

# GRASSROOTS WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

EXPERIENCE AND LESSONS FROM  
MAMPU PARTNERS

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## Telling the story of grassroots women's leadership

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For women's civil society organisations that have been involved in the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, known as MAMPU,<sup>1</sup> telling the story of the leadership of *perempuan akar rumput* – women at the grassroots, is key. We now hear so much more about the role and achievements of women leaders globally – but often this focuses on formal political leadership or women in senior management in public and private sectors. But what about women's leadership within their own communities – what form does this take, how did it develop, and what changes do they manage to bring about? For many women, particularly those who are poor or for other reasons marginalised from the mainstream of services, opportunities, and decision making, the community is where change needs to occur for their everyday lives to be affected, and so their leadership or that of their peers becomes critical.

Historically women viewed as leaders at the village level were from the elite, often wives of village officials. Their primary role was to help deliver top down programs, usually linked to the home-based roles of women – as mothers, wives, and carers. The argument for fostering a more diverse and inclusive form of women's leadership intent on solving locally identified problems has many facets. Women, as human beings, have the right to participate in the decisions that affect their lives, and to influence what those decisions are focused on. The diversity and effectiveness argument, which applies not just to women, but to whoever sits outside a dominant, homogenous leadership group finds that increasing the numbers of women leaders (or those from the outside) can break down established and stale networks, in turn breaking down poor governance that results from too many like minds just agreeing with each other, without fresh ideas, discussion, and analysis. Then we have the experience that some women leaders will champion issues of concern to women, and will actively promote gender equality.

These arguments have taken on an increasing relevance as Indonesia has moved the locus for decision-making and responsibility for allocation of public resources closer to the people; first through the big bang decentralisation in 2000, and then through the passing of the Village Law and establishment of the Village Fund (*Dana Desa*) in 2014. Local governance structures such as district and village

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<sup>1</sup> MAMPU is an Australian Government (DFAT) and Government of Indonesia (BAPPENAS) partnership implemented between 2012 and 2020 that worked with civil society partners to improve the access of poor women to essential services and other government programs in order to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment, and to support the achievement of Government of Indonesia's Sustainable Development Goal targets.

governments can now formulate and implement their own laws, regulations and instructions. However, the absence of a strong and independent women's voice to influence this process has resulted in numerous cases of local laws being passed that are discriminatory, and that disadvantage women and girls.

MAMPU's first partners were selected to represent a range of progressive women and gender focused civil society actors with large geographic reach, an expansive membership base, and potential to link local efforts to national-level policy engagement.<sup>2</sup> This was either through their own vertical structures, through sub-partners, or through working as part of a coalition. At the end of MAMPU, the initial seven national partners is now 13. They work with more than 100 local partners, many engaging with women who previously had barely left their home environment. Some also work with women who have gained some leadership credentials and are positioning to take on more formally recognised leadership roles such as in local governance and politics. The experience of these partners supports the arguments for stronger leadership of women from diverse backgrounds, who have a grounding in women's empowerment and gender equality, and demonstrates what is possible when this exists.

This paper is part of a documentation project implemented in the final year of MAMPU to capture the experience and lessons over the past eight years. It aims to serve as resource and inspiration to civil society organisations, local governments and the international actors that support them, to recognise and elevate the valuable role that women leaders and women and gender equality focused civil society organisations have.

A list of other papers in this series is included [here](#).

For more information about the partners featured in this publication click [here](#).



## Voice, Influence, and Leadership

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The way in which leadership is defined varies. Some definitions focus on individual characteristics associated with charismatic personalities and occupying senior positions; others on the achievement of particularly outcomes. But common is the exercise of influence.<sup>3</sup>

The conceptualisation of women's leadership within MAMPU evolved over its eight years, but from the beginning the voice and influence of women, including poor women, at multiple levels was seen as the essential pathway to improving the lives

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<sup>2</sup> Australian Government. MAMPU Indonesia: *Maju Perempuan Indonesia untuk Penanggulangan Kemiskinan* (Empowering Indonesian Women for Poverty Reduction) Program Design Document, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Domingo P at al. Women's voice and leadership in decision-making: Assessing the evidence. London: ODI, 2015.

of women and their families. The aim was to facilitate national and local partners, their grassroots networks, and women parliamentarians, to, among other things, increasingly contribute to raising awareness and debate on issues; get issues of importance to women onto the policy agenda; and to contribute to changes in policies, regulations, services, and mechanisms for poor women to influence government and village decision-making. The concept of 'voice' at the village level is where *'women work collectively, expressing their views in public and private.'*<sup>4</sup> From this, women will influence – they shape decisions, such as those related to the allocation of state resources, with the intention to bring wider benefits. Voice may be individual or collective, and the sphere of influence may be small or wide. The outcomes of the design were indeed realised, and evidence that women at the grassroots can, and do, influence decisions has grown.<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, at the completion of MAMPU it is clear that the value of women's voice and influence as viewed by MAMPU partners and their membership, is not purely instrumental. That is, it is about what it means to the women themselves and how they are perceived, and not just the changes they are able to bring about. The experience of MAMPU partners highlights that gaining seniority in formal leadership roles can be important, but *'it is not about numbers (for formal leaders) we need to train a lot of women - out of 100 maybe only 5 or 10 will go on to this.'*<sup>6</sup> Rather we see a widening collective nudging of entrenched systems and structures that occurs at multiple levels.



## The challenges to grassroots women's leadership

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At the village level, women face numerous challenges both to taking up formal leadership roles, as well as well as to their more informal participation in, and influence of, decision-making. These challenges include exclusion from formal systems and processes of engagement, to the less visible constraints of the social norms and expectations they face. As a result women's representation in formal leadership at village level is low. Indonesian government data from 2014 showed that just under six percent of Indonesia's almost 75,000 village and sub-district heads are female.<sup>7</sup> Although the Village Law and Village Consultative Council (BPD) guiding regulation<sup>8</sup> require that women are reserved a place in the BPD, around 40 percent of villages have no female representative.<sup>9</sup> A survey conducted

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<sup>4</sup> MAMPU Strategic Plan 2017 - 2020

<sup>5</sup> This is explored in detail in the forthcoming MAMPU / University of Melbourne publication, Diprose R, Savirani A, Setiawan K, and Francis N. *Women's Collective Action and the Village Law in Indonesia*.

<sup>6</sup> Interview, PEKKA leadership, Jakarta, January 2020.

