THE EFFECTS OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING POLICY ON WOMEN, FOCUSING ON DRINKING WATER PROVISION IN INDONESIA

Endah Prihatiningtyastuti

BA (Agriculture)
MA (Gender Studies)

This thesis is presented for the degree of Master of Philosophy of The University of Western Australia School of Social Sciences, Asian Studies
2018
Thesis Declaration

I, Endah Prihatiningtyastuti certify that:

This thesis has been substantially accomplished during enrolment in the degree.

This thesis does not contain material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution.

No part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of The University of Western Australia and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

This thesis does not contain any material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

The work(s) are not in any way a violation or infringement of any copyright, trademark, patent, or other rights whatsoever of any person. The research topic was explained to participants; informed consent was obtained, following ethical guidelines of Human Research Ethics at the University of Western Australia [RA/4/1/6500]

Third party editorial assistance was provided in preparation of the thesis by Eileen/Eldon Editorial
This thesis does not contain work that I have published, nor work under review for publication.

Student’s Signature

Date: July 2018
Abstract

This research explores the implementation of gender mainstreaming policy by the Indonesian government through the development of water supply programs in two different regions: Kulon Progo in Yogyakarta province and Central Lombok in West Nusa Tenggara province. Since the Presidential Decree on Gender Mainstreaming Policy in 2000, the policy has been implemented in problematic ways through various development programs. The study looks empirically at the impact of gender mainstreaming policy on the issue of clean water provision at the village level. This thesis aims to analyse three issues; translation of gender mainstreaming strategies by local authorities, the impact of the implementation of gender mainstreaming on women’s role and status, and factors affecting participation and involvement of rural women in decision-making processes at the community level. It uses in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with rural women, local authorities, policy makers, NGOs, and other significant key informants, and observations of everyday practices of the village women in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok.

The study found that some women in the two locations of research do not have adequate access to water or equal distribution of clean and consumable water as per WHO standards due to geographical constraints and low income economic conditions. These women are vulnerable, and have limited avenues to get involved and participate in their local community meetings during water provision management and decision-making processes. State gender ideology, ethnic traditions and Islamic values position women as objects of development, constraining women from making autonomous choices in daily life including their rights and needs, especially with respect to water management. Women continue to face cultural barriers to participate and get involved in local decision-making of water management, and to express their interests as women and citizens of Indonesia.
## Table of Contents

Thesis Declaration ........................................................................................................ ii
Abstract .................................................................................................................. iv
Table of Contents ................................................................................................... v
List of Tables .......................................................................................................... viii
List of Figures ......................................................................................................... ix
Acknowledgements ............................................................................................... x
Note on Spelling and Translation ............................................................................ xii

**CHAPTER 1** .............................................................................................................. 1
  
  Background of the Research ................................................................................... 1
  Aims of the Research ............................................................................................ 6
  Thesis Organisation ............................................................................................... 7

**CHAPTER 2** .............................................................................................................. 10
  
  Literature Review: Women and Development ...................................................... 11
    
    Historical Context of Theorising about Women or Gender and Development ....... 12
    
    The Gender and Development Approach (GAD) and Gender Mainstreaming ....... 15

  Literature Review: Water and Women ................................................................... 21
     
    Perspectives on Water and Women ..................................................................... 21
    
    Research on Gender and Water in Developing Countries and Indonesia .......... 27
    
    Agency ............................................................................................................... 30
  
  Research Methodology ......................................................................................... 31

  Conclusion ............................................................................................................. 35

**CHAPTER 3** .............................................................................................................. 36
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Need for Water</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water-Related Roles Filled by Women</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Relations in Family and Community</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Participation in Local Policy</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Lombok Regional Development and Gender Mainstreaming</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 6</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Mainstreaming in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok: Lesson Learned</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications of Gender Mainstreaming in the Provision of Clean Water in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding Thoughts and Recommendations</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of References</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossary: Abbreviations, Terms and Nomenclature</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Appendices</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Tables

Table 4. 1. The way of women need to water and the source of water....85
Table 4. 2. The way of men need to water and the source of water ..........86
Table 4. 3. Decision-makers regarding water in the traditional context.114
Table 5. 1. Percentage of Population 15 Years and Over ....................132
Table 5. 2. Percentage of Population Aged 10 or Above by Marriage .................................................................133
Table 5. 3. Percentage of Productive Population in West Nusa Tenggara Province in 2012 by Primary Occupations ..........135
Table 5. 4. Percentage of Productive Population in West Nusa Tenggara Province in 2012 by Occupation Sectors ..........135
Table 5. 5. Percentage of Productive Population in Nusa Tenggara Province in 2012 by Primary Employment ......................135
Table 5. 6. Percentage of Population in Nusa Tenggara Province in 2012 by Status of Occupation ........................................135
Table 5. 7. Number of Maternal Mortalities by District .........................136
Table 5. 8. Number of Maternal Mortalities in Central Lombok ..........137
Table 5. 9. Table of Women Need for Water and the Source of Water .................................................................156
Table 5. 10. Table of Men’s Need for Water and the Source of Water ......157
List of Figures

Figure 4. 1.  Kulon Progo as seen in its context of Indonesia, Java, and within the Special Territory of Yogyakarta .......................62

Figure 4. 2.  Water Village Owned Entreprise Model in Planggi Village ..........................................................82

Figure 4. 3.  Picture of Yellowish Water (Picture was Taken on April 2014) .................................................................104

Figure 4. 4.  Picture of Crust Formed on Pot (Picture was Taken on April 2014) ...............................................................105

Figure 5. 1.  Central Lombok District within Province of Nusa Tenggara Barat, Indonesia .........................................................131

Figure 5. 2.  Water Village Owned Company Model In Inaq Village-Central Lombok ..........................................................150

Figure 5. 3.  Sasak Women and Public Hydrant ........................................161
Acknowledgements

This thesis reflects years of both my work and study journey to fulfill my curiosity of my capability as a bureaucrat and researcher. It is also part of the long journey to understand the complexity of rural Indonesia women in the past and the current time. Therefore, I would like to begin by thanking the generous sisters in Java and Central Lombok for their acceptance as well as their trust for sharing experiences from which I was able to learn a lot of their way of thinking, customs, ideas and preferences.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors, Professor Samina Yasmeen and Dr. David Bourchier, who helped me critically analyze my ideas and experiences while writing this thesis. Although any shortcomings in this thesis are solely my responsibility, they have provided critical observation to the draft submitted. Moreover, their sincere reception, as well as their compassionate assistance, has helped me survive, and raised my confidence to continue my further study. Likewise, special thanks to Professor Lyn Parker and Dr. Laura Dales for teaching me how to be a better researcher. I would like to extend my gratitude to the staff in Asian studies, and later the Centre for the Muslim States and Societies at UWA for providing me with the facilities to study and to write my thesis. My supervisor and colleagues at Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection Sulikanti, Ph.D.; Sri Danti Anwar, MA; Dr. Ir. Pribudiarta Nur Sitepu, MM; Ir. Siti Khadijah Nasution, MM; Dra. Sunarti, Msi supported me on the way by permitting me to study despite heavy duties in the office and sharing the ideas. More specifically, I am indebted to Professor Dr. Yohana Susana Yembise, Dip, Apling, MA; Dr. Yulfita Raharjo; Sri Kusyuniati, Ph.D.; Danau Tanu, Ph.D., Lalu Arifin Aria Bakti, MA; and special thanks to my colleague Bambang Purwoko, MA. They have been generous in sharing their precious time with me to help me sharpen my research focus, refine my approach, provide invaluable feedback, and challenge my ideas. The same gratitude
also goes to my colleagues at Asian Studies, Western Australia University Irma Riyani, Ph.D., Ezmi, Ella, Brian who always encouraged me to finish my thesis and to bring home fresher insights that could enrich the Faculty’s already diverse perspectives.

During my research, I received a lot of support from officials of the Local Governments in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok, for which I am deeply grateful. Indeed, the list of the officials could be lengthy that I am afraid I could not mention them all. However, I should mention with gratitude those to whom I am most deeply indebted, including the Regent of Kulon Progo District Dr. H. Hasto Wardoyo, Sp.OG (K), the Regent of Central Lombok District H. Moh. Suhaif Fadil Thohir, SH.

Finally, thanks to my mother Sri Suwastiti and my mother in law Sri Sasanti with their unconditional support and prayer from the beginning my study. A very special thanks to my husband Onny Hendro Adhiaksono who has constantly supported and encouraged me to achieve my dream. This study would not have been possible without his never ending immaterial extreme support, love, and the wonderfully supportive role he played in the family. I also thank my lovely daughters Ines Adhiaksono Putri and Tita Annissya Adhiaksono Putri who provided the most inspiration behind the whole process of writing this thesis. I owe them a special debt of gratitude for their deepest understanding and patience in tolerating my absence in most of their valuable moments. I know, without their loving support and prayers, this thesis would not have been submitted.

Mill Point, October 2017
Note on Spelling and Translation

This thesis uses the Indonesia spelling standard (EYD) applied since 1972. This standard is followed for Indonesia words, including personal names and titles of publication, with one exception: personal names throughout the thesis are spelled according to the preferences of the personal named, and Indonesian names of authors in non-Indonesian publications are spelled in accordance with the publications.

Indonesian sources in the forms of both interviews and publications are cited in English translation throughout the thesis. Unless otherwise indicated, the translation is mine.
CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Background of the Research

Gender mainstreaming was formally introduced in 1995 in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) by the United Nations’ member countries. The United Nations proclaimed that gender mainstreaming should be considered by governments and significant actors in all policies and programs in all countries, as it is stated:

“The process of assessing the implication for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programmes, in all areas and at all level. It is strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political economic and societal sphere so that women and men benefit equally and inequality not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is gender equality.” (UN Economic and Social Council, 1997, p.2).

At that time, gender mainstreaming was defined by organizations and feminist experts in different ways based on their own perspectives. They variously defined gender mainstreaming as merely a process, a tool, a strategy, a political agenda, and a policy. Since then the idea has gained currency, and international organizations and governments have actively worked to express their commitment to gender mainstreaming. They have also put in place policies designed to implement gender mainstreaming.

In the context of Indonesia, ‘gender mainstreaming’ had been acknowledged during the New Order era but was not implemented in
government policies and development programs. In the reform period, under the Abdul Rahman Wahid’s presidency, gender mainstreaming as part of national development strategy was launched in 2000. The implementation and progress are apparent in sectors such as education and micro economy (Lukens-Bull, 2013; Sakai & Fauzia, 2016, p. 16), politics and government administration employees, to mention a few. The quality of women’s lives has improved in several sectors such as health, education, economics, and politics (Blackburn, 2004; Ford & Parker, 2008; Robinson, 2008). These improvements can also be seen through macro measurements such as, the improving Human Development Index\(^1\) (HDI) and the Gender-Related Development Index\(^2\) (GDI) from 2005 to 2013, and the Gender Empowerment Measurement\(^3\) (GEM) in 2013. For instance, the Indonesian HDI increased from 68.69 in 2005 to 73.29 in 2013 (MOWE, 2013). Similarly, the Indonesian GDI rose from 63.94 in 2005 to 68.52 in 2013 (MOWE, 2013). The Indonesian GEM rank in 2013, even, was 33\(^{rd}\) out of 71 countries (UNDP, 2014a). However, it is important to investigate if gender mainstreaming has achieved gender equality and women empowerment in the country at grassroot levels.

This thesis assesses the actual impact of gender mainstreaming policy by focusing on access to clean water development for rural society

---

1 Human Development Index is the measurement assessed by measuring length of attendance at school, life expectancy, and income generated (UNDP, 2014a).

2 Gender Development Index is the measurement which assesses gender differences in human development. The measurement accounts for disparities between men and women in health, education, and living standards (UNDP, 2014a).

3 Gender Empowerment Measurement is the measurement which assesses using women as representatives in Parliament, the number of professional women, women’s income-generating history (UNDP, 2014a).
and the involvement of women in the provision of clean water in rural areas of Indonesia.

Access to water has emerged as one of areas with the growing recognition of the significance of clean drinking water in promoting health, productivity and security of individuals at the grassroots levels. Access to water in Indonesia has increasingly attracted attention and concern of International organizations like the United Nations. Indonesia is one of the most critical countries in the world that continues to face serious problems regarding the availability of water. Estimates suggest that Indonesia accounts for nearly six percent of the world’s water resources and about 21 per cent of total water resources in the Asia-Pacific region, or more than two trillion cubic meters of natural renewable water per year (Ardhianie, 2015). This could suggest that the country does not experience water scarcity. Yet, water management experts draw attention to the unequal distribution of water resources among the islands and the fact that the availability is not in line with population density. Kalimantan, for instance, enjoys access to 30 per cent of the water resources with only six percent of the population. In contrast, Java is home to more than 140 million people but enjoys less than 10 per cent of the country’s water resources. Consequently, Java is predicted to ‘face a clean water crisis’ with the island experiencing a deficit of 134.103 million cubic meters of water per year (Ardhianie, 2015).

This research investigates the implementation of gender mainstreaming policy by the Indonesian government in efficiently developing clean water supplies, with reference to two rural localities in Indonesia: Kulon Progo, Special Region of Yogyakarta Province, and
Central Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara Province. It also explores the extent to which the policy has contributed to rural women’s progress with reference to water access in these areas.

The study selects Kulon Progo (literally West Progo) and Lombok Tengah (literally Central Lombok) based on the similarity and differences among each other. Kulon Progo (West Progo) and Central Lombok (Central Lombok) are similar in their geographical locations and socio-economic conditions. Kulon Progo and Central Lombok’s geographical and topographical features contribute to their limited ground water resources. Since approximately 50 percent of their populations work predominantly in agriculture, there is an enormous demand for water usage in these two places. Both field sites are rural and remote, and often experience droughts, making access to water problematic. Both sites are also limited in their financial resources, meaning that it is impossible to develop water infrastructure without central government intervention. While Kulon Progo is located in the western part of Indonesia, with a closer access to the central government in Jakarta, Central Lombok is situated in the Eastern part of the country, which has received little attention from the central Indonesian government.

People of Kulon Progo maintain strong values and practices of Javanese traditions, and they are considered a wealthy and educated society compared to the Central Lombok population which is more remote, has a lower income, and is less educated. Central Lombok is home to the Sasaks, the indigenous ethnic group of Lombok, who continue to preserve and practice their traditional values and norms. But at the same time, the interpretations of Islam by the respected Tuan Gurus
(the local religious leaders) have influenced much of the social and cultural life of the Sasaks. With the continuation of crucial social problems including the high occurrence of child marriages, maternal mortalities, women migrant workers overseas, and the existence of many civil organizations working for the community as well as women’s empowerment and public welfare in Lombok. All these factors are significant elements in analysing and discussing the issue of Central Lombok gender mainstreaming implementation on water supply in the area.

In line with the Presidential Decree No.9 issued by President Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001), the local governments of both Kulon Progo and Central Lombok have adopted gender perspectives into their development process. Applying Moser’s three stages of the gender mainstreaming process, it could be argued that they have included it in policy making, planning and practice. However the question arises as to what the real impact of this mainstreaming is at the grassroots level, especially for women.

This research explores answers to this question with reference to women’s access to water and its management in these two sites.

---

4 Gender planning process explains the three interrelated stages of gender policy making, implementation of the gender policy in a plan, and the organization of implementation in practice (C. Moser, 2005; Carolyn O Moser, 1993)
Aims of the Research

The thesis aims to examine the effect of gender mainstreaming on the relationship between women and men in the household and at the community level, while focusing on the provision of water in Kulon Progo District, Special Region of Yogyakarta Province, and in Central Lombok District, West Nusa Tenggara Province. Specifically, this study explores the impact of gender mainstreaming in the provision of clean water fifteen years after the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 9/2000 and Home Affairs Ministry Regulation No. 15/2008 as amended by Home Affairs Ministry Regulation No. 67/2011 on the Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming.

In its’ focus on the practice, the study explores the following three issues:

a. How gender mainstreaming strategies are translated into the provision of drinking water in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok;

b. How the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the provision of water has impacted women’s role and status in society;

c. How the implementation of gender mainstreaming has affected women’s participation in the decision-making process at the community level.

This thesis argues that women are not resistant to the idea of gender mainstreaming. A combination of factors ranging from their independent agency, family support and experiences lead them to participate in development projects. However, their agency is challenged; they face several barriers in the process linked to state gender ideology, cultural and religious teachings and practices. The way
government interprets the gender mainstreaming idea also shapes women’s access to water and their participation in decision-making processes in water management.

As such, the study contributes to the literature on feminism and gender development in developing countries in general, and the role and status of women as individuals as well as family and community members in Indonesia in particular.

**Thesis Organisation**

This thesis is organised under six chapters including this introductory chapter. Chapter Two reviews previous studies done in other developing countries to provide examples and images of gender mainstreaming implemented in the national development programs that show various results. It also provides theoretical perspectives in the area of gender studies and critics of the Western feminists towards the concept of development that negate the involvement of women’s active participations particularly in developing countries, and the problems with the International women’s agencies established by both the United States and other major established global organizations.

Chapter Three discusses the discourses of gender mainstreaming and policies on gender development in Indonesia during the Suharto’s New Order and the Reform era. I review some development programs on water resource with particular attention to policies issued and gender mainstreaming implementation programs on access to water in post-reform periods. The discussion is located within the historical context and literature on gender mainstreaming in both the global and Indonesian contexts since its adoption at the Beijing Conference in 1995.
Chapter Four provides a general description and rationale for selecting Kulon Progo as one of the research sites of my study. Following a description of the general situation of women, who were involved in the study, I examine how gender roles and relations are constructed with respect to water in this Javanese ethnic cultural context. Then I discuss the construct of the states gender ideology, Islamic doctrine and practices, as well as cultural practices that combine to produce similar beliefs and behaviours about gender roles and relations in Kulon Progo.

The changing social and cultural conditions in Kulon Progo have increased women’s need for water to include not only their reproductive activities in the household environment, but also their involvement in the community.

This chapter demonstrates that women who need clean water to perform their reproductive work in the domestic sphere are now simultaneously carrying out the productive works to increase the family income and family welfare. However, there has been less understanding or implementation by the service providers at either the central government level or at the village administration level about the changes in gender roles, particularly in daily practice. The result is that although women have an important and even decisive role in the domestic life of their families, they face various limitations in local decision-making processes and access to water management. This Chapter portrays the complexity of the situation that influences women’s participation in the decision-making process of water management.

Chapter Five focuses more on the Central Lombok situation. After a general description and rationale for selecting Central Lombok as the second research site, it analyses how gender roles and relations
regarding water are constructed. It explains women’s participation in the decision-making process in community water management policies. Chapter Five also attempts to understand the complexity of the situation that influences women’s participation in the decision-making process of water management. The low level of women’s participation in decision-making in clean water resource management has seen women act and be treated as the passive beneficiaries of the development policy and programs. The responsibility to collect and provide clean water in most households falls to women. However, men generally control decision-making and water resource management. The rate of women’s participation in the water resource management remains very low. They are only the users of clean water but continue to be unable to express their aspirations about the clean water received, and their ideas on the development of a service capable of delivering clean water.

Lastly, Chapter Six establishes with reference to the data presented in previous chapters that the gender mainstreaming focus on water provision has not ensured women’s agency in implementing the use of water. So, a gap exists between how the Indonesian government, and the district governments in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok have conceptualized and managed gender mainstreaming in the provision of drinking water on the one hand, and what actually happens. The chapter concludes with some recommendations to ensure that gender mainstreaming can effectively deal with water access issues. It also identifies areas where further research could be undertaken in the light of the problems, discussions and conclusions drawn from this research.
CHAPTER 2

Literature Review, Theoretical Framework, and Methodology

This chapter reviews some work done by other scholars in gender and development and surveys perspectives and theoretical frameworks relevant to this study, including gender mainstreaming implementation and safe local drinking-water provision. In this chapter I also include information on the methodology of this research. In the first section, I focus on the feminist perspective on development. This perspective will allow me to develop my analysis and criticism towards gender and water provision in Indonesia. In the second and third parts, I review some literature related to Gender and Development (GAD) and Gender Mainstreaming to this research. In order to provide a better understanding and situate this study within existing research and literature in the area. In the fourth section I address women and agency theory, and its perspective on water in relation to gender issue. All the literature reviewed and presented in this chapter is aimed at mapping previous research conducted by other scholars in the area of gender mainstreaming and water projects in developing countries. This literature is relevant as they have demonstrated similar issues on how gender mainstreaming effect in women’s access to water and women’s participation in decission making in local water project in developing countries as happens in Indonesia. This thesis addresses an elaboration on social situations both in the national and local contexts of Indonesia to explain how gender mainstreaming policy has situated vis-à-vis water
provision management that co-exist with ineffective implementation at the grass root level.

**Literature Review: Women and Development**

To understand how gender mainstreaming is developed, the section explores the historical context of theorising about women or gender and development. This historical overview covered the connection between women’s movements around the world and policy intervention in developing countries. Gender mainstreaming emerged through evolution of women or gender and development. Thus, gender mainstreaming became a global strategy of gender equality. Most feminist and development thinkers have their basic in the western perspectives. As a result, account of gender mainstreaming in western countries and international development institutions in the literature of women or gender and development, have been more dominated than in developing countries.

It is questioned to what extent gender mainstreaming can be implemented in developing countries. As in these countries, challenges such as women’s unfortunate health, education, economic and political status, are exacerbated and complicated by a raft of local traditional, cultural political and socio-economic barriers. Therefore, this study wants to explore how gender mainstreaming is implemented in other contexts, such as Indonesia as a developing country which include more than 17,508 islands with over 300 ethnic groups with indigenous languages, dialects, religion, and cultures diversity.
Historical Context of Theorising about Women or Gender and Development

Suzanne Zwingel (2016) examines the global movements to fight for women’s right which has been initiated in the 1990s continue through the present times. Zwingel has defined the movements into three different stages with different themes of movements and the various agencies involved in every stage of the activism. She summarised three stages of global movements to fight for women’s rights into; (Zwingel, 2016, p. 61): first era (1945-1975) was marked by the establishment of UN and the initial development of the global countries into modernisation after the colonial era. In this first phase, a Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was initiated in 1952 and produced several documents in the following years after 1952 such as Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1957, Convention on the Nationality of Marriage Women in 1962, and Convention to Consent marriage in 1967. In this first era, the focus of the movements concentrated on women’s political rights, gendered-based family law, gender and education, gender and employment, and so forth (Zwingel, 2016, p. 61). The second era occurred between 1975 and 1995, when the global development shifted from state oriented to market oriented, women conferences then were initiated during those years to fight for women’s equal rights, empowerment, reproductive rights, and other issues regarding women’s equal opportunities. During these periods, women agencies and organisations were established such as the United Nation Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (1976), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979), the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of
Women (INSTRAW) (1982), the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) (1993), and other NGOs and transnational networks (e.g., Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era or DAWN) (Zwingel, p. 61). The last era of movements has been taken place since 1995 up to present days. During these times, the terms such as “Gender mainstreaming, gender-balanced decision-making (quotas), micro credits for women, elimination of violence against women, women peace and security and Sexual orientation discrimination” have been introduced and used to campaigning to against the discrimination and subordination of women’s equal rights in the global world.

Liberal feminists⁵ argue that development⁶ or industrialisation cannot improve the wellbeing of the low income but can harm women in third-world countries. Boserup, the feminist and agricultural economist, introduced Women in Development (WID, 1970) to examine gender inequality and women’s exclusion from socio-economic opportunity (Goetz, 1997). Boserup criticized governments neglecting women’s education, employment opportunities, political representation and participation and physical and social welfare, arguing the mainstream development framework excludes women from production due to

---

⁵ A feminist is “an individual who is aware of the oppression, exploitation, or subordination of women with society and who consciously act to change and transform this situation” (Parpart & Barriteau, 2000, p. 205).

A liberal feminist is a feminist who focuses on the ideals of equality and liberty (Parpart & Barriteau, 2000).

⁶ Development means “to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and to bestow benefits on all” (Snyder & Tadesse, 1995, p. 6)
division of family labour, preventing women from accessing economic resources (Boserup & Kanji, 2007; Parpart & Barriteau, 2000, p. 34).

WID aimed for equal representation of women in a development project, to allow better access to modernisation opportunities. Feminist researchers and policy makers focused on the family welfare approach of 1950-1970, concentrating on women’s practical needs (Caroline ON Moser, 1989, p. 1799; Waal, 2006, p. 210). WID aimed to provide opportunities to earn an income, but ignored women’s contribution through domestic labour (Parpart & Barriteau, 2000). WID’s women-only projects met their practical needs to reduce women’s exclusion from development (Parpart & Barriteau, 2000, p. 141), yet, the project overburdened women rather than improving their well-being.

Feminist development has shifted from WID to Gender and Development (GAD) to better understand the complexities of women’s subordination to improve gender equality. Socialist feminist and development theorists argued that WID failed to address women’s subordination, oppression, and maintain gender inequality (Parpart & Barriteau, 2000; Rathgeber, 1990). WID concept then was changed into Gender and Development (GAD), aiming to improve gender equality relationships, sustainable development, and to involve men and women as decision-makers (Parpart & Barriteau, 2000, p. 62).
The Gender and Development Approach (GAD) and Gender Mainstreaming

By 1980, GAD evolved to address inequality in gender relations, and women’s subordination (Parpart & Barriteau, 2000, p. 114). Western socialist feminists⁷ have determined the social construction of production and reproduction as the source of women’s subordination and oppression (Parpart & Barriteau, 2000; Rathgeber, 1990). GAD focused on gender needs and strategic differences between males and females needs (Moser, 1993). With women’s roles progressing and their capacity to participate fully with men as agents of change and development (Parpart & Barriteau, 2000, p. 143), GAD emphasizes women, and their relationships (Govinda, 2012, p. 191), while recognising the interconnection between gender, class, religion, and ethnicity (Moser, 1993). GAD empowers women to transform unequal gender relations (Parpart & Barriteau, 2000, p. 141).

Gender mainstreaming emerged earlier before the UN Beijing women’s conference in September 1995, to encourage women’s participation in economic development. It was a conference in Nairobi in 1985, which produced a declaration that mentioned the word “mainstreaming” in paragraph 114 as: ‘Effective participation of women in development should be integrated in the formulation and implementation of mainstream programs and projects and should not be confined solely to statements of intent within plans or small-scale, transitory projects relating to women.” However, the content of the

⁷ A socialist feminist is feminist concerned with the connection between reproduction and production and the capitalist and male-dominated structures of both (Parpart & Barriteau, 2000).
paragraph in the declaration has been criticised by Jahan and Mumtaz (1996) who stated that the integrations approach that integrated gender issues, proposing to shift from an integrationist to an agenda-setting approach, putting the importance of women’s leadership, participation in decision-making in structures and processes to formulate objectives, priorities, and strategies of development. Later, gender issues identified, analysed, and solved within the development paradigm and priority, by integrating women and gender issues rather than transforming them.

The Gender mainstreaming concepts then appeared in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA, 1995). Organisations and feminists called gender mainstreaming a process, tool, strategy, political agenda, and policy. United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) defines gender mainstreaming:

“The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.” (United Nations. Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, 2002, p. 1).

A key criticism about gender mainstreaming has been a lack of conceptual clarity among organisations that attempted to mainstream gender but failed to achieve the originally targeted processes and strategies. The complex process of change has not been viewed as an explicitly political reform process. If gender equality is a political project, it requires strong engagement with politics, voicing demands, sculpting
the rights of marginalised women, participating, and deploying women’s constituencies for accountability (Panda, 2007; Subrahmanian, 2004).

Another key criticism of gender mainstreaming’s means need simplifying concepts relating to gender relation and gender equality. Disappointing simplifications of gender differences and gender relations ignore real, on-the-ground issues that disadvantage women (Panda, 2007; Subrahmanian, 2004). Projects focused on mobilising women, without discouraging male participation at various level, would not be a step forward in gender relation transformation (Panda, 2007). The decade of gender mainstreaming experience performs many lessons that leading to poor end result (Mukhopadhyay, 2004; Subrahmanian, 2004).

According to Govinda (2012), more than one decade after the Beijing Platform for Action 1995, gender mainstreaming projects did not change the status of women at either the intra- or extra-household level in South Asia. Govinda’s research showed that the projects did not change women’s ownership, decision-making, and control over home resources (land, house, livestock, equipment, jewelry); women’s access to family income, savings, and food; women’s position related to inheritance laws; or women’s control of their body. Nor did the projects change their women’s status outside household or in society. She argued that women lack confidence to participate or have leading roles in public forums or the political sphere (Govinda, 2012).

The comparative failure of WID, GAD, and gender mainstreaming approaches shows that overcoming gender inequality is a very complex
process, requiring changes to intra and extra-household gender relations, reduced domestic violence and enhanced self-confidence.

Participation in the public sphere, community action, and new forms of social relationships in production and market systems (Panda, 2007). When gender inequality occurs, women’s activities were marginalised, and women’s access to resources and power limited (Subrahmanian, 2004).

Gender scholars debate the success and failure of gender mainstreaming enabling to gender equality (Subrahmanian, 2004). Sceptics have stated its ‘failure’ and noted various critics (Cornwall, Harrison, & Whitehead, 2007; Hankivsky, 2013). In contrast, some supporters of gender mainstreaming including Caroline Moser and Moser (2005), who deconstructed the concept of gender mainstreaming as a process and divided GM processes to different stages into a feasible implementation process, with appropriate measurement to evaluate it. The optimists borrowed what UNIFEM’s value of gender mainstreaming (C. Moser & Moser, 2005). According to UNIFEM’s experience in mainstreaming of development agendas in 1993, UNIFEM mentioned that gender mainstreaming is a process rather than a goal that includes in bringing what can be seen as marginal into the primary business and main decision-making process of an existing institution” (Sandler, 1997).

Research by Moser and Moser (2005) found that gender mainstreaming implementation conducted in Malawi and London by several donor funding institutions since the Beijing Platform for Action. The research, conducted in various institutions and locations found that success or failure is not the ultimate result (goal), but rather the process
of gender mainstreaming. Moser’s Research is similar to the study done by Daly (2005) on the examination of gender mainstreaming in theory and practice in Belgium, France, Greece, Ireland, Lithuania, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Daly’s study shows that gender mainstreaming implementation in eight countries in EU were advancing. However, a study by Hankivsky (2013) of Canada, Australia, Sweden, the United Kingdom and Ukraine shows different results, as in these countries gender mainstreaming remains stagnant. Moser included both developed and developing countries.

Research by Panda (2007) conducted on Mainstreaming Gender in Water Management in India found that Gender mainstreaming was not effective if strictly applied to practices which emphasise women participation alone or as Panda put it, a simply “add and stir” gender component in an intervention program. This research is similar to a study of gender mainstreaming in developing countries by Govinda (2012) on Mapping ‘Gender Evaluation’ in South Asia. But, while Panda was concerned with the technical side of gender mainstreaming intervention, Govinda focused on evaluating instruments of gender mainstreaming.

Previous studies on gender have suggested that cultural aspects of the patriarchy have particularly influenced the implementation of gender mainstreaming in such developing countries (Cairns, Workman, & Tandon, 2017; Chifamba, 2014; Ramoroka, 2014). Ramoroka, for instance, has shown how the gender mainstreaming strategy on water resources management cannot be implemented in rural areas in South Africa due to the dominant hegemony of patriarchal norms and values which excluded women from public life. Furthermore, other challenging aspects were found such as constitutional contradictions, bureaucratic structures, and awareness and
understanding of the importance of incorporating gender equality into policies and programs. Cairns et al. (2017) suggested that the dominant patriarchal values in local cultural contexts have prevented gender mainstreaming policy and programmes in water resources from working well in countries such as Bolivia, India, and Lesotho. They found that patriarchal norms rooted in history and social class were sources of gender inequality that excluded women from public spaces (workforce).

Some scholars have argued that patriarchal norms are not solely responsible for undermining the implementation of gender mainstreaming in particular countries. Adeney-Risakotta (2016) conducted research on Aceh, Riau, Northern Sumatra and Java as well as across the archipelago. He argued that traditional (adat) law and Islamic law “grounded in the narratives of people within specific local ethnic groups” enjoy greater authority than national law (Adeney-Risakotta 2016, 303). This in turn shapes notions of women’s leadership and participation in the public space thus undermining their agency. Chifamba (2014) analysed the implementation of gender mainstreaming as a development strategy in Zimbabwe by using water management as a case study. The research identified a combination of patriarchal norms and cultural stereotypes that relegate women to a subordinate status, conservative interpretations of religious teachings, and limited education and poverty as undermining prospects for gender parity (Chifamba, 2014).

In New Order era, the regime exercised authoritarian power through the discourses and policies to control ideas, expression of diversity and homogenise the difference of citizens (Bourchier, 2014; Suryakusuma, 1996). Under Suharto’s New Order regime, the government developed “a standard notion of shared archipelagic
culture” to define the primary cultural unity of the nation (Acciaoli, 2001, p. 16). Parallel to this, there was an attempt to construct a unified gender ideology which provided a specific view of women’s agency in line with traditional understandings. It could be argued that the notion of an ‘imagined Indonesian woman’ growing out of this gender ideology shaped the performance of policies designed to ensure gender mainstreaming. Studies by Scheh and Mustafa (2010) and Yumna et al. (2012) show that the formulation and implementation of gender mainstreaming has been obstructed due to a combination of factors. Research by Scheh and Mustafa (2010) on gender mainstreaming as a strategy for poverty reduction found that organisational resistance to a ‘foreign concept’, lack of gender expertise and institutional capacity, and lack of political will at the national level impeded the success of the strategy. The study of gender mainstreaming on social protection programmes by Yumna et al. (2012) showed that the obstacles to promoting gender equality included institutions, interests, and ideas of political elites, bureaucratic agencies, as well as some donors and civil society champions.

Located within this literature that investigates gender mainstreaming at a national level, my study attempts to evaluate how gender mainstreaming policy has affected water provision management at the grass roots level.

**Literature Review: Water and Women**

**Perspectives on Water and Women**

The UN General Assembly (UNGA, 2010) declared “the right to safe and clean drinking water and sanitation as a human right that is essential
for the full enjoyment of life and all other human rights”. This derived from the acceptance that access to water is a fundamental right, and that it should be safe, accessible and affordable, in quantity and quality (Canales, 2012). But Canales (2012) argued that UNGA’s statement declaring water to be a basic right does not mean universal treatment for everybody (Canales, 2012). She argued that little has been done to ensure equal access to water and that governments needed to facilitate the right to clean drinking water and basic sanitation (Baer & Gerlak, 2015; Canales, 2012).

Water is not values-neutral but gendered. Drinking water and basic sanitation relate to culture and gender (Wallace & Coles, 2005). Men and women have diverse interests and acquire different advantage from its availability, utilisation, and management (Panda, 2007). For example, mostly rural women are responsible for collecting water for their households (Panda, 2007). Therefore, water scarcity becomes women’s burden (Shiva, 1998; Prihatiningtyastuti, 2006), as men take jobs away from home, while women manage the household (Shiva, 1998; Prihatiningtyastuti, 2006). Water scarcity increases prices significantly, forces people to collect water elsewhere, (Prihatiningtyastuti, 2006), causing diarrhoea, kidney problems, amoebic dysentery and typhoid (Edmondson & Edmondson, 1989; Schoenen, 2002; Prihatiningtyastuti, 2006; Yuerlita, 2009; Sorenson et al, 2011). In other words, water scarcity has a disproportionate impact on people in the lower income groups.

Women from lower economic strata who live in remote rural and water scarce areas face multiple burdens that affect their social, economic and political status. Poverty inhibits equal treatment and distribution of resources (Kulidwa & Lien, 2008), especially water and basic sanitation.
Lack of these fundamental needs impacts women more than men, physically and psychologically (Leite, 2010), while limiting access to healthcare and education. West Sumatrans were frequently forced to walk two km to fetch clean water (Yuerlita, 2009), including pregnant and nursing women mothers (Prihatiningtyastuti, 2006). Women assume additional duties should cause their family to fall ill from dirty water. The exertion, fatigue, and increased domestic burdens (Sorenson et al, 2011), causes potential malnutrition and iron deficiencies particularly among women (Prihatiningtyastuti, 2006; Sorenson et al, 2011). Carrying heavy jugs increases back problems (Sorenson et al, 2011), and health problems, wastes time better spent working for wages, childcare, cooking or attending community meetings, using their political voice, and affect women who perform this, more than men (Cleaver & Hamada, 2010; Sorenson et al, 2011). In Panda’s words, for numerous developing countries, “water has a woman’s face” (Panda, 2007, p. 324). Therefore, women’s involvement developing and managing water resource would improve the social and economic outcomes of development projects.

There has been much international documentation over the past two decades on how women’s involvement in water resources development and management can make projects more sustainable and maximise the social and economic benefits of infrastructure development (Panda, 2007). It can be seen from The Plan of Action that was derived from the UN Conference on Women in Mexico, that the better provision of water supplies, sewerage disposal, and other sanitation facilities should be provided both to improve the health of families and women and children who mainly have responsibility for fetching water (Manase, Ndamba, & Makoni, 2003). Subsequent international and regional
conferences also resulted in declarations stressing the importance of addressing gender in the water sector (Manase et al., 2003). For instance the 1992 Dublin Conference on Water and the Environment established principles about water and sustainable development (Canales, 2012, p.12):

1. Fresh-water is a finite and vulnerable resource, essential to sustain life, development, and the environment; 2. Users, planners, and policy makers should manage water development; 3. Women provide, manage, and safeguard water; 4. Water has an economic value in all its competing uses and should be recognized as an economic good.

The UN Conferences on women held in Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995) continued to promote women’s participation in water and sanitation programmes whilst stressing the need for gender mainstreaming (Manase et al., 2003). As the United Nations launched the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade, its emphasis on gender mainstreaming moved from knowledge about gender to technical development practices to encouraging community participation to assist planning and implementing water infrastructure management (Ahmed & Zwarteveen, 2012). The Global Water Partnership stressed the importance of women’s participation in water resources development, management, and use (GWA, 2006). Therefore, any effort of gender mainstreaming would require developing policies and legal instruments that institutionalise the equitable involvement of women and men (Panda, 2007).

Literature suggests that recognition of gender issues in water provision policies and projects exists only in theory (written documents). There is lack of real practices on the ground (Manase et al., 2003; Panda, 2007). Women are key players in water management in the domestic
sphere (Guide, 2006, p. 13) but they are conspicuous by their absence in decision-making, development, planning, and implementing management policies (Guide, 2006, p. 13). Their exclusion from decision making process contributes to their limited access to water in comparison to men (Hamdy, Quagliariello, & Trisorio-Luzzi, 2004; Isham, Narayan, & Pritchett, 1995).

In practice, gender mainstreaming is not just about focusing on integrating women or increasing women’s visibility in the decision-making process, but also considering the social complexity and structural diversity in which women are embedded (Ahmed & Zwaeteveen, 2012). Many feminists criticise mainstreaming gender on the grounds that it is often reduced to a technical strategy, decreeing quotas for women’s participation in public water management (Walby, 2005). However, increasing women’s visibility through quotas does not lead to gender equity in water management (Ahmed & Zwaeteveen, 2012). Women continue to be constrained by social complexity and structural diversity when they participate in decision-making in the public domain (Das, 2014).

Socio-economic status, gender differences, and power imbalances impact participation in Integrated Water Resource Management (IWRM) (Hamdy et al., 2004). Unfortunate overworked women with large families lack time to be involved in community activities compared to wealthier women. Marital status, religion, and class dictates whether women become active in the community (Shah, 2016).

Social norms construct gender division of labour and space. Gender norms delegate domestic work to women, and delegate productive work
in public to men. Traditional household roles for women influence the perception of women’s participation in the community (Das, 2014), underestimating women’s capacities and men’s reluctance to involve women in community activities (Agarwal, 2010). These stereotypes contribute to inequality of gender relations (Das, 2014).

The nexus among socio-economic, social norms and social perceptions creates a sixfold typology of participation (Agarwal, 2010, p. 1624); initial nominal participation, in which participants are members, second, is passive participation where the participants receive information, attend, or listen, whereas third is consultative, that is, solicited participation without guarantee of affecting decisions. Fourth, is active-specific participation requiring a specific task. Fifth, is active participation expressing an idea or taking the initiative. Sixth is interactive or empowering participation where one gives voice, affecting group decisions.

The participatory exclusions imply distributional equity of shared benefits and efficiency of institutional planning (Agarwal, 2001). Agrawal framed her study on participatory exclusion of community forestry. Since unfortunate rural women don’t participate, they have a limited voice in institutional rules, they do not share the benefits equally. Even when benefits are shared, there is still inequity in who accesses fuelwood easily (Agarwal, 2001). When community institutions implement rules and services without consulting women, planning is ineffective and does not adequately respond to the specific needs or meet the achievement targets (Agarwal, 2001).
Research on Gender and Water in Developing Countries and Indonesia

Extensive literature exists on governments failing to acknowledge the basic human right to water (Canales, 2012; Leite, 2010; Mehta, 2014). There are fewer studies about water and gender especially in developing countries. Specific studies examining gender and water include; water privatisation in Mexico and Bolivia (Paola Canales, 2012), Udas and Zwartveen’s study of the patriarchal irrigation in Nepal (Udas & Zwartveen, 2010) and Panda’s book on gender mainstreaming in water management in India (Panda, 2007). Both Udas and Panda criticise water and gender practices in South East Asia that focus on linkages between gender discourse, policy, and technical development practices. However, their studies fail to examine social and cultural practices at the grass root level.

Indonesia is increasingly experiencing water scarcity. The access to drinking water varies between urban and rural areas in Indonesia (UNICEF, 2012). According to the report, 19% of people living in rural areas (or equivalent to 653 million people in 2010) lacked access to drinking water; compared to only 4% of urbanites (or equivalent to 130 million inhabitants) (UNICEF, 2012).

There are many studies that focus on the failure of government in providing safe drinking water provision both in urban and rural Indonesia. Some focus on this failure with reference to Jakarta (Kooy & Bakker, 2008), Lombok (Klock & Sjah, 2007), in a rural context such as Central Java (Isham & Kahkonen, 2002), West Java, Central Java, East Java, Bali, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, Lampung, and West
Kalimantan, South Sulawesi (Sutomo et al., 1986). However, only a few studies address the failure of the Indonesian government to ensure women’s rights to access water. The studies by Hussain, Brown and Yurlieta provide insights into limited participation by women in projects dealing with water supply in Indonesia.

Hussain (2007) collaborated with partners in 2001-2002 to study women’s access to water for agricultural activities in six countries: Bangladesh, China, India, Pakistan, Vietnam, and Indonesia. He drew attention to the limited participation by women in managing water resources even though “women make large contributions to irrigated agriculture. Women depend on, and benefit from, irrigation water in a variety of ways including water uses for domestic and livelihood purposes” (Hussain, 2007, p. 303). He argued for greater female participation not simply as a means of ‘addressing gender inequities but also for enhancing benefits of investments in irrigation for the poor’. He also argued that rigid norms, cultural traditions, religious ideas that increase the burden on women, limited time available for women to attend meetings, and their lack of self-confidence hindered women’s participation in farming systems of South Asia.

Brown (2000) assessed water supply projects initiated in Indonesia with the help of international donors. She found that women’s participation was hard to quantify in any assessment of water supply policies ‘because it was so rare’ (121). There was a lack of female participation in either government projects or bilateral development agency projects. She also found through qualitative interviews that a contradiction existed between ‘women’s participation and empowerment of community leaders’. In cases where women had
participated in community activities, “no accountability had been handed to the leaders”. This indicates that women’s limited participation has not translated into empowerment.

Yurlieta et al. (2009) describes how women struggle in Solok, West Sumatra, to participate in decision-making processes within Water and Sanitation for Low-Income Communities (WSLIC II). Although women utilise water facilities more than men, they were less knowledgeable about maintenance tasks (Yuerlita & Saptomo, 2009). Women’s absences from decision-making process, implementation, maintenance, monitoring and evaluation of these projects, were due to men regarding women as having duties only in domestic arena. Secondly, meetings were held at times inaccessible to women, and women were unfamiliar with construction project planning or training (Yuerlita & Saptomo, 2009). Nevertheless, they did not examine sufficiently women’s absence from decision-making processes.
Agency

Agency is ‘free will’ for (or against) an action by an individual who wants to escape the constraint of society discourse or the social structure (Parker, 2005, p. 4). When discussing agency, Western culture utilises dualism such as “structure/agency, victim/agent, society/individual, object/subject” (Parker, 2005, p. 4).

Agency is a major issue for non-Western women. Numerous feminist scholars study non-Western women’s agency, including the differences in power between genders, social inequality, and cultural identity. An agency in non-Western cultures is related to the notion of personhood cross-culturally, the value of family, and alternative understandings of individual authority. Examining rural women’s agency in developing countries must consider both social relations and cultural practices (Parker, 2005, p. 20).

Giddens’ ‘Structuration’ Theory is useful to analyse agency including the role and impact of social structure and cultural practices. It presents the duality of structure emphasising the interrelationship between actions and strategies of the human actor and the social structures. It places social structure as a medium with rules and resources that either constrain or facilitate the actions of the human actor. The human actor responds and drives himself “knowledgeably,” acting

---

8 Agency is “the capacity to negotiate with power in whatever form -- as complicity, compromise, deviance or resistance -- and with power in whatever motivation -- whether it be intentional or unintentional, voluntary or involuntary, self-expression, self-interest, or group interest.” (Parker & Dales, 2014, p. 165)

9 Knowledgeability of human agents that is most deeply involved in the recursive ordering of social practices” (Giddens, 1986)
on motivation and achieving his desired aims (Giddens, 1986); his actions reproduce social rules and resources. Structuration, in theory, emphasises that human actors can produce, reproduce, and transform social structure aims (Giddens, 1986). “Knowledgeability” of the human actor is seen in their actions and strategies which reflect their “practical consciousness” and “discursive consciousness.”

Structuration theory used to conceptualise agency gives space to explore the impact of individuals and interrelationships with institutional power structures. Agency allows susceptibility to the interrelationship of local influence and global system such as ethnic traditions, religion, political ideology, class and gender relations in shaping the actions and strategies of the human actor. Structuration theory used to examine gender relations in social structure shows how relationships between gendered power in social, economic, and politics may constrain or facilitate individual’s (women’s) agency to achieve her desired aims.

Research Methodology

This study’s methodology contains a critical reading component and fieldwork. The literature on theoretical frameworks is used for both data analysis and to challenge the academic and developmental literature.

---

10 Giddens mentioned that human actions are categorised on three levels of consciousness: the unconsciousness that human agents cannot articulate the reason for their actions; practical consciousness that human agents can articulate a reason for actions but cannot verbalize; and discursive consciousness when a human agent can articulate the reason for his actions (Giddens, 1986, pp. 7-8).
The outcome of gender mainstreaming can be measured quantitatively (seen from both micro and macro levels), and qualitatively (through equality and empowerment) (Waal, 2006). Measurement of macro gender mainstreaming uses composite indicators to assess gender, e.g., Gender-Related Development Index and Millennium Development Goals indicator (C. Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 19). Micro measurement would, for instance, count the number of women involved in or benefitting from the project, compared to men (Waal, 2006, p. 209). Waal’s study suggests using both qualitative and quantitative measurements for comprehensive results in gender parity, equality, equity, empowerment, and transformation (Waal, 2006, p. 214).

This study employs these suggestions and seeks to develop a picture of gender mainstreaming in Indonesia using macro quantitative measurements, Human Development Index\(^{11}\) (HDI) and Gender-Related Development Index\(^{12}\) (GDI) from 2004 to 2014, Gender Empowerment Measurement\(^{13}\) (GEM) in 2013 and MDG achievement and Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR). This quantitative data is combined with qualitative research to assess how gender mainstreaming in the water supply impacts women’s role and status in society and to explore how this has affected the participation of women, as water users, in community decision-making.

\(^{11}\) Human Development Index measurement is assessed from length of attendance in school, life expectancy, income generation (UNDP, 2014a).

\(^{12}\) Gender-Related Development Index measurement assesses gender gaps in human development. The measurement accounts for disparities between men and women in health, education, and living standards (UNDP, 2014a).

\(^{13}\) Gender Empowerment Measurement assesses women’s representation in Parliament, the number of professional women, women’s income generation.
The qualitative research was conducted in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok (February to April 2014). The field sites were selected based on their similarities and differences including geographical location and socio-economic conditions, which by nature restrict ground water resources. Lack of government investment has resulted in both areas in limited water infrastructure. Kulon Progo (western Indonesia) is closer to central government; Central Lombok (eastern Indonesia) is further distant from government attention. Kulon Progo citizens have strong traditional Javanese values, are comparatively wealthier and educated, whereas Central Lombok is more remote, suffering from scarce infrastructure, lower education, and follows a combination of Sasak traditions and Islamic teachings, while also suffering from high rates of child marriages, and maternal mortality.

In line with the ideas suggested by Adler and Adler (1997), fieldwork used on-site observations, visual data, local impressions, interviews, and focus group discussions. I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with end users of safe water services (twenty-six female villagers and eleven male villagers), and with four village authorities, twenty district officers. I chose four villages in each district, less access infrastructure and drought-prone, where two villages accessed drinking water and basic sanitation from government; the other two villages had no help. I chose twenty-six Muslim villagers who were active or inactive at community meetings, held in-depth interviews with eleven active women, examining their community-mindedness to understand their involvement. Twenty-six Muslim women were interviewed who differed in: age, education, economic standing, marital status, occupation, and activism. Interviews with men balanced the picture:
village project facilitators, officials from the office of public works, office of health, and two regional heads drinking water companies. Officials from the public health and public works district offices were interviewed to assess how they designed, implemented, and evaluated water policy.

I arranged eight Focus Group Discussions (FGD) including both females and males active at community meetings to discuss their problems. Frey argues that FGDs provide the opportunity of cumulative and elaborative data gathering with dynamic interaction. But challenges also arise from dominant speakers and unpredictable group dynamics (Frey, 1991). In order to ensure that women were able to voice their views openly and freely, and men did not dominate the conversations — something that could happen in mixed-sex FGDs. Thus, I held separate FGDs with women.

The research topic was explained to participants; informed consent was obtained, following ethical guidelines of Human Research Ethics at the University of Western Australia. In the analysed data, all participants’ names were changed, and I used pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality. Interviews and FGDs were carried out in Javanese, Sasak, or Indonesian languages, audio recorded, and transcribed verbatim. Fifty-six participants were recruited through female activists.

I applied triangulation methods to enhance the validity and reliability14 of my qualitative study, to compare and cross-check data

---

14 Scholars have developed their own concepts of validity and tend to be generated or adopted what they emphasize to be more sufficient terms, for example, quality, rigor and trustworthiness (Davies & Dodd, 2002; Seale, 1999; Stenbacka, 2001). “The concept of reliability in qualitative study has the purpose of generating understanding” (Stenbacka, 2001, p. 551).
from female and male villagers, and water service providers (local government officers), then confirmed information from observations in rural areas and government reports.

**Conclusion**

Numerous gender mainstreaming studies in Indonesia explain the inherent problems, yet literature on the topic of water provision in Indonesia is sparse. This thesis intends to fill the gaps answering why problems persist, how gender mainstreaming is viewed nationally, and evaluate its implementation locally, acknowledging national gender ideology as well as cultural and religious influences that shape gender mainstreaming with respect to provision of water.
CHAPTER 3

Gender Mainstreaming and Water Provision in the Indonesian Context

This chapter draws upon available literature to argue that the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Indonesia has been constantly challenged by the government’s interpretation of gender mainstreaming. This is despite the fact that government participation in international conferences, and introduction of gender equity policies shows its willingness to adopt gender mainstreaming. In the first part, it locates the discussion of the Indonesian Government’s engagement with the concept of gender mainstreaming within the context of its interpretation and politicisation of gender through the promotion of the “ideal women” image as a wife and mother. The second part examines how gender mainstreaming policies and framework are developed in relation to water provision in Indonesia.

Gender Policy and Gender Mainstreaming in Indonesia

Any discussion of gender mainstreaming in Indonesia must start with the authoritarian power employed by President Suharto’s New Order in constructing state gender ideology and its promotion of gendered roles within the household and community. During his regime that ran from 1966 to 1998, President Suharto attempted to unify the society and people across the archipelago. He introduced a state ideology that conceptualised the relationship between the state and its citizens in terms of a “family system”, where the president (always male) was
represented as a patriarchal father with absolute power and spiritual effect over society (J. Suryakusuma, 1996). Bourchier argues that the family system in the New Order regime portrayed “the state ...as a traditional village writ large and the president as a benevolent father figure presiding over his children. Opposition was regarded not only as disrespectful but also un-Indonesian, making open criticism difficult and dangerous.” (Bourchier, 2014, p. 234).

State gender ideology drew a sharp distinction between the image of Ibu (mother) and Bapak (father). This contrasted with previous ideas of citizenship. While Article 31 of the 1945 constitution acknowledged men and women as citizens with equal rights, duties, and responsibilities, Suharto’s New Order promoted the idea of what Suryakusuma identifies as ‘State Ibuism’. It constructed women as wives, mothers and servants whose lives could be regulated through government intervention. Indonesian Marriage Law defined men as heads of households and breadwinners while women were householders (Sri, 2015b, p. 11), giving men privilege in economic, social, and political activities, while regarding women as responsible for sustaining family life (Robinson, 2008, p. 72). The emphasis was on woman as wives and mothers, with all responsibility but no decision-making authority (Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, 1987). This divisive approach gave authority and prestige to Bapak/father/men, not Ibu/mother/woman (Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, 1987, p. 44). Suryakusuma argues that ‘State Ibuism’ was used to mobilise rural women as unpaid social welfare workers or as an instrument for implementing development programs (Blackburn, 2004, p. 152; Robinson, 2008, p. 68; J. I. Suryakusuma, 2011).
New Order government exalted the image of woman as wives and mothers in official rhetoric (Blackburn, 2004, p. 152; Robinson, 2008, p. 68). Women were to play a role for the nation, for stability in society, and harmony within the family as the basic unit of social order (Robinson, 2008). The government officially designated women’s organisations, *Dharma Wanita*, Family Welfare Movement or *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (PKK), to reflect women’s social role and participation in community and state (Robinson, 2008, p. 73). Elite women, civil servants’ wives joined *Dharma Wanita* to further their husband’s careers (Robinson, 2008, p. 74), whilst housewives in urban *kampung* and village women joined Family Welfare Movement (PKK). As an extensive national organisation, PKK affirmed women’s socio-economic duties as loyal partners, supporters of their husbands, caretakers of the household, responsible for the future generations, secondary income earners, and Indonesian citizens (Tickamyer & Kusujiarti, 2012, p. 103).

The New Order regime portrayed women as an important functional group in society, who had to be controlled and encouraged to support the regime’s goals. In the family planning programs introduced by the Suharto’s regime women were responsible for controlling the birth rate (Blackburn, 2004; Robinson, 2008). Women’s sexuality and fertility was controlled with contraceptives, limiting family size to two children for an “ideal woman” (Robinson, 2008).

This construction of gender gradually incorporated international ideas emphasising gender mainstreaming. The process was slow and gradual. The New Order government “endorsed several international conventions and agreements on women, including the UN Convention on Political Rights of Women (under Law No. 68/1968) and the

**Gender Policy Post-New Order Government: A Mixed Picture**

Post-Suharto era governments adopted gender mainstreming strategies. President B.J. Habibie, Suharto’s successor, introduced democratic values, as did the next president, Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2000), who preferred to implement pluralist rather than authoritarian values. Wahid’s Presidential Decree No. 9/2000 promoted
gender mainstreaming to achieve equity, democratisation, and good governance, as integrated into national and regional development planning documents. It has continued in the long term planning for development. The National Development Program from 2000 to 2019 has evolved and expanded to include gender equality approaches along with a focus on protection of children and marginalised groups. Several ministries have produced government policies on gender, analysis tools, and implemented gender mainstreaming, acknowledging the need to improve women’s quality of life. An example of gender policies is the 2008 Ministry of Home Affairs Decree on Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the Regions ("Country Gender Profile : Indonesia," 2011). This guideline was revised into Internal Home Affairs Ministerial Decree No. 67/2011 on Guidelines to implement Gender Mainstreaming for provincial and district government (Sri, 2015b, p. 13). To implement the presidential instruction No. 9/2000 on gender mainstreaming implementation, the Ministry of Women and Children has developed a Gender Analysis Pathways tool, and the National Family Planning Board has developed a gender analysis tool called Problem-based Analysis (PROBA) (Sri, 2015b). The Ministry of Finance has issued the Ministry of Finance Regulation No. 119/PMK.02/2009 which appointed seven ministries as pilot institutions to implement responsible gender budgeting. The ministries included National Development Planning (BAPPENAS), Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Health, and Ministry of Public Works (JICA, 2011).
Despite these moves, studies have demonstrated the limits of implementing gender mainstreaming in sectors such as poverty, water provision, and decentralisation process in Indonesia. Schech and Mustafa state that gender expertise, institutional capacity, organisational resistance, and leadership are key factors in eliminating gender inequality in the context of poverty reduction. But different cultural contexts and the financial crisis resulted in the Indonesian Government adopting “an instrumentalist approach to gender mainstreaming as tool to reduce poverty rather than promoting gender equality as an end in itself” (Schech & Mustafa, 2010, p. 113). Lutffidin (2011) found women’s empowerment programs for poverty eradication in West Lombok were unsuccessful, while Azisah (2017) showed that despite some positive results, the success of gender mainstreaming in education was uneven. The case study of Islamic primary schools in South Sulawesi at the district level, showed that results varied with type of school, level, and location. In West Sumatra, Yuerlita et al. (2009) found that women used the facilities of water supply and sanitation more frequently than men, but didn’t participate in meetings about implementation, operation, maintenance, monitoring, evaluation of supplies, or decision-making in water provision.

Based on these studies, it could be argued that after more than ten years, the gender mainstreaming implementation progress in Indonesia has shown mixed results and has done little to improve gender equality.

The mixed results could be explained in terms of the notions of womanhood in Indonesia. Sri refers to the traditional view of women as passive and dependent on their fathers or husbands (Sri, 2015b, p. 15). Even the marriage law 1/1974 stereotypes “husbands as heads of
family...[and] wives ...as the head of household” (Article 31.3). These traditional views of women as homemakers negatively impact their health, education, and economic status. Though more girls enrol in primary and secondary education than boys, economic and socio-cultural values discourage girls’ continuing higher education, or encourage young marriages which relieves the burdens of a low-income family (Sri, 2015b). Consequently, 11.3% of Indonesian women marry below 15 years of age; 32% between 16-18; and 56.76% over age 19 (Indonesian Women Profile, 2013). Young marriages impact women’s health and poor decision-making about reproduction.

These ideas also shape how their participation in workforce is viewed: even though the percentage of wage employment among women is estimated to be 31.28% in urban, and 45.50% in rural areas (JICA, 2011), most women who are wage-employed or self-employed are not treated as professionals, or given fulltime jobs to earn wages due to perceptions that women’s work does not contribute to family income (Sri, 2015a, p. 36).

Limited implementation of gender mainstreaming also reflects misconceptions of what is meant by gender equality. The Beijing Platform for Action promoted the concept of gender to achieve gender equality or “harmony” between men and women (Robinson, 2008). Suharto’s regime introduced the idea of ‘Mitra sejajar’ (harmonious partnership) between men and women (Robinson, 2008, p. 138). This term is also translated as ‘friend on an equal level’, but the idea still applied normative standards of gender relations in New Order (women as wives or partners) and the Javanese standard of ideal women as wives (Robinson 2008, p. 141). Hence, the government focused on programs
aimed at improving the quality of women’s lives in education and health rather than gender mainstreaming programs aimed at addressing unequal gender relations.

Sri (2015a), identifies the lack of expertise in gender-related problems at national and district levels needed to evaluate achievements, and integrate gender issues into programs as another explanation for mixed picture of gender mainstreaming (Sri, 2015a, p. 47). She argued that this lack of expertise was also responsible for a lack of gender-responsive planning and budgeting by ministries, provincial, and district governments (Sri, 2015a, p. 15). Kusyuniarti (2015a) draws attention to the paucity of bureaucrats at present with technical skills required to analyse disaggregated data and use gender analysis tools in policies and programs.

The lack of properly disaggregated data further inhibits implementing gender mainstreaming (Sri, 2015a, p. 15; 2015b, p. 47), where such data is essential for applying gender analysis tools such as Gender Analysis Pathway and PROBA (Sri, 2015a, p. 47). Without such data, it is difficult to explore gender issues (Sri, 2015a, p. 46), and to develop performance indicators of gender equality (Sri, 2015a, p. 46).

The weakness of national gender machinery also explains the mixed record. The Indonesian government followed up the series of International Women’s Conferences by establishing “institutional mechanism for the advancement of women” (Rai, 2010, p. 15). This included the Ministry for the Role of Women, which was responsible for improving women’s capacity, and managing women’s dual roles (domestic and public sphere) in nation building through citizenship

The Ministry for the Role of Women unfortunately proved ineffective. Structurally, they didn’t have representatives in every province/district, which differs from other ministries like education, health, and agriculture. They had limited human and financial resources for women’s and gender-mainstreaming programmes, and little commitment from regional officials to implement women’s programs. The Ministry for the Role of Women formed Tim Peningkatan Peranan Wanita (P2W) ‘Team to Advance Status of Women’ in 1995 (Robinson, 2008, p. 139; Siahaan, 2003). Its effectiveness, was uneven and depended on the networking of senior women officials (Robinson, 2008), who were represented by juniors at meetings, demonstrating a lack of commitment. They were also impeded by limited budgeting and lack of understanding about gender concepts (Siahaan, 2003).

Poor rapport among women’s organisations, NGOs, and government officials acted as a brake on effective gender mainstreaming. Siahaan (2003) pointed out that bad performance by MOWE was caused by weak networking among women’s organisations, NGOs, Women/Gender Study Center (W/GSC) and government officials.

Decentralisation also acted as a barrier to implementing gender mainstreaming. Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Autonomy or Decentralisation, became Law No. 23/2014, defining Role Division
between Central, Provincial, and District Governments, having mandatory and optional programs, divided into basic and non-basic services. Basic services included education, health, public works, and spatial planning. Non-basic services included manpower, women’s empowerment, child protection (WECP), and environment. ¹⁵ WECP programs tend to get less attention and less funding for skilled staff, (Sri, 2015b, p. 16). But these programs also suffered from mindsets that discriminate against women in service provision (Sri, 2015b, p. 16)

**Water Issues**

The Millennium Development Goals adopted by the international community in 2000 acknowledged the right to water. Its tenth target was to “reduce by half the proportion of people without access to safe drinking water by 2015”. Other conferences highlighted the need to engage women in the process. The United Nations Water For Life Decade 2005-2015 supported efforts to guarantee women’s involvement in water and sanitation programs and projects to achieve the water goals of the Millenium Declaration 2015 (UNDESA, 2015). In 2015, the United Nations General Assembly as part of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) continued the UN’s Millenium Development Goals and included water in it. Goal 6 aims to achieve “universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all that by 2030”. (Hutton & Varughese, 2016)

As a signatory to the MDGs, the Indonesian government agreed to provide sustainable access to safe drinking water and delegated water

¹⁵ The decentralisation laws and their impact on water and gender mainstreaming will be examined in more detail in chapter 4.
management to the Ministry of Public Works, who gives authority to local operators, PDAM (Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum – Regional Company for Drinking Water), to supply water to urban and rural areas. To increase access to rural water supplies, the Ministry of Public Works implemented the Water and Sanitation for Low-Income Communities (WSLIC) program in 2008 (Sutjiono, 2013; Yuerlita & Saptomo, 2009). This project was jointly funded by the Indonesian government, World Bank loan, and Australian government grants. This project facilitated drinking water utilities in 6,855 villages throughout 110 districts/cities and 15 provinces (Sutjiono, 2013). However, the total area covered (42.76%) was still below the MDG target of 68.87% by 2015 (UNDP, 2014b).

It is apparent that there is unequal access to water in Indonesia. In 2015, 29.03% of Indonesians still had no access to PDAM piped water (Indonesia. Ministry of Public Works, 2016). In 2016, the percentage of population without access to safe water dropped slightly to 28%. In other words, only 72% of Indonesian households consumed water from improved water sources comprising dug wells (29.2%), piped water (PDAM) (19.7%), and bore water (24.1%). The ADB report (2016) shows that in urban areas 32.9% of households were using bores, 28.6% were using PDAM water and in rural areas 32.7% of households were using protected dug wells (ADB, 2016).

PDAM’s safe piped water providers face several barriers to meet people’s basic needs, especially in rural areas. On one hand, PDAMs have to increase their coverage, but on the other hand, PDAMs have limited control over their financial management. PDAMs have to operate under regulated tariff policies that result in inferior financial
performance, relatively high levels of debt, limited investment, and organisational inefficiency (Peniwati & Brenner, 2008). PDAMs are often criticised for their lack of capacity to make plans, develop, and operate the organisation. As a result, most of the population’s water needs are not covered. Water is routinely stolen and inexpensive tariffs guarantee PDAM losses ("The Indonesian water sector: A flood of projects held back by PDAMs," 2016). The limited coverage of the PDAM water service is worsened by the uneven quality of the water and unreliable supply (Nugroho, 2009).

These conditions drove policy reforms aimed at increasing the performance of PDAMs. In 1999, the government established Law No. 22/1999 on Regional Autonomy that handed over infrastructure to local government (Nugroho, 2009). The Indonesian government also issued regulations supporting cooperation between the government and the private sector as well as restructuring PDAMs to improve their performance (Nugroho, 2009). The Ministry of Home Affairs issued Decree No. 23/2006 to address financial constraints regarding tariffs. The tariff structure was developed by suggesting subsidies for lower income customers (Hadipuro, 2010).

However, the policy of Ministry of Home Affairs was not entirely effective in improving water provision to the marginalised society. Under the new regulations, some PDAMS prefer to maintain existing coverage networks which are more profitable than enlarging services to new customers with no additional profit (Hadipuro, 2010).

The disparity of water supply access caused by unequal treatment in water supply governance has fragmented society economically and
spatially since the colonial era. Economic disparities are connected with the lack of access to household water supply networks, while spatial disparities have occurred in specific urban areas where they are given priority in water supply expansion (Kooy & Bakker, 2008). The Dutch government built pipelines for clean drinking water for Dutch civil servants and army personnel rather than for natives during colonial times (Benda-Beckmann, 2007). Their policies maintained the rationality of a hierarchical government with race and class distinctions (Kooy & Bakker, 2008).

Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution states that “land, water, and air and the natural richness they are in shall be under the control of the state and used for the maximum benefit of the people”. This has typically been interpreted as implying government responsibility for organising these resources in a sustainable way for the maximum prosperity of present and future generations, rather than in ownership terms (De Graaff, Aklilu, Ouessaar, Asins-Velis, & Kessler, 2013).

In the period between Indonesian independence and 1965, the government developed ideals to provide national resources, based on the constitution. The Indonesian government provided a larger volume of water for the increasing population demands, better purification treatments, and eliminated contaminated surface water better than the colonial system. However, the quality of the water supply outside of Jakarta paled in comparison to that inside Jakarta, due to Sukarno’s wish to make Jakarta a “symbolically modern” city of an independent nation, to invite foreign trade and industrial investors (Kooy & Bakker, 2008).
The rationale for prioritising the urban water supply in the New Order was based more on enhancing the nation’s economic growth but in fact still fell far short of satisfying the necessary outcomes (Kooy & Bakker, 2008). The urban water supply was maintained and expanded from the previous post-colonial path of provision, with continued construction of infrastructure to advantage selectively targeted zones of the city. This brought a mandate of water supply businesses from central ownership to local government ownership in order to encourage local economic growth and generate profit. However, after three decades (1965-1995) the Indonesian government could still not supply water to the most of low income residents in Jakarta. Indeed, the expansion of PDAM piping under the New Order was only able to supply to less than a quarter of Jakarta’s population (Kooy & Bakker, 2008)

Since the private sector was given a greater role in water management in 1990, a process that was accelerated after the political reforms of 1998, water supply was transformed. Public and private water system networks aimed to enhance low-income households’ ability to access a clean water supply in urban areas. But almost three decades later, the limited results still reflect a failure of governance.

Since 1998, the value of water has changed water from a common good in public hands (superseding Law No. 11/1974) to an economic good for commercialisation of water use (Law No. 7/2004). This shifting water ideology created opportunities for the private sector as stated in Articles 9 and 40 of the 1974 Law (Hadipuro, 2010). At the same time, however, the government committed itself to establishing water as a right for their citizens through ratifying international conventions including the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990), Dublin
Principles (1992), and the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Articles 11 and 12). This resulted in provisions in Law No. 7/2004 guaranteeing citizens the right to receive water to meet their minimum daily needs. The contradiction and tension in the law between privatising the water supply on one hand and guaranteeing water as a right on the other, quickly became apparent. With water providers driven by commercial incentives, it is not surprising that the government’s professed aim of providing clean water to low income households was not realised (Hadipuro, 2010)

By July 2004, sixteen organisations had requested a judicial review of Law No. 7/2004 to the Indonesian Constitutional Court (Ash, 2015), as it appeared to privilege water privatisation and commercialisation at the expense of marginalised people. The first court decision refused the applicants’ request. In September 2013 a religious organisation (Muhammadiyah)\textsuperscript{16}, an environmental organisation (Vanaprastha), and seven independent individuals requested another judicial review of the Law to the Indonesian Constitutional Court (Anjarsari, 2015). In the second judicial review on 18 February 2015, the Court agreed that water provision under the law does not protect low-income earners or the environment, meaning the law is unconstitutional (Al’Afghani, 2006). In February 2015, the Constitution Court repealed Law No. 7/2004 (Ash, 2015).

Dissenting opinion from one of the Constitutional Court judges stated that the provisions in the Law could not be interpreted as

\textsuperscript{16} Muhammadiyah is a Modernist Islamic Organisation that was established 1912, in Yogyakarta by KH Ahmad Dahlan (Hosen, 2002)
unconstitutional. Eventually, on the 18 February 2015, the recognition of water as a public good was affirmed by the Court, as stated:

Water is *res commune* and therefore should be subject to the provisions of Article 33 of the Constitution of 1945, thus the regulations on water should be provided in the public legal system against which no entity can make it the object of ownership in terms of civil law. (Decree of Constitutional Court No. 85/PUU-XI/2013)

According to the court decision, water within Indonesian territory belongs only to the state; Indonesian people have a legal guarantee based on the constitution to have equal access to water for life.\(^{17}\)

Water supply designed and applied using a top-down model creates imperfect water service performance. When government and external agencies (i.e., contractors, private bodies, donor funds) deliver water supplies to the community using a top-down approach and it is not managed democratically, it affects rural consumers, especially those with no voice, aspirations, or choices. This will lead to underperforming water service delivery (Isham & Kahkonen, 2002). The absence of a community voice and choice is due to a lack of the village community’s knowledge and feeling of ownership of rural water supply and sanitation facilities, as well as their inability to maintain these facilities. Bottom-up water supply approaches through community participation result in a high level of social capital\(^ {18}\) having a positive effect on water service


\(^{18}\) Social capital in these terms is determined by four factors. These are: the existence of an active civic association, a networked pattern of social interaction, a norm of trust, and interaction among households (Isham & Kahkonen, 2002).
performance (Isham & Kahkonen, 2002). This raises the question of whether there is space for women to become involved.

**Integration of Gender Mainstreaming into National Policies on Drinking Water**

With the prospect of integrating gender equality with women’s empowerment, International leaders met in Johannesburg in September 2002 at the World Summit on Sustainable Development. They aimed to commit to integrating a gender approach into International Policies and Practices of Water Resources Management (Mungkasa, 2007, p. 5), declaring “we are committed to ensuring that women’s empowerment, emancipation, and gender equality are integrated in all the activities encompassed within Agenda 21, the Millennium Development Goals /7 and the Plan of Implementation of the Summit (Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development 2002)” (Mungkasa, 2007, p. 5). The Indonesian government adopted and integrated a gender perspective into its National Policy on Drinking Water and Community-Based Sanitation (Laksono, 2007, p. 6). It acknowledged women’s roles in decision-making in water resources management, in implementation of programmes such as Community Water Services and Health (CWSH), Water and

---

19 Water Resources Management covers the planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of the conservation management of water resources, water resources utilization, and control of water damage (Law No. 7/2004 on Water Resources).

20 CWSH programme places women in a key position, as facilitators of CWSH programme (Laksono, 2007, p. 7). CWSH programme also invites women as participants in discussion meetings, workshops, group discussions (Laksono, 2007, p. 8). This program encourages women’s opinions on planning, constructing, utilization, and maintenance of water infrastructures.
Sanitation for Low-Income Communities II (2WSLIC)\textsuperscript{21} and Water Program (Pro-air)\textsuperscript{22} (Mungkasa, 2007, p. 6).

Water projects that are planned and implemented based on the gender perspective framework have been introduced to Indonesia by international development agencies (e.g. AusAid, World Bank, USAID). This is achieved through various methodologies and allocated resources designed to bring global values (gender equality, sustainability development, poverty eradication, partnership) into their pilot projects, hoping that Indonesia would have done similar work and values. One project that has continued to be implemented by the Ministry of Public Works stems from the Water and Sanitation for Low-Income Communities (WSLIC). This project was then transformed to the Community-Based Drinking Water and Sanitation Provision program (Penyediaan Air Minum dan Sanitasi Berbasis Masyarakat/PAMSIMAS).

\textsuperscript{21} 2WSLIC program concentrates on women’s participation and expands the integration gender-relations issues into social-relations issues. The 2WSLIC program integrates gender issues on women and poverty. The aim of this project is to strengthen women’s role in impoverished society as a whole to receive an equal right and obligation, particularly in contributions to decision-making in the program. WSLIC Programme required a minimum 30\% quota of women in every stage of activities, staff management composition and staff recruitment. This project actively conducts gender advocacy and training, to support an implementation of gender approach (Laksono, 2007, p. 8).

\textsuperscript{22} Pro-air focused on women’s role in decision-making, based on their experiences as water collectors. This program initiated research about women’s knowledge and practice in water utilisation in 2004. It found that women (both housewives and girls) in all strata of society (low income and middle-upper class) play a key role as water collectors. Research has shown that women (housewives 41\% and girls 27\%) had to collect water more frequently than men (32\%) especially in low-income communities. Therefore, women’s involvement is needed in the decision-making of water utilisation in every stage of the processes.
Evidently in 2010, inspired by the initiative of the development agency, the Ministry of Public Works accelerated gender mainstreaming by implementing The Gender Responsive Planning and Budgeting (GRPB) pilot project, to integrate gender analysis into planning and budgeting. They proposed PAMSIMAS as a GRPB project, which aims to improve access to drinking water and sanitation especially for low-income areas.

**PAMSIMAS** integrated gender analysis methods which consider different impacts on women and men into planning and budgeting, using Gender Analysis Pathway tools. Analysis has shown women have limited access to information on **PAMSIMAS** and limited involvement in problem-identification sessions, with too few women in decision-making and monitoring (Public Works Ministry, 2013). Based on the findings and analysis, the developed plan of action was to improve women’s participation in training as facilitators, and as members of training boards of water resources management at village level (Public Works Ministry, 2013).

It could be argued that these water programs ignored gender-relations issues, power disparity in gender relations, and men’s roles in perpetuating gender inequality. Men dominate decision-making in individual, community, market, and state interactions but don’t participate in gender equality efforts, which involve only women, where men may feel marginalised. Similar observations have been made about gender mainstreaming in the health sector in Indonesia (Sri, 2015a, p. 10).

International agencies continue to support Indonesian government (especially through the Ministry of Public Works and local governments)
with the aim of expanding coverage of water services and applying lessons learned. In 2016, the Gender Strategy and Plan Report by the Indonesia Infrastructure Initiative (IndII) stated that the Australian Indonesia Partnership came back to support the Indonesian government to achieve gender equality and women’s empowerment in the planning and implementation of infrastructure in Indonesia. The grant programmes include Australia Indonesia Infrastructure Grants for Sanitation (sAIIG), Water and Sanitation Hibah and Provincial Roads Improvement and Maintenance (PRIM). Through these grant programmes, the Australian government supported and encouraged the Indonesian central government (Ministry of Public Works and Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection) as well as local governments by providing capacity building training, comparative study tours, and participatory workshops. During this series of activities, an international and national gender expert gave continuous support, feedback and guidance on how to integrate gender equality in infrastructure design and implementation to program officers appointed as gender focal points or gender champions in their sector (IndII, 2016).

Overseas funding, such as that provided by Australia, has supported gender equality programs not only for women in the bureaucracy, but also in various communities (IndII, 2016). Furthermore, the funding has provided capacity building for key personnel in central and local government, enabling them to analyse gender in the projects that have been successful, and how they were able to improve the outcome of projects. The support includes facilitating data collection on gender issues and developing guidelines on how to integrate gender into wastewater treatment programs at the request of The Ministry of Public
Works. The State Ministry for Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection actively participated and supported its facilitation. These empowerment activities also resulted in the appointment of women in the local community to improve their leadership, capacities, and self-confidence in the Community Based Organisation Piped Water activity (IndII, 2016).

International agencies continued to provide aid for gender equality through their facility programs even though the impact in the field tended to be less than promised. Based on IndII’s report, they reflected on lessons learned during their assistance process. They were informed that the results were not achieved for two reasons. First, was the lack of understanding, skills and self-awareness on the part of local government agencies about the benefit of gender equality. Second was the limited measurement to monitoring and evaluating progress in gender equality and allowing intervention to be defined as needed. The failure of these programs to bring about a significant shift in gender equality raises questions that demand answers. This study seeks to obtain further explanations and findings why bringing (and attempting) to embed global values such as gender equality, sustainability development, poverty eradication and partnership, do not always work.

Conclusion

Gender mainstreaming in Indonesian policies has not yet achieved gender equality. Since Decree No. 19/2000 encouraged gender mainstreaming in planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation in national documents, some progress such as improving women’s quality of life in education, health, and economic sectors, and increasing
middle-class women’s political participation has resulted. However, gender mainstreaming has not addressed the gender gap or improved women’s authority in family, community and the state.

Reasons can be found in the interaction of New Order state gender ideology and global discourse (gender, diversity, equity, decentralisation, participation) which have perpetuated gender stereotypes and misconceptions of gender equality. It has also perpetuated a lack of technical human resources skills, lack of disaggregated data for analysis, weakness of national gender machinery, local government, decentralisation, lowered women’s participation and representation in decision-making processes, as barriers to implementation.

The next two chapters, 4 and 5, use case studies of Kulon Progo and Central Lombok to show how gender mainstreaming formulated at the national level is implemented in rural areas.
CHAPTER 4

Women’s Role in Water Management in Kulon Progo

In the afternoon of my third week in Kulon Progo, ten village women attending my focus group discussion shared their experiences about water in the dry season.

Kartini told me in her flat Javanese tone that on a hot sunny afternoon, a truck carrying water climbed the dusty road in the Menoreh Mountains to arrive in Planggi, the hamlet where Kartini lives.

The truck was welcomed with excitement by the anxious women. While men worked in the fields, women had been waiting for the truck for more than three hours, postponing other household chores, to get only two jerry cans of clean water. When the truck arrived, it was as if there were a magic magnet that drew the women to grab their jerry cans and hurry to the public water tank into which a fresh supply of 5,000 litres of water was being unloaded. A neat queue of white, grey, green, and blue jerry cans appeared, ready to be filled. One by one, the ladies returned to their homes, each carrying two jerry cans holding 10 litres of water, tied to their backs with a long scarf. They could not hide their smiles of satisfaction knowing they would not have to walk four kilometers to fetch water for at least two days.

As they walked, the women were devising what they would do with the water the following day. Some might use it to make palm sugar or to clean their house; some might want to help their husbands in the fields. However, Kartini who lives very far from the village road and public hydrant and tank did not hear the arrival of the water truck as quickly as the others who lived closer to the road. Although she rushed to the public water tank, hoping a million times that there remained at least one jerry can of water, she had to face the cruel reality that the water supply had run out ... (Field note, April 2014).
This story from Plangi represents the complexities of life for Javanese women. It raises several questions, including how women and men are perceived to have different responsibilities in the management and utilisation of water resources. How do women utilise water? Who has the power in decision-making? Can women challenge their position within socio-cultural habituation and religious beliefs practiced by Javanese? How do Javanese cultural concepts influence the way people perceive women in Kulon Progo and the implementation of gender mainstreaming policy, especially in the provision of clean water?

For the most part, women in Kulon Progo require water for household activities while men need water for agricultural purposes and productive activities that are generating income. However, in the changing socio-cultural conditions, women require water not only for their reproductive activity in the domestic environment but also as an extension of women’s role as nurturers and mothers operating in the community space.

The low involvement of women in decision-making and management of water sees women cast only as water users and passive beneficiaries of development policies and programs. While the responsibility for collecting and managing clean water in households belongs to women, the decision-making and management of water are men’s.

This chapter describes the socio-economic background of Javanese people in Kulon Progo today: their history, the socio-cultural background, particularly the Javanese concepts of rukun (harmony), founded upon hormat (respect).
This chapter argues that women who need clean water to perform their reproductive work in the domestic sphere are now simultaneously carrying out productive work to increase the family income and family welfare. However, there has been less understanding and implementation by the service providers either at the central government level or at the village administration level about the changes in gender roles, particularly in daily practice. The result is that although women have an important and even decisive role in the domestic life of their families, they face various limitations in local decision-making processes and access to water management.

This chapter examines the complexities that affect women’s participation in the decision-making process of water management. The chapter also shows that changing social conditions are creating a more dynamic gender relationship and increasing women’s agency in Kulon Progo. Empowerment-trained women have gradually made a difference, gained respect and felt valued. But shifting agency does not translate into village women being heard in discussions, particularly regarding access to water.
Geographical Settings and Socio-Demographic Background

Kulon Progo is a district of Java, Indonesia. Kulon Progo is one of the five districts in the province of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. It is located in the western part of the province of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, to the west of the Progo River. The district comprises 586.28 km² and is bordered on the north and west by the Magelang and Purworejo districts of Central Java, and on the south by the Indian Ocean. To the east of the Progo River are Sleman and Bantul districts.

23 In Javanese, *kulon* means west and *Progo* is the name of the river, thus Kulon Progo is the area to the west of the Progo River. Similarly, the name of another District in Yogyakarta using directional toponym is Gunungkidul, where *gunung* means mountain(s) and *kidul* means south, thus, the mountainous area in the southern part (of Yogyakarta).
Figure 4.1. Kulon Progo as seen in its context of Indonesia, Java, and
within the Special Territory of Yogyakarta

The topography of Kulon Progo comprises three main zones. The
estuaries of the Progo and Bogowonto Rivers flow from the southern coastal zone into the sea. The lowland zone covers the districts of Nanggulan, Sentolo, Pengasih, and the other half of Lendah. The lowlands are fertile alluvial land with a flood plain stretching from the
Progo River in the east to the Bogowonto River in the west. It is sparsely settled and used for agriculture. The northern upland zone in the Menoreh Mountains run northward and includes Kokap, Girimulyo, Samigaluh, and Kalibawang.

The topography and geology of Kulon Progo shape its groundwater conditions. The southern coastal zone’s alluvial lowlands, lagoons, and estuaries supply abundant surface and groundwater. The relatively porous geology provides a good aquifer system, with groundwater available at a depth of seven meters. In the middle and northern zones, rainwater quickly accumulates and flows into the streams and confluence but does not soak into the ground. The northern mountainous zone is dominated by andesitic breccia, tuff, lapilli tuff, agglomerate and andesitic lava flow inserts. These materials are impermeable to water (Van Bemmelen, 1949, pp. 598-599), hence groundwater reserves are limited and only found more than 25m from the surface, or in rock fractures.

The geographical landscape limits women’s access to water in the river. Although some locals reside near the spring or the river that supplies them with water, the river waters are inconsumable due to water quality. Others who reside in areas higher than the water sources are constrained by the lack of technical support and finance to pay for the piped water installation to their location. The water supply for residents in the mountainous zone is from springs, accessible in the rainy season, but not in the dry months. Water availability has encouraged people to live and work in the coastal and middle zones of Kulon Progo, rather than in the mountains.
According to government statistics, in 2015 only 26% of the total population of 408,947 lived in mountainous zones. 50% of Kulon Progo’s population over 15 works in agriculture, with the other half working in trade, industry, services and transport. In the agricultural sector, 52.85% are men and 47.10% are women. Women outnumber men in both industry and trade. Men comprise 8.85% of the industry sector employment while 14.93% are women; but trade is dominated by women (21.52%), compared to men (14.71%). Most women perform small-scale selling of staple food items, inexpensive snacks, or manufacture toys from home, but their primary jobs are taking care of housework and children. Widespread poverty affects 20.64% of Kulon Progo’s population (2014) (Kulon Progo Bureau of Statistics).

Literacy in 2014 was estimated to be 93.36% for the total population with literacy among men estimated to be 95.38% and among women, 91.46%. In lower-ranking public administration jobs, women outnumber men. The situation is reversed in the upper ranks; the more prestigious the position, the fewer the women. Most of those responsible for decision-making in the district are men.

Historic and Socio-Cultural Contexts

The current administration of Kulon Progo as a district date back to the 1940s. Until the proclamation of Indonesian independence in 1945 and the formation of the Republic of Indonesia, the region was under two separate administrations. The larger area of Kulon Progo to the west of the Progo River was within the Yogyakarta Sultanate, while the smaller southern area of Adikarto Principality, belonged to the Pakualaman Duchy. After Hamengkubuwono IX of the Sultanate and Paku Alam VIII
of the Duchy decided to support the new republic, a special status was granted to both the Sultanate and the Duchy, equalising the combined territory to a province, with sultan as head and Paku Alam VIII as deputy. Later, by law, the district and principality merged into a kabupaten (district) named Kulon Progo in 15 October 1951. The law also dictated that the administrative capital be Wates, formerly the capital of the dissolved Principality (Adikarto).

Gender Relation in Javanese Culture: Living between ‘Rukun’ and ‘Harmony’

Javanese traditional culture holds that the relationship between the wife and her husband should resemble that of the wong cilik (the common people) to the king. A wife has to be loyal, obedient, and completely understanding of her husband (Hartiningsih, 2009), who holds the privilege to sanction her if she makes any mistakes. Wives are expected to always show a smiling face and cheerful attitude (Hartiningsih, 2009). It is the wife’s obligation to develop a respectful, harmonious, and tolerant attitude to her husband as her master.

Javanese culture maintains a gender hierarchy by establishing an ideology of familialism which emphasises the women’s main roles in the domestic sphere as wives and mothers (Kusujiarti, 1997). Men are not expected to take part in domestic tasks, as this is not seen as their natural domain. They have time to be involved in the civic and public activities that are closely associated with status and power, while women must

---

grapple with household responsibilities before they can take on other tasks.

Hildred Geertz (1961) highlighted *hormat* and *rukun* as two paramount values in Javanese culture, crucial to maintaining a harmonious life. *Hormat*, or the notion of respect is honoured both in family interactions, and also as a social norm between neighbors or to government officials (H. Geertz, 1961, p. 146). This emotional understanding of respect is passed through generations to achieve and preserve social harmony. These traditional values still exist in contemporary Javanese society including in Kulon Progo.

However, Javanese culture does not promote mutual respect (reciprocity) among people of different age, sex, occupation or wealth. The social ‘inferior’ (child, woman, peasant, low-income people) should respect their ‘superior’ (parent, man, aristocrat, wealthy individuals). But the superior does not need to give as much respect in return to the inferior (H. Geertz, 1961).

Just as *hormat* is intended to create social harmony, *rukun* is meant to preserve social harmony, prevent conflicts, and to maintain emotional balance as the highest ideals (H. Geertz, 1961). The concept of *rukun* extends to both kinship and community relations, where it becomes the main element and the ideal value in each relationship (H. Geertz, 1961). In modern Indonesia, Suharto’s paternalistic state exploited the concept of harmony to maintain stability. In the rhetoric of the Suharto regime family, community, and state comprise Indonesian family. The concept of *rukun* was employed to discourage active participation in decision-making, thus ensuring harmony and achieving the appearance of an
unanimity of opinion (Bourchier, 2014, p. 196). Here, rukun becomes a means to minimise conflict and opposition to authority.

It is useful to compare rukun in Javanese culture and the word “harmony” in the Beijing Conference where it was defined as promoting partnership and gender equality between men and women:

Equal rights, opportunities and access to resources, equal sharing of responsibilities for the family by men and women, and harmonious partnership between them are critical to their well-being and that of their families as well as to the consolidation of democracy (Declaration, 1995).

Here, one can see a similar purpose in using harmony related to gender equality from the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, with the Javanese concept of rukun. The word harmony is used in both contexts as a means to achieve reciprocity and cooperation between men and women and ultimately to achieve physical and emotional wellbeing. But hormat as the key value or desired behaviour for Javanese, assumes that achieving harmony in Javanese culture is possible through ‘silencing one party’s voice in the name of tepo seliro (understanding another’s feelings) in order to avoid conflict and to create and maintain social equilibrium. In other words, harmony in Javanese culture requires one party to sacrifice their will in order to avoid discord within the community.

The state’s gender ideology formulated and heavily implemented in the New Order period, also deeply influences society even today. The stereotype of woman as a wife and mother is deeply rooted in the minds of Indonesians. Therefore culturally speaking, women do not have any authority in the decision-making process as individuals, at home, in the community, in economic activities or in the state. Even when a new
concept is introduced, especially women’s participation in local decision-making to promote gender equality, many women resist adopting a foreign concept, preferring to implement their own concept of *rukun* to maintain social order and communal security.

**The Politics of Water in Kulon Progo**

Limited water supply, increasing water demand, water privatisation, and mismanagement of government’s water provision services have created irregular water distribution in Kulon Progo, which foments water conflicts and discrimination. Kulon Progo’s geographical and topographical features contribute to having limited groundwater. However, with 50% of the Kulon Progo population working in agriculture, there is an enormous demand for water. Local policy on water privatisation reflected national policy which considers water an economic commodity. This has impacted on the failure in governance of the water supply. Mismanagement of water privatisation by local government is felt most in low-income rural households, further increasing discrimination.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in Indonesia Law No. 7/2004 on the Management of Water Resources regulates water for irrigation, and stipulates that private companies granted cultivation rights could buy and sell the resource. The law simply confirms the status of water as an economic commodity, and the recognition of cultivation rights. This law has not guaranteed restrictions on water management by private parties, and creates the potential for massive misuse of water, as well as water conflict between private parties and the community.
Water privatisation may stimulate economic growth in Kulon Progo. However centralised and poor decision making marginalises local voices related to water supply, which in turn marginalises the locals’ voices. The water supply organisation has little incentive to help low-income households to access water or to link them to a local water network.

Local government in Kulon Progo implements water privatisation under Law No. 7/2004 by delegating responsibility for managing water resources and the delivery system to PDAM Tirta Binangun, a regional government-owned company for drinking water supply (known as Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum or Local Drinking Water Company). In addition to manufacturing and installing water pipelines to households, PDAM Tirta Binangun also bottles water under the brand Airku (My Water).

The benefit of water privatisation is that it provides economic profit for Kulon Progo’s local government. The Kulon Progo district has supported the locally owned water company by launching a campaign named the Bela-Beli (Support and Purchase) policy. The Bela-Beli policy encourages Kulon Progo’s citizens to support and purchase local produce such as agricultural products, and to consume bottled water to support local businesses and to promote food security in Kulon Progo. A Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University scholarly evaluation of the Bela-Beli policy suggested it had a positive effect in improving local production and sales for better local economic growth from 2013 to 2016 (Asshofi, 2016).
In contrast, my study found that in practice water privatisation could not protect poorer households who cannot afford to purchase water, even after receiving free installation (from PDAM’s subsidy policy). The study found that PDAM *Tirta Binangun* in Kulon Progo served urban middle and upper classes better than rural lower-income families. Even though PDAM *Tirta Binangun* launched a policy of free installation of 1000 water networks for low-income households in 2017 (Ing, 2017), this discount was not sufficient. Sekarani (2017) in *Harian Jogja* newsletter wrote that a legislative member in Kulon Progo questioned the continuance of a program providing free water pipe connection, triggered from hearing that those who obtained free PDAM connections often later unsubscribed from the service, due to it being unaffordable. In fact, PDAM had not conducted any feasibility study about the affordability of the policy, demonstrating that local government and PDAM has failed to listen to low-income women, as household managers and beneficiaries of infrastructure development, regarding the on-going costs.

Research data revealed that water privatisation in Kulon Progo failed to secure the water needs of women in Kali Makmur and Planggi for two reasons. First, the geographical landscape limits access and quantity. For women in remote Kali Makmur, water is very limited. Local terrain has made it difficult for PDAM to reach Kali Makmur with sufficient frequency. The village lacks infrastructure and technology to provide adequate water. PDAM *Tirta Binangun’s* Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) program disappoints with infrequent deliveries during the dry season. A discussion with local women revealed, “The
PDAM filled the public water tank only twice in the dry season, when weekly deliveries are required” (FGD notes, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

Second, PDAM’s prohibitively high subscription costs worry low income villagers in Planggi. Locals battle for water access, as the clean water supply is insufficient. Set up costs are quite expensive, i.e., IDR 500,000 (AUD $50) for water meter installation and IDR 70,000 (AUD $7) for monthly water bills. As one informant of this study attests:

My husband’s monthly income is IDR 200,000 (AUD $20); mine IDR 100,000 (AUD $10). I want to become a piped water customer, but I cannot afford the fees to connect the water pipeline to my house or to pay the monthly water bill. So, I have to collect water from a nearby well instead, even though it’s yellowish (Bu Yetti, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

Based on FGD’s information in Kali Makmur village and in-depth interviews in Planggi village, I argue that rural women in Kali Makmur and Planggi are being marginalised in accessing clean water supply from the local government services due to geographic difficulties and high costs.

In contrast, the Community Welfare Indicator (2014), produced by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), Kulon Progo, claims a slightly increase in household’s consumption of healthy drinking water from 56.69% (2010) to 61.37% (2013) without considering factors that hide the disparity of water distribution. According to CBS, consumption of healthy drinking water is an indicator in determining the public welfare of communities.

The CBS data also wrongly assumes that increased welfare is aligned with the increased consumption of the so-called ‘air sehat’ (purified water) ignoring the water access standards set by WHO. The
local government has interpreted this as endorsing the consumption of bottled water produced locally as it is purified and hygienic. National census data (Susenas) of Kulon Progo in 2012-2014, cites a minor increase in households consuming bottled water in 2014 (by 5.06%) and a major decrease in households consuming water from wells (by 62.21%) as drinking water. This decrease is due to a Kulon Progo government’s development program for accessing drinking water from sources such as deep (pumped) wells, piped water (supplied both by PDAM and VOE) and the production of bottled water. Changes in the utilisation of certain water sources do not necessarily mean that people do not use water from unhealthy sources for washing and sanitation (Welfare Indicator of Society in Kulon Progo, 2014).

In addition, in order to determine the indicators of program performance in water supply, local government does not recognise all the standards set by WHO, which sets the standards for safe drinking water and basic sanitation. The local government only refers to the coverage of households and focuses on the quantity rather than quality of water supply. WHO states:

- Drinking water is water used for domestic purposes, drinking, cooking, and personal hygiene.
- Access to drinking water means that the source is less than one kilometer away from its place of use and that it is possible to reliably obtain at least 20 litres per member of a household per day.
• Safe drinking water is water with microbial, chemical and physical characteristics that meet WHO guidelines or national standards on drinking water quality.

• Access to safe drinking water is the proportion of people using improved drinking water sources: household connection, public standpipe, borehole, protected dug well, protected spring, rainwater (World Health WHO, 2006).

Local government does not take into account largely neglected factors, ones that go beyond the distance from the residences to drinking water sources, the quantity of water collected, the time required to collect water from the source, who is responsible for water collection (men, women, children) as indicators of performance in water supply services to the public.

The mismanagement by government in providing water services was discriminatory in that it put more burden on women. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), ratified by 184 member countries including Indonesia, states that the state should take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women and to ensure women’s right to, among other things, water. CEDAW, which is the embodiment of these rights, also confirms that it is the state’s responsibility to ensure that no public authority should discriminate against women.
Two Villages, Same Stories

My fieldwork took place in Kali Makmur in the hills of Menoreh Mountains, and Planggi village on the coast of Kulon Progo. The latter has unconsumable water.

I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with the end users of piped water services (both PDAM and VOE). The two villages are in remote and drought-prone areas. The sample included 14 females and three males. My objectives were to explore women’s experiences, ideas, and thoughts when faced with the challenges of obtaining safe water to sustain the family’s daily drinking water and basic sanitation needs, their role as the ones responsible for collecting water, as well as their participation in local policy making. Male villagers and a local government officer were also interviewed to gain comprehensive understanding of both sides in relation to gender relationship as head of family and community leaders.

In order to explore how policies are made, implemented and evaluated, I also interviewed officials of the Department of Public Works, Department of Health, Local Development Planning Board (Bappeda), and the management of drinking water companies. I also interviewed officials of the Department of Public Works, Village Community, Women’s Empowerment and Family Planning Board at the provincial level.
Planggi Village

The coastal village of Planggi is about a six-minute drive from Wates. Four streams which run through this village could provide abundant water to the village but are muddy and in poor condition.\textsuperscript{25} About 80\% of the rivers and streams in Kulon Progo are used in agriculture. The main food crop grown in Planggi is rice, grown on both irrigated and non-irrigated land. In addition, local farms also produce corn, green beans, soybeans, cassava, sweet potato, onions, tomatoes, potatoes, and fruit (\textit{Data Potensi Desa Planggi}/ Administration Data of Planggi, 2011).

Local records show that in 2014 the population in Planggi was 5,070: 2,562 men and 2,508 women, in 1,274 households. Most villagers are farmers (92\%), 6\% are share croppers, and the rest are civil servants, military personnel, private employees and small-scale traders (2\%). 98\% are Muslim and only 2\% Christian. Literacy is almost universal, with less than 2\% illiteracy among both men and women in 2014. More women than men complete Junior and Senior High School. After leaving school, women either move away to urban places for jobs, or remain in the village awaiting a marriage proposal (Administration Data of Planggi, 2011).

Upon my arrival at villager Rosita’s house, I was immediately aware of their problems with water. Upon hearing the call for midday

\textsuperscript{25} Good condition for a stream: providing clean, uncontaminated, and on demand water (for agriculture irrigation); water location should optimize (plant and animal) feeding applications. (https://www.wool.com/globalassets/start/on-farm-research-and-development/production-systems-eco/environment/water/lww_rivers_waterways.pdf)
prayer, I made a *wudhu* (ablution) before praying. While washing my face, I noticed an unusual smell and taste to the water. After the prayer, Rosita invited me to go with her to the village hall to obtain detailed information about the village from the village administrators, as well as from recorded statistics.

It was here that I discovered that Planggi was a village with serious water quality problems. The water in the village is turbid (light brown), salty, and smells fishy. The unconsumable water quality could be linked to a high iron (Fe) content in the soil, which is black and sandy. Due to this unconsumable water quality, the World Bank, through the Java Reconstruction Fund (JRF) project, had provided the villagers with borehole water facilities and management come from the hill nearby the village. However, the project could only provide one borehole and piped water connections to 200 families. Local records show in 2011 the water sources in the village included 1100 wells used by 1170 families, 9 public hydrants used by 200 families, and one pond used by 100 families. Given that only 200 families enjoy the water facilities provided by the JRF, the remaining 1270 families are still living with unconsumable quality water.

The Java Reconstruction Fund project resulted in complicated water conflicts in Planggi. Villager Rosita took me to see several people who provided me with more information on the JRF project and the problems that arose. The 40-year-old villager skillfully drove me on her motorcycle a kilometre to *Pak Imam*, the head of Hamlet 9. Pak Imam told us stories of the JRF water project and the conflicts that arose locally. JRF was a reconstruction project initiated in the aftermath of the earthquake which shook the coastal area of Yogyakarta in 2006; it was funded by multiple donors including the European Commission, Canada, United Kingdom,
The Netherlands, Finland and Denmark. The project was intended to reconstruct areas damaged by the earthquake by providing the residents with infrastructure, including a clean water supply. After construction was completed, management was handed over to the Planggi village administrator. Unfortunately, this water supply was poorly managed. Pak Imam then introduced the author to his cousin Harman, who was one of the officers responsible for managing the JRF-constructed water supply network in Hamlet 9. Harman recounted his disappointment with the previous Planggi Village Head’s policies which he said ‘lacked transparency’ and ‘involved no community participation’, especially when the Head extended the water network to the neighboring village while many families in Planggi did not benefit from the water project.

According to the Chief of Hamlet 2, the JRF water network project was the only hope for cheap clean water supply for the communities. In comparison to PDAM’s fees, the Planggi villagers only needed to pay IDR 200,000 (AUD $20) for water meter installation and IDR 30,000 (AUD $3) for monthly water bills from the JRF water project which changed its name to PAMDES (village water company). These fees were cheaper than the prices charged by PDAM of Kulon Progo.

According to the hamlet chief, water conflict in Planggi was due to mismanagement at the local level, which caused the villagers to conduct mass protests demanding the realisation of the program of water supply and distribution facilities for all villagers. In other words, mismanagement and lack of transparency in village administration are the cause of water disputes in Kulon Progo. Village administration officers-controlled water supply management in Planggi but had never
communicated their financial reports or their new policies to Planggi villagers. This situation then resulted in the villagers’ distrust.

When the head of Planggi conducted discussions in the neighboring village of Demak (about the plan to share access to water), he did not coordinate with his staff. He only coordinated with the chief of the development section and chief of Hamlet 2. Consequently, massive criticisms were heard.) The villagers complained to the head of Planggi regarding two things: firstly that his policy to share water access with Demak, while his people (the Planggi villagers) still lacked clean water access, was unfair. Secondly, the lack of transparency and clarity in water supply operations left village administrators unable to respond to the villagers’ complaints and wishes (Pak Iman as chief of Hamlet 2, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

As shown in Picture 4.2, at the national level of Indonesia, the Ministry of Public Works, Ministry of Health and the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), have a mandate to regulate water and sanitation policy. Post decentralisation, local district governments were given authority and responsibility to manage administration and finance of water provision. In practice, the Regional Planning Offices (Bappeda) in coordination with the Public Works Office, have responsibility for managing

---

26 Post Soeharto’s regime (1967-1998), the Law 22/1999 on Regional Autonomy was established to delegate central government authority to local governments in each province in determining public service provision. Then, the national parliament renew this regulation into Law 32/2004 on Local Governments and Law 33/2004 on Fiscal Decentralisation that strengthened the effort of administrative decentralisation. Regional autonomy of local governments is expanded through establishment of the law no 32/2004 (Nataatmadja, 2017). Based on the laws, central government is only responsible for five absolute function: foreign relations, judiciary and law enforcement, religious affairs, macroeconomic and monetary policies, and defence policies. Therefore, the rest of the functions are decentralised to local governments such as development planning, planning and zoning, public order and peace, providing public means and facilities, handling of basic services such as health sector, education, public works, transportation), and handling economic sectors, such as agriculture, trade, marine affairs and fishery, forestry, small and medium-size businesses, mine, industry and other affairs according to laws and regulations, such as social affair, family planning, village empowerment (Nataatmadja, 2017).
and controlling water services as public services (Murta & Willetts, 2014).

District government manages water services in urban and rural areas differently. Most water services in urban areas are provided by PDAM, but in rural areas PDAM’s role as a water supplier is limited. In order to stay solvent, many PDAMs fail to give low tariffs to low-income communities. In some rural areas, water supply is provided by Water Village Owned Enterprise (Water VOE). In general, Water VOEs are small scale water distribution networks or small versions of PDAM in villages. Water VOEs are initiated and managed by citizens or Community Based Organisation (CBO), and supported by village government (Arum & Nur Azizah, 2015; Mirayani, 2014). They provide cheaper and sometimes better quality water.

One Water VOE in Planggi village was not well managed and performed ineffectively. This VOE was not initiated by Palnggi citizens or the CBO but was handed over by JRF to the village administrator. The composition of VOE management included 25% (3 of 12 people) village authorities and 75% (9 of 12 people) local villagers. Despite the small representation of village authorities, they exercised considerably more influence in managing the VOE than the local villagers in Planggi. This research also found that the overall implementation of management principles of the VOE such as transparency, accountability, responsibility, were not implemented adequately by the VOE committee. The committee never provided clear or accessible information to the public about the implementation of
activities or financial reports, causing public distrust. The company essentially ignored the interests of the majority of its committee members and the community at large. The VOE community was not able to coordinate well with neighbouring villages and the sub-district government. The Water VOE committee also failed to provide public services to its main stakeholders.

Since the Planggi village authorities dominated the Water VOE, the findings show that decentralisation in Planggi village continued to be problematic. Water VOEs were a product of decentralisation in the village government which were supposed to embody the spirit of community empowerment (Arum & Nur Azizah, 2015). Law no 32/2004 states that village governments can establish village owned enterprises to meet local demands, strengthen village finances and improve community welfare (Jumono, 2013). As shown in Figure 4.2, the village government did not want to encourage the local community to participate in the decision making of the water VOE. The Planggi village government exercised more control over the water VOE than the citizens. At the same time, the Planggi authorities had little accountability or transparency. My interviews also showed that the Planggi village authorities failed to meet their local citizens’ needs and earn their people’s trust. Moreover, this study found that Planggi government did not fulfill its obligations to the villagers as envisaged by the village autonomy concept. First, the way Planggi authorities governed the water VOE created community conflict, showing that they were not able to protect
the harmony of the village community. Second, bad management of the village administration failed to improve income and education outcomes in Planggi. The Planggi authorities were also unable to improve the quality of life of the villagers. Third, local authorities failed to empower the village community and introduce democratic norms.

As a consequence, the complicated bureaucratic structure surrounding water was often the target of complaints from the local community, especially women. However, the company management usually did not clearly address these complaints. The community perceived that the Water VOE management failed to provide social and economic benefits for the community and ignored the concerns of those who are unfortunate. The management’s attitude caused customers to complain about their decreased trust of the management. The village community continued to receive limited and unconsumable quality water services.
Water Village Owned Entreprise Model
In Planggi Village-Kulon Progo

National Level
- National Development Planning Agency
- Ministry of Public Works

District Level:
- Regional Planning Office
- Public Works Office

Village Level:
Village Authorities

Water Village Owned:
Enterprise/Company

Village Community (as water users/service recipient):
Absence community's participation
Lack of transparency
Lack of accountability

Result:
Limited quality services
Community/costumers complain
Crisis of trust

Implementation

International Multiple Donor
JRF
Kali Makmur Village

Kali Makmur is in the Menoreh Mountains in northern Kulon Progo, 20 km from the district capital. The drive on paved roads from the capital to Kali Makmur took the researcher 15 minutes. From there the roads to the hamlets of the village are remote and unpaved, and speed is limited to 30 kph on steep slopes and single lanes, requiring decent driving skills in dry and rainy seasons.

Most of the land is used for agriculture. The village has nine drought-prone hamlets. There are four major types of agricultural sectors plantations, forests, dry rice paddies, and horticulture (vegetables and fruits). The main land use of a typical smallholding in the village is for coconuts (236 ha), cloves (39.3 ha) and cacao (29 ha). Kali Makmur’s forests produce mahogany (on 58.8 ha), teak (21.4 ha), acacia trees (17.8 ha); horticultural cultivation includes cassava (47 ha), pineapple (39 ha), peanuts (1 ha) and fruit such as mango, papaya, durian, and rambutan with a total area of about 1 ha.

Compared to the lowlands of Kulon Progo, Kali Makmur villagers that live at higher altitude do not receive sufficient water infrastructure since the remote highland geography would require a substantial investment and water infrastructure technology. The water quality in Kali Makmur is better than in Planggi but is strictly limited in quantity. The water supply in the mountainous area is not sufficient for the daily needs of Kali Makmur villagers, especially in the dry months of April-October when the flow of water from the spring lessens. The villagers must go down 200-500 meters to belik (seeps). Other sources of water in
Kali Makmur include a small pond, 29 pump wells, and a limited number of dug wells which each serve three or four families.

Based on 2011 statistics, the population of Kali Makmur was 4788, living in 1441 households. The distribution of population by age was as follows: 15% children (aged 0-17), 60% productive workforce (aged 18-59), and 25% elderly (>59). Most of the population (63%) work in agriculture including fisheries; a small portion of the population work as farm workers (14%), private employees (8%) and in business (1%), while the remaining work in civil service, military service, or as housemaids. (Statistical data of Kalirejo village, 2014).

**Women’s Role in Water-Related Activities**

As shown in the table of 4.1. and 4.2., there is a clear difference in the way men and women use water. On one hand, women require water for reproductive (domestic/household) purposes. On the other hand, men predominantly use water for productive activities. However, in the research location, it is found that women need water to support both their productive activities (as family income contributor) and community purposes (as community-based welfare services).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Water Utilisation</th>
<th>Specific Activities</th>
<th>Water Source</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Reproductive (Domestic) purposes</td>
<td>Drinking</td>
<td>Household water pipe taps, public hydrant, boreholes, dug wells, springs,</td>
<td>Water Fetcher, Water Distributor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cooking</td>
<td>collected rainwater, river, bottled water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Washing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Productive purposes</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>River, water storage reservoir</td>
<td>Family Income Contributor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>Household water pipe taps, public hydrant, boreholes, dug wells, springs,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Making soybean</td>
<td>collected rainwater, river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fermentation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Making Palm sugar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Community purposes (Community Welfare Service)</td>
<td>Early age Educating</td>
<td>Household water pipe taps, public hydrant, boreholes, dug wells, springs, and</td>
<td>Community Welfare Caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>collected rainwater, river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.2. The Way of Men Need to Water and the Source of Water

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Water Utilisation</th>
<th>Specific Activities</th>
<th>Water Source</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Productive purposes</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>River, water storage reservoir</td>
<td>Farming Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Watering cattle</td>
<td>household water pipe taps, public hydrant, boreholes, dug wells, springs, and collected rainwater, river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Selling water (water vendor)</td>
<td>River, public hydrant, borehole,</td>
<td>Local Water distributor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Community purposes</td>
<td>Managing local water resources for domestic purposes</td>
<td>River, public hydrant, pipe water networking</td>
<td>Community water resource manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Managing local water resources for irrigation sector</td>
<td>River, water storage reservoir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite great social changes in Yogyakarta, the interpretation and practices of Islam, local culture, and the state’s ideological view of the
roles of women and the assignment of productive and reproductive works to women perpetuate the vulnerable condition of women. Furthermore, Javanese culture and the patriarchal religious interpretations and practices also dictate and define the ideal woman as wife and mother, whose primary duty is to care for her husband and children, making women only responsible for domestic work rather than feeling pressure to become the breadwinners who work in public areas (N. Sullivan, 1991, pp. 83-84). Thus, a woman holds the primary responsibility to fetch water, and is an unpaid worker for her nuclear as well as extended family. An elderly woman with no younger relatives must also carry the burden of her own needs. In this context, the difficulties to access adequate quantities of water increase the burden of women’s works.

There are some exceptions; yet, most men in the villages consider that providing water is expected as the primary obligation of women. Some men fetch water, but as a small business such as selling water from a motorbike. This condition, thus, reveals a different attitude of men

---

27 According to Caroline Moser’s work the Productive role is defined as “work done by both men and women for pay in cash or kind. It includes both market production with an exchange-value, and subsistence/home production with actual use-value, and also potential exchange-value”. For women in agricultural production, this includes work as independent farmers, peasant wives and wage workers.

Reproductive role is “childbearing/rearing responsibilities and domestic tasks are done by women, required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labour force. It includes not only biological reproduction but also the care and maintenance of the work force (male partner and working children) and the future work force (infants and school-going children).”

(http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/mdtmanila/training/unit1/groles.htm)
towards water collection and usage, as a commodity and for personal gain and public convenience.

Some men with a modern outlook are also usually willing to accept greater responsibility in household activities (Supriyantin, 2002). Some of them are also aware of household needs for water and do not consider the collection and management of water in the households as only women’s work. This happened in the family of Tina, one of the interviewees. The division of labour in this household is evident in the way water is collected (and by whom) and brought home for everyday needs.

“(when my husband needs water, he would collect water himself. That is not a problem. It is unnecessary to differentiate the task as to who is responsible for collecting water between both of us.” (Bu Tina, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

Both Ami and Tuti assumed that collecting water is a wife’s responsibility and obligation to maintain the household. Particularly Javanese cultural norms require that the ideal Javanese woman to be loyal to her husband and perform three functions: “masak, macak, manak.” Masak or cooking represents household chores, macak means maintaining her physical beauty, manak is giving birth (Hellinger & Bufimann, 2001; Zuntriana, 2006).

When I finish my household chores, I fetch water unassisted, at 10 p.m. or 2 a.m. . I must look after my children in the afternoon, and wait until they’re asleep to fetch water ... I bring 35 liters of water in one bucket or “jirigen” (jerry can) 1.5 kilometers back to my house. Sometimes I go back to fetch more if it’s available. (Bu Ami, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

Hegemony of patriarchal ideology blended with gender ideology affects women who can’t control their own interest or activities due to certain conditions. Even when Ami was sick and extremely tired, she was
not comfortable asking for her spouse’s assistance. She could not burden him with reproductive work as he was productive as the main breadwinner. Ami knew her husband was very tired working long days. However, Ami was unaware that her reproductive and productive work (by doing household chores, making palm sugar, fetching water, and hunting for firewood) required more time than her husband, and only slept three hours a day. This means she worked for 21 hours a day during the dry season. This research finding confirms previous studies in arguing that the hegemony of patriarchal ideology blended with ethnic culture affects women’s subordination (Batra & Reio Jr, 2016; Cairns, Workman, & Tandon, 2017; Chifamba, 2014; Hussain, 2007; Ramoroka, 2014).

Collecting water falls to different women depending on age (Wijk-Sijbesma, 1985, p. 22). Formerly, girls were responsible for water, but they now must attend school. Collecting water reverts to their mothers. The burden is reduced, if there is a daughter-in-law. In contrast, single elderly women or women heads of household without any younger relative must carry water for themselves (Wijk-Sijbesma, 1985).

Women supply water for both the immediate and extended family. The responsibility to fetch water falls to the daughter-in-law as an extension of the ideal woman’s duty to serve her husband (and his family), echoing Islam’s teaching, Javanese culture, and state ideology. As mentioned by Bu Sita, (a wife and daughter-in-law in Planggi), after marrying, she “followed” her husband to his village. She found a different water situation to that of her own village, where she had no difficulty collecting water. Formerly, Sita obtained clean water through an electric jet pump; now she manually drew fishy yellowish water from
the well. Yet, dutiful daughter-in-law Sita, pregnant, unhappy, and tired, acknowledged her role as water collector.

Access to clean water has caused some women to re-locate. In Sita’s case, she negotiated with her husband her return to her parent’s home during the pregnancy. Fortunately, this did not cause any conflict in her marriage:

I went to my parent’s house because the water quality at my parents-in-law was bad. It smelled like iron and was dirty, and I had to draw it by myself. The water situation at my parent’s house was different. They use an electric pump, and the quality is good. So I could not stand it anymore (at my mother-in-law’s house). At that time I was in my first pregnancy. I decided to go to my parent’s house because after the baby was born, I would find it difficult to draw water (Bu Sita, Pagilaran, Kulon Progo).

Sita’s husband was not aware of her discomfort and did not assist her collecting water. After there was a water pipeline network installed in Pagilaran, she returned to her husband’s village.

Elderly women with no younger relatives carry the burden (and the water) on their own. Sajiyem (54) from Planggi is one of these elderly unlucky women who live far from their children, or have no children, and thus experience the most difficult situations. They have to fetch water without any assistance from older children or relatives. Sajiyem, has two daughters living in different districts; she remains home to care for a sick husband, do the household chores, and work as an agricultural labourer. As her income was low, she was financially assisted by her sister Tuti’s family.

In the dry season, I collect water from belik (small water sources in the field) around 2 a.m. I ask my husband to accompany me because the surrounding is so dark, which he did when he could.
Then, I would return with 15 litres of water on my back.” (Bu Sajiyem, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

Tuti, Ami, Sita, and Sajiyem’s experiences illustrate the responsibility assumed by the most typical woman as an unpaid water collector.

While women are responsible for collecting water, men usually go to the field, market, office or migrate elsewhere as breadwinners. In the wet season, Tuti collects water at a public hydrant located two meters from her home. In the dry season, she collects water morning, afternoon, and night time from the spring. She works harder than usual (during the dry season) to get enough water. She also goes to the belik mornings.

The interviews revealed that some of the village husbands work in a different district or even abroad, as private labourers. So, the task of providing water for the family rests squarely with women. But some male respondents also said that sometimes they help fetch water from ponds or wells. Although some men do collect water, they don’t think that means they should collect water. It was interesting to note that mostly women were still of the view that fetching water is primarily their responsibility. They believe that the Islam teachings, Javanese culture, and the state’s gender ideology establish that man’s responsibility is as breadwinner, and that of woman as housewife performing domestic labour. This view engendered some sense of guilt among women when men fetched water for the family. For example, Tuti felt guilty talking about men fetching water – as though she was not willing to criticize her husband. Her husband does not routinely assist her when collecting water. The husband only helps when he is willing! Tuti’s husband, Tardi, said the following about a time when he assisted Tuti collecting water:
Once, when there was no rain, after finishing climbing trees as a palm tapper, I assisted collecting water from the well to store. Suddenly I fainted. Maybe I am too tired after climbing the palm trees to collect water?” (Pak Tardi, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

Tardi’s experience shows that collecting water is exhausting heavy work, and that it was risky for him to do both jobs. However, this raises one question: what is the impact on women who engage in the dual role of both water fetching and taking the responsibility of household chores?

The interviews also suggested a distinction between how men and women approach the question of fetching water. For women it is their responsibility to support the family by providing water. But men also treat it as a business opportunity. This was indicated in a comment made by Rosita in Planggi, who discovered that some men also fetch water as a business.

Before Planggi had a public hydrant and tap, I used water from a southern area near Al-Ikhlas mosque. I did not collect myself because I was not strong enough. So, I gave IDR 15,000 (AUD $1.50) to someone to collect for me. It’s for transportation; the water is free. He used a motorcycle when fetching water” (Bu Rosita, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

These men collect water and transport it by motorcycle as a small business selling water to households. It shows how differently men and women treat water. While women consider gathering water as an obligation for their families, men treat it as a business opportunity.

Women’s Role as a Community-based Worker

Women operate in the community space as an extension of their ascribed role as nurturers and mothers. This is not equated with public space which is implicitly reserved for men. This extension finds
expression in policies that encourage women to work in education, including early-childhood education. While earning, they endure additional burdens: reduced time for their family duties, and increased time providing water for the students. Thus, they shoulder dual responsibilities as water carriers and nurturers both in the community space and at home.

Teachers interviewed at early-childhood schools recounted problems inherent in this dual responsibility. The post-reform era has not brought substantial change in terms of dual roles of women in Indonesia. Post reform governments appear to be re-embracing New Order gender constructs. Man is a “father” who works in the public or administration, and delegates authority to his wife or women in the community to take care of families and communities. Predominantly male development planners design early-childhood education programs and then assign women to run them as extensions of their roles as "mothers" in the context of the state. Hence women continue to be defined as ‘mothers’ not only in the private and domestic sphere but also in public (Blackburn, 2004, p. 141).

This gender designation shapes the employment and experiences of women as teachers in early-childhood education centres the volunteer-run child-welfare (early-childhood education) program or PAUD\textsuperscript{28} program offers low economic incentives and creates additional burdens for women. When employed in child-welfare program women receive

\textsuperscript{28} PAUD program is program for children before formal school age, would be begun in this lower classes society, to promote the empowerment of children(Newberry, 2014). This program employ women’s volunteer labour in their society. Women feel obliged to do it because this program operates based on parent’s responsibility of children education need. So, women’s role as care labour of their family have to involve in this program (Newberry, 2014)
only IDR 100,000-300,000/month (AUD $10-30). Many are low income level and have other commitments. Early-childhood education creates additional burdens on women, especially where there is limited water availability. One of the FGD participants shared her difficulties providing water for the early-childhood education centre:

When water is limited, as an early-childhood education and kindergarten teacher, it is difficult to teach my students about washing hands, flushing water when they urinate, or purifying before they pray. Much water is needed when children go to the toilet. We have to collect water in hamlet head’s draw well to provide 10-30 liter of water to fulfill the PAUD water needs in one day. The distance between PAUD place and hamlet head’s house is 400 meters (Notes FGD, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

Early childhood (PAUD) teachers have to deal with complex problems such as limited water for their own family life, low pay and domestic responsibilities. They also have to embody a ‘motherhood’ role in the classroom, both teaching and providing water for their pupils (Wijk-Sijbesma, 1985, p. 23).

**Women’s Role as Contributors to Family Income**

Women have the capability to both secure their family welfare and eradicate poverty. However, women face limited access to resources, and lower bargaining power than men. Low-income women in rural Kulon Progo perform multiple roles that bring multiple additional burdens. An unfortunate woman in rural Kulon Progo is forced to engage in not only...
reproductive and community management roles but also a productive role. Women often play a productive role in securing family welfare. Women’s lack of education or, skills, along with a state gender ideology that is embedded into Islamic teaching and Javanese culture, are main factors that force women to enter the informal sector. Consequently, women earn limited income, their jobs are highly insecure, and these factors make women more vulnerable.

Women producing things at home regard themselves as unemployed, as does the state. The shift of women from agricultural work has caused an increase in women in industry and home-based enterprises (Wolf, 1992, p. 30). Unfortunately, the state is reluctant to develop a survey method that acknowledges the home-based economy as a contributing sector. As a result, statistics sometimes do not show women working in home-based business (catering, sewing, and embroidery) and ignores the large number of women who are actively involved in money-making activities in the informal sector (N.M.S. Sullivan, 1994). Consequently, problems associated with home-based income-generating activities, e.g., limited access to clean water, are unreported and unresolved.

---

29 Community managing role activity is “undertaken primarily by women at the community level, as an extension of their reproductive role, to ensure the provision and maintenance of scarce resources of collective consumption, such as water, health care, and education. This is voluntary unpaid work, undertaken in ‘free’ time.” (www.ilo.org)

30 The productive role is the role that covered “work done by both men and women for pay in cash or kind. It includes both market production with an exchange-value, and subsistence/home production with actual use-value, and also potential exchange-value.” (www.ilo.org)
The revived New Order state gender ideology, Islamic teachings, and Javanese culture also influence the type of small business operated by women. Women often choose enterprises associated with the concept of ‘motherhood’ or ‘wifely’ duties such as food preparing, vegetable selling, or tailoring (Djamal, 2000, p. 179). Micro-enterprise allows women to work flexible hours which assists women in combining their mandatory domestic work with their income generating activities (Martens & Mitter, 1994). Most women in Planggi produce palm sugar at home on a small scale, like Ami, Tuti, and Sajiyem. One interviewee from Kali Makmur has a home-based sewing business to supplement her family income. Many women sell snacks or open food stalls on the street at mealtimes, offer catering, or provide services such as laundry. Throughout Planggi, there are women operating small scale catering businesses entirely from their homes. Others take in laundry for their neighbours. The activities of women in home-based enterprises show the blurring of boundaries between the public and private spheres. The market, which represents the public sphere, is connected to the home through domestic activities such as cooking and embroidery because the production process can take place at home:

I produce 3-4 kg of palm sugar a day in the rainy season, but I only produce 1.5 kg in the dry season. It is because getting water is difficult (Bu Ami, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo). The dry season affects our economic condition. I should do more productive work to earn money rather than just collecting water (FGD notes, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

Limited access to water during the dry season inhibits women’s efforts in money-making activities. Limited access to water negatively impacts how long one can work, as more hours are spent in water
gathering, and less in money-making activities. Unavailability of water reduces the productivity of the household.

Without significant support from the local government, women with small-scale businesses who have limited access to resources (e.g., water and finance), will be reduced to poverty. Women’s work in both Planggi and Kali Makmur confirms Caroline Moser’s finding (1994) that women operate all in productive, reproductive and public/social space. Small domestic business is one alternative for low-educated women in rural areas to participate as an economic agent for their family as well as their community. However, local government policies do not support the productive activities related to water access which simply adds to the burden of work for women. Nor do they offer women economic empowerment pathways. Local government is unwilling to seriously facilitate and promote economic agency for female small entrepreneurs. Local government arranges for only fragmented training to improve skills, without courses that encourage female entrepreneurship.

We got training on how to make tempe, then we all produced tempe, but nobody bought our tempe. So, we stopped producing tempe (Notes of FGD, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

This study shows how low-income rural women require comprehensive entrepreneurship training that will also give some knowledge about socio-economic marketing, networking, how to access bank loans and other financial resources, to avoid poverty.

**Women as Farmers**

The complexity of agricultural activities for women lies in the occupational distinction between men and women; men who work in fields are considered farmers whereas women who work in fields are
categorised as unpaid farm labourers. As unpaid farm labourers, women contribute to irrigated agriculture along with men while also engaging in micro-scale activities such as planting vegetables and fruit, and rearing livestock. As in other Asian countries women lack the right to make independent decisions in the farming sector despite their active participation. They are still considered part of the family collectively rather than as individuals. Even when their interests may be different from those of male farmers the decisions about crops and irrigation management tend to be dominated by men. As argued by Hussain, even when the decision is made by a majority vote, men’s voices dominate (Hussain, 2007; Stivens, Ng, Jomo, & Bee, 1994).

The distinction between public and private spheres forms part of a gender dichotomy in water management in the agricultural sphere. This dichotomy in water management in the public domain, in turn, contributes to women foregoing roles as water managers and farmers. Although women have no less knowledge about the quality and quantity of water, women’s involvement in water management to ensure the welfare of society is missing, because women are associated with the domestic sphere and men with the public or productive sphere (Zwarteveen & Bennett, 2005).

Women who work in the rice fields are rarely involved in irrigation management as part of their production activities. Indonesia is known to have a mixed system of male and female farmers, especially in intensive agriculture on irrigated land, for example, in growing rice (Tickamyer & Kusujiarti, 2012, p. 138). The division of labour in planting rice is by gender (Berninghausen & Kerstan, 1992, p. 81) Men actively prepare and pre-plant, working the soil, ploughing, hoeing, seeding, uprooting and
re-planting seedlings, and controlling water. Meanwhile, women are active during planting and harvesting (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 167). However, in certain situations, irrigation tasks can be transferred to women, especially when men leave the village to work in the city (Andajani-Sutjahjo, Chirawatkul, & Saito, 2015, p. 204).

Some women farmers in Planggi work in irrigated fields planting rice, some work on dry fields to plant rice and pulses, while women in Kali Makmur work in dry field. The shortage of water for agriculture in these two villages has similar effects in lowering women's income. This came through clearly in focus group discussions. Complaints made by women regarding the water shortage indicate that the limited availability of water in agriculture negatively impacts their already insufficient family income, as the women cannot carry on producing vegetables, gardening, or raising fish (FGD notes, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

**Gender Relations in the Family and at the Community Level**

In-depth interviews and FGD notes show that some women in Planggi and Kali Makmur are involved in family decision-making such as contraception services, child education, buying and selling property (land, house, motorcycle), and marketing agricultural harvest.

I discuss with my husband about children’s education fees. Then, my husband would say that it is up to me to figure out how to get this budget. So, we share the burden (Bu Tina, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

However, it does not mean that women in these situations have freedom to expand their mobility in public areas. One of the women
villagers of Kali Makmur gave a reason as to why not all women can get involved in community activities. She said:

If a woman does not have spare time, she will have a conflict with her spouse. If a woman could not manage her time well, if she goes outside the house, and then neglects household chores, if she does not cook, but goes to village meetings, her husband will be angry (Bu Anti, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

Such comments suggest that women must bow to their husband’s rule if they want to become involved in the societal sphere and expand their mobility in public space.

The makeup of the Javanese cultural, social and economic structure constrains women in Kulon Progo from being autonomous in their mobility in public space. In Javanese culture, the traditional feminine ideal of being submissive and obedient limits the chance of a woman being independent (Hakimi, Hayati, Marlinawati, Winkvist, & Ellsberg, 2001). The necessity of women’s obedience is reflected in the Javanese saying “Swarga nunut nraka katut,” meaning that whether men go to heaven or hell, the wife will follow her husband (Hakimi et al., 2001; Hermawati, 2007). Although it is assumed and expected that men should respect their woman’s managerial position and authority in her own household (White & Hastuti, 1980), Javanese men very often act as master or the boss of the Javanese household (Sullivan, 1994), thus usurping her power. Sullivan also indicates that women’s managerial authority is not respected in reality, nor does it carry any authority outside the home (Sullivan, 1994)

Women’s constraints are felt throughout the cultural, social, political, and economic class structure. Women with low income have to become family income contributors besides their role in the family as
household managers. Such comments of interviewee suggest that besides not having time to attend village meetings, they are also handicapped by a lack of confidence:

I am too busy, so I do not want to go anywhere such as a PKK\textsuperscript{31} meeting, I lack skill to join in. I am afraid I’d make trouble in there. For me, it is enough to go to the farm. “(Bu Santi, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

I can’t join a community meeting such as this cadre meeting. First, I am busy, I have to make palm sugar. Second, I do not have any information. Therefore, I cannot attend (FGD notes, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

I rarely attend community meetings. I have only attended community meetings about child health services, posyandu\textsuperscript{32}, and pengajian (religious congregation). I am very busy managing my household chores, so I am unable to participate in formal community meetings such as village planning and development meetings. I think it is better that only one person in the family is active in formal community meetings. I felt that as a housewife I prefer to do household work (Bu Tuti, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

Santi and Tuti exemplify Javanese women peasants who perceive that men are the heads of households and the breadwinners. As a Javanese woman, Tuti sees the major roles of women as managing and nurturing the household. This can be seen from the things which she must do every day: cooking, washing clothes, preparing and arranging meals for children, and nurturing children. In the community, she prefers to attend pengajian (Islamic religious congregation) and posyandu meetings exclusively for women, than formal or public village community meetings where men dominate. Women feel they are

\textsuperscript{31} PKK: Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga is a Family Welfare Movement

\textsuperscript{32} Posyandu (Pos Pelayanan Terpadu) is a health service program for women and children villagers
powerless (lack knowledge and confidence); they prefer to focus on managing the household and support it by earning an income rather than be involved in community activities; and regardless of their role as household manager, the head of the household is still a man. Although women often take an active role in agriculture, their experience and knowledge of water-related issues are often denied and never taken seriously by the state.

**Women’s Participation in Water Management**

Water is a renewable natural resource which has a dynamic existence and is determined by nature and the human ability to manage it. Women as the primary caregivers come face-to-face with these negative impacts. It also directly affects them as they come in contact with polluted water from these extractive activities. This affects their health, through skin contact or by consuming polluted water. Data reveals that the level of mercury contamination in ground water in Plipa Hamlet, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo is 0.0122 ppm (parts per million), which is above the safe mercury standard (0.001 ppm) indicated by the Ministry of Health (Maruapey & Gunawan, 2007). Mercury contamination is a result of traditional gold mining practices used by local people in Kali Makmur (Sutomo and DCN, 2008). Mercury is a heavy metal that can cause acute and chronic body poisoning (Indria, 2008), which may cause severe maladies such as cerebral palsy, libido disorder, and mental retardation (Sutomo and DCN, 2008). In women,

---

mercury poisoning may have a deleterious effect on reproduction, including prenatal problems (Sutomo and DCN, 2008).

Despite this direct connection, the natural resource policies developed by the Indonesian government ignore the gender dimension: there has been no policy specifically focusing on women's interests. Women's experiences are not considered in formulating new policies. This has occurred parallel to the trend to view water as an “economic good”: i.e., water’s price has escalated when quality and quantity of water supply are below demand. Some people pursue selling water as a commodity, but users such as farmers suffer, as water is essential to production. For women, unconsumable water quality and the lack of access to clean water impacts their workload, and even threaten women’s lives and reproductive health.

As interviewees Tina, Rosita and Sumarli attest, villagers still use well water for drinking, cooking, washing and cleaning:

I think that the wells where villagers get water are still relatively clean from pollution and contamination. The taste of good water does not change when boiled. In boiling unconsumable water, a crust could develop and it could be swallowed, resulting in digestive disturbances (Bu Tina, Planggi, Kulon Progo).
Bu Rosita added, one can imagine how bad it is when our kidneys are affected.

Tina and Rosita’s comments were also backed by the statement of Sumarli on the unconsumable quality of water from their well:

Water from wells smells and is yellowish. When water is boiled, it leaves a white crust in the pot (Bu Sumarli, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

Due to these difficulties, the villagers select which activities should be done using clean water. This statement by Rosita portrays an image of how access to clean water is felt deeply in everyday life.
I do not use clean water for every activity. If I used clean water for all activities, it would cost the family even more. I just consume clean water for cooking and drinking. For washing I would use clean water in the third rinse, throwing out dirty water, and using water from wells for activities other than drinking and cooking such as dishwashing (Bu Rosita, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

Ground water in Planggi has high levels of Iron (Fe) and Manganese (Mn) which creates problems. Observation of groundwater in Planggi found it had a yellow-brownish colour with a fishy pungent scent, which indicates the presence of iron and manganese. (Al-Anber, 2010; Rahman and Hartono, 2004; Sudarmadji, 2016). High-level iron in water leaves sediment, creates blockages, corrodes pipelines; and stains laundry (Al-Anber, 2010; Sudarmadji, 2016). High-level iron in ground water leads to infections, diverse endocrine, and neurodegenerative disorders for humans (McCord, 1996; Weinberg, 1998).

Figure 4.3. Picture of Yellowish Water (Picture was Taken on April 2014)
Women as domestic water managers develop and apply many strategies to secure water for their household including clever ways to reduce consumption to make fewer trips, such as using more containers, washing clothes less often, and being selective about which household activities need clean water. Tuti, Ami, and Rosita provide examples of various strategies that they use to preserve water in their households. Their stories demonstrate decision making in both the public and domestic spheres.

I have two large containers of water in my house. When one is empty because it was used during the night, the following day I must fetch water to fill it. I would not wait until both of these jars are empty (Bu Tuti, 45 years old, lives in village L, Kulon Progo).

Tuti stores water in two large containers to minimise the frequency of fetching water and the amount. Thus, she can secure sufficient water in her household.
In the dry season, I reduce the frequency of clothes washing. I separate working clothes and praying clothes and use them many times before washing them (Bu Ami, 34 years old, living in Kulon Progo).

Ami’s strategy is to reduce the frequency of clothes washing in order to ensure sufficient water in the dry season when limited. In addition, Rosita selects household activities that require clean water, then uses well water for other activities.

We don’t use clean water for all household activities … If we used clean water for all activities, we would spend thousands or millions of rupiahs. Clean water is just for consumption (drinking and cooking); we use water from the well for washing clothes (Bu Rosita, Planggi village, Kulon Progo).

The quality of groundwater in wells in Kulon Progo is good, except that its Coliform bacteria (which does not necessarily lead to illness) exceeds the acceptable limits. According to the Public Health Ministry Regulation No. 416/1990 and World Health Organisation (WHO) standard, clean water should not contain more than 50 Coliform bacteria per 100 millilitres (ml). The analysis of well water samples in Kulon Progo shows that the bacterial content in the water is high. One of twelve samples have 20 (Most Probable Number) MPN bacteria/100ml; four of 12 samples range from 59-500 bacteria/100ml, and seven of 12 even contain >1,898 MPN bacteria/100ml. The highest bacteria in wells occurs in the southern lowland areas (Environmental status report of Kulon Progo, 2014), and in densely populated districts of Wates and Pengasih. Wastewater seeps back into the wells, especially the traditional dug wells that are not cement-walled. To reduce bacteria, permanent sewers need
to be constructed. The distance between wells and septic tanks should be
>10 meters on alluvial land; in sandy soil, >15 meters.34

Village women are adept at dealing with un consumable quality water:

To get clear water, I used to pour well water into a water jar
and let the sediment settle to the bottom ... For piped water,
I also use a cloth to filter it until the cloth gets dirty, and then
I replace it with a new piece of fabric ... It’s because I can not
use this water if I see a dirty thing in the water (Rosita,
Planggi, Kulon Progo).

When it is not piped water, I filter the water with coconut
fiber at the bottom, then some stones, and add sand (FGD
Notes, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

If we drink water with sediment, we will get a sore throat ...  
My way is to keep boiled water in the water jar first, then to
let the sediment settle rather than filling the glass directly
(Bu Tina, age 46 , interview in Pagilaran, April 2014, Kulon
Progo).

Women suffer poor health due to the time-consuming chore of
fetching water over great distances, and then drinking unconsumable
quality water, this research has found. Participants of FGD in Kali
Makmur shared their experiences with the author about the effects of
water collecting in the dry season. One of them said:

Collecting water gives me back pain..., fetching water
decreased my appetite and I felt exhausted, and dizzy..., I
slept less, and ached.; My decreasing resistance brought on
a malaria relapse (FGD notes, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

Limited water availability impacts women’s time which could be
better spent in supporting their reproductive and productive work.

Some woman villagers shared their experiences during the dry season,

saying it affected their family income. Reducing time spent water collecting does not automatically improve productive activities. Sarlita, with better water access than other women with low income, prefers to stay at home to do her housework, rather than do more productive work or attend a community meeting. The following statements reflect these views:

Limited water in the dry season negatively affects the economy. I could be more productive if I weren’t water gathering (FGD notes, Kali Makmur, Kulon Progo).

In the past, I did business, but now younger women are more competitive... and I am not interested anymore ... I am just cleaning and staying home (Bu Sarlita, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

Women’s Participation at the Village Level

Today the role of women in the family has changed. There are many reasons for women to be heads of households, either by choice or by circumstance. This may be due to divorce, the death of a husband, separation, terminal illness and so forth. Under these circumstances, women are required to be productive (to work), both at home and outside so that the family could still be supported.

Efforts to improve the quality of life or well-being for women can be carried out by empowering women, creating equality between men and women, and by involving women in the decision-making processes such as water tasks. However, it is relatively difficult to access this power in Kulon Progo. One of the key interviewees in this study revealed that women in rural areas still face serious obstacles to their involvement in the planning and decision-making process at the village level. This was
discussed with reference to an otherwise ‘influential’ women, Syuli, in Planggi.

She (Syulli) is second in charge after the head of the village, i.e., Secretary of the village administration – a position rarely given to women in Kulon Progo and elsewhere. The female village secretary has brought a change to women’s participation in the village, for the better. Since Syuli has held the office of village secretary, the village women have felt more comfortable in conveying their initiatives or proposals regarding the Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK) or the Family Welfare Program. She accepts the women’s proposals and incorporates them into the official agenda in Planggi. However, in the case of a water conflict in Planggi, according to Rosita, one of the key interviewees in this study, Syulli could not help much in resolving it. The conflict was eventually resolved through community discussions, in which more men were involved (Field notes, April 2014).

Village women participate in local social activities. After working in agriculture, community activities are opportunities for women to express themselves.

My economic burden is heavier today, than when my children were younger. Expenses were less than today. So, I could be involved in community activities in the past (Bu Tina, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

According to Tina (age 48), for village women to involve themselves in the activities in their hamlet or village could be a rewarding experience. However, Tina added that today the condition of women is worse, because the economic problems are more severe. Although the opportunities for participation are currently open at both village and district levels, it does not necessarily mean that women’s proposals or opinions would count.

Even in instances where districts have attempted to give women more opportunities, the prevailing social and cultural conditions make it
hard for them to have an effective voice. In response to a district development proposal, Planggi authorities brought in a rule that allowed women to propose three items at village meetings while men could only propose one. According to Planggi villager Bu Winda (35), men often ask women to include their ideas among the three proposals, and women often agree. Moreover, having more opportunities to present proposals does not necessarily translate into more decisions being made as a result of the women’s proposals. Actually, men’s proposals have a greater chance to be accommodated. Ibu Rosita, one of the village women activists, gave an example of the discussion surrounding the building of a facility in her village.

[In a meeting] an infrastructure idea proposed mainly by men dominated the agenda and resulted in a decision to build the facility. Women’s suggestions were not taken into account in the final decision. (Bu Rosita, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

Reflecting on the dynamics of women’s participation at the village level, another interviewee, Tina (age 48), experienced a conflict which finally earned her the nickname of *Kader DO* (“cadre drop-out”); she was taken out of the cadre. The nickname is used to describe her being denied participation in *posyandu* and other activities in the village hall due to differences with both women and men villagers. This indicates that the challenges faced by women are not only from men but also from fellow women. Conflicts among women in the village also led to the marginalisation of women in the decision-making process in the village. The internal conflict among *posyandu* cadres resulted in one of the conflicting women being barred from participating in village planning. Likewise, women’s political affiliations, if they run counter to those of the village head, can also result in their being denied access in village
planning. The conflict as experienced by Tina reflects such challenges faced by the women members where the men conduct the ruling while fellow women are denied participation in decision-making in the formal meetings of the village:

I was a posyandu cadre from 1990 to 2007. It is quite a long [time], isn’t it? We had not received a reward. So, when I was appointed posyandu coordinator and attended a village planning meeting, I said to my friends that I would propose a reward (compensation) idea to the new head of the village. However, a misunderstanding happened. One of my friends told this village head candidate that I had alleged he was corrupt. It is not true. It is defamation. I chose my uncle in the last village head election, but he lost to other candidates this election. Therefore, the winner of village election said that he would kick out everyone who did not support him ... I truly remember when during his first coordinator meeting on 21 January 2007, he said, “Why did Tina come even though I did not invite her?” That’s why since then I have been stopped from being a village cadre, but still have to be active in the hamlet. (Bu Tina, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

In this case, Tina represents a non-passive rural woman in Kulon Progo. Even though she met some obstacles in village activities, she could not just stay at home. She prefers to immerse herself in many community activities such as youth and religious activities.

I enjoy joining many activities. Joining these activities can relieve my stress, and reduce feeling alone, and joining arisan (a kind of tontine) can save me (Bu Tina, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

As a village member, Tina is exceptional and unlike most village women in Planggi, she has tried to challenge the view of the community, particularly men, about women’s role. By actively involving herself in village activities, Tina conveyed her message that women could be engaged and considered in any village matters.
**Women’s Participation in Water Management**

There is gender inequality in the decision-making power of local water resources management. Men have the power to decide water not only for men’s needs but also for women’s needs. Furthermore, women are excluded from participating in the community water resources management and even excluded from decisions about water for domestic purposes. This occurs because of the enduring hegemony of patriarchal ideology blended with gender ideology and perceptions of Islamic teaching which relegate women to the domestic sphere. This influences the behaviour of the society in the process of public water decision making, which does not consider the knowledge and experience of woman in the effectiveness of water usage in the household level. This results in the ineffectiveness of water service in the community level. (Cleaver & Elson, 1995). This phenomenon results in woman being marginalised in daily life.

Regardless of women’s circumstances and needs in managing water collection, women’s involvement in the process of managing water resources is imperative. As a result of women’s marginalisation from policy-making and decision-making concerning water resources and sanitation, the needs specific to women are not included in the calculation of development programs related to water and sanitation. Involving women would be advantageous to the community in general and women in particular.
My research showed that often women are the first in submitting complaints and conveying criticism regarding water management. According to Rosita (age 45), women’s complaints usually lead to unclear resolution because the bureaucratic structure of water management is complicated. For example, complaints regarding water addressed to the head of the village are first given to the head of development of the village administration. However, it is unknown which offices are responsible for development affairs hence the complaints are neither taken seriously nor acted upon.

When I complained about irregular water flow, they did not respond well. The response was that it was being repaired and cleaned. However, why was the water still unconsumable? (Bu Rosita, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

Meanwhile, the community did not know to whom they could complain. I complained to the head of development of village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Water Management</th>
<th>Decision-makers</th>
<th>Decision-Making Forum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Household water management</td>
<td>Mostly women</td>
<td>Individual decision-maker (without forum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Community-based local water resource management for domestic purposes</td>
<td>Mostly men</td>
<td>- Formal Water Management Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Formal Water User collective forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Informal Meeting community gathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Community-based local water resource management for irrigation sector</td>
<td>Mostly men</td>
<td>- Formal local farmer group forum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
administration. But I was not satisfied with his solution which did not resolve any of the problem (Bu Rosita, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

Inequality of access, as well as limited rights and roles of women in politics, become barriers for women in their attempt to participate in politics. Unfortunately, the situation is also due to the lower qualifications of women compared to men. The latter factor is not exclusively a woman’s fault because cultural constructs in the society always curb women from going to college, as in the end they would have to return to the domestic sphere. Apart from cultural constructs, the unrepresentative number of women in policy making has prevented them from contributing to development programs in villages especially fighting for women’s rights. Due to the prevalence of patriarchal views, women’s abilities are not fully accommodated hence women’s substantive participation is neglected, while in fact, the potential for more achievement by women is there. Such inequality of access and opportunities for women have ramifications in the sphere of decision-making. Even where there has been some attempt to involve women, it was more as a formality. In various aspects of regional development, the government always dominates. This means that there is little space for community participation, including female participation.

An interviewee explained that the government’s attempt to involve women still amounts to giving lip service. Women are usually appointed to less important positions, regardless of their qualifications and capabilities. Bu Rosita tried to express her disappointment about the wrongdoings of PAMDES management and asked for the opportunity for women to be involved in water management in the village:

PAMDES’ water management was not well organised. Hefty bureaucratic procedures were common practice in this institution.
There was a lack of transparency. Let the community manage this institution. Please, give an opportunity to the community to prove that they are capable. I suggested women should be involved in water management team. I knew that a women’s quota was just a formality. They just borrowed women’s names. If women got the opportunity, I suggested to give them an important position rather than an unimportant position which won’t allow involvement in important decision-making. I think women are similar to men in having capacity and commitment. They just need to be trained ... In the beginning, I was similar to the average women, that is, a weak woman. Women are weak in physical appearance, but they have another strength, especially the strength of influence. (Bu Rosita, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

The typology of participation levels proposed by Agrawal (2001) helped the current study to map out the nominal participation among women in Planggi, Kulon Progo. In the context of this study, nominal participation means that women are only listed as users of water without ever attending any meeting held by the local association of water users. This means that there was limited space provided by the community and government for women to participate in the decision-making process.

Women need empowerment and community support to gain confidence. According to Rosita, the increasing female attendance at planning meetings does not automatically elevate women’s agency. They have to make conscious efforts to assume this agency. Rosita believes that her capacity to make changes in the current situation is better than before, and therefore, it enables her to oppose the norms and values of Javanese culture, which positions women mainly as stay-at-home housewives. She has finally come to play reproductive, productive and social roles. She is actively involved in various community meetings ranging from rural to district planning development. She attends
meetings to represent the women of Planggi and to ensure that women’s needs are heard and included in planning development documents.

Since my bitter life experience, I have bounced back for the sake of my daughters. I met with and joined IDEA (a local NGO) where we should share our problems and explore our ideas, and our needs. There is no need to be afraid of bureaucrats... as it is our money [that they are spending]... I also asked my colleagues to critique village policies that have inadequate accountability about a development project report wherein the water management project report is included. Accountability is important. How many men and women are involved in this process? How much of the budget is spent in this process? (Bu Rosita, Planggi, Kulon Progo).

Rosita’s self awareness in negotiating the asymmetric gender relations in the social structure of her village appears to emerge from her experience of being oppressed. Her networking with a local NGO also assisted. Giddens’s structuration theory could be applied as the framework to analyse Rosita’s agency. Rosita, as a Javanese woman, is vulnerable to intimidation by hegemonic patriarchal norms that blend with aspects of Islamic teaching, Javanese culture, and the state’s gender ideology to confirm men’s responsibility as breadwinners and men’s leadership both in domestic and public spaces.

Rosita explained that she had been physically, psychologically, and economically abused by her ex-husband. Even though she decided to divorce, she still faced economic hardship, so was still economically dependent on her ex-husband. Although she is the head of the household, she had little income, but refused loans both from her neighbours and a local bank. She has never given up on her situation; she has continued to build networks among many people for economic and social community purposes. One day she encountered IDEA, a local
NGO which focuses on education and advocacy of local budget policy, then she got involved in empowerment training and network building from this institution. Overseeing the commitment and leadership, IDEA selected Rosita as a coordinator of the village women cadres to deliver their problems to the local government. Since then, many people have acknowledged her dedication. As a result, Rosita gained more trust from people, including from banks. Rosita continued to build confidence in the community in negotiating their relationship of dependence on institutions such as the government and banks. With greater power, she dedicated her work to deliver marginalised peoples’ voices and represent the less fortunate, including those women who attend every development planning meeting. Rosita responds and navigates her “knowledgeability” in her actions to reform previous situations and facilitate women’s participation in water management in the village. This can be seen from Rosita’s motivation and intention to share her experience with other women, and to encourage women to be active and confident when delivering their ideas.

Oppression, awareness, and an individual’s capacity to change an unjust situation becomes a women’s motivation to adopt agency. The agency of Rosita is evident as her self-awareness increases with the NGO’s encouragement.

Agency emerges once an individual realises her capacity to shift something which is static. In social science literature, emergence of agency tends to be real when it meets enforcement, oppression, institutional power, social structure, and other hegemonies of discourse power and ideology. Examining rural women’s agency in Kulon Progo as interconnected to social structure, and cultural practice, is in line with
Parker’s argument that examining rural women’s agency in developing countries requires not merely considering the structure of social relations, but also the cultural practices (Parker, 2005, p. 20).

With the diversity of women’s experiences, thoughts, and their specific needs in water collection and management, women’s participation in the process of managing water resources is essential. However, women are still disregarded in policy and decision-making related to water resources and sanitation. Reflecting upon information gathered from the grass-roots level where local decision-making processes do not fully engage women’s participation, I argue that the real gender mainstreaming does not take place at the grass-roots level. On the basis of my research findings, a commitment from local government to promote women’s agency and implementation on gender mainstreaming dealing with water problems, is sorely needed.

**Regional Development and Gender Mainstreaming Policy**

State gender ideology reinforces aspects of Javanese culture and Islamic teachings to create a narrative that women are objects or beneficiaries of development. Regional development in Kulon Progo does not fully support gender mainstreaming related to water issues. Women are struggling to have their concerns and experiences incorporated in the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policy related to water issues. This is acknowledged by local officials. The comments of an official in the Public Works Office in Kulon Progo in response to women’s complaints regarding the provision of clean water is quite typical:
When women attend village meetings, it was always a dilemma for women. Husbands often asked their wives to stay at home. I could not force myself to push women to attend -- it is better to avoid internal family conflict. It’s a cultural problem. ...It may be because of their perception of Islam teaching that pious women should stay at home. Men’s assumption is that when they return home after work and feel tired, their wives should be at home, so they can have a rest (Pak Zainal, public work officer, Kulon Progo).

Such perceptions help explain why women are not given the right to participate in public decision-making. They not only dominate villagers’ consciousness but appear also to influence the attitudes of local government officers towards women. One Public Works officer told me:

It takes a long time (to encourage women’s involvement). Personally, even sometimes I forbid my wife to get involved in my neighbourhood community activities. In fact, I did not directly forbid her but suggested she consider her tight schedule of activities. So that, she is not exhausted after her full day’s work outside ... The cultural barrier exists (in encouraging women’s participation). To move the cultural barrier cannot be done instantly. The most important thing is to keep in mind who benefits. We do not distinguish if it is a man or woman that represents the family. What is most important is that the family receives the benefit (of water provision) (Pak Zainal, public works officer, Kulon Progo).

The attitude of local government officers can be reflected through the design and implementation of public services. In gender mainstreaming in the water context, women have not been engaged in making policy about the water crisis in Kulon Progo. It can be seen from Pak Zainal’s explanation that local government services have directly targeted families rather than solely women as those who deal more closely with water.
I suggested to invite women. Then, women attended, but they kept silent. Their reticence was proportional to their education. I believed that they could speak up if they had graduated from senior high school. It was difficult to encourage them to speak up if they held lower level education than senior high school. It is different to men, who don’t hesitate to speak up, even if they lack educational background (Pak Zainal, public work officer, Kulon Progo).

Double standards and economic status play important roles in defining how active and effective participation is among women in society. According to Pak Zainal’s explanation, women attending a formal meeting sometimes does not provide an effective way to get sufficient information in policy making. He assumed that a woman’s silence is because women lack education causing hesitation expressing their views. For him, it may be more effective to invite higher educated women than the lesser educated ones, but then, this means only middle and upper-class women can be involved and represented in formal meetings. Yet, this assumption is not applicable for men’s matters. According to Pak Zainal, men who lack education are still able to provide significant input to policy makers. The conditions of low income and lack of education prevent women from achieving their dignity as citizens. This condition holds them back, making them increasingly powerless to express their aspirations. This case was due to flawed decision-making and implementation processes that have placed the low income as mere objects and ignored their participation in decision-making processes. Excluding rural and unfortunate women in the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of development policy leads to the question about how gender mainstreaming implementation is advocated and operated in Kulon Progo.
The implementation of gender mainstreaming in Kulon Progo is moving slowly, although it has been eleven years since policy was enacted. The local government of Kulon Progo adopted gender mainstreaming in 2003 by commissioning the establishment of Gender Mainstreaming Focal Point (GMFP). In eleven years, the GMFP has carried out intensive briefings on the importance of gender mainstreaming to each of the local government offices in Kulon Progo, as well as advocated gender-responsive budgeting. However, the GMFP Team has been unable to encourage the local government to formulate more practical gender-responsive budgeting in each of the local government offices, from which gender-responsive policies, programs, and development activities could be formulated in the following year. In March 2014, the local government’s Agency for Rural Society and Women’s Empowerment and Family Planning was simply drafting the Regent’s Circulars that would obligate each local government office to formulate at least one gender-responsive program as the latest push to accelerate gender mainstreaming implementation, particularly Gender Responsive Planning and Budgeting (GRPB).

The misconception and poor comprehension of the goals of gender mainstreaming among local government officials in translating the concept of gender mainstreaming policy into regional developmental programs has led to even poorer implementation. Local government officials and personnel generally translate gender mainstreaming as the availability of various programs addressed specifically to women, rather than how to overcome the gap between men and women through the development of programs to achieve gender equality. In my analysis of local government planning documents for 2011-2016, I found that local
government merely utilised the statistical data on the low participation of women in development programs rather than using Gender Development Index, early marriage rate, unpaid employment, unequal pay for men and women, as background on formulating gender mainstreaming programs. Taking the statistical data as a starting point, the local government then formulated a program to increase women’s participation in regional development, forecasting an increase in women’s participation from 9.05% in 2011 to 30.06% in 2014. Expecting to increase women’s participation by 20.56% is too ambitious, particularly if those new participants are not protected by law, or have no health insurance, safety guarantees, eligible working conditions, limits on working hours, protection from sexual harassment in the workplace, or prospect of receiving decent salaries.

The limited number of qualified people who recognise gender issues in each of the regional developmental sectors has made the implementation of gender issues visible only in the construction of infrastructure. For example, the construction of women-friendly sidewalks in the district capital and the provision of lactation facilities in the hospital. Meanwhile, more fundamental gender issues related directly to community welfare in the rural areas, for example, the availability of safe and clean water, have not been accommodated. Limited financial resources are also believed to have contributed to the ineffective implementation of gender-responsive developmental programs. For example, the local government budgeted IDR 116,885,100 (AUD $11600) to increase women’s participation in regional development from 9.05% to 9.22% through a program of improving participation and gender equality in development. However, the local
government budget devotes almost ten times that, IDR 1,371,251,775 (AUD $137,125) to increase the number of women who use contraception. In my view, gender-responsive budgeting does not necessarily mean an increase in the budget. It is better if the allocated budget in each sector be used for ensuring wider accessibility, participation in decision-making processes, control of public services as the outcome of development programs.

Above all, the various regional developmental programs directly related to water including promotion of hygiene, clean water usage, public sanitation (for example, waste management), and individual sanitation are still poorly implemented.

Conclusion

Owing to a range of factors including state gender ideology, aspects of Javanese culture and Islamic teachings, a narrative is created that women are not able to play a significant role in regional development. This forms the view and reasons why the Kulon Progo government does not fully promote gender mainstreaming linked to water issues. Regional development in Kulon Progo has done little which is problematic in including women’s concerns and experience in the formulation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation policy related to water cases.

There has been some progress in the implementation of gender mainstreaming policy in Kulon Progo, but it still has a long way to go. The local government has accommodated gender mainstreaming in some aspects of regional planning, and some local regulations that provide protection to women and children have been established.
However, there are still some problems in the implementation of gender mainstreaming in regional development such as the mis-translating gender mainstreaming concepts, poor exploration of gender issues in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of regional development. The legacy of the state’s gender ideology defined in the New Order era and the values of Javanese culture, particularly hormat and rukun, are still influential in the way people perceive women in regional development in Kulon Progo and the implementation of gender mainstreaming policy, especially in the provision of clean water.

In Kulon Progo, women and men are perceived to have different responsibilities in the management and utilisation of water resources. In general, women require water in the household for drinking, cooking, washing, and taking care of children and family members in a domestic setting, while men need water for agricultural purposes and productive activities that are generating income. However, in the changing socio-cultural conditions, women require water not only for their reproductive activity in the domestic environment but also as an extension of women’s role as nurturers and mothers operating in the community space. This extension finds expression in policies that endow women with the responsibility of working in education centres. They get a small monetary incentive but carry a lot of additional burdens. Apart from reduced time for their family duties, they also are expected to provide water for their students. Thus, they end up shouldering the dual responsibility of being the water carriers and nurturers in the community space. Based on employment statistics, women’s participation in the workforce is steadily increasing, and the study found that women need clean water to carry out productive work to increase the family income.
and improve the family welfare. At this point, a proper understanding of social change is needed to support the poverty alleviation programs, which are one of the priorities of the Kulon Progo local government.

Kulon Progo’s policy on water resources that affirms the concept of water is an economic commodity has increasingly marginalised vulnerable groups of society. The idea that water is tradable by privately owned companies through the notion of cultivation rights is a signal that water privatisation is insensitive to the gender dimension in society. Private companies managing the water have failed to improve water access among the low income and women. The study found that some women in the two locations of research do not have adequate access to water or equal distribution of clean, safe water as per WHO standards.

The low level of involvement of women in decision-making and management of water relegates women to the role of water users and passive beneficiaries of development policies and programs. While the responsibility for collecting and managing clean water in households belongs to women, the decision-making and management of water are in the hands of men. The participation and involvement of women in water management are still very low. With rare exceptions, women have not actively voiced their aspirations and ideas in water management.

Efforts to increase women’s involvement in decision-making processes in water management are still limited to a formal approach, by inviting women to formal meetings in the village hall. The formal approach has resulted in the insufficient presence of women for four reasons. They include women’s lack of knowledge of water management in the public sphere, women’s lack of confidence to convey their ideas to
the dominant male participants, the limited time available to present at the formal meeting due to reproductive and productive work, as well as the continuing prevalence of the notion that the decision-making process in the public sphere is the duty of men.

Women are capable of making changes. Some gained clear benefits after joining leadership training from local NGOs and from their involvement in community activities. These experiences gave women increased confidence in expressing their opinions and in contributing to problem solving among marginalised groups. Women taking on roles as village facilitators in community development projects and contributing to solving problems in the community provide examples of how women have exercised agency to make changes in the communities in which they live.
CHAPTER 5

Women’s Participation in Water Management in Central Lombok

On Sundays most teenagers sleep in, then watch TV. Hanna had no choice: she took dirty laundry to the river to wash. This is commonly done by all women as domestic chores. But washing dirty clothes is not the only thing Hanna and other women do. They also carry water home, killing two birds with one stone. Both tasks occur simultaneously, as it takes 30 minutes walking to the public hydrant. At home, Hanna’s 3-month-old baby awaits her.

(Field notes, February 2014)

This story represents Sasak35 women locked in the complex problems of life. The young mother’s terse responses and mysterious facial streaks encouraged further delving into her collecting water far from home, and why couldn’t men share this responsibility? Could women challenge their position within socio-cultural habituation and religious (Islam) belief practiced daily by Sasaks? Does the government try to relieve this situation? Who else could help ease their burden?

This chapter describes the socio-economic background of Sasak people today: their history, cultural concepts and practices, their interpretation and practice of Islam that has shaped their culture, and dire problems, e.g., frequent child marriages36 (13.5%), high maternal

---

35 Sasak are the indigenous people inhabiting Lombok Island, Indonesia (Bennett, 2003).
mortality (18 in 22,098 pregnancies, 2014), numerous female migrants working abroad [1,082 women (Central Bureau of Statistics, West Nusa Tenggara Province, 2014)], and how water access and management impacts on and shapes this situation. This chapter also shows that changing social conditions are affecting a more dynamic gender relationship and increasing women’s agency in Central Lombok. Empowerment trained women have gradually made a difference, gained respect and felt valued. But shifting agency does not translate into village women being heard in discussions, particularly pertinent to water access. When women question water management at the family and community levels, they’re often ignored. This shows that women’s agency in decision-making is insignificant for the society.

Central Lombok: Geographic and Socio-Demographic Background

Central Lombok, with Kota Praya as the seat of local government, is one of ten regencies/municipalities in the province of Nusa Tenggara Barat, located at 116°05'-116°24' by 8°24'-8°57', with a total area of 1208 km². The north borders in North Lombok and Eastern Lombok; the east borders in Eastern Lombok; to the south is the Indian Ocean and to the west is West Lombok.

Central Lombok comprises of 139 villages within 12 districts, between 50 to 234 km². Pujut is one of the largest (19.33% area). Northern

Individuals and organizations focused on children’s and women’s Rights such as Women’s Health Foundation and Monitoring of Child Rights Foundation, requested a judicial review of the 1974 Marriage Law, to increase the age limit from 16 to 18 to reduce the number of divorces, and to prevent social problems. Indonesia’s Constitutional Court rejected this based on the argument that marriage is the right of all people. So, it should not be prohibited. Also, raising the minimum age would not decrease the number of divorces. http://www.rappler.com/world/regions/asia-pacific/indonesia/96905-indonesian-court-rejects-judicial-review-marrying-age
Central Lombok is mountainous, rainfall is relatively high; the area is suitable for plantations. The central part is lowland, allocated for rice fields, and the southern areas are dry and hilly.
Central Lombok District


Central Lombok population was 868,895 (2010), comprising of 411,192 men and 457,703 women, divided among 256,978 households. Each household averages 3.38 people. The population density is 719 people/km². The most densely populated district is Praya, with 1707.39 people/km²; lowest density is Batukliang Utara with only 263 people/km². Central Lombok has 1000 women for every 900 males.
Women in Central Lombok have less access to education than men: The Survey of Socio-Economics in 2013 shows 26.47% illiteracy in females, substantially higher than men (14.79%). The percentage of girls not attending or never having attended school, is higher than boys. The percentage of women over 15 years who graduated from elementary school, high school, and college is lower than that of men, meaning the educational qualifications of women are lower than men’s.

Table 5. 1. Percentage of Population 15 Years and Over
According to the Highest Education Completed in Central Lombok

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Attended</th>
<th>Men %</th>
<th>Women %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not/Never been to school</td>
<td>10.25</td>
<td>20.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not finished Elementary School</td>
<td>24.71</td>
<td>21.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed Elementary School</td>
<td>25.56</td>
<td>24.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed Junior High School</td>
<td>16.51</td>
<td>17.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed Senior High School</td>
<td>18.94</td>
<td>12.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed Tertiary Education</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed a Graduate University Degree</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2. Percentage of Population Aged 10 or Above by Marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Not married %</th>
<th>Married %</th>
<th>Divorced %</th>
<th>Widow/Widower %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>84.66</td>
<td>13.50</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>35.06</td>
<td>62.40</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>17.41</td>
<td>76.92</td>
<td>5.67</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>7.89</td>
<td>84.23</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>88.36</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>90.59</td>
<td>4.96</td>
<td>2.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>85.43</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>8.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>85.05</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>11.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74.66</td>
<td>6.90</td>
<td>18.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>54.34</td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td>38.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>63.81</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>33.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>67.81</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>22.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75+</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>38.68</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>51.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There is high incidence of underage marriages among girls in Central Lombok with 13.50% of those between 15-19 years of age being married. Child marriages create complicated social problems as they raise the high school dropout rate, divorce rate, and infant and maternal mortality rates (MMR)37 (Indiyati, 2016). Lack of education among these young brides increases their inability to control their reproductive health, or their baby’s health (Indiyati, 2016). This affects the health of young women and their children. Lower psychological maturity among underage married couples also makes women vulnerable to household violence; both physical and psychological as well as economic neglect.

---

37 MMR is “the death of a woman while pregnant, or within 42 days of termination of pregnancy, irrespective of the duration and site of the pregnancy, from any cause related to or aggravated by the pregnancy or its management but not from accidental or incidental causes.”

As shown in Table 5.3, a large proportion of the women (34.93%) are responsible for household work as compared to only 1.69% of men who share these responsibilities.

But women are also increasingly being employed in the labour market which could be attributed to a combination of social change, and an interest in improving the economic conditions of the family. As shown in Table 5.5, women are employed in the agriculture sector (44.17%), trade, retail, restaurants, hotels etc. (28.24%), and 14.68% in social services. Women’s roles are also higher than men’s in the next two sectors in Lombok: processing industry (10.8%) and trade (28.24%). Despite this participation, men enjoy better employment opportunities than women. As shown in Table 5.6, 29.18% of men operate businesses, assisted by temporary employees (29.18%), 24.12% are employed as workers/employees (24.12%) and as owners of enterprise (17.43%). In contrast, most female employment is unpaid family work (29.33%), followed by 20.51% owning their enterprise and 17.01% employed as workers/employees.

The effects of this inequality are apparent in womenshouldering dual burdens: their increasing participation in the workforce does not reduce their household responsibilities. Instead they end up performing their roles both as the household manager and as contributors to family income.
Table 5.3. Percentage of Productive Population in West Nusa Tenggara Province in 2012 by Primary Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Men %</th>
<th>Women %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>76.55</td>
<td>49.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>2.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Studying</td>
<td>9.22</td>
<td>8.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Family Caregiver</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>34.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8.22</td>
<td>4.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100.00  100.00


Table 5.4. Percentage of Productive Population in West Nusa Tenggara Province in 2012 by Occupation Sectors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Urban %</th>
<th>Rural %</th>
<th>Urban + Rural %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>Formal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>49.13</td>
<td>50.87</td>
<td>25.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>39.52</td>
<td>60.18</td>
<td>17.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 5.5. Percentage of Productive Population in Nusa Tenggara Province in 2012 by Primary Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Employment Sectors</th>
<th>Men %</th>
<th>Women %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>44.32</td>
<td>44.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Processing Industry</td>
<td>6.83</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Utilities</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>8.11</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Trade, Retail, Restaurants, Hotel</td>
<td>11.96</td>
<td>28.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Transportation and Communication</td>
<td>5.97</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Finance, Insurance, Leasing</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Social Services</td>
<td>17.05</td>
<td>14.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 5.6. Percentage of Population in Nusa Tenggara Province in 2012 by Status of Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Status of Primary Occupation</th>
<th>Men %</th>
<th>Women %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Owner of an enterprise</td>
<td>17.43</td>
<td>20.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Owner of an enterprise assisted by non-permanent employee</td>
<td>29.18</td>
<td>11.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Owner of an enterprise assisted by permanent employee</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>24.12</td>
<td>17.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Freelance work in agriculture</td>
<td>8.93</td>
<td>16.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>District/Municipality</td>
<td>Maternal Mortality Cases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>West Lombok</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Central Lombok</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>East Lombok</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sumbawa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dompu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bima</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>West Sumbawa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>North Lombok</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mataram Municipality</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bima Municipality</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (West Nusa Tenggara Province. Sub-section of Health Office, 2014).

MMR in Central Lombok has contributed to the high MMR in West Nusa Tenggara. Table 5.7. shows that MMR in Central Lombok was ranked second. This is despite the Government of West Nusa Tenggara Province having issued Governor’s Decree Number 130 regarding a Zero Maternal Mortality Rate Program as an achievement to be attained. The high MMR is one reason for the selection of Central Lombok as one of the fieldwork sites.
Table 5.8. Number of Maternal Mortalities in Central Lombok

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>During Pregnancy</th>
<th>During Delivery</th>
<th>After Delivery – 40 days</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (West Nusa Tenggara Province. Sub-section of Health Office, 2014).

Table 5.8. shows that the number of maternal mortalities occurring in Central Lombok from 2011-2014 remained unchanged. It raises the question of financial and emotional impact on all those grandmothers who are then required to raise a grandchild and take on additional domestic work.

Historical Context, Sasak Culture, and the Position of Women

Central Lombok was established as an autonomous region by Law Number 69, (1958) on the Establishment of Level II Regions in the Areas of Level I Regions of Bali, West Nusa Tenggara, and East Nusa Tenggara, passed August 14, 1958. Central Lombok society had long existed before being officially established as an administrative region in 1898. After Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed Indonesia’s independence, Central Lombok integrally became a part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, indicated by the formal appointment of first Head of Local Government in Central Lombok in October 15, 1945.

The influence of Hindu-Javanese tradition shapes cultural and Islamic religious norms in Lombok society (Van der Kraan, 1980). Initially a part of Majapahit kingdom in Java, the area was introduced to
Islam by Arab proselytisers from the Middle East: Syaikh Nurul Rasyid, and traders from Gujarat entered through Bayan village into Perlak, Samudra Pasai in the 16th century. Another theory traces Islamization coming from the west, that is, from Java Island.

Lombok legend written on palm leaves suggests that personalities shaped the nature of Islam on the island. Sunan Pengging had two sons, Nurcahya and Nursada (Cederroth, 2015). After Sunan Pengging died, Islam society was divided between Pengging’s descendants: the first son, Nurcahya, then well known as the founder of Islam Wetu-lima\(^\text{38}\), and the second son, Nursada, well known as the founder of Islam Wetu-telu\(^\text{39}\) (Cederroth, 2015).

These two men introduced Islam to Lombok Island to shape two different kinds of Islamic society. Being tolerant people, Sasaks easily accepted it. Before outside religions came, Sasaks practiced an animism called Boda which worshipped the spirits of ancestors, and acknowledged the existence of local gods, and was known as Sasak-Boda (Budiwanti, 2000). Some kyai (Javanese expert in Islam or religious leader) proselytised by colouring the existing custom with Islamic sharia (Islamic law). A religious approach that was more respectful of local society’s customs led to the establishment of Islam Wetu Telu group (Athhar, 2005). Those who applied the tighter Islamic proselytising

\(^{38}\) Islam Wetu Lima community performs the five pillars of Islam, i.e., Shahadat, prayer, fast, zakat, and pilgrimage to Mecca (Athhar, 2005)

\(^{39}\) Islam Wetu Telu group only performs three Islamic pillars (Shahadat, prayer, and fast) (Athhar, 2005).
strategy based on *sharia* in the *Qur’an* and *Hadith* were known as the purifying group of *Islam Wetu Lima* followers (Athhar, 2005).

The population of *Wetu-Telu* Islamic followers has stagnated, while that of *Wetu-Lima* Islamic followers has increased rapidly. Lombok Islamic followers have access to Islamic organisations, particularly *Nahdlatul Ulama* and *Muhammadiyah* (Bennett, 2005); Sufi school of *Naqshabandiyah Qadiriyyah*, and *Salafi/Wahabi* group (Hamdi & Smith, 2012). The largest Muslim organisation in Sasak is *Nahdlatul Wathan* (NW) whose members are 50-70% of the Muslim population in Lombok (Hamdi & Smith, 2012).

*Nahdlatul Wathan* (NW) originated from an idea of two young kyai and activists to establish a modern boarding school. *KH Abdul Wahab Chasbullah* (from traditional Islamic community), with *KH Mansoer* (who later became the modern Islamic figure, *Muhammadiyah*), initiated a modern boarding school, *Nahdlatul Wathan*, in Surabaya in 1916. NW attempted to combine modern and traditional Islamic traditions, however, later the effect of NW faded compared to the traditional Islamic organisation of *Nahdlatul Ulama* and modern Islamic organisation of *Muhammadiyah*.

Upon returning from Mecca in 1937 *Tuan Guru Zainudin* reactivated NW, which was losing popularity in Lombok. He established an Islamic boarding school, *Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah* (Hamdi & Smith, 2012; Oktara, 2015). NW focused on three sectors: education, social, and proselytization (Hamdi & Smith, 2012; Usman, 2008). *Tuan Guru Zainudin Abdul Majid* or *Tuan Guru Pancor* as an Islamic religious leader had influence based on intellect, religious legitimacy, socio-economic
legitimacy (land ownership), socio-cultural legitimacy (the Islamic boarding school) among the Sasak community (Oktara, 2015). By Maulana Syeikh 1997, NW successfully had established 600 Islamic boarding schools, including private colleges and orphanages (Hamdi & Smith, 2012).

Tuan Guru had played a significant role in establishing the Sasak community’s collective awareness of gender and discourse about women. In a predominantly paternalistic and patriarchal Sasak community, the ideas promoted by Tuan Guru have been frequently reproduced in education, Islamic teaching, sermons, book publications, and radio broadcasts (Umam, 2012). These ideas place women in a subservient position vis-à-vis men. An example of this textual reading of the Quran to justify women’s subservience can be seen in Tuan Guru’s interpretation of Surah Nisa (34:4) which states:

“Men are in charge of women by what Allah has given one over the other. So righteous women are devoutly obedient. Guarding in (the husband’s) absence what Allah would have them guard. But those (wives) from whom you fear arrogance (first) advise them; (then if they persist), forsake them in bed; and (finally), strike them. But if they obey you (once more), seek no means against them. Indeed, Allah is ever Exalted and Grand.”

Tuan Guru argued that men’s leadership over women is clear and becomes the duty of Islamic community to obey. He was of the view that men play their public role, while women play a domestic one. Tuan Guru believed that socio-political leadership is only aimed at men and rejected the leadership of women in the socio-political sector (Umam, 2012).

In 1997, NW split in two factions due to differing interpretations of the concept of the leadership of women in Islam. Tuan Guru Zainudin
Abdul Majid had two daughters, Raehanun and Rauhun, by his two wives. After he died in 1997, NW was divided into two factions. The split occurred when Raehanun was democratically elected to the tenth congress (muktamar) of NW in 1998 to succeed Tuan Guru Zainudin and lead NW (Smith, 2012). The result of the election was rejected by the faction led by Rauhun and her supporters, firmly holding the law of *Shafi’i Mazhab*\(^{40}\) that prohibited the leadership of women over men. Like the opposition, the faction following Raehun proffered her uncle, Ma’sum Ahmad, as an alternative figurehead (Hadi, 2010; Hamdi & Smith, 2012). They argued that *Shafi’i Mazhab* as the only *Mazhab* applied in NW did not allow a woman to be a leader, either of the school, or of the organisation (Hamdi & Smith, 2012; Smith, 2012). Meanwhile, the faction behind Raehanun interpreted the prohibition as only referring to the leadership of a woman as head of State, an imam in prayer for men, and as a criminal judge (Hamdi, 2011). These interpretational differences developed into violence between the two groups.

Despite the split, the dominant view in Sasak community remains that socio-political leadership is only reserved for men. This notion is based on the belief that the cognitive abilities of men are better than those of women and the emotional level of women is relatively higher than that of men (Hamdi & Smith, 2012; Umam, 2012). The perception has led to the subordination of women and the domination of men. Such gender-biased interpretations distorts universal messages upheld by *al-Qur’an* such as equality (*al-‘adāalah*), egalitarianism (*al-musāwah*), and freedom

\(^{40}\) “Sunni Muslims recognize four *mazhab*: Hanafi, Hanbali, Maliki and Syafi’i. All are regarded as orthodox but a Muslim should adhere to only one *mazhab* and not mix and choose among them” (Fox, 2004, p. 5).
(al-hurriyah). Thus, gender-biased interpretation of Islamic teaching and practice adapts to Sasak cultural practices.

An interesting example of how tradition and religion co-exist is the way Sasak people still practice elements of Wetu-Telu tradition such as merariq (eloping/kawin lari) (Thahir, 2007). Maintained for generations and frequently practiced by both Wetu-Telu and Wetu-Lima communities, this tradition encompasses the Sasak community’s view of marriage and gender-based relations. *Merariq* has three meanings (Ghani, 2014): first, elopement, i.e., a man’s act of running away from home with his fiancé with the unannounced intention of getting married. Second, it is part of a series of techniques in marriage or to liberate the bride from the responsibility of her family. Third, it is the symbolic substitute for a ‘marriage proposal.’ *Merariq* is indicative of how men and women are positioned customarily. First, there is heightened prestige for a woman and her family because the family views her as being an invaluable thing; being desired enough to elope (Ghani, 2014; Indiyati, 2016; Platt, 2010). Thus, in the act of eloping, the bride does not violate a parental wish, but rather creates for the bridegroom and his family, a form of appreciation (Ghani, 2014). Another philosophical value is to rank the superiority of men and the inferiority of women (Ghani, 2014; Platt, 2012). In marriage, *merariq* legitimises man’s characteristics of being brave, firm, proactive, and courageous to socially and psychologically conquer a woman and her family’s admiration (Platt, 2010, p. 38). On the other hand, the woman is described as a passive and powerless party (Ghani, 2014; Platt, 2010). In addition, the act of *merariq* shows Sasak women as mild, polite, honourable, and cultured (Laelattuza, 2017).
Such practices have prompted scholars to argue that Sasak culture constructs an ideal persona for women: Sasak women should be well-spoken and respectful in conduct to her counterpart (the opposite sex) (Bennett, 2005). She also should be friendly, being thus easily accepted by others (Platt, 2010). *Merariq* is one of the customary practices of Sasak culture used as a means of reinforcing the superiority of men over women.

The Sasak community’s attitude towards women is also demonstrated by *berugaks*, a stage-shaped wooden construction, with a roof but no walls, built precisely in front of the core house. It is a symbol of social strata and having “a certain place” for all customary ceremonies, rituals, and deliberations. It is the site where political elites in the Sasak community are positioned according to their status (Pujianto & Gunawan, 2017). Government stakeholders sit at the northern part of a *berugak*; religious leaders get placed at the western part of *berugak*, *pekasih* (water regulator) is placed at the eastern part of a *berugak*, while *srinata* or ceremony guides who are all males are placed at the southern part (Makinuddin, 2005). Women have no place in any customary rituals and deliberations in the *berugak*.

Apart from excluding women from decision-making, *berugak* also exists as a symbol of protection over a Sasak family’s social harmony (Makinuddin, 2005; Pujianto & Gunawan, 2017). Traditionally Sasak society utilised *berugaks* as a place for only men to socialise, and women and children socialised indoors (Pujianto & Gunawan, 2017). Sasak women can receive non-*mahram* male guests only in the *berugak* when

---

41 *Mahram*: is “legally, a *mahram* is a male who cannot marry the woman. Move next sentence here.
her husband is not at home, so any conversation can be watched by neighbours and prevents slander accusations (Makinuddin, 2005). As such, a berugak gives a space of social interaction for women while maintaining itself as an extension of domestic space. Here, a berugak reflects a “licensing politics” by the husband over his wife. A wife could be voluntarily divorced by her husband if she were found receiving non-mahram male guests outside the area of the berugak, or if she were to perform any productive activities outside her home (Makinuddin, 2005).

In practice, this is a male relative.” (Vidyasagar & Rea, 2004)

Mahram “refers to all those males whom a woman cannot marry at any time in her life whatsoever. In other words a male who is forbidden permanently, forever (e.g., one’s father, brother or son, etc.).”

http://www.islamicinformation.net/2008/07/mahram-in-islam-explained.html
Obtaining clean water in Central Lombok has been a crucial problem for years. In the southern area, an extreme dry season dried agricultural lands in the sub-districts of Janapria, Central Praya, Eastern Praya, and Pujut. The difficulty of accessing clean water is also felt by village people in each sub-district. The Office of Social Affairs, Demography, and Civil Registry (Dinas Sosial, Kependudukan, dan Pencatatan Sipil/DSKPS) of West Nusa Tenggara found 11 sub-districts on Lombok Island suffering from drought who needed clean water.

Clean water service in Central Lombok increased from 2011 to 2015, from servicing 185,024 heads of family in 2014, to servicing an additional 10,280 heads of family, totalling 195,304 heads of family in 2015, out of 302,562 possible heads of family (Central Lombok District. Regional Body for Planning and Development, 2016). Only 64.55% of them could access potable water. The Office of Health suggested that 69.93% of the household had access to quality safe drinking water taking into account water from protected digging wells, those with drilling pumps, water terminals, the protected water springs, and rain water containers (Central Lombok District. Regional Body for Planning and Development, 2016). Yet this coverage is far from the target of 95% of households set by

---

42 WHO defines safe drinking water and basic sanitation as follows: drinking water is water used for domestic purposes, drinking, cooking and personal hygiene. Access to drinking water means that the source is less than 1 kilometer away from its place of use and that it is possible to reliably obtain at least 20 litres per member of a household per day. Safe drinking water is water with microbial, chemical and physical characteristics that meet WHO guidelines or national standards on drinking water quality.

http://www.who.int/water_sanitation_health/dwq/gdwq0506.pdf
the Middle-Term Local Development Plans of 2011-2015 (Central Lombok District. Regional Body for Planning and Development, 2011).

The economically disadvantaged living predominantly in sub-districts of Pujut, Western Praya, Central Praya, and Southwest Praya heavily depend on the local government for water supply. During the dry season, they must buy relatively expensive drinking water. Those unable to purchase are forced to take river water. Equally difficult is the access to clean water which causes problems for some farmers cultivating dry land.

The community has the problem of insufficient sanitation in a weak settlement environment, particularly in slum areas, which contribute to health problem, especially for children and mothers. Lacking understanding of sanitation and environmental management as part of healthy behaviour, has created severe burdens among the low income.

Various water-related development programs in Central Lombok, including promotion of hygiene have been initiated, but these programs are still poorly implemented. However, in some places, the construction of public toilets has been initiated. The Community men are usually more actively involved in the provision and construction of public toilets; while women are assigned the task of maintaining the cleanliness of the toilets.

The geographic and economic factors impede access to clean water for the low income in isolated areas. Geographically inaccessible regions create difficulties in constructing clean water infrastructure that can be prohibitively expensive. Local government prioritises that each citizen has access to clean drinking water, but only 45% of households in
Lombok (West Nusa Tenggara) actually have access to a water pipeline. The urban population tends to have better access to clean water than the rural community (Sjah & Baldwin, 2014, p. 2448) despite the fact that the water is supplied from rural areas including natural springs on Mount Rinjani. Local people who live around the spring can access clean water for free, but those in higher areas cannot access the water pipeline system. Efforts to provide the water pipeline system using water pumps requires electricity or fuel which increase necessary equipment demand and incur higher maintenance costs. They are only able to access drinking water from artesian wells and digging wells, which usually dry up in September or October (Sjah & Baldwin, 2014, p. 2448). Local people that cannot afford bottled water must dig wells for lower quality water (Sjah & Baldwin, 2014, p. 2448).

Some heads of villages had approached companies for inclusion in Regional-owned Drinking Water Company’s (Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum or PDAM) program to provide access to the pipeline water for free for the low-income people who live near the spring as its Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). However, PDAMs find it difficult to institute assistance programs due to their need to maximise profits for the survival of the institution, and to contribute to the local income of Lombok District. The second top officer in Central Lombok criticised the performance service standard of PDAM. He suggested that PDAM should deliver service to the citizen. It is in line with PDAM’s main responsibility. However, the tendency to make decisions based on profitability caused people’s complaints to frequently be ignored:

“PDAM is the local district company which has the mandate to serve people even though it is less profitable. Therefore, I
suggested they shift the corporate criteria of institution’s performance” (Secretary of Central Lombok District).

Two Villages, Two Stories, One Ending

Inaq village comprises of 12 hamlets. It is 599.32 ha, consisting of wet rice fields (310 ha), plantations (100 ha), public buildings (89.32 ha), and residential settlements (100.71 ha). The total population was 10,355 people, comprising 4854 males and 5501 females with a total of 3489 households. Less than half the people graduated from elementary school (46.2%); junior high school (30.3%), with illiteracy at 2.61% (Administration data of Inaq village, 2012). The low level of education contributes to high unemployment. The majority of the villagers are farmers (40.89%), followed by unemployed (24.86%); farm labourers (16.65%), private labourers (6.51%), other (government officers, army, transportation business) (5.66%), traders (2.93%), and entrepreneurs (1.98%). People living in the Inaq village are overwhelmingly Muslim (Administration data of Inaq village, 2014).

Residence close to springs did not ensure the locals easy access to clean water, available from rivers, springs, digging wells, or pipes. Some locals reside near the spring that supplies them with water; others reside in areas higher than the spring and are unable to easily enjoy the facility provided by nature. Jealousy arises of people residing far from the spring at the adjacent village such as Peseng and Lendang villages who have faster and cheaper access to clean water service.

The water crisis and uneven water distribution triggered a water conflict. This conflict occurred between PDAM and the local community living near the spring who sabotaged the water pipeline. The water
provision system in Lombok is complicated but locals expected the system to meet their needs. Almost 85% of water in Lombok has been used for irrigation; the remainder used in households and industry. Many rivers are diverted for irrigation, which requires great dams and local dams (embung) and water catchment areas (Sjah & Baldwin, 2014, p. 2449).

Inaq’s limited water forced locals to think innovatively about how to meet their daily demand for clean water. A local recounted that several years ago, Inaq received clean water service assistance through the Water Supply and Sanitation in Low-Income Communities (WSSLIC) from the AUSAID project. Unfortunately, it could only be enjoyed by a few local elites, providing for only 30 households. The project only supported the building of infrastructure and did not allow for an operational management team to maintain water services. As a result, the program just existed a few years, and they didn’t use the water infrastructure well. Several local people were inspired to re-utilise the facilities, particularly to channel the water to the local people’s houses. Necessity caused locals to voluntarily manage and maintain the spring and equipment through several innovative procedures. Learning from the failure of the WSSLIC project, the local people who join in Community based Organisation (CBO) took the initiative to manage the spring through the establishment of an organisation, Badan Usaha Milik Desa/BUMDES (the Village-Owned Enterprise).
Figure 5.2. Water Village Owned Company Model in Inaq Village-Central Lombok

- National Level:
  - National Development Planning Agency
  - Ministry of Public Works

- District level:
  - Regional Planning Office
  - Public Works Office

- Village level:
  - Village Authorities

- Community Based Organisation (CBO):
  - All members are men

- Water Village Owned Enterprise (VOE)

- Village Community
  - As water users

- Implementation

- Proposal:
  - Water Infrastructure
  - Access to grant

- Invited participation:
  - Men: technical matters
  - Women: pricing only
  - Absence low income people

- Result:
  - Women’s voice is limited to be heard, loss women’s knowledge, limited women’s access to water, lack of women’s participation
The Community-Based Organisation (CBO) in Inaq village developed proposal of water resource management establishment. CBO recruited its members by selecting people who were able to influence the community, such as intelligent or influential people. All members were men. They submitted their proposal to the Inaq village authority to seek approval. When the proposal was approved, it was submitted to the Public Works office in Central Lombok. Once the public works office approved it they would develop village water infrastructure which was operated by the CBO which would then pass it on to the VOE for implementation.

This research found that the VOE committee in Inaq village had partially implemented the management principles of VOE on transparency and accountability rather than responsibility. VOE committee delivered various information to members and the public related to the implementation of activities or finance in clear and accessible form to gain public trust. The water VOE committee in Planggi was successful in implementing accountability for the performance of the water VOE. The VOE community was able to coordinate well with other parties such as village neighbours and sub-district government. However, the water VOE committee failed to provide equal service to every member of the community, especially women and people with low incomes.

Under the management of BUMDES (Village Owned Enterprises), men hold the dominant authority in local decision-making. In an emergency situation, only men have the authority to respond to the problem. The management of BUMDES recommended intelligent and outspoken male activists to be become involved in this program.
According to the management, it was not essential to approach females for their opinions. For the BUMDES manager, women were only to be the beneficiaries and users, only to be consulted when determining the price. The manager of BUMDES only consulted with the women as the domestic users of water, women as the household finance manager, including paying invoices for the provision of clean water. The water VOE failed to capture and respond to the needs of women and those with low incomes. As a result, BUMDES did not acknowledge women’s concerns, knowledge and experiences in their public water services.

**Aik Village**

Aik village is not far from Inaq, although administratively located in a different sub-district. There are many physical differences that separate them, particularly natural resources and demographics.

According to Statistical data of Central Lombok maintenance of the irrigation network is the responsibility of local government. In 2010, 73,493.25m (57.73%) of irrigation networks were in good condition; those damaged covered 53,819.75m (42.27%). In 2014, 93,502m (73.44%) of irrigation networking were in good condition; those damaged covered 33,810m (26.56%) (District, 2016). However, the existing clean water pipeline network does not yet channel clean water to all villages, including Aik which is situated on a plateau. There is less water available due to the low-income people’s inability to pay for the clean water service provided by PDAM.

While BUMDES organizes Inaq’s drinking water pipeline, Aik village relies on water dug from wells. Inaq villagers showed initiative to innovate to meet their needs for clean water, while those in Aik village
are hesitant to change if there is no concrete proof of benefit. As stated by the head of Aik village:

It is the local community here, but people say this: money owned or available is better used for other projects such as building roads or other irrigation infrastructure, but not for making wells in the hills. However, several youths and I here have committed that we should provide not only learning but also set a good example, so we have attempted to dig wells on hills and thank God, it led to good results, and they realize that if we are willing to act better, there is always a solution to escape from the trap of problems (Mamiq Burhan, former head of Aik, Central Lombok).

Aik’s prime issue is accessing clean water easily, efficiently and at minimal cost. Sources of water consist of one river, two dams, 1934 digging wells to be used by 2901 households, and 193 water pipelines, used by 309 households. Aik comprises 11 hamlets. The size of Aik village is 654.27 ha, consisting of wet rice fields (420 ha), plantations (99 ha), yards (23 ha), public buildings (0.5 ha), residential settlements (70.2 ha), roads (38.77 ha), and a cemetery (2.8 ha). The area of wet rice lands in Aik includes irrigated wet rice fields (149 ha), half-irrigated land (200 ha), and rain-fed land (71 ha). Dry land includes dry fields (81 ha) and yards (17.7 ha). Crops grown in Aik include coconuts (2.38 ha), rice paddies (417.7 ha), soy beans (4.5 ha), tobacco (4.2 ha), and mangos (23 ha).

Aik’s population is 11,672, comprising 5487 males, 6067 females, in 3331 households, of which men lead 3189, and women lead 142. Most people graduated from junior high school. The village population consists mostly of craftsman (35.8%), followed by land owners, farmers, and farm labourers (31.5%), private labourers (0.4%), and tradesmen, service trade labourers (11.1%). People in Aik village are overwhelmingly Muslim.
Inaq and Aik villages have similarities in their socio-demographic backgrounds. Both Inaq and Aik are under the authority of Kopang sub-District. They both have water problems that include water crises and uneven water distribution. They are both Muslim. Aik is larger than Inaq, as is its population. While most in Aik graduated from junior high school, the majority of Inaq villagers only graduated from elementary school. While most people of Aik were craftsman, the majority of people of Inaq were farmers.

Based on the similarities and differences in their socio-demographic backgrounds of Inaq and Aik Village, this study selected these villages to examine the complexities that affect women’s roles, status in their society, and women’s participation in the decision-making process of water management. This study also chose these two villages to investigate the changing social conditions that created a more dynamic gender relationship and increasing women’s agency in Central Lombok.

In both Inaq and Aik, I conducted field observations, Focus Group Discussions, and semi-structured in depth interviews with end users of safe water services (14 females and six males), and with one village authority. All the villages lacked water infrastructure and were drought-prone. I chose some female and male villagers who either actively attended or who never attended (water) community meetings. Interviews with women explored their experiences, ideas, and thoughts about the challenges of providing safe water, the sustainability of daily basic sanitation, and locals’ participation in local policy making. Interviews with males sought to gain a comprehensive understanding of both sides of the gender relationship.
The majority of women require water to support reproductive work, and perform household chores such as cooking, washing, cleaning, when their role is as a wife and mother. But they also require water for productive and social roles in the community.

Limited access to water poses challenges for women who have different experiences linked to limited water accessibility. Their socio-economic structure is impacted by how much time is allocated to water collecting. Women with high and low incomes vary in time and effort spent to collect water. Less time spent collecting water does not automatically improve productive activities, but it does positively impact women’s and children’s welfare, allowing spare time to be more productively spent.
### Women’s Need for Water

Table 5.9. Table of Women Need for Water and the Source of Water

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Water Utilisation</th>
<th>Specific Activities</th>
<th>Water Source</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Reproductive (Domestic)</td>
<td>Drinking</td>
<td>Household water pipe taps, public hydrant, boreholes, dug wells, springs, collected rainwater, river, bottled water</td>
<td>Water Fetcher, Water Distributor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>purposes</td>
<td>Cooking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Washing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Productive purposes</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>River, water storage reservoir</td>
<td>Family Income Contributor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>Household water pipe taps, public hydrant, boreholes, dug wells, springs, collected rainwater, river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Making soybean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fermentation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Making bamboo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>handcrafts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

156
### Table 5.10. Table of Men’s Need for Water and the Source of Water

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Water Utilisation</th>
<th>Specific Activities</th>
<th>Water Source</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Productive purposes</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>River, water storage reservoir</td>
<td>Farming Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Watering cattle</td>
<td>household water pipe taps, public hydrant, boreholes, dug wells, springs, and collected rainwater, river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Selling water</td>
<td>River, public hydrant, borehole</td>
<td>Local Water distributor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(water vendor)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative interviews showed that women in Central Lombok need water to perform their productive activities, such as cassava fermentation production, as well as performing their social roles in community development, such as communal labour as a village midwife. Water is crucial in every day life. Without water, there are no meals or clean clothes for the family, no money to pay to cook meals they sell, or to irrigate the crops.

“If I could not get water near home, the whole family would go to the stream, take a bath and bring our dirty clothes. We would perform prayer near the stream, wash and dry our clothes, take a rest, and collect water for cooking. Then, we would return to our home after Zuhr prayer (around 12:00 noon)” (Bu Yunita, Inaq, Central Lombok).

“I use water for clothes washing, cassava cleaning, bathing, dish washing, cooking. For tape production (traditional delicacy of fermented cassava), I need 5-6 big sinks, one of which contains less than 20 liters, one sink needs four buckets. I wash cassava many times because it must be clean from any dirt. For drinking water we need three big buckets; one bucket holds ten litres of water” (Bu Nunik, Inaq, Central Lombok).
“My wife uses water for her patients when she washes the cloths which are used in the delivery. These cloths are stained with blood, and need to be washed, for basic sanitation for both the patient and her family” (Mamiq Burhan, Aik, Central Lombok).

The interviews also show that there are a range of methods by which women access water in two villages in Central Lombok. The accessibility of water, however, is influenced by socio-economic structures. Women with middle to high incomes have a better chance to access water than women with low incomes. This is similar to the broader picture in Indonesia where women with middle to high incomes, in an area with piped water and electricity, only need to turn on the tap for water, or flick a switch for power. Low income women living in remote areas, spend extra time and energy to get a similar quantity but different quality water (Hakim, 2010; Latifa & Fitranita, 2016). The stories of two village women, Tika and Hartini are instructive in this case. Their husbands have been working abroad as migrant workers. Tika’s husband had worked in Malaysia for two years while Hartini’s husband works in Taiwan. Tika’s husband used to send around IDR 500,000 per month to his family. Tika, a brick labourer in the nearby village, was able to buy an electric water pump generator to get water in her home. “I use well water with a dynamo-electric (water pump),” said Bu Tika. Bu Hartini’s husband would usually send her one to two million rupiahs per month. With this money, Bu Hartini’s family was able take a BUMDES subscription for IDR 200,000 installation fee, and monthly subscription fee. Bu Hartini could even purchase 5-gallon water bottles for drinking. She said: “I use piped water for cooking, bathing, washing; for drinking, sometimes I purchase two 5-gallon bottles.” Another woman named Bu Nina had no access to clean water, nor did she have any sanitation
facilities in her home. Bu Nina was illiterate with very low income, who had become head of the household due to her husband’s paralysis. She could not be a BUMDES customer due to her poverty:

During the dry season, I have water but it is just a small flow. If there is no water, I ask my neighbor across the street, and have to walk back and forth frequently. I cannot afford to buy water. BUMDES is too expensive; I can only afford IDR 4000 (AUD $0.40) to pay for water supply because I cannot hold a job (Bu Nina, Inaq, Central Lombok).

A similar situation exists in Inaq where Yunita and Mila’s stories exemplify how social class is crucial in accessing water. They accessed clean water from BUMDES which had made a difference to their lives. Bu Yunita smilingly shared how access to BUMDES had affected her routine:

“In the past, when we heard people recite Holy Al-Qur’an (around 4:00 a.m.), we had to wake up. If we woke up late, we would not get water. Currently, we can wake up a little bit later, now that it’s easier, and there’s no need to think about water.”

Her neighbour, Mila and her husband, could subscribe as BUMDES customers, but the water pipe infrastructure had not yet been prepared by local administrators. Their home elevation was higher than that for the source of BUMDES water: accessing piped water required a technological solution and finance for the infrastructure. While some were able to access the required finance due to the local elite structures, Bu Mila was unable to secure funds to access water. In her words:

I still draw water from the dug well upon returning from the mosque around 8.00 p.m. with my husband’s assistance, as we’re too busy in the morning. We draw 40 buckets daily, each carrying 20 buckets. BUMDES does not exist where I live. I wanted to complain to my head of village, but, I did not want to make him uncomfortable. It’s because one of his families received money. It affected water distribution
inland, even more than in my area” (Bu Mila, Inaq, Central Lombok).

I personally saw how limited access to water shaped lives of women in Inaq:

“Mamiq Arya drove Rahma and myself by car 30 minutes to Inaq. Rahma and I walked around 100 meters and met up with a woman who was washing her cooking equipment, cup and plates, in water that flowed through many households. I saw that the woman washed her dishes with water mixed with soil. Rahma explained this water came from a broken irrigation pipe. However, the woman felt very grateful for even the broken-pipe water, as she no longer needed to walk a great distance to fetch water. Then, Rahma and I continued our trip to the public hydrant one kilometre away. We walked along a slippery dirt footpath, then down 33 mossy stairs. About 500 meters away, I could see a cement construction of 4x4m² about one meter high, that was connected with two different-diameter pipes. It was close to the public hydrant, also in a 2x1m² cement construction with a palm leaf roof. This building was a praying place as found in every rice field” (Daily note of field observations, February 2014).

Figure 5. 3. Sasak Women and Public Hydrant

The limited access to water affects women’s health. Some interviewees could not be relieved from water collecting although they were pregnant. They only reduced the frequency of water collecting.
Pregnant women who lift heavy items could experience weakness, breathlessness, and cramping. Apart from the extreme danger of pregnant women dying due to exhaustion from water collecting, they were also at risk of falling. As narrated by Susiana:

“I slipped due to the slippery soil when I fetched water, and fell unconscious. I woke up and continued to carry the water, after which I had to visit a traditional massage therapist to treat the muscle pain” (Bu Susiana, Aik, Central Lombok).

That improved water accessibility improves the well-being of women and family was recognised by two male interviewees:

“The correlation between water accessibility and socio-economic benefit always existed. Collecting one to two buckets required much time, but Alhamdulillah (thank God) now water infrastructure exists, so women don’t need to spend much time or go far to fetch water. Women can use that time for more productive activities which support their family income, for instance, producing kitchen tools from bamboo craft, popular in Aik” (Pak Burhan, former head of Aik, Central Lombok).

Heard directly from the community, the first benefit (of BUMDES) is saving women’s energy. In other words, after going to the field in the morning, women farmer-labourers had to collect water when returning home and it was exhausting. But, Alhamdulillah (thank God), now we just need to turn on the tap in our own house or those surrounding. They can use this extra time for other tasks which is more efficient to improve family’s income (Pak Muzakhar, Head of BUMDES, Inaq, Central Lombok).

Women interviewed in Inaq echoed these ideas. In their opinion reducing time spent collecting water did not automatically increase productivity but enabled them to enjoy some leisure time and engage in other activities such as caregiving:

We can wake up a little bit later. My spare time is for taking a rest, looking after children, and (serving) husband … I do
not have a job or other business (Bu Yunita, Inaq, Central Lombok).

Hartini, who could subscribe to BUMDES, was able to spend her time socializing, relaxing, or chatting rather than being productive.

When my children are at home, I would have a seat and chat with my neighbour. We chat about various things such as fashion, clothes, sandals ... etc. (Bu Hartini, Inaq, Central Lombok).

Water-Related Roles Filled by Women

This study demonstrates that women as wives or mothers shoulder the responsibility of being the water gatherers in society; interviews in Aik and Inaq with Public Works officials, village heads, and public figures in the society are indicative of this assigned responsibility.

Mothers often collect water; the fathers rarely, because they have to earn a living (Bu Happy, Aik, Central Lombok).

Even though I am pregnant, my husband doesn’t want to help. Because for him, to look for water is my duty as a wife (Bu Malika, Aik, Central Lombok).

Women were obliged to look for water for their immediate and extended families. The duty would fall on the wife, mother, daughter-in-law, and mother-in-law. Bu Tarti from Inaq said:

My husband was young. Because we got married at a young age, he didn’t care about it (fetching water), so my mother-in-law helped me more (Bu Tarti, Inaq, Central Lombok).

Bu Nunik, who lived with her husband, son, and daughter in-law, similarly stated:

I fetch the water. Even if the water tub is empty, no one else will fetch the water except me. Right now I am lucky because I have my daughter-in-law helping me get water (Bu Nunik, Inaq, Central Lombok).
Nunik (50), felt exhausted seeking water during the dry season when water is more turbid, muddy, and scarcer than in rainy season. Nunik used water for cooking, clothes washing, and she also used it to wash the cassava that will later be made into tape as a home-based business, by which Nunik helped her husband earn a living. Even though she was illiterate, Nunik could contribute to the cost of sending her children to university.

Discussions with village women revealed that while they assumed sole responsibility for fetching water, they felt this responsibility could be shared with men. The interviews also showed that some husbands were willing to help ease their wives’ burdens and support women’s role in productive activity within the community. This happened in the case of Bu Mila and Aisha who were both contributing to the family income while keeping house. They expected and were assisted by their husbands who shared some household chores.

The problems associated with inaccessibility of clean water are not restricted to households. Indonesian women, while being household managers, are also expected to play a role in the community. This is an extension of the state ideology that places women in the role of a mother at all levels of society. But this assigned responsibility does not come with support needed to do so effectively. The relevance of this disconnect was apparent in relation to the maternity centre in Aik which was ultimately closed down due to lack of clean water accessibility.

The Indonesian government had initiated a program in 1989 of placing village midwives in remote villages to reduce MMR rates across the country (Hay, 1990, p. 246). Local Governments built maternal houses
where midwives could support the mothers and newly born babies. Soon midwives’ duties turned them into caregivers to both family and the community (Bullock, 1994, p. 2). Though these midwives were provided training, studies indicate that often they were unable to perform their duties optimally due to shorter duration of training, and the lack of trust by villagers who felt that the trained midwives could not deliver children because they were young or had not become mothers themselves (Hay, 1999, p. 249). The lack of water accessibility further limited the capacity of these midwives to perform their community role effectively.

The experience of Aik Village Maternity House highlighted how the lack of clean water undermined the program initiated by the Indonesian Government. Though the local council set up the Maternity House, it did not provide clean water access to support the work by the village’s midwife. As narrated by the husband of the midwife, his wife Aisha had to take responsibility for gathering water, bathing mothers and babies, washing clothes, and teaching sanitation habits in water shortage areas. Effectively, Aisha was responsible for ensuring the health of mothers and new born babies at the Village Maternity House. Mamiq Burhan assisted his wife to fulfil the medical and sanitation water needs, gathering up to 200 litres for the water tub in the village healthcare centre. In his own words:

It’s quite okay during the rainy season because we could look for water in the neighbour’s well nearby. But in the dry season, it’s not my duty, but I watched my wife who was there. She had to look for water in the neighbour’s well farther away to fulfill the community water needs. Sometimes my wife and I brought the water together, around 15 liters per bucket, walking back and forth five to six times (Mamiq Burhan, former head of Aiq village, Central Lombok).
Mamiq Burhan had drawn the attention of village managers/elders to the need for water for women engaged in community welfare projects. But nothing was done to address this issue. In his words:

It seemed like they tried to protect themselves in each office that I contacted. When I went to Health Office, they told me that this is the village government’s job because the village healthcare center is under the village government authority. I tried the village government, but until this day they have not yet connected it (water service) even though the water pipelines are right in front of the village healthcare center (Mamiq Burhan, former head of Aik, Central Lombok).

The lack of clean water disadvantaged Aisha’s attempts to save lives. The village maternity house was soon closed down due to hygiene problems. In Mamiq Burhan’s words:

We built a village health care centre here, but within two years it was abandoned, and not occupied by medical personnel. I was the one who worked hard for it, but after it was built there were still problems; its supporting needs were not met, such as clean water (Mamiq Burhan, former head of Aik, Central Lombok).

This example shows that even though Aisha had won the trust of local community, the local government’s inability to support the Maternity House by ensuring that it had access to sufficient quantities of clean water contributed to the failure of the program. This could have contributed to Lombok District’s failure to meet the MDG’S target for lowering the maternal mortality rate.

Similar stories were shared by staff from the Women’s Empowerment, Child Protection, and Family Planning Office of West Nusa Tenggara Province in March 2014. She shared a midwife’s experience in Central Lombok. She said that a recent maternal mortality was caused by her exhaustion from fetching water during her pregnancy.
This heartbreaking situation was worsened by lack of coordination between institutions, lack of services in a healthcare facility, lack of clean water for sanitation to ensure the healthy delivery process.

Almost half of my respondents operated home-based businesses and thus engaged in an informal sector outside of their family environment. Such participation blurs the distinction between the private and public spaces as the business focuses on activities such as cooking and sewing within the family space. But it also empowers women financially as they acquire capacity to supplement their husbands’ incomes. Among my respondents were women such as Nunik who fermented cassava business and Mila who made handmade bags. Some women learned how to make handbags from kur rope or opened a vegetable stall not far from their homes. In Aik, women ran home-based businesses by weaving bamboos. One such producer, Mulan, was a young mother in who was assisted by her husband and her parents. Mulan’s husband cut and split the bamboo and was also an ojek driver. Susiana and her relatives also made bamboo woven handcrafts. Another home-based businesswoman was Halimah, a tailor who often made face masks for factory workers.

A number of women operating in the informal sector in the two villages reported problems with water supply, claiming that it affected their production, as with Nunik’s fermented cassava business, or women in Aik who weave bamboo. They required sufficient water to wash the cassava and colour the bamboo. Adequate, quick and easy access to water in the house would have increased their opportunity to do productive work at home. But Local government ignored women’s water concerns. Women were often reluctant to express their views in public.
and hence their views were not considered by the Local Government while formulating policies.

The examples of Nunik and Mulan provide an insight into this situation. Nunik played a central role in her family, not only as household manager but also as an income earner. She was an exception. While most women with little education cannot contribute to the family income, Nunik supplemented her husband’s contribution towards the cost of higher education for their children; him as a farm labourer; her in her *tape* business. They encouraged all their children to pursue higher education. One had already graduated from university. She said:

I collect water ... no one has ever assisted me. I am lucky now, because my daughter-in-law can help me fetch water and cook ... I also work, plan meals and prepare them, pay school fees, drop children at school, drop my children’s lunch boxes at school (Bu Nunik, Inaq, Central Lombok).

In Aik, Bu Mulan (43) had never finished primary school. Her husband was an *ojek* driver who found it difficult to secure steady income for their children’s education. Mulan could contribute to her family’s income through her bamboo craft business, and was often invited to participate in many craft exhibitions. As a result, they could afford to send both their children to senior high school.

Both these women shared their difficult experience of collecting water and how they were eventually successful:

To draw water from a well takes more time. I have not yet been able to subscribe to piped water because the connection was unavailable to us, and only benefited our neighbouring village. I wanted to complain about this matter to my head of village, but I did not want to make him uncomfortable (Bu Mila, Inaq, Central Lombok).
I did not have enough money for customised piped water ... It was too expensive. The piped water installation costs IDR 500,000 (AUD $50). My income was only IDR 10,000-20,000 rupiah per day (AUD $1-2). So, I chose to collect water from my well, even though it exhausted me. I had to draw 60 litres of water to wash cassava. When I felt exhausted at night, I just said ‘Astaghfirullah,’ (‘I seek forgiveness from Allah’) many times until I slept. I was worrying about the limited water access, but I surrendered to God (Bu Nunik, Inaq, Central Lombok).

Women’s avoidance of confrontation in difficult situations unfortunately resulted in their needs not being accommodated and remaining unrepresented in local public policy. For Mila, inaccessible water disadvantaged her earning a living, but she hesitated to complain to the head of village to avoid conflict. Her reticence ruined her chances of success. Nunik, who also felt the price of piped-water installation was too high, was afraid to complain in public, and suffered losses in income. She preferred to leave it to God, rather than tell other people. As a result, their views and aspirations were not taken into account by local government. Consequently, problems such as unavailable water impacted on potential earnings from productive income-supplementing home activities.

The situation is similar to how the Indonesian government fails to take into account women’s needs for water as farmers. Men, as head of the family are identified as ‘farmers,’ whose work involves irrigation and marketing of crops. Women, as members of the family, are considered unpaid field labourers who are responsible for planting and harvesting. Consequently their work in the farming sector, especially regarding water access, is often ignored (Stivens, Ng, Jomo and Bee, 1994, p. 99).
Failure to appreciate gender based water needs is also apparent in policies relating to drinking water and basic sanitation, and to irrigation policy. National provisions for drinking water and basic sanitation infrastructure in Indonesia in 2012 identified two goals: the first, to widen availability of drinking-water and access to hygiene; the second, to improve the quality of hygiene in public health. National infrastructure was developed to treat and improve irrigation quality to support the government’s efforts to ensure food safety (Moraes, 2011). This was reflected in national and local water policies in Central Lombok, differentiating domestic water and irrigation water, reflecting Zwarteveen and Bennett’s argument about gender differences in water management policy (2005). Women’s needs in the domestic sphere were taken into account while irrigation policy related to productive roles and economic efficiency focused on male farmers (Zwarteveen & Bennett, 2005, p. 13). As a result about 85% of water available on Lombok Island was used for farming irrigation, and only 15% for household and industry needs (Sjah, 2007). Additionally, women who worked in the field were seldom involved in irrigation matters. Even when women assumed men’s roles in irrigation work because their men had left to work in another region their views were not entertained (Andajani-Sutjahjo, et al., 2015, p. 204).

Most of the respondents did not share their views on the availability of irrigation water but they commented on how they suffered because of inherent gender bias in the conception of farming. One respondent suggested that the low and discriminating wage in agriculture impoverishes women. Nina, as the main income earner of her family, had to face the bitter reality that she must support her family. As a low-paid
female farm labourer, it was very difficult to properly support her paralysed husband and four children. Bu Nina, as a Sasak woman, experienced many traditional barriers of social structure in acquiring any capital.

Women farmers learned to survive in unprofitable situations. Women farmers in Inaq worked in wet-lands to plant rice or vegetables and fruits. In Aik, the main commodities are coconuts and rice. Some women in Inaq and Aik worked as landowners/farmers (Petani gurem + Petani non gurem) while those without land worked as labourers. Women’s income is interconnected to water; income and water levels both decrease together symbiotically/simultaneously. Women’s vulnerability is indirectly proportionate to water levels (Latifa & Fitranita, 2016). To overcome difficulties, women adapt different strategies to survive, one being to do different jobs (Latifa & Fitranita, 2016). If formerly they owned land, they would become farm labourers, or work in home-based industries (Latifa & Fitranita, 2016). Limited water supply for farming means farmers lose or change their jobs or are forced to migrate to battle for foods for themselves and both the immediate and extended family. Some farm families could no longer rely on their lands and would migrate to other provinces and even overseas as Indonesian Migrant Workers (IMW) to support their family back in the village (Rozaki, 2016). Low education and skill levels made them choose to work in informal sectors such as housemaids or on a plantation.

Women were again forced to face bitter reality. If men left home seeking work, the wife would automatically assume the dual role as head of the family and household manager, with water limitations
compounding the burden. Women farmers or daughters from farm families, however, could become the family’s economic lifesavers when facing a welfare crisis.

**Gender Relations in Family and Community**

Some cases in my study suggest that gender relations are dynamic within the Sasak family and community. Despite traditional views, women are seen as secondary. Changing social conditions in Central Lombok caused a growing awareness among men to support their wives undertaking activities outside the house. Men started to allow space for women to be actively involved in social activities in the village related to the community and even village development planning processes. Some cases in my study demonstrate that both traditional Sasak norms and men’s support for their women effect an emerging women’s agency.

Gender relations at the family level are gradually changing in Central Lombok. Traditionally, the customary law and gender-biased interpretations of religious teachings emphasised the dominance of men over women within the family sphere. Men made the primary decisions within the family. In contrast, women had limited agency. Women in rural Sasak culture were at the end of the food distribution chain with no right to select their own food. They were being willing to eat *empit* (crusts) and *sabiyek masak* (red chillies) leftovers from their husband and children (Rozaki, 2016). The culture also dictated that women stay at home to maintain harmony within the family sphere (Makinuddin, 2005). This social structure of man as head of the family persists among the Sasaks. It is demonstrated in the high percentage of households in
West Nusatenggara Province headed by a man (78.81%) and only 21.9% by women (due to being divorced or widowed) (MOWEs, 2013).

Changing socio-economic conditions in Central Lombok are beginning to shift this situation. Climate change in Nusa Tenggara province resulted in declining land availability and water supply for farming (Latifa & Fitranita, 2016). This, in turn, caused farmers to lose or change their jobs, or even migrate to earn livelihood for their immediate and extended families (Rozaki, 2016). They also became willing to allow women to work and earn an income in order to create better living conditions for the family (Herwanti, 2017). This has not totally altered the situation in favour of women; even if women contribute by earning a living, and occasionally earn more than their husbands and accumulate more assets compared to those of their husbands, the income and assets earned by women still tends to be under the ownership of the husband as head of the family (Makinuddin, 2005). However there is definitely a shift in gender relations. The dynamics of family decision-making are also changing. Most FGD participants in Inaq said Sasak husbands made family decisions, but occasionally both husbands and wives would decide together. If the husband worked as an Indonesian Migrant Worker (IMW), then the wife would ask the husband’s permission first. Only one participant stated that all decisions were in the wife’s hands, the husband could only agree.

These changing dynamics have prompted men to give space for women to be actively involved in social activities in the village related to the community and even village development planning processes. This was stated by Happy’s husband.
Support from Bu Happy’s husband encouraged Bu Happy to finish higher education. At the beginning, Bu Happy had only graduated from Junior High School. Then, she eventually graduated from university. The improved education stimