principle. This work will focus initially on East Java and North Sumatra, two large provinces that both have a high density of factories and a diverse social and cultural hinterland around their industrial centres.

Outcomes expected from AusAID support in this area include replicable investments that lead to better welfare of poor women who take on factory jobs (e.g. reduced levels of debt and higher receipt of contract entitlements); livelihood investments that enable poor women to enter formal sector employment; and mechanisms to identify and resolve factory-level discrimination issues in the focal provinces of East Java and North Sumatra.

### **Thematic Area 3: Improving conditions for women's overseas labour migration**

Since the 1998 East Asian economic crisis, overseas migration by poor Indonesian women has risen exponentially, with an estimated 1.5 million women working both legally and illegally in Saudi Arabia and Malaysia each year. In many countries, including Indonesia, the international movement of labour has been key to the survival of the rural economy due to the remittances sent home and also because

labour migration can act as a buffer when weather or economic crises push the rural poor beneath the level of production that they need to survive<sup>18</sup>.

Many of these women come from the poorest regions of Indonesia. Poverty, unemployment and a lack of formal education are the driving forces behind increasing numbers of Indonesian women who seek to migrate abroad plus the chance to earn relatively high wages which would otherwise be unavailable for the rural poor.

However, Indonesia's systems for labour migration and the protection of worker's rights are widely acknowledged to function poorly. High levels of abuse directed at overseas workers make regular media headlines. Added to this is the fact that the system itself is permeated by bad practices ranging from a lack of affordable credit and, worse, savings accounts; the near-absence of legal contracts; a lack of financial literacy; poor training; poor in-country support and so on. The government has made some effort to improve the workings of the labour migration corridor, but the vested corporate interests who profit from current poor practices have thus far prevented any significant changes to this abusive system.

AusAID and the World Bank have been supporting joint analytical work on Indonesia's migrant workers since 2006. It has focused largely on the structure of the labour market and on economic issues such as the scale and evolution of remittances and on access to finance for prospective migrant workers. AusAID has also supported Indonesia's National Commission on Violence Against Women's documentation program of rights issues amongst women migrant workers and some limited policy advocacy with Foreign Affairs and the special agency for labour migration. To date, virtually no work has been done on the sociological, economic, and psychological impacts of overseas migration on the families that are left behind.

The pressing need to reform the migrant worker system is now a frequent topic of debate in the national media and within government circles. Indonesia's parliament passed the UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and their Families in April, 2012. Indonesia has also become a regional leader in pressing for better protection for migrant workers, particularly for women. In 2011, the President of Indonesia for the first time forced a moratorium on the export of migrant workers to Saudi Arabia, specifically citing the lack of protection against abuse by employers.

Design consultations, ongoing programs, and research have identified a number of possible entry points for the program. At the national level, the top priorities are (i) policy advocacy to improve migrant worker protections; (ii) improvements to how the labour companies are regulated; and (iii) increasing take-up of social insurance. At the local level, programs that will translate into better welfare outcomes for migrant workers include access to non-usurious financing (financial inclusion); promoting better public oversight of recruiting firms; and more effective systems of redress when contracts are not respected. This work will also finance diagnostics and analytical programs that include better census information, poverty impact

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<sup>18</sup> 2008 estimates are that overseas migrant workers (men and women) remitted US\$6.0 billion. See "Enhancing Access to Finance for Indonesian Overseas Migrant Workers," (World Bank, 2010) part of a large AusAID-World Bank sector study on Indonesian overseas migration.

assessments, and comparisons of poverty reduction from national versus international migration.

This program will continue and strengthen the work already started by AusAID and the World Bank, and it will complement work now being started by TNP2K, the Women and Leadership program's host agency. This program is likely to obtain strong support for senior levels of government, particularly the President's office, the special commission on the rights of migrant workers, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Several other relevant government ministries and parts of parliament also have working level partnerships with CSOs (i.e. health, women's empowerment, labor); these will be strengthened to become more effective drivers of reform actions through this program.

The expected outcomes from work in this area will include effective compliance monitoring measured against the UN Convention; new or strengthened programs for financial inclusion; support programs and legal assistance for female migrant workers; an increased number of women accessing and using social insurance; and ongoing national survey data on female migrant workers.

#### **Thematic Area 4: Strengthening women's leadership for better maternal and reproductive health**

Meeting the maternal and reproductive health needs of women in Indonesia remains a challenge, especially among the poor. Despite substantial government effort, Indonesia's maternal mortality ratio (MMR) is 228 per 100,000, amongst the highest in the region<sup>19</sup>. Variance in maternal health statistics is extremely high across Indonesia, with the worst outcomes in Papua, which has a MMR of 1116 per 100,000 births. Maternal mortality represents the tip of the iceberg within the broader scope of reproductive health, which includes family planning and contraception for prevention of unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS, early marriage and pregnancy, unsafe abortion, and more<sup>20</sup>.

Issues related to reproductive rights have a long and controversial history in Indonesia. New Order programs to control fertility were intimately connected to social definitions of women's role in society as supporters of male leaders rather than as leaders themselves. At the same time, civil society organisations such as the PKBI (Indonesian Family Planning Group) used global dialogue through forums such as the landmark 1994 Cairo International Conference on Population and Development to challenge gender stereotypes and to launch a national network of grassroots organisations that used reproductive rights to promote local level dialogue on the role of women. These debates continue through to the present day, with issues of reproductive and sexual rights becoming one of the major controversies between fundamentalist organisations and advocates for gender equality.

Women and girls living in poverty in Indonesia face significant challenges in accessing their reproductive health rights.<sup>21</sup> The key social determinants of

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<sup>19</sup> *Indonesia Demographic and Health Survey 2007*, Statistics Indonesia (Badan Pusat Statistik – BPS). Calverton, Maryland, USA: BPS and Macro International, 2008.

<sup>20</sup> As defined and outlined in the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo

<sup>21</sup> *Left Without Choice*, 2010. Amnesty International



reproductive health outcomes are financial means, education, and decision-making power/the status of women within the family<sup>22</sup>. The Government's health and reproductive policy and legal framework reinforces gender stereotypes about women and motherhood with laws and policies that discriminate on the grounds of marital status and exclude unmarried women and girls from full access to reproductive health services. Other laws require the husband's consent for married women and girls to access certain reproductive health services<sup>23</sup>.

Design consultations and research have found that without external pressure, internal health system reforms will not make sufficient progress towards remedying Indonesia's unsatisfactory health performance, particularly in the poorest parts of the country. There are still gaps between what women need/want, what reproductive healthcare is available (and how it is provided), and what support the community provides (and how it is provided). Constrained by multiple funding channels with different reporting requirements, health agencies staffed by people with poor or biased training on issues of reproductive and sexual health, and by the centralised control over human worker regulations and placements, few districts have developed the capacity to plan and manage their health budgets, to identify local health needs or to set targets and monitor progress.

Despite the overall obstacles to better health care for poor women, there are also a growing set of cases where reforms have been launched and have produced noticeable improvements. National initiatives such as the "Desa siaga" ("prepared village") program run by the Ministry of Health and the Prosperous Family conditional cash transfer program hold the potential to focus resources and a delivery system that can overcome some of the macro level barriers. AusAID's Logica program has provided incentives to local health centres to cost and meet minimum service standards. The Ford Foundation and other mid-tier donors also have a growing body of experience of multi-stakeholder partnerships between local governments and NGOs that focus on reproductive health. In many if not the majority of these cases, the success of government and non-government programs at the local level is being driven by local champions who have the vision, commitment, and capacity to bring people together around a common approach to problem-solving. The program will support efforts to identify these local champions and provide them with the necessary skills and resources to work with others to create even greater positive impacts on their community. The program will collaborate closely with other partners, such as UNFPA and USAID, who are also working in this field.

This program will approach maternal and reproductive health through five possible entry points: (i) research and analysis on the maternal and reproductive health needs from the perspectives of women and girls living in poverty themselves; (ii) developing an advocacy agenda and follow-up program for the 2014 International Conference on Population and Development; (iii) the provision of information to poor women on critical maternal and reproductive health issues and services (iv) supporting emerging leaders in the community, government and within CSOs to plan, manage, and document innovative initiatives related to improving reproductive

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<sup>22</sup> World Bank. 2010. "...and then she died" *Indonesia Maternal Health Assessment*. <http://www-wds.worldbank.org/>

<sup>23</sup> *Left Without Choice*. 2010. Amnesty International

health; and (v) supporting local and national advocacy to produce legal, budgetary and systemic reforms.

Proposed outcomes from work in this thematic area include: improved access to reproductive health information and services for adults and adolescents, particularly women and girls living in poverty in the areas of coverage (e.g. women receiving ante natal and post natal checks, access to contraceptives and information on family planning); more effective national advocacy for increasing investment in maternal and reproductive health services; improved maternal and reproductive health outcomes in the areas of coverage, particularly reduced cases of maternal death from preventable/addressable causes such as haemorrhage and infections; and improved redress and grievance processes and systems to monitor reproductive health service policies and practice.

Depending on dialogue with AusAID's Papua working group, this component may also develop a free-standing program of activities for dealing with the health consequences of violence against women in Papua. This program will also cooperate closely with AusAID's health sector programs in the design and implementation of partner activities, particularly the health systems strengthening and upcoming reproductive, maternal and child health programs.

#### **Thematic Area 5: Strengthening women's leadership to reduce violence against women**

The most destructive effect and cause of unequal gender relations and power distribution is violence against women. Violence against women often results in physical and mental ill-health as well as death. For poor women, violence impacts on their ability to overcome poverty impacting on their ability to realise rights to security, adequate housing, health, employment, food, education and participate fully in public life<sup>24</sup>.

Over the past 13 years, the National Commission on Violence Against Women has recorded 400,939 cases of violence against women (including forced marriage). However the Commission believes that the real figure is higher due to widespread underreporting<sup>25</sup>. Understanding the prevalence of violence against women is hindered by the absence of accurate data from around Indonesia. The statistics generated by the Commission and its local partners are one of the few sources available and are therefore critical to advocacy work.

While Indonesia has criminalised violence against women, the effective implementation of legal remedies is hindered by cultural norms that portray violence of this nature as a private matter. Even when violence is reported to the police, it is often not followed up. According to Rifka Annisa, a non-governmental organisation, only 10 per cent of domestic violence cases end up in court<sup>26</sup>. At the village level, women tend to report abuse to informal leaders and/or their village administrations.

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<sup>24</sup> Irene Khan. *Neither Violence against women or poverty are inevitable*, Amnesty International. 2008.

<sup>25</sup> *Women still face high rates of sexual violence*: Komnas, Jakarta Post, 28<sup>th</sup> November 2011, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/11/25/women-still-face-high-rates-sexual-violence-komnas.html>

<sup>26</sup> <http://regional.kompas.com/read/2010/03/07/08354055/10.Persen.Kasus.KDRT.Diselesaikan.secara.Non-Hukum>

Most cases are solved through informal means under close custody of village officials who can disregard protective legislation<sup>27</sup>.

The Indonesian government provides limited and uneven services for victims of violence. The Ministry of Social Welfare operates shelters and trauma clinics for victims of sex and labour trafficking and the National Police operate a number of integrated service centres, which provide medical services to survivors of violence. The government operates more than 500 district level women's help desks to assist women and child victims of violence. The government relies significantly on international organisations and non-government organisations for the provision of services. International Organisation for Migration, for example, assists with the running of the police integrated service centres. The government provides limited funding to domestic non-government organisations and civil society groups that support services for survivors<sup>28</sup>.

Strategic planning by the National Commission on Violence Against Women identified five major workstreams that form the entry points for this program (i) Legal and policy reform; (ii) Services for the survivors of domestic violence; (iii) Education and research; (iv) Public awareness and participation; and (v) Monitoring and data collection.

### 1.3. Overview of national women's organisations and local partners

Women's organisations at the national and local levels have been at the forefront of efforts to define gender issues and gender equality strategies in Indonesia. Working in coalitions, they have successfully exerted pressure on government and strategically identified reformers within various branches to support challenges to policies and legislation that are discriminatory as well as to advance new legal protections for women. For example, successful civil society advocacy contributed to the adoption of the UN's CEDAW and the introduction of Violence Against Women legislation that criminalises rape in marriage and provided the basis for the establishment of the Commission on Violence Against Women<sup>29</sup>. The strengths, scope, and challenges for women's and gender-interested organisations in Indonesia is outlined below.

The post-reformasi political environment following the 1998 change in government coincided with a growth in civil society organisations and activities. Increased access to information and media coverage helped women's advocacy groups to expand their work, gain influence and achieve major wins in gaining new legal protections for women. With regard to issues of concern, women's rights remain at the forefront of the agenda of these organisations. New issues such as violence against women, more responsive public services, women's political participation and more recently the plight of female migrant workers have come to the fore of advocacy efforts.

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<sup>27</sup> *Gender Equality Policy Brief No 8, Violence Against Women: Domestic Violence and Human Trafficking*, SMERU

<sup>28</sup> *2011 Trafficking in Persons Report – Indonesia*, United States Department of State, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4e12ee734b.html>

<sup>29</sup> Currently 17.5 per cent of the total NGOs registered in Indonesia address women's issues or implement a gender program. See SMERU NGO database, 2010.



The wide range of women's and gender interested organisations fall into two broad legal categories – associations (membership-based) and foundations (non-membership). Within these categories, organisations range from religious organisations, mass-based organisations, unions, ethnic-based organisations, community-based organisations, non-government organisations, professional associations, and politically affiliated organisations. The long established faith-based organisations, professional associations, government-sponsored and charity organisations are characterised by large membership numbers and extensive sub-national reach. For example, Aisiyiah, a large religious membership-based organisation with around fifteen million members has a national executive, regional congresses and branch offices in all provinces within Indonesia<sup>30</sup>. This structure provides the opportunity for collaboration between women working at the national and local levels.

Other non-membership based organisations are primarily based in Jakarta and have linkages to the sub-national level through their networks and alliances or other partnerships. These relationships are usually developed to implement a particular project, based on temporary joint interests and tend to survive only as long as the project operates.

Coalitions between local and national organisations are also formed around specific issues. For example, Solidaritas Perempuan (Women's Solidarity) is part of six national networks, including the women's movement for female migrant workers<sup>31</sup>. Indonesia's National Family Planning Coalition (PKBI), one of the oldest gender focused activist networks, has maintained an international, national, and local network of groups focusing on reproductive health and sexual rights and recognition.

Women's organisations in Indonesia are also actively involved internationally. Many of the progressive women's advocacy organisations which mushroomed during and after the Reformasi period play an active part in the global women's movement and international efforts to advance gender equality. These international links have influenced national gender debates in Indonesia. They are also playing an important role in dialogue over the Indonesian government's policy positions on gender and development policies in forums such as ASEAN and other global organisations.

The size and scope of organisations are reflected by their annual budgets<sup>32</sup>. The largest organisations have an annual budget typically between AUD\$300,000 to AUD\$1,200,000<sup>33</sup>. A women's provincially-based crisis centre on the other hand

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<sup>30</sup> At the regional level, Aisiyiah claims to have branches in 33 provinces, 427 districts, 3840 sub-districts and 9223 villages/kelurahan in Indonesia (Data from Aisiyiah's Expressions of Interest for the AusAID MAMPU Program, January 2012).

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.solidaritasperempuan.org>

<sup>32</sup> It is difficult to know the exact number of women's organisations in Indonesia. As mentioned earlier, the Indonesian Women's Congress (KOWANI) lists 82 organisations. However, this list appears not to include the many smaller women's civil society organisations. A peace building organisations directory in Indonesia, as another example, registers 181 organisations that work on the issue of gender. As with regard to donors, the same directory mentioned 36 organisations which fund gender-related activities. They range from bilateral and multilateral organisations to private international NGOs. See <[http://www.direktori-perdamaian.org/ina/main\\_id.php](http://www.direktori-perdamaian.org/ina/main_id.php)>.

<sup>33</sup> This data derives from a survey of 8 national women's organisations annual budgets over the past five years, as disclosed in their Expressions of Interest for the AusAID MAMPU Program, January 2012.

may have no more than an annual budget of AUD\$8,300<sup>34</sup>. Women's organisations in Indonesia typically have two main funding sources – membership fees for membership-based organisations, or from aid donors. Some organisations are able to employ both strategies, but for most non-mass based women's groups this is not an option, resulting in a constant struggle for viability<sup>35</sup>.

In Indonesia, donor support to civil society to date has focused on strengthening selected gender-interested CSOs, women's activists, and the coalitions that have emerged around certain gender issues. Prominent international donor agencies include the Ford Foundation, Hivos, the Asia Foundation, AusAID, the Open Society (through the TIFA Foundation), the Royal Netherlands Embassy and the World Bank<sup>36</sup>. While it is recognised that donor support has contributed to the vibrant civil society that emerged in the aftermath of the transition to democracy, donor commitments to gender work have generally waned in recent years, in line with the overall narrowing of donors interested in Indonesia as a result of domestic economic growth.

#### 1.4. Why support women's networks and coalitions?

*'When spider webs unite, they can tie up a lion' (Ethiopian proverb).*

Donor agencies are increasingly recognising that development does not occur by working with individuals or single organisations alone. Over the past decade, experience and research, including analyses produced by AusAID's Developmental Leadership Program and research more broadly, has shown that engaging with multiple actors not only enhances overall development outcomes but the individual and organisational capacity of those involved<sup>37</sup>.

Further, all of the evidence from AusAID's Developmental Leadership Program points to:

*'the centrality of developmental coalitions in the politics of policy and institutional innovations and reforms that support sustainable growth, political stability and inclusive social development'*<sup>38</sup>.

International evidence demonstrates that where collective action problems have successfully been resolved, coalitions of groups and organisations have been the

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<sup>34</sup> This is the budget of an integrated service centre for women and children (P2TP2A) in Kupang (Interview with Lintje Pellu, P2TP2A Coordinator in Kupang, 25 November 2011).

<sup>35</sup> It is commonly understood that most Indonesian NGOs are highly dependent on international funding. For examples of available figures which support this observation see: Kastorius Sinaga, 1993, 'Neither Merchant Nor Prince: A Study of NGOs in Indonesia', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 424, No. 1-2, pp. 142-145; Rustam Ibrahim, 2000, *National Directory of Civil Society Resource Organizations: Indonesia*, New York: The Synergos Institute, pp. 10-11; Y.G Tetanel, 2004, *Ketertgantungan Ekonomi dan Politik LSM pada Lembaga Dana Internasional: Studi Kasus LSM di Yogyakarta*, Unpublished Master Thesis, Universitas Gajah Mada, pp. 115-116.

<sup>36</sup> Data derives from a survey of eight national women's organisations donors in the past five years, as stated in their Expression of Interest for AusAID MAMPU Program, January 2012.

<sup>37</sup> *Multi-actor systems as entry points for capacity development*. 2010. Capacity.org

<sup>38</sup> *Politics, Leadership and Coalitions in Development -A Research and Policy Workshop Report*. 2011. <http://www.dlprog.org>

main drivers of this change. This design understands coalitions as ‘groups and organisations that come together to achieve social, political or economic goals that they would not be able to achieve on their own’<sup>39</sup>. Worldwide, coalitions have come in many forms. They have been formal or informal, long-lasting or transient, national or sub-national, sectoral or issue-based; whether amongst or across organizations of civil society or those of the state<sup>40</sup>.

Coalitions around the world highlight this diversity. In Indonesia, a women’s advocacy network for the elimination of violence against women was the main force behind the passage of anti-domestic violence legislation in 2004<sup>41</sup>. In Pakistan, during 2010 a coalition of 1500 female leaders from different political parties in 30 districts successfully advocated for the implementation of Pakistan’s national Harassment Bill<sup>42</sup>. Similarly, in Bolivia a coalition of women’s rights organisations was able to propose 51 additions to the country’s constitutional amendment<sup>43</sup>. At the local level in Indonesia, coalitions have formed to contest discriminatory legislation developed by district governments.

The pervasiveness of coalitions around the world and in Indonesia has generated many findings on what makes coalitions more likely to succeed. In Indonesia, findings drawn from preliminary consultations with interested CSOs are also available on the challenges involved in mobilising people, organisations and interests for a common goal. These findings are outlined in Annex 7.1.

In summary, the contribution of collective action is central to the design’s conceptualisation of change and coalitions are regarded as a key mechanism through which change occurs. The design recognises, however, that politics alone is not sufficient for equitable development and that it is accompanied by technical dimensions such as rights-based legislation or institutional reform. The program’s support for national partners to work within their coalitions and networks on reform-based initiatives highlights this two-pronged approach.

### **How should development partners support networks and other multi-stakeholder processes – lessons learned**

Supporting networks and multi-stakeholder processes (as opposed to technical solutions, or working with one agency on governance reform) poses new challenges for donors. Such work requires considerable flexibility and sensitivity on the part of the donor. As with any development intervention, there are also potential negative repercussions particularly in highly political environments, e.g. undermining the

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39 *Politics, Leadership and Coalitions in Development -A Research and Policy Workshop Report*. 2011. <http://www.dlprog.org>

40 *Politics, Leadership and Coalitions in Development -A Research and Policy Workshop Report*. 2011. <http://www.dlprog.org>

41 See R. Husna Mulya, no date, *The Report of “Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia” (Indonesian Women’s Coalition)*, KPI Report to CAP <<http://www.ngoconnect.net>>; Enny Soeprapto and Ery Seda, 2010, *External Evaluation Report on the Performance Impact of Komnas Perempuan for the Period of 1998-2009*, Evaluation Report <<http://www.komnasperempuan.or.id>>.

42 Beardon, 2011, p. 27.

43 Ibid.

legitimacy of local organisations<sup>44</sup>. Considering these challenges, the international literature identifies at least four key areas that donors can (with sensitivity) support multi-stakeholder processes. These are outlined below:

### *1. Improving actor relationships*

The effectiveness of collective action is increased by enhancing the quality and relevance of relationships between actors at different levels. Lessons learned from other AusAID programs such as ACCESS, LOGICA, and AIPJ highlight the importance of enhancing the quality and relevance of relationships as well as establishing new relations between actors. In ACCESS for example, the program supported new connections between poor women and the local government that eventually led to collaboration on the Musrembang process<sup>45</sup>. AIPJ supported PEKKA to facilitate new multi-stakeholder forums that brought together judges, police, local government, and NGOs to improve the responsiveness of justice service providers for female-headed households<sup>46</sup>.

The experience of both ACCESS and PEKKA has demonstrated that before new connections can be made there is often a need for specific work to occur that supports women to develop the self-confidence to engage external actors.

### *2. Changing the dynamics and working practices between hierarchical levels*

During the provincial design consultation for this program, local organisations reported on the difficulty in getting their voice heard at higher levels, and the problems of national based organisations not listening or understanding local problems and their tendency to work in a centralised mode rather than using participatory processes.

International research has found that donors can play a constructive role in supporting better communication and collaboration between national and local levels. They can be instrumental in brokering trust and better communication. Donors can support and promote the use of local data and collection of local evidence that can be used by both levels to support advocacy efforts. For donors with strong experience in supporting multi-stakeholder processes, they highlight the need for "brokers" to facilitate productive engagement amongst actors. It is recommended that these brokers have advanced interpersonal skills and are able to guide and mentor rather than direct processes and actors<sup>47</sup>.

It was also found that donors are well placed to link partners with specific tools that support deeper understanding of political and social dynamics of the national and local contexts. Lessons highlight that using these frameworks enable partners to systematically work with power issues within their own arenas but also support

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<sup>44</sup> E.g. DLP study on women's coalitions in Jordan and Egypt.  
<http://www.dlprog.org/ftp/download/Public%20Folder/1%20Research%20Papers/Working%20Politically%20Behind%20Red%20Lines.pdf>.

<sup>45</sup> Access gender lessons learned -brief summary note. 2011. Internal correspondence.

<sup>46</sup> *Access to Justice: Empowering female heads of household in Indonesia*. 2010.  
<http://www.ausaid.gov.au/publications>

<sup>47</sup> *Bridging the Micro-Macro Gap: Gaining Capacity by Connecting Levels of Development Action*, Capacity Development in Practice. [www.capacity.org](http://www.capacity.org)

understanding of the constraints that exist at other levels, which are traditionally left out of regular capacity building programs<sup>48</sup>.

### *3. Flexible Capacity Development for Multiple Stakeholders*

Working within multi-stakeholder processes involves working with partners of differing capacities. International lessons show that donors therefore need to work on two capacity development outcomes. This includes supporting both the capacity needs of each individual stakeholder, as well as supporting the engagement between various actors.

International experience also highlights the need for donors working with partners of differing capacities to provide support that is highly flexible and responsive to partner needs. For example, rather than standard training modules, this support should enable partners to examine their own issues and solutions<sup>49</sup>.

### *4. Strengthening Organisational Management and Planning*

Women's organisations and their networks face the same problems of intermittent funding as many other civil society sectors. Design consultations found that women's and gender interested organisations are overly tied to individual short-term projects which constrain the development of core organisational capacities and long-term internal development programs. A core, practical objective of this program is to support the partner organisations focus on longer-term strategies to improve their effectiveness. This program will also strengthen core managerial and fiduciary capacities among the participating CSOs.

## **1.5. Parliamentarians as Advocates for Reform**

**Anchoring the poverty reform work in local parliaments** - The long-term objectives of the Parliamentary Component are threefold. First, the program will support capacity improvements to the women's caucuses and relevant commissions, for the most part those in the district parliaments which now have decision making power over decentralized budgets. In the lead up to the 2014 election, the program will support some initial small-scale initiatives, but the full suite of program activities in this component will not be rolled out until after the election. This is necessary given the likelihood of a high turnover of Parliamentarians.

Second, as with Component 1, it will also support networking and dialogue between the caucuses and between national and local levels. 2012 saw the first national conference of women in parliament, which brought together women parliamentarians to discuss shared interests in becoming effective legislators. The lack of legislative experience of most male and female members of parliament combined with the DPR's significant law making responsibilities and participation in the national budgetary process makes it important that program funds are set aside to support newly elected leaders. In response to local concerns, DPR members are also increasingly drafting legislation, particularly on social issues such as education and

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> *Dealing with power – the key to successful MSPs?* 2010. Capacity.org

health<sup>50</sup>. These newly elected leaders can play an important role in supporting national partners to advance reforms within the thematic areas (e.g. via internal lobbying and advocacy).

But the most important activity of the work with parliaments will be to provide an anchor in local legislatures for the poverty work taking place under Component 1. Consultations during the design process identified that women and gender-interested organisations often have existing networks with male and female Parliamentarians and have used these networks in the past to strategically influence policy, legislative and media debates on gender equality. A number of parliamentarians have also used these networks for their own lobbying and advocacy efforts. The Women Parliamentarians' Caucus and the Indonesian Political Women's Caucus, for example, successfully lobbied with other civil society groups for the introduction of the electoral quota for women in 2003<sup>51</sup>.

Component Two will take an issues-based approach to its work with the caucuses and parliamentary commissions, and with male and female gender advocate parliamentarians. To the extent possible, each of the thematic working groups established under Component 1 will identify and work with parliamentarians who are being supported under Component 2. Outcomes anticipated from the Component 2 activities include more frequent contact between parliamentarians and constituencies; well-executed lobbying and advocacy schemes; and, above all, the translation of issues identified through the Component 1 thematic groups into legislation and budgets.

### **Brief overview of the women caucuses**

Women's caucuses in Indonesia today exist at various levels. At the national level, there are three women caucuses: the Indonesian Women Parliamentarians' Caucus (KPPRI), the Indonesian Women Regional Representatives' Caucus (KPP-DPD) and the Indonesian Political Women's Caucus (KPPI).

KPPRI was established in 2001 in Jakarta and currently consists of all 136 female members of the house of representatives (DPR) and the regional representative council (DPD)<sup>52</sup>. The caucus promotes gender mainstreaming in national development process and advocates for gender equality and justice through its legislative, budgeting and monitoring functions<sup>53</sup>. KPPRI encourages efforts to eliminate all gender-biased regulations and policies, promotes gender-sensitive laws and develops partnerships with all related parties in empowering women at the national, regional and international levels. Its activities included attending discussions with various parties on women-related issues and conducting capacity building for its members. Other programs the KPPRI conducted include the dissemination of information on gender justice and equality through community-

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<sup>50</sup> The political economy of policy making in Indonesia. 2010. Overseas Development Institute.

<sup>51</sup> *Enhancing Women's Political Participation in Indonesia*.

<http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/upload/Indonesia.pdf>

<sup>52</sup> <http://kppri.dpr.go.id>

<sup>53</sup> [http://kppri.dpr.go.id/?page\\_id=83](http://kppri.dpr.go.id/?page_id=83)



based radio in five provinces in Java in late 2011<sup>54</sup>, and supporting local women parliamentarians to form a caucus at the provincial level and the city/district level.

KPP-DPD was formed in 2006 in Jakarta and today has 35 members. It promotes gender mainstreaming to achieve gender equality through collaborating with the regional women parliamentarians<sup>55</sup>. In addition to holding regular discussions on women-related bills and policies, in 2010, with the support of UNDP, the caucus conducted a series of workshop which resulted in the establishment of three Regional Women Parliamentarians' Networks (in West, Central and East Indonesia)<sup>56</sup>. KPP-DPD plans to hold a national meeting for both the local and national women parliamentarians in late April 2012.

KPPI was established in 2000 in Jakarta. This caucus aims to increase Indonesian women's participation in politics including by striving to fulfil the 30 per cent quota of women in parliament<sup>57</sup>. KPPI's members are not only the 101 women parliamentarians, but also rank and file female political party members as well as representatives from academia, government, civil society organisations and the media<sup>58</sup>. As the oldest national women's caucus, KPPI has established partnerships with a number of both national and international organisations such as KPI (the Indonesian Women Coalition) and the National Democratic Institute.

The Indonesian women parliamentarians' caucus and KPPI also exist at the sub-national level<sup>59</sup>. There are reportedly 18 women parliamentarian caucuses at the provincial level<sup>60</sup>. In addition, KPPI has branches in 22 provinces in Indonesia<sup>61</sup>.

In implementing their activities, as indicated above, the women caucuses performed partnerships with international organisations. These organisations included the Australian Government-funded Centre for Democratic Institutes, Search for Common Ground, the National Democratic Institute and a local research institute, Women Research Institute<sup>62</sup>. Search for Common Ground, in partnership with KPI and KPPI has conducted training for KPPI members in 8 provinces to improve their political participation capacity, including on public speaking, dealing with the media and constituents<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>54</sup> This program was held during November – December 2011 in collaboration with the Commission VIII of the House of Representative and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection. See <http://kppri.dpr.go.id>

<sup>55</sup> <http://perempuandpdri.org/content/profil-kaukus>

<sup>56</sup> <http://www.perempuandpdri.org>

<sup>57</sup> See <http://suaranasionalnews.com/?p=2455>. Currently only 18% of the Indonesian national parliament is women. The figure is lower for the parliaments at the provincial (18%) and city/district levels (16%). See <http://kppri.dpr.go.id/?cat=1>

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.ndi.org/node/14124>

<sup>59</sup> The equivalent of KPPRI at the provincial level is KPP-Propinsi.

<sup>60</sup> "Optimalisasi Peran Perempuan di Parlemen Dalam Pencapaian Target MDGs 2015", <http://www.ristek.go.id/index.php/module/News+News/id/10567/print>

<sup>61</sup> <http://suaranasionalnews.com/?p=2455>. In some provinces, KPPI also has branches at the city/district level as in Bogor in West Java and Malang in East Java.

<sup>62</sup> <http://kppri.dpr.go.id/?cat=5>

<sup>63</sup> Interview with Dian Kartika Sari, KPI Secretariat General, 21 March 2012.

Collaborative efforts between civil society and parliamentarians in Indonesia have continued to strengthen over time. Research and consultations conducted by the Overseas Development Institute found that relationships between CSOs and parliamentarians have matured, particularly since 1998 after the fall of the New Order Government<sup>64</sup>. It is increasingly common to find CSOs working with individual parliamentarians on specific issues or as members of larger coalitions when submitting public petitions and evidence-based recommendations on proposed legislation<sup>65</sup>.

However, there is still more work to be done to strengthen these linkages. In particular there is scope for women's and gender-interested organisations to engage with elected representatives on gender equality and poverty issues in a more focused and sustained manner, and to provide evidence of sufficient rigour to reinforce advocacy efforts<sup>66</sup>. This is all the more critical given the strong likelihood that elections will see a high turnover of national and provincial legislators as in previous elections. This approach has the benefit that newly elected leaders will benefit from the expertise of program partners, while program partners will be able to minimise the slowing of momentum around their initiatives as well as influence the priorities of the new leaders. The proposed program will continue and expand support for the women's caucuses, but it will also help them become anchors for the coalitions from Component 1 which are working on issues of women and poverty.

## 1.6. Rationale for AusAID involvement

Gender equality is an overarching principle of the Australian aid program. Advancing gender equality is essential to reducing poverty and increasing aid effectiveness. The Australian Government's response to the Independent Review of Aid Effectiveness, *An Effective Aid Program for Australia*, affirmed that promoting gender equality and empowering women will continue to be an overarching goal of Australia's aid program. It is also a critical development goal in its own right. The Australia Indonesia Country Program Strategy 2008-2013 commits to greater support to gender equality.

The majority of AusAID's contribution to Indonesia's poverty reduction efforts is directed towards supporting the GoI to strengthen service delivery and governance. However, Australian aid is small in relation to GoI's own budget and expenditure. Given the scale and expense of providing services to Indonesia's population, Australia can only make a moderate contribution to poverty reduction if it simply focuses on financing service delivery and government poverty reduction programs as well as improving governance systems.

This suggests the need for a more transformative agenda<sup>67</sup>. Addressing poverty means observing systems, relationships and structures in society that result in exclusion and disempowerment, particularly of women. Addressing these issues in a sustainable way requires bringing different actors and stakeholders together to drive

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<sup>64</sup> *The political economy of policy making in Indonesia*. Overseas Development Institute.2010.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid

<sup>66</sup> As identified by the ODI research, and during the design consultations.

<sup>67</sup> *Politics, Leadership and Coalitions in Development -A Research and Policy Workshop Report*. 2011.  
<http://www.dlprog.org>



long-term change. For each of the five thematic areas, the potential development benefits to very large numbers of poor women from policy reforms of the types being proposed are significant, but they require overcoming entrenched institutional barriers, not just making short-term physical investments. .

Additionally, the history of reform in Indonesia shows that non-government actors have played critical roles, particularly in advancing a poverty reduction or social protection agenda including as it relates to gender equality. It is therefore important for Australia's assistance to Indonesia to support non-government actors, in this case women's organisations and their partners that are actively engaging policy makers in national and local governments to advance more equitable development outcomes.

Supporting women's leadership to advance more equitable development outcomes also aligns with the interests of AusAID's other flagship programs such as PNPM and Social Protection. This program has been designed to link with these programs to enable a wider network of stakeholders to contribute to Indonesia's poverty reduction efforts. Complementarities with these programs represents for AusAID, among other things, good value for money.

Australia's support is particularly critical, and timely, as traditional donors in this area such as DFID, CIDA and Oxfam Novib are diverting gender-related funds to other priority areas such as climate change or are phasing out their support to Indonesia. AusAID's future program of support will locate the agency as the biggest donor to gender equality work in Indonesia.

The proposed Program is designed to be the flagship of Australian support to advancing gender equality in Indonesia. In addition to supporting women's and gender-interested civil society organisations, the program will provide lessons for other AusAID sectoral programs in their efforts to mainstream gender equality.

## 2. Program Rationale, Outcomes and Overview

### 2.1. How this program was prepared

As a reflection of the high-level agency support for this program, the design process was led by AusAID, with strong consultation with women's and gender-interested organisations in Indonesia. An external design specialist helped to facilitate the process and the writing of the program design document.

The concept paper for this design was developed following extensive consultations with external stakeholders, and within AusAID, and was approved by AusAID in September 2011. The concept paper outlined the broad framework for this design including that the program would initially target five thematic areas, and women's and gender-interested organisations at the national level would be supported to mobilise coalitions with government and non-government partners to drive change.

Following the approval of the Concept Paper, the design process took place over seven months, and was informed by a solid platform of analysis. Building on the strong knowledge base that already exists in Indonesia, consultations and literature reviews were used to address the following questions:

- What are the key constraints and opportunities for change within the thematic areas that could be addressed within the time-frame of this program?
- What are the existing strengths and weaknesses of women's organisations in Indonesia that operate at the national level?
- What are the local and international lessons about what makes coalitions successful, and how donors can best support these arrangements?

Workshops were held at the national and local levels with women and gender-interested organisations, and individuals from the private sector and government. During these initial workshops, the stakeholders reviewed the program objective, and helped to identify the realistic outcomes that the program could achieve, as well as the key factors that enable or inhibit change (the theory of change). Women's and gender-interested organisations at the national level were also involved in a second workshop where they identified the preferred management and government arrangements for the program. Their ideas are included within this document. During this second national workshop, a representative from one of the organisations commented:

*'We have never been involved in a donor's design process before. Normally donors just do this on their own, and give us a project design document at the end'.*

To maintain momentum, as well as the goodwill established through the participatory design process, a first round of partners was selected to commence preparatory activities in anticipation of the program start up. Seven partners were selected. Their profiles are provided in Annex 7.3.

Throughout the design process, close engagement was maintained with the peak GoI body that will house the program, TNP2K. TNP2K plans to increase its gender focus through its association with the program and the design team met with TNP2K several times to identify potential areas for future collaboration.

The Canberra Desk also significantly contributed to the program design, with several desk officers from health, gender and governance programs involved in the production of the thematic papers.

## 2.2. Program rationale and overview

The analysis for this design found that despite significant reforms to Government of Indonesian (GoI) policy and practices, women and girls still clearly lag behind in access to basic services, and indicators of wellbeing<sup>68</sup>. Enabling women to influence the development and implementation of government policies will lead to better development outcomes for women and men<sup>69</sup>. Women's voices and influence can be strengthened through, among other things, developing stronger women's organisations, building networks and coalitions with allies and opponents within the government and private sector (collective action), linking local solutions to national level policy dialogue, and collecting an evidence base to reinforce advocacy efforts<sup>70</sup>. International experience demonstrates that donors can be effective (where they work with flexibility and sensitivity<sup>71</sup>) in providing opportunities for internal GoI reformists to work collectively and achieve positive results.

Five thematic areas have been chosen to be the initial focus of the program<sup>72</sup>. The criteria for selecting these themes are their importance to GoI and GoA; identification by relevant civil society groups; and assessments of scope for achieving results. The partners will work within one or more of these thematic areas which are:

1. increasing women's access to jobs and removing workplace discrimination
2. improving women's access to government programs for social protection
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

The program supports reform within each of the thematic areas through two broad strategies or components. The first involves support to women's and gender interested organisations to mobilise networks and coalitions that can influence policy and make practical investments at the local level in programs that constrain women's access to employment and services. The second involves support for female and

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<sup>68</sup> Indonesia *MDG Report 2010*, and AusAID's Indonesia Gender Action Plan 2009.

<sup>69</sup> *The 2012 World Development Report on Gender Equality and Development*, World Bank, 2012.

<sup>70</sup> AusAID-funded Developmental Leadership Program, Lyne de Ver & Kennedy 2011.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. by following good partnership principles, allowing partners and network members to work at a pace, and in a manner appropriate for them, accepting the risks of conflict and contestation as part of the process of change, acknowledging the non-linearity and unpredictability of change in uncertain contexts, etc.

<sup>72</sup> As discussed earlier, these themes reflect the priorities raised by CSOs through the design consultations, and GoI and GoA priorities. Additional themes might also be progressively introduced by AusAID and the partners during implementation.

gender advocate male parliamentarians to play a greater role in advocating for reforms.

### **Component One - Analysis, Action and Advocacy by networks led by national and local women's and gender-interested organisations**

The first and primary component involves supporting national and local women's organisations to strengthen their capacity, and to network with partners and other stakeholders in order to advocate for reforms to government policies, regulations and services.

A selection of national women's and gender-interested organisations, and their local partners will be supported to mobilise resources, and to forge networks and coalitions with others within the public and private sectors. National-level organisations will form the primary partners for the program for reasons including: their demonstrated success in driving change<sup>73</sup>; their large geographic reach, and expansive membership base; and their potential ability to link local efforts to national-level policy engagement. However, the definition of what constitutes a "national" organization will be kept sufficiently flexible to allow support for regionally based coalitions provided that they can engage in relevant national level policy dialogue.<sup>74</sup>

The program will provide the opportunity for partners to strengthen their internal systems and performance, their ability to communicate and engage with others, and to help develop strategies for their long-term sustainability. This will be directed by the partners so that it builds on their existing values and approaches in a manner and pace that is appropriate.

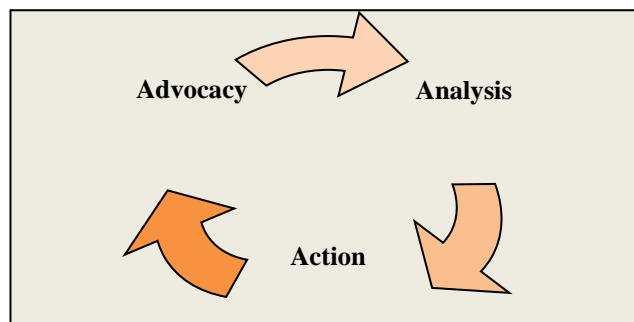
The national organisations will also be supported to enable their partners and networks develop and implement local level initiatives within the thematic areas over an eight-year period. The initiatives will identify and test innovative solutions to the constraints women face in each thematic areas. They will also aim to contribute to policy, regulatory or service delivery reform at the national and local levels, and to make tangible benefits to the lives of significant numbers of poor women within targeted thematic areas.

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<sup>73</sup> Past experiences in Indonesia have shown that the types of national partners that this program will support (e.g. PEKKA, KP, and Migrant Care) have successfully mobilised their networks in the past to reform government policies or practices. In turn has resulted in a significant measurable benefit for poor women.

<sup>74</sup> The design recognizes two concerns raised by regional organizations. First, regional organizations did not want the entry criteria to be limited to national organizations based in Jakarta. This concern reflects both issues with hierarchy and fears of a centrally controlled agenda being projected onto regional groups. Identifying strategies for solving the national-local governance divide will be part of the program's early work on capacity development. Second, given Indonesia's high transportation costs, over time the program will be opened to proposals for island-wide working groups that address the thematic issues. The Makassar consultation already showed some organizing progress by women's groups in NTB, NTT, Papua, and Kalimantan. While the program can provide support to these networks, at the same time a condition of the support will be that they continue to participate in the national level dialogues and policy action programs.

The initiatives will include three broad elements: analysis, action, and advocacy.



- **Analysis** - initiative development will be based on a thorough analysis of constraints and opportunities. The organisations will also be supported to collect a strong evidence base through the initiatives in order to improve their practices, and to reinforce their advocacy work.
- **Action** - initiatives will test and replicate innovative ideas and solutions. Not all initiatives need to start from an untested idea, and some might include solutions that have already been trialled. The eight year time-frame of the program will enable cycles of learning and scale up that will support the organisations to achieve change at a greater scale.
- **Advocacy** - A core component of each initiative will involve advocacy efforts to influence government policy, regulations and services at national and local levels. Advocacy efforts might include a range of approaches such as directly engaging with government, or mobilising and campaigning in order to generate "public" concern. This might involve coordinated efforts between several national organisations working within a thematic area, or advocacy by an organisation and its partners based on their work in a particular initiative.

The program will also support networking and learning at the local, national and international levels through a range of fora, including with other relevant AusAID programs.

#### Example of a successful recent initiative

Building on member surveys carried out in 2008, PEKKA, a national organisation for women household heads reported that a principal reason why so many poor village women could not benefit from government safety net programs was because they lacked the required documentation. Aided by a small seed fund from AusAID, PEKKA facilitated multi-stakeholder forums which brought together judges, police, local government, and NGOs to improve the responsiveness of justice service providers. In its first two years, over 20,000 poor women household heads received the legal documents that they needed. Following this successful initiative, the Ministry of Religion and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court scaled it up into a national program covering 373 district courts and committed \$3.5 million of government funds to its support. Over 100,000 poor women are expected to benefit from this program in 2011.

## **Component Two - Women in Parliament**

The second component involves supporting caucuses of women parliamentarians, and male gender advocate parliamentarians at the national and district levels to engage with women's organisations in order to advance gender equality reforms within the targeted themes. Parliamentarians will also be supported to network with other stakeholders across the private sector, civil society and government, and to build their capacity in order to advocate for reform within the thematic areas as well as for internal party reforms that make space for women's voice and influence. The component will also aim to contribute to strengthened capacity of the individual women leaders, and their ability to network and work together to progress reform in other areas.

### 2.3. Program goal, purpose and expected end of program outcomes

Over the eight years of its implementation, the program is expected to contribute to an improvement in access for poor women to public services, and an improvement in the livelihoods of poor women in targeted geographical areas.

#### **Program Goal**

*Improved access and livelihoods for poor women in Indonesia in selected geographic areas within the targeted themes.*

Initial estimates are that up to three million women will benefit within the time-frame of the program. This figure could vary depending on the scale of change achieved within the thematic areas. In the area of migrant labour for example, a policy change by the government would affect up to two million women and their families. In the area of reproductive health, improving access to health services may annually affect tens of thousands of poor women. Partners will be expected, with program support, to monitor and report the actual numbers of beneficiaries on a regular basis.

Examples of the types of outcomes that are expected include:

- Improved access to social protection programs as a result of improved targeting of government programs (e.g. reduction in the percentage of exclusion, increase in the number of people receiving social protection)
- Reduced levels of debt of migrant workers (e.g. reduction in the average levels of debt, and higher receipt of contract entitlements)
- Improved access to jobs or improved conditions in workplaces (e.g. increase in income, and predicted expenditure)
- Increased access to and uptake of maternal and reproductive health services (e.g. women receiving ante and post natal examinations, nutrition, birth attendance by a skilled health worker)

The program will contribute towards this goal through achieving the program's purpose.

#### **Program Purpose**

*To build broad-based networks and inclusive coalitions led by strengthened women's and gender-interested organisations, and parliamentarians in order to influence government policies, regulations and services, and in selected private sector arenas, to improve the access of poor women to critical services.*

The intended outcomes described in the program goal and purpose can be broadly separated into three outcome domains. These include: capacity for collective action, voice and influence and access and livelihoods. The relationship between these outcomes is illustrated in Figure 1 (and explained in more detail after the figure). This provides a simplified overview and an indicative time-frame in which these outcomes might be achieved. This is intended to help build a shared understanding of

the program by internal and external stakeholders, and also helps to guide the program's monitoring and evaluation.

In reality, however, it is acknowledged that change is not linear, and hard to predict, and some partner initiatives might achieve these outcomes in a different order, and in a different time-frame. For example some partners might demonstrate a solution that improves women's access to services, which in turn influences a change in a government policy, and consequently contributes to a strengthening of a network's capacity. The program's design also encourages adjustments across the themes so that resources can be applied efficiently and fairly to the areas where needs are greatest and where progress is being made.

Importantly, the national and local partners indicated through the consultations that based on their past experiences, these changes were realistic within the program budget and time-frame.

### **Explanation of the terms and outcomes in the program purpose**

#### **"Networks and coalitions"**

Selected national and local partners will be supported to develop or strengthen networks or coalitions between civil society, private sector or government stakeholders around the targeted thematic issues. Networks will be monitored for the degree of participation by stakeholders, and the clarity of their focus. Some partners, e.g. civil society organisations beyond the national and local partners might also be supported to have increased capacity to participate within these networks (at the discretion of the partners).

#### **"Strengthened organisations"**

In the short-term (2-3 years), the program aims to directly improve practices by a selection of national women's organisations and their local partners. This "strengthening" of the organisations relates to the following areas of the organisations' performance:

- communication between national and local members, branches and partners
- advocacy, engagement and alliances with government (including female and male parliamentarians) and the private sector
- working with the media
- building networks, organising constituencies within civil society and mobilising and campaigning in order to generate "public" concern.
- analysing constraints and identifying and testing innovative multi-stakeholder solutions
- collecting and using an evidence base to improve their practices
- other significant functions identified by the partners.

#### **"Changes to government policies, regulations and services"**

In the medium term (3-5 years), the program will support the national women and gender-interested organisations, and their local partners, to increase the voice and influence of poor Indonesian women through both formal and informal channels. Given the complexity of policy change, the program will value and monitor progress towards this result. These steps of progress include the contribution of national and



local partners and their networks (and women and gender advocate male parliamentarians) to:

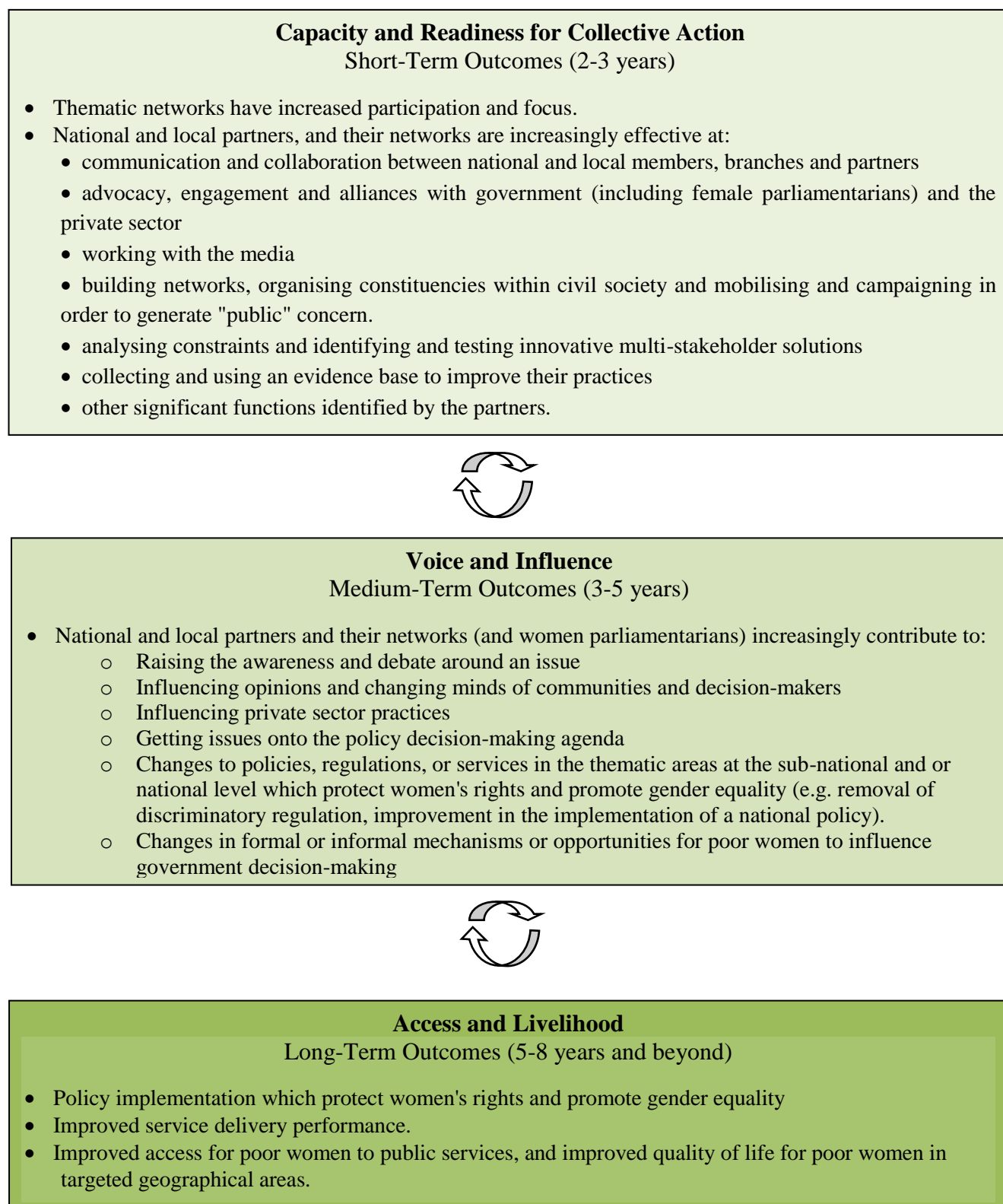
- Raising the awareness and debate around an issue
- Influencing opinions and changing minds of communities and decision-makers
- Leverage an issue onto the policy decision-making agenda
- Changes to policies, regulations, or services in the thematic areas at the sub-national and or national level which protect women's rights and promote gender equality(e.g. removal of discriminatory regulation, improvement in the implementation of a national policy)
- Changes in formal or informal mechanisms or opportunities for poor women to influence government decision-making
- Policy implementation which protect women's rights and promote gender equality.

**“Improving the access of poor women to critical services”**

The bulk of AusAID’s investments will go to projects and activities identified through local-level multi-stakeholder forums in each of the thematic areas. The criteria for selecting these investments are:

- Has the potential to make tangible benefits to the lives of significant numbers of poor women within one of the thematic areas
- Based on sound analysis of the constraints on women’s access to services
- Amenable to policy reforms, operating both nationally and sub-nationally
- The strong potential that the investment will enable learning and replication at local and national levels
- Demonstration of local government (kabupaten) interest to be involved
- A broad plan for assessing the outcomes and impacts (including changes in capacity of the organisations/networks, influence on government, AND impact on poor women)
- Demonstrable compliance with relevant AusAID policies

Figure 1: Hierarchy of Program Outcomes



## Theory of Change - Enabling and Inhibiting Factors

While Figure 1 outlines the intended outcomes for the program, Figure 2 identifies some of the key factors that enable or inhibit these outcomes to be achieved<sup>75</sup>. These factors were identified through background research as described in section 1, but importantly were edited and verified through consultations with the national and local partners. This information provides the first steps in understanding a 'theory of change' on how civil society organisations such as women's groups can influence government policies for the betterment of poor women. The diagram is not intended to be exhaustive. It is expected that the partners and AusAID will review and refine this 'theory of change' annually, based on their improved understanding of what works where and why, and to reflect any changes in the context.

The information in Figure 2 provides a sense of some of the visible and well-known challenges and complexities in achieving reform. In addition, there are factors related to hidden and invisible power created by individuals, communities and organisations' ideas, beliefs and norms, and interests which affect whether change will occur<sup>76</sup>. It is beyond the scope of this design to identify these factors; however, the national and local partners will be supported with financial and technical resources, and importantly time, to ensure they have considered both the visible and the hidden enabling and inhibiting factors that will influence the success of their endeavours.

Figure 2 also identifies how the program will support the intended outcomes, or address the factors that affect change through a range of program strategies or mechanisms (e.g. financial and technical support to national and local partners, facilitating engagement with government through the high-level involvement of TNP2K etc). Beyond the direct interventions supported, the program sits within a broader context of bilateral aid efforts in Indonesia. AusAID staff managing this program will proactively look for opportunities to link with these efforts in order to support the program's outcomes to be achieved.

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<sup>75</sup> The inhibiting factors also informed the Program Risk Matrix. See Annex 7.6.

<sup>76</sup> <http://www.justassociates.org/documents/knowledge/mch/MCH3.pdf>.

**Figure 2: Theory of Change Overview – and Program Strategies to Support this Change**