<sup>7</sup> BPS. *Statistik Potensi Desa / Village Potential Statistics of Indonesia*. Jakarta: BPS, 2014

<sup>8</sup> Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Tentang Badan Permusyawarah Desa No.110/2016.

<sup>9</sup> World Bank. *Indonesian Village Governance under the new Village Law (2015-18): Sentinel Villages*

by the Foundation for the Empowerment of Female Headed Households (PEKKA) before becoming a MAMPU partner, found that just over a third of respondents felt that women cannot become leaders, with the main reason cited – by three-quarters of those holding this view, being a belief that women ‘don’t have the ability’.<sup>10</sup>

Participation in village meetings often requires an invitation, yet the poor and women are less likely to be invited to village meetings than men or wealthier members of the community. Their attendance is further constrained by social norms that accord them greater responsibility for the home and family limiting the time they have available to engage. According to World Bank village survey data, between 2015 and 2018 on average just under a quarter of village meeting participants were women.<sup>11</sup> Meaningful engagement requires that participants have access to the information they need to inform decisions, but women were also found to have little awareness of village programs or finances, and were less likely to solicit information.<sup>12</sup> When they did attend, women were often discouraged from speaking up, and if they did were taunted about being rebellious or troublesome – only an estimated 14 percent of those that spoke at meetings were women.<sup>13</sup>

The extent to which these formal and informal rules and norms place constraints on women’s leadership and participation – that is, the leadership context, varies considerably between districts and villages. MAMPU’s Village Law study<sup>14</sup> places these contexts on a continuum: at one end, those that are highly difficult have weak, if any, policies, regulations, or programs that encourage women’s participation, and there is little support for such an agenda. Power tends to be concentrated among a few who may be resistant to empowerment agendas, especially those that challenge the status quo authority structures. Strong social norms limit women’s influence in public life and there may be cultural taboos on discussing issues that affect women. At the other end, highly conducive contexts have more diverse authority structures at district and village levels, often including women’s representation, and indicators of policy and leadership support for empowerment. There tends to be less resistance, particularly when priority issues for village women and CSO advocacy agendas are aligned with political priorities. When placed on this continuum, women’s leadership and collective action includes informal methods<sup>15</sup> in all contexts, but as the setting becomes more

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*Report.* Jakarta: World Bank, 2020.

<sup>10</sup> Community Poverty Monitoring System (Sistem Pemantauan Kemiskinan Berbasis Komunitas, SPKKB). This surveyed 89,960 families (census method) in 111 villages, across 35 kecamatan in the 17 provinces in which PEKKA works. Data collection was completed in 2012.

<sup>11</sup> Syukri, M. Gender Equality in Indonesian New Developmental State: The Case of the New Participatory Village Governance *SMERU Working Paper*. Jakarta: SMERU, 2019.

<sup>12</sup> Darmawan L, Pattinasarany G, and Hoo L. *Participation, transparency and accountability in Village Law implementation Baseline Findings from the Sentinel Villages Study*. Jakarta: World Bank, 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Syukri, M, 2019.

<sup>14</sup> Diprose et al. (forthcoming)

<sup>15</sup> These include engaging with influential figures in everyday settings to establish networks, intervening in fora from which women are excluded, and creating women’s informal spaces, and protest.

conducive, more formal and institutionalised actualisations are found, and women are less reliant on networks to exercise influence.<sup>16</sup>



## How do women's civil society organisations develop grassroots women's leadership?

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MAMPU partners identify and engage with their prospective members in a range of ways and adapt these to the context. Some deliberately target those experiencing economic poverty; some work with those who may be marginalised socially and politically, but who are not necessarily the poorest economically (particularly groups working on homemaker and labour migration issues); and some work with women from more elite backgrounds within the village context, capitalising on their existing influence and connections.<sup>17</sup> Women often respond to an invitation from the MAMPU partner or its sub-partners, or become involved in village affairs through a connection or nomination, often from a family member. Some, but fewer, self-select, and for these it is generally in response to particular issues and actioned by those with higher levels of education or outside exposure. With the exception of this latter group, when first approached to join a program of a MAMPU partner, women rarely saw themselves as capable of voice, let alone influence, and certainly not leadership.

*I was afraid of joining PEKKA because in the past women were considered incapable. Women were not trusted, in the past, especially the widows ... we doubted whether we could be empowered by joining the group. Women were always marginalised, and our abilities were always undermined. I never went out of the house before.<sup>18</sup>*

Partners including KAPAL Perempuan, PEKKA, and PERMAMPU have structured, module-based approaches to engaging women who have previously thought of their role and place in society as being limited to the home. For these organisations, often working with women who are the most excluded, poor, or marginalised, the process begins with general awareness and understanding of the way in which the women's opportunities and choices are shaped by their social environment, rather than because innate characteristics that make women unsuited to public life.

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<sup>16</sup> Diprose et al. (forthcoming)

<sup>17</sup> Migunani. Women's Collective Action for Empowerment in Indonesia: A study of collective action initiated by partners of the MAMPU program. Yogyakarta: Migunani and MAMPU, 2017.

<sup>18</sup> Cadre, Serikat PEKKA Sukerede, group interview, Lingsar, October 2016, in Migunani, 2017.

This is what KAPAL Perempuan, PEKKA, and PERMAMPU refer to as critical awareness. It is the core thread of KAPAL Perempuan's *Sekolah Perempuan* (women's school) initiative:

*Women's leadership has four changes. We start by building critical awareness of gender perspectives and pluralism. The next change is to build a commitment to change towards a culture that is gender just. Next, political change is driven by women's participation and control in decision-making in the private and public spheres. This whole process is produced as women's knowledge and becomes their history.<sup>19</sup>*

For PEKKA, it is one of the four pillars of their empowerment framework, and for PERMAMPU, critical awareness is the pre-cursor to, and then integrated with, political education that prepares grassroots women to enter into leadership in the public arena. It is necessarily an iterative process that assists women to respond to rapid changes in community conditions, and to identify misleading information.<sup>20</sup>

In each case, critical awareness begins with an understanding of gender, of gender-related injustices, and of women's leadership potential, exposing participants to examples of other women who have taken on this role, and who are just like them. The three approaches include elements of social and political analysis, before moving on to advocacy from a gender perspective. Women develop an understanding of the wider institutional environment, including the way governance structures are expected to work, and the bureaucratic processes associated with village budgeting and planning, and with service delivery. This is the basis for their advocacy for gender inclusive village planning and budgeting. KAPAL Perempuan and PEKKA have a specific focus on social protection and legal identity; PERMAMPU on sexual and reproductive health, though all respond intersectionally to the issues that bubble up for their members. Women are trained to consult, compile information, and then represent these priorities either directly to service providers, or through village meetings.

Internalising an identity as a leader is an essential early step in leadership development. In this process a person may assert leadership, and then have this affirmed or disaffirmed, which encourages or discourages further assertion. This cycle builds (or blocks) a sense of self as a leader.<sup>21</sup> PEKKA's methodology responds specifically to this – 'the most important thing is the vision that every single person is a leader - for themselves, for their children. We send women to go and ask others about what a woman leader is, or we ask a woman leader from the community to come in and tell their story about how it happened'.<sup>22</sup> The forum provided by

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<sup>19</sup> Interview, KAPAL Perempuan leadership, Jakarta, January 2020.

<sup>20</sup> PERMAMPU 'Geliat Perempuan Sumatera' Sebuah Pengalaman Pusat Pendidikan Perempuan Potensial untuk Kepemimpinan Perempuan Akar Rumput (*The experience of education for potential women leaders from the grassroots*), 2019.

<sup>21</sup> Ely R, Ibarra H, and Kolb D. *Taking Gender into Account: Theory and Design for Women's Leadership Development Programs*. 2011, pp.6-7

<sup>22</sup> Interview, PEKKA leadership, Jakarta, January 2020.

grassroots women's groups is an important strategy for positive reinforcement in women's development of a leadership identity, because 'it is where they practice their leadership'.<sup>23</sup> The Village Law study highlights that the CSO support for vulnerable and often marginalised rural village women helps create pathways for their influence and inclusion in village development, particularly in difficult and moderately difficult contexts.<sup>24</sup>

The foundational focus on gender equality and human rights is important. Being a woman doesn't automatically mean that as leaders, they will have these objectives. Partners incorporate this foundation in various ways. For example, a methodology for women's leadership targeting homeworkers developed by MAMPU partners working on this issue, opens with a session on the characteristics of good leadership, which has a very strong focus on inclusion and collaboration (see box below).

### **Characteristics of good leadership**<sup>25</sup>

*Gender inclusive:* engaging men and women to work as partners to define and work to achieve targets that benefit all parties

*Communicative:* has the ability to communicate well with everyone

*Goal focused:* able to explain the purpose to all those participating

*Democratic and egalitarian:* able to make all those involved work collaboratively and with mutual respect

*Sensitive to the process and pluralist,* appreciating the needs and interests of others in working towards the objectives

*Transformational,* capable of visioning, formulating plans, inspiring, motivating, providing guidance and building a team

*Consistent* with the agreed principles or values

*Committed,* feeling bound to perform the leadership role in the best way possible

The integration of a strong focus on rights is also important to shift women's consciousness about their own place in society. Lasinem, who is now the coordinator of Sekolah Perempuan's education division in Gresik, East Java talks of how the awakening of her concern for women's issues was accompanied by a feeling of burden - about the weight of life on women, the disparity in social rights, violence, health problems and so on. She has also experienced a shift in her views, from blaming women for what happened to them, because of their dress, their actions, their attitude. She has developed openness and empathy with other

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Diprose et al. (forthcoming)

<sup>25</sup> BITRA, MWPRI, TURC, AYASAMTI. JPRI. SCN-CREST. *Panduan Penguatan Pekerja Rumahan untuk Advokasi Kerja Layak*, Jakarta: MAMPU, 2018.

women, and influenced similar shifts in them. Where previously women in the neighbourhood would gather to gossip they began to talk about their issues, about household problems, violence, and health. She reflects how, since childhood she has been told to always be obedient, not to 'be brave' to her husband, but the material delivered at the training was different - '*So it turns out, all this time, I did not know my rights.*'<sup>26</sup>

For more information about these structured approaches click [here](#).



## What happens when women's leadership is encouraged?

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### **Emergence of confidence and self-belief, and gaining of knowledge**

MAMPU's Village Law (2019-2020) and Collective Action (2016-2017) studies and MAMPU's internal outcome tracking processes are consistent in their description of what the Village Law study describes as a '*journey of surprise, confusion, resistance, and change*'; as women become aware that what they have grown up believing about the roles of women and men and their own subordinate status, may not be how it has to be. As they test this out they can experience threats and intimidation for seeking to change the order of things. At this point some give up, and others persevere.<sup>27</sup> For those that persevere, the gaining of confidence, self-belief, knowledge, and what many interviewees in the Collective Action study called 'courage' is the start of a progression that can lead to speaking out and participating in or presenting to community forums.<sup>28</sup> Individual change is something of a pre-requisite for influence, and from this a range of outcomes are achieved.

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<sup>26</sup> Beech Jones B and Hartoto S (eds.) *Kompendium Perjalanan Hidup Aksi Kolektif Perempuan dan Undang-undang Desa di Indonesia / Compendium of Life Histories: Women's Collective Action and the Village Law in Indonesia*. MAMPU / UniMelb, (forthcoming)

<sup>27</sup> Diprose et al. (forthcoming); Migunani, 2017.

<sup>28</sup> MAMPU's empowerment framework charts this process, referring to five types of assets: Individual, or human assets, which include personal health and education, skills and knowledge, and individual self-belief and confidence; Financial and resource assets, being income and savings, the ability to borrow, access to markets, and productive inputs such as tools and consumables; Agency assets encompassing participation and influence in the family and community, access to better work, services, and government programs; Social assets, including friends, relatives, and social networks; and enabling assets such as access to administrative or legal documents, legal protection, and so on.

## First expressions of voice and influence are often through outreach and accompaniment

The grassroots women's groups established and supported by MAMPU tend to have some degree of thematic focus, usually more than one. It is about these issues that women often start to exercise their voice and influence.

For example, 'Aisyiyah has a strong focus on women's reproductive health, particularly early cervical cancer screening (IVA tests). This issue resonates with women who have had little education about their bodies and often have silent concerns. Health information delivered through group activities can be the first that they have had, and, as it is often accompanied by information on national health insurance (JKN) and service availability, it becomes possible for them to access reproductive and other health services, and they are keen to share this information with others. Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA)<sup>29</sup> member Ibu Reni is a vegetable vendor. She shares the knowledge and information gained from her participation in the group with her friends, family, and customers in the market. She encourages them to go for cancer screening and to look after their own health.<sup>30</sup>

Ibu Fitri, a member of Sekolah Perempuan<sup>31</sup> used her own experience of accessing health services, combined with information gained through Sekolah Perempuan to help her neighbours to learn about and respond to reproductive health concerns. They ask her to accompany them for treatment at the hospital and to take care of the required documents.<sup>32</sup> Supiastuti had some history of community engagement when she was asked by PEKKA's field coordinator in her area to host an information event. She soon became the group<sup>33</sup> secretary and attended the community organising cadre training, which she says gave her knowledge '*about the law, about health, how to talk to the leader, and that the Village Head and employees were community servants*'. People started coming to her for help:

*At first I was surprised, why did they confide in me? But I tried... and because they already trust in me, I am also ready to help. Some small things that I have done include; assisting to make birth certificates, to obtain SKTM (certificate of disability), and accompanying neighbours to speak to the Village Head.<sup>34</sup>*

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<sup>29</sup> BSA are 'Aisyiyah's grassroots women's groups, operating within a vertical structure and in accordance with 'Aisyiyah's national policy and priority programs.

<sup>30</sup> 'Aisyiyah, A Mobile Vegetable Vendor Who Offers IVA Test, significant change story, 2015

<sup>31</sup> Sekolah Perempuan is KAPAL Perempuan's village-level women's study group focusing on critical education and gender awareness in poor areas. It is implemented through KAPAL's network of local partners.

<sup>32</sup> KAPAL Perempuan, Fitri Mayangsari, Menolong dengan Pengetahuan dan Pengalaman (Helping with Knowledge and Experience), significant change story, 2019

<sup>33</sup> PEKKA's local Serikat PEKKA (PEKKA Union) groups operate through a cascaded vertical structure, with membership being mostly women heads of families.

<sup>34</sup> PEKKA, Dipercaya dan Membantu Masyarakat Sekitar (Trusted and Helping the Surrounding Communities), significant change story 2015.

The experience of Reni, Fitri and Supiastuti in sharing their new information and knowledge, and then being approached to help others with problems they face in accessing services or completing various interactions with the bureaucracy, are most common amongst the stories of women's leadership gathered by MAMPU partners. We see that the information provided through the grassroots women's empowerment initiatives responds directly to, and is shaped by the needs and interests of the women themselves. In some cases, like that of Silma (below) this has meant that services have reached those who previously have been completely invisible.

Silma from Pesisir Selatan, West Sumatra has had scoliosis from childhood. She uses JKN for the physiotherapy she requires to help her manage pain, but this has been a difficult and time consuming process. She sees that many people with disabilities feel helpless to speak out, and resign themselves to their condition rather than accessing JKN, and with this, the services they need, even though, as she says 'We are not asking for special treatment, we are just asking for services and treatment that fit our needs'.

Silma completed basic cadre training through Balai Perempuan<sup>35</sup> Kemuning, part of the structure of Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia (KPI). She then became a facilitator disseminating information about health rights, including how to access the national health insurance (JKN) through Balai Perempuan networks in West Sumatra and Jambi. She receives complaints and lodges these complaints with the related agencies. She is also improving data collection on people with disabilities who have not yet received their JKN card, and helps them to complete the registration process. In doing this she has become an advocate for the rights of persons with disabilities to be recognised, and for their access to information and services. Some of her connections had previously not been acknowledged by their own families, because they are seen as a source of shame. They have no civil status – they are not included in their family's Family Card, rendering access to all other services very difficult.<sup>36</sup>

In the time of COVID-19 these networks have been useful for responding to the concern raised by all MAMPU partners about the lack of credible information at the grassroots levels regarding the pandemic. MAMPU has collected multiple examples across partners that show how grassroots women leaders and the groups they belong to have used their connections to the community and to village leadership to influence responses to COVID-19, and have quickly been able to adapt their programs to address the immediate concerns faced in their villages.<sup>35</sup>

For examples of how grassroots women's leaders have responded to COVID-19 click [here](#).

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<sup>35</sup> MAMPU. Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic. Cowater, 2020

## Influencing existing systems and processes - representing women's interests and establishing community activities

*Who is it that has to fight for women? It's us, women who struggle, because we know best what we need.*<sup>36</sup>

World Bank commissioned research in Indonesia highlights the role of what they have termed 'village activists'. These are individuals with knowledge of government projects and close relations with government officials, but who are not necessarily the village wealthy. They are identified as cadres of health centres, government-led women's groups, and farmers' groups<sup>37,38</sup> but clearly this concept can be extended to the members or cadres of non-government women's organisations, such as the MAMPU partners.

Akin to village activists, grassroots women leaders share the concerns of their peers about village problems and priority needs. Through the outreach and accompaniment described earlier, grassroots women leaders become even more aware of the challenges faced when women interact with institutions. This gives them insight into how these challenges need to be addressed. The additional skills and knowledge that they have gained through membership of the various partner groups means that they are able to represent these perspectives in community forums that tend to be dominated by, or even exclusively, men.

With the 2014 Village Law and associated village budgets, an objective is often to secure funding for initiatives that women have identified. These are varied in nature, and can include infrastructure, community outreach and information, small enterprise development, and bringing services closer to those who need them.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Risnawati Dethan Sau, Sekolah Perempuan graduate, Kupang in KAPAL Perempuan Gender Watch-MAMPU Program. Retrieved from <https://kapalperempuan.org>.

<sup>37</sup> AKATIGA. Marginalized Groups in PNPM Rural. Jakarta: PNPM Support Facility, 2010.

<sup>38</sup> Dharmawan L, Pattinasarany G, Hoo L. Participation, transparency and accountability in village law implementation: Baseline Findings from the Sentinel Villages Study October 2015 – February 2016. Jakarta: World Bank, 2018, p.29.

<sup>39</sup> There is considerable experience amongst MAMPU partners in accessing local government budgets to improve access to legal identity and social protection. See Lockley A, Lakshmi T, and Satriana S Comprehensive, transformative, inclusive, and gender responsive social protection: the experience of MAMPU partners and its relevance to the COVID-19 context, MAMPU Jakarta, 2020.

## Grassroots women leaders securing support for community activities focusing on, or proposed by women

Nursyamsi, an 'Aisyiyah cadre in Bantaeng, South Sulawesi advocated for village regulations related to COVID-19. She worked with a group of other cadres to make masks to give to all residents of her village, securing funds from the village budget to buy the fabric. Distribution focused on the elderly and those who could not stay at home, such as drivers who needed to work. They established a volunteer team with a command post to provide information and masks to those who needed them, and to record information about people who need assistance because of the disruption of the pandemic.<sup>40</sup>

Agustina, head of BaKTI's Buntu Kandora constituent group<sup>41</sup> coordinated with the Lembang government to secure support for vocational training for women, which included use of a training venue and a small budget (IDR 10 million in 2017 and IDR 15 million in 2018). Drawing on her own experience in handicrafts, she trains and mentors women and has formed an artisan handicraft group. She has established marketing support through the government's village enterprise initiative (BUMDes). Messages about women and children's empowerment and the right to be free from violence are incorporated in the training.<sup>42</sup>

MAMPU partners all advocate for greater representation of women's voices and interests in the village planning and budgeting process. Sekolah Perempuan graduate Risna successfully lobbied her village government to issue and enforce a village regulation on women's participation that specifies a 30 percent quota in planning, development, and monitoring. The village holds regular women's deliberation meetings (musrenbang) and Risna's own leadership practice led her to become the head of the neighbourhood association.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to influencing village budgets, from 2015 to March 2020 grassroots women, connected through a range of community-based organisations and networks fostered by MAMPU partners, influenced the development of more than 400 policies from village regulations through to national level associated with the

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<sup>40</sup> 'Aisyiyah. *Cadre MAMPU Advocates for Village Fund Budget for Covid-19*, significant change story, 2020.

<sup>41</sup> BaKTI's constituent groups aim to connect political representatives, such as members of the People's Representative Council (DPR) with the people they represent. Citizens can raise their issues of concern and development priorities with the representatives and bureaucrats for consideration in policy or development planning.

<sup>42</sup> BaKTI. *Agustina, female change agent*, significant change story, 2019.

<sup>43</sup> KAPAL Perempuan Gender Watch-MAMPU Program.

activities of community level women's organisations or otherwise formalising women's participating in discussions and decisions.

A key finding of MAMPU's Village Law study was that rules - such as village and district regulations, policies, and technical implementation guidance are an important, necessary incentive for resistant actors to involve women in decision-making and to prioritise funding allocations women propose. However, on their own they do not generate outcomes. The influence of women was less evident in study control sites where partner CSOs were not active, and women did not exercise their collective leadership.<sup>44</sup>

## **Formal leadership**

The experience of women moving from more informal expressions of leadership – through supporting other women, representing their interests, and influencing established systems, to formal leadership positions is mixed. At the informal level women are clearly not displacing established leadership patterns, but expanding and enhancing what is there.<sup>45</sup> When it comes to filling positions almost always filled by men there are various barriers. Nevertheless, women do transition from being active in, and often the leader of, their community-based group into other roles, having built up their leadership credentials and profile. Most successes are found with women being selected for neighbourhood associations (RT/RW), a small number have joined the higher-level village apparatus, and a few have become the village head.

BaKTI, KPI, PEKKA, and PERMAMPU all have initiatives aiming to prepare women for formal leadership, or improve the knowledge and gender responsiveness of existing leaders. In the lead up to the 2018 regional and 2019 general elections PERMAMPU organised a program of political education aiming to increase the pool of women candidates for strategic positions in local government or in traditional and religious institutions. The program included topics on rights issues, introduced participants to simple gender analysis, and discussed advocacy and organising strategies for women to build collective strength, following a process as summarised in Figure 1. The intention was that graduates of this program would have the skills to voice the needs and interests of women, especially those who are marginalised and historically unrepresented.

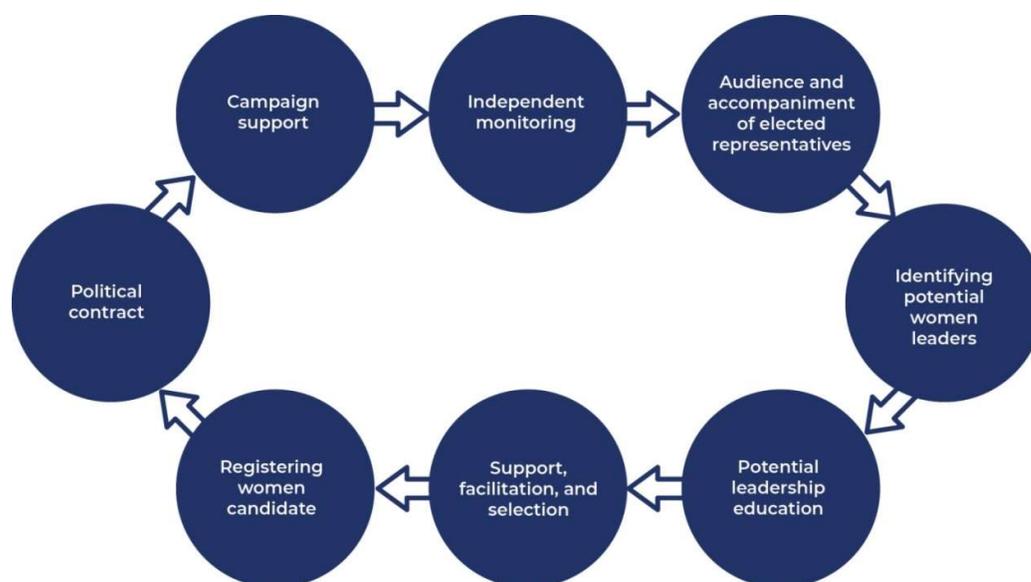
The program started with a focus only on group members, but then included a wider network of women with potential and interest to become leaders in the public sphere. Some asked for support from PERMAMPU, and others PERMAMPU approached. Approximately 800 women listed by all members of the PERMAMPU consortium participated in the program.

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<sup>44</sup> Diprose et al. (forthcoming)

<sup>45</sup> Interview, PEKKA leadership, January 2020, Jakarta.

**Figure 1** PERMAMPU potential women leaders education program



Nine out of the 66 women candidates in the region were successful; many more were engaged in the election process, including as monitors. PERMAMPU's analysis of the low eventual candidature and success rate identifies a range of contributing factors. Women candidates often don't have sufficient funds for campaigning, and further, don't engage in 'money politics' – the trading of financial allocations for voter support. They are often less well known, lack the family and personal connections to secure support, and are not supported by a 'success team'. There are also observed religious views and social norms that mean that voters simply do not elect women candidates for the legislature.

Nevertheless the exercise did highlight the existence of women leaders – either from the cadre networks or that have a history as public officials, that are positioning to enter strategic roles, from the village through to the provincial level. Grassroots women have engaged with policy advocacy targeting the government. Additionally, of the women who were successful, there were indications of the value of the connection to and the backing of the networks established through their community work.<sup>46</sup>

For examples of women who have moved into formal leadership roles click [here](#).

<sup>46</sup> PERMAMPU. *'Geliat Perempuan Sumatera' Sebuah Pengalaman Pusat Pendidikan Perempuan Potensial untuk Kepemimpinan Perempuan Akar Rumput* (The experience of education for potential women leaders from the grassroots). Draft, 2019.



## Some key lessons

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### **Grassroots women's leadership ripples out, rather than develops linearly**

While the positioning of women's voice and influence within the original MAMPU outcome hierarchy has held, it has been even less linear than what was anticipated. Grassroots women start to test their leadership close to home, sometimes through speaking up, sometimes by spreading information and knowledge, and sometimes by using their improved understanding of the way things work to help their friends, family and neighbours to access services and navigate the Indonesian bureaucracy. For some, this is where it stays, and MAMPU partners work to build and link these networks of support. Other grassroots women step further from their home and seek to change the way things are done, either moving more to the inside by taking up formal leadership roles, or by presenting such a good case to allies that they eventually listen. Change is often nudged from various directions by women operating in a movement rather than necessarily being the result of one powerful, charismatic, or prominent individual. The interplay of emergent women's leadership with the context in which it occurs is key to this process. Leadership doesn't evolve predictably.

### **Lived experience is an important motivator, and source of information**

Grassroots women's leadership often starts with service – that is helping others through accompaniment or providing information. Women draw on their own experience to represent issues on behalf of others in community, district, and sub-district forums, and then for those who move into formal roles whether in the village of hamlet governance structures, in religious or traditional (*adat*) institutions, or in civil society. Women often organise around the issues they face in their daily lives. They are therefore very sensitive to, and positioned to be very responsive to changes in the situation, as we see with the COVID-19 epidemic.

### **Structured programs with a human rights core are particularly relevant to women with little outside exposure**

Becoming aware of women's right to be involved directly in what is happening in their worlds is important for women to understand their own legitimacy as leaders. Grassroots women's backgrounds of exclusion, less education, and discouragement, are important to acknowledge, but are far from unsurmountable. The experience of MAMPU partners is that leaders can come from anywhere.

## **Women and gender equality focused CSOs are essential in helping to create the space, and foster the confidence for grassroots women's leadership to flourish**

CSOs need to tailor their approach according to the context they are working in but even in the most difficult and challenging context they can make progress over time in developing leadership. Obviously in the most difficult contexts this takes more time and intensive effort, and progress is slower. Whether the context is conducive or not, women's CSOs create the spaces and enabling environment for women to engage.

This paper explores, very briefly, an enormous wealth of experience, and a small selection of the successes this has brought about. Other MAMPU publications, particularly those referenced, provide greater detail. The authors acknowledge this extraordinary amount of work, experimentation, and learning, and thank MAMPU partners for their inputs to this partner, particularly through their ongoing monitoring and recording of progress as they have supported women to recognise themselves as leaders, and to actualise this in the ways that they see as important.



More examples and information about grassroots women's leadership and MAMPU partners' work



## Three programs for women's leadership development

| <b>PERMAMPU<br/>(Potential Women's Learning Centre)</b>  | <b>PEKKA<br/>(Women's Leadership Curriculum)</b>   | <b>KAPAL Perempuan<br/>(Sekolah Perempuan)</b>   |
|--|--|--|
|  | Orientation  |  |
| Gender and feminist analysis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Understanding sex, gender, and sexuality</li> <li>- Forms of gender injustice</li> <li>- Theoretical framework and activities for strengthening women</li> <li>- Strengthening economic as an entry point</li> </ul> | Module 2: Understanding women's lives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Women's life journey</li> <li>- Women and injustice</li> <li>- Women and her life dream</li> </ul>   | Module 1. Social preparation<br>Mapping social issues and women's leadership potential, as a way to integrate the education strategy with community organisation |
| Legal basis of human rights and women's rights, including CEDAW  | Module 3: Women as heads of households: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Three dimensions of power</li> <li>- Empowerment vision and mission of PEKKA</li> </ul>   | Module 2. Gender<br>Understanding gender concepts, forms of gender injustice, causes, and strategies for gender equality   |
| Women's political rights and representation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Women's leadership</li> <li>- Women's political rights</li> <li>- Influence of religion and culture</li> <li>- Indonesian political system</li> </ul>   | Module 4: Women's leadership:<br>Knowing women leaders<br>Leadership communications  | Module 3. Pluralism<br>As an important value in the fight for social and gender justice in Indonesia   |
| Sexual and reproductive health rights  | Module 5: Women strengthening national insights<br>Translating national values into everyday life, for unity, harmony, and justice for the whole community   | Module 4. Social protection<br>Especially that related to poverty reduction  |
| Advocacy and organisations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Developing collective action</li> </ul>  | Module 5: PEKKA and social protection <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Social analysis</li> <li>- Community based monitoring of social protection programs</li> <li>- Building social protection multi stakeholder forums</li> </ul> | Module 5. Organisational development and strengthening women's leadership  |
| Analysis of legal products <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gender responsive policy, gender action plans</li> <li>- Understanding budgets</li> <li>- Village law</li> </ul>   | Module 7: Advocacy<br>Understanding advocacy<br>Actor analysis   | Module 6. Strengthening women's livelihoods  |
| Communication and articulation of women's priorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Assertive communication</li> <li>- Public speaking</li> <li>- Writing ideas</li> <li>- Raising support</li> <li>- Using campaign tools</li> </ul>  | Module 8: Organisational development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Developing effective organisations</li> <li>- Managing PEKKA organisations, regulations, developing cooperatives / savings and loans groups</li> </ul>         | Module 7. Developing gender responsive and inclusive data for advocacy   |
| Monitoring and evaluation  | Module 9: Reporting and documentation  |  |



## Leadership journeys: from excluded, to part of the machinery

### **Saraiyah, the first women to join the village Kerama Council**

Saraiyah was initially confused by the idea of Sekolah Perempuan, wondering what they wanted from 'us old, poor women'. But she found the experience relaxed, and the materials responded to the needs of the participants, many 'not having high education; most have only graduated from primary school or junior high school, some did not even graduate from primary school'. She joined in 2014.

Saraiyah embodies KAPAL Perempuan's commitment to pluralism. In advocating for repair of a local road, the steepness and narrowness of which made it difficult for women to access maternal health services and constrained the local cacao farming economy, her motivations were questioned because the majority of residents that would benefit were of a different religion to her own: She 'told the head of the hamlet, development should not only benefit a small group of people'. Her advice was carried through the village planning process to the sub-district and district. The new road became a priority program of the government.

After the July 2018 earthquake displaced Saraiyah and many of her Sekolah Perempuan peers, she 'called all the members I could to coordinate about what we could do'. She assisted in logistics and the distribution of aid; she initiated a public kitchen, and coordinated a roster to take sick people to the hospital and worked to collect the personal data of the citizens who had lost their identity documents in the disaster. Saraiyah and her colleagues from Sekolah Perempuan took a number of steps to create a sense of security and comfort for the displaced women, mitigating risks of sexual harassment. Later they worked to re-establish household organic vegetable gardens; an initiative they had connected a local government program.

Sekolah Perempuan brought out Saraiyah's voice, and built her influence, working alongside other members. Her leadership is recognised: '*Before, the voices of women were not heard, and their concerns weren't taken seriously. Now, if we speak, the men listen to us*'. She is now the chairperson of Sekolah Perempuan North Lombok. She is the first women to join the village Kerama Council, a traditional or *adat* institution. She mobilizes to fight for the rights of women facing injustice in her community, and for improved conditions for all.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Compiled from *Saraiyah, a Powerful Voice Now Heard*, MAMPU Stories of Change, October 2018. and *Kesetaraan Jender; Menembus Posisi Setara di 'Berugak'*, 7 October 2018 retrieved from <https://kapalperempuan.org>.

## Laila, from hiding from officials to being part of village governance

At 30 Laila is one of the most powerful women leaders in a village in Sulawesi's Pangkajene and Kepulauan (PangKep) district. She finished her formal education at elementary school on the death of her father to help to support her family through fishing, collecting crab, and cultivating seaweed. In 2014 Laila's niece invited her along to *Sekolah Perempuan*:

*I wanted to join (because I want to try, try to get out of my comfort zone. Maybe this is the only way I have to do it. Because before, I was not brave to speak; never with the (male village leaders). If what we say is wrong, we are scolded; It's scary, really scary... Before there was Sekolah Perempuan, I was not brave. If I was out of the house and I saw someone wearing an official uniform on the pier I would hide. I was afraid ... afraid of being wrong.*

Laila attended activities with *Sekolah Perempuan* three times a month: 'that was where my courage emerged. That I have a place here, I have rights here'. By 2015, Laila was head of her neighbourhood association, an appointment made by the village head, and she is the leader of her *Sekolah Perempuan* group of more than 40 members.

Laila sees the application of the knowledge she has gained through *Sekolah Perempuan* as a moral responsibility. She saw the need for water tanks, public latrines, and access to electricity. The absence of men while they are out fishing means that women are left to deal with shortages of water alone, resorting to sea water when there was no other option. Without household toilets, women used the beach in the dark. Without electricity, women were exhausted from trying to do everything they needed in daylight hours.

In 2017 Laila proposed 25 water tanks for the island through the village *musrenbang*. When only 15 were supplied, she advocated the following year for a further 20. Three public latrines were constructed. *Sekolah Perempuan* members collectively lobbied for solar power procurement, proposing this to the village head, the village *musrenbang*, and finally by Laila directly to the Bupati. A solar power scheme reached the island in 2017.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Compiled from edited transcript in Beech Jones B and Hartoto S (eds.) *Kompendium Perjalanan Hidup Aksi Kolektif Perempuan dan Undang-undang Desa di Indonesia / Compendium of Life Histories: Women's Collective Action and the Village Law in Indonesia*. MAMPU / UniMelb, 2020 (forthcoming)

## **Ibu Fathonah - one of two women village / island deliberation council heads in the province**

Ibu Fathonah, or Bu Fat, saw herself as ordinary, not knowing much, and with a normal routine of looking after the home, farming, and being an 'obedient citizen'. She then joined *Koperasi Wanita Bunga Bangsa* supported by PERMAMPU consortium member PPSW Sumatra, and changed. She became active in the village, completed an out of school education program (paket C) and established local cooperatives in her own and four other villages. PPSW recognised Bu Fat as a potential leader and she joined PERMAMPU's potential women leaders' education program, and Bu Fat stood for election to the BKep – the island consultative council (equivalent to the village consultative council or BPD).

At this time women did not even participate in the election of BKep representatives, unless they attended the meeting in place of their husband. There were also views that as a woman, and one without a tertiary education, she should not be in a leadership role. Bu Fat socialised her candidacy through the women members of the cooperatives that she had established, encouraging them to recommend her to their husbands. She was successful first in the BKep election, and then has appointed the head, one of only two BKep / BPD heads in Riau province.

In this role Bu Fat successfully advocated for village funds to be allocated to sexual and reproductive rights education, especially for young women. She also collaborates with community health centre and health insurance board to facilitate access to reproductive health services.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Keahlian Kampanye Membawa Bu Fat Menjadi Ketua Badan Permusyawaratan Kepenghuluan, MSC Story April 2019.



## Grassroots Women Leaders Responding To COVID-19

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### **Sekolah Perempuan leadership of a multi-faceted COVID-19 response across PangKep**

When the central government declared an emergency response, Sekolah Perempuan members in PangKep urged the village government to form a COVID-19 task force. Consisting of representatives of the village government, health workers, and Sekolah Perempuan, the task force collects data on the poor and small enterprises affected by COVID-19. They disinfect public facilities, educate the public, and operate checkpoints on the jetty of each island to monitor the movement of people.

Sekolah Perempuan members have distributed food to the poor, and have opened a shopping delivery service for people who want to order goods from the mainland, reducing individual transport costs and the flow of people. They started a tutoring service to assist children with their school work that responded directly to difficulties experienced by Sekolah Perempuan members in assisting their children to do school work. Tutors visit the homes of the students or assist via WhatsApp, and help to send assignments to schools, reducing the internet quota needed – a cost families were finding difficult to meet. They also help poor people in the community to access free electricity tokens, after researching and testing this online themselves. 450 households on 10 islands have accessed free electricity.

They have made and distributed more than 500 cloth masks, provided to the poor, the elderly, and persons with disability at no cost. Alongside this they distribute a letter explaining COVID-19 and how to prevent transmission, and including contact numbers of Sekolah Perempuan members for those who have any questions. Most recently they have initiated a routine discussion about COVID-19 via telephone and zoom to counter 'fake news' with information about preventing transmission, nutrition, and how to assist people who experience domestic violence.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Hamdi A. Women's schools in the Pangkajene Islands remain active amid the pandemic. 23 June 2020, retrieved from [mampu.or.id](http://mampu.or.id).

## **BSA leadership for coordination, and income generation**

Pipit and her co-members of the Licin village Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah in West Java have felt the impact of COVID-19 on their daily routines and their village economy. Concerned about the return to the village of residents from other regions, they encouraged the village head to form a task force, and to collect data collection on the distribution of social assistance to the local population and better organise the response. The group has also made and distributed face masks, and conducted community health education outreach. BSA peers in other villages, including Surima in Kartiasa village, West Kalimantan, have been engaged in similar activities. The group has produced and distributed about 600 face masks to their the community, especially to people with disabilities, the elderly, and the poor. This attracted the attention of the village government and they have been commissioned to supply masks to all families – the 9000 mask project, involving women who have lost their income due to the pandemic.<sup>51</sup>

## **Women's leadership in health promotion to combat COVID-19**

Susilawati is a member of the Grassroots Women's Community Forum (FKPAR) connected to the PERMAMPU network member, the Palembang Women's Crisis Centre (WCC). Her women's group goes house to house to disseminate information hygiene and health practices for COVID prevention as well as general nutrition. They leave face masks and information flyers that the group have put together with each household they visit.

Rita, with the support of the WCC Palembang regularly organises routine disinfection of public facilities in her region with other activists, her group has built simple hand washing stations with soap and clean water. They use a disinfectant locally produced by villagers in accordance with the Indonesian Ministry of Health's COVID-19 prevention guidelines. The director of WCC Palembang notes that 'women play a huge role as the front guard in COVID-19 prevention, not only in cities, but also in villages. Hopefully this pandemic will end soon, and people's lives will run return to normal and people will continue to adopt a clean and healthy lifestyle'.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Hamdi A. BSA is encouraging a gender-sensitive pandemic response cooperation with the village government. 23 June 2020, retrieved from [mampu.or.id](http://mampu.or.id).

<sup>52</sup> Hamdi A. The Role of Village Women as Health Promoters Combatting COVID-19. 26 August 2020, retrieved from [mampu.or.id](http://mampu.or.id).



## MAMPU partners active in developing grassroots women's leadership

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### 'Aisyiyah

'Aisyiyah, was established in 1917 as an Islamic faith-based women's organisation under Muhammadiyah, one of the two largest Islamic organisations in Indonesia. An autonomous women's organization, 'Aisyiyah contributes to women's empowerment by strengthening women's participation in all aspects of social and economic life. In operation for a century, 'Aisyiyah has a large membership base of 10-15 million women with branches and activities across Indonesia, supporting women's education, health and livelihoods. 'Aisyiyah's work towards grassroots women's leadership centres on the establishment of Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA) groups.



### Bursa Pengetahuan Kawasan Timur Indonesia / The Eastern Indonesia Knowledge Exchange Foundation (BaKTI)

BaKTI Foundation was established in 2009 in Makassar, and grew out of its initial beginnings as the World Bank's Support Office for Eastern Indonesia in Makassar. BaKTI collects and distributes information on development programs and assistance available for the development of Eastern Indonesia and supports local development actors to collaborate and harmonise different initiatives. BaKTI is also the Secretariat for Forum KTI (the Eastern Indonesia Forum). BaKTI's grassroots organising is in the form of *kelompok konstituen* (constituent groups), that are brought together in public consultation with their local parliamentary leaders through their *Reses Partisipatif* (Participatory Recess) initiative). Under MAMPU BaKTI work in 85 villages, 6 districts, across 5 provinces of eastern Indonesia.



## **Institut KAPAL Perempuan – Lingkaran Pendidikan Alternatif Perempuan / Alternative Education Circle for Women**

KAPAL Perempuan was formed in 2000 to strengthen the women's movement and accelerate the creation of a society with critical thinking, solidarity, gender justice, pluralism, transparency, and anti-violence. In collaboration with various intermediary organisations, KAPAL Perempuan established Sekolah Perempuan, which is a learning platform to provide critical education to strengthen the leadership of grassroots women to advocate for change at the village and district level. MAMPU support helps KAPAL Perempuan work in 24 villages in 9 districts / cities in DKI Jakarta, West Sumatra, East Java, South Sulawesi, NTT, and NTB, with replication by local governments to 85 villages using district and village government budgets.



## **Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan dan Demokrasi / The Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy (KPI)**

KPI was established in 1998 to promote gender equality and justice to support the development of a democratic and prosperous Indonesia. KPI has a national coordinating secretariat and secretariats in more than 110 cities / regencies in Indonesia. It has around 38,000 members and reaches around 900 villages in 24 provinces. KPI strengthens community organising and develops women's leadership by establishing women's groups called *Balai Perempuan*.



## **Yayasan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga / Foundation for the Empowerment of Female Headed Households (PEKKA)**

Empowerment of Women Heads of Families or PEKKA was initiated at the end of 2000 in response to the desire of Komnas Perempuan to document the lives of widows in conflict areas, and that of the World Bank to respond to the request of the widows from the conflict in Aceh to gain access to resources to overcome their economic problems and trauma. In becoming PEKKA, the 'widows project' took on a more provocative and ideological approach, intending to bring social changes and build the dignity of widows who were negatively stigmatised in society. PEKKA began its work in mid-2001, and the first Pekka group was formed in early 2002 on Adonara Island, East Nusa Tenggara. In 2004, PEKKA Foundation was formed to continue organising and mentoring the groups. In 2008 Serikat Pekka (Pekka Union) was developed as an autonomous mass membership organisation, and in 2009 Pekka Unions from various regions in Indonesia formed the National Federation of Pekka Unions as the driver of the social movement of women heads of families.



## **Konsorsium Perempuan Sumatera MAMPU / PERMAMPU Consortium**

PERMAMPU is a consortium of eight women's organisations from across Sumatra. Established in 2012, it is made up of Flower Aceh (Aceh), Perkumpulan Sada Ahmo (PESADA) (North Sumatra), Organisasi Pengkajian dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (LP2M) (West Sumatra), Pusat Pengembangan Sumberdaya Wanita Sumatera (PPSW) (Riau), Aliansi Perempuan Merangin (APM) (Jambi), WCC Cahaya Perempuan (Bengkulu), WCC Palembang (South Sumatra), and DAMAR (Lampung). PERMAMPU works to influence strategic actors including religious and cultural leaders, health service providers, and local governments with a focus on sexual and reproductive health rights. PERMAMPU have established a significant grassroots network of over 788 women's groups in 214 villages, in 35 districts across 8 provinces of Sumatra.



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# MAMPU

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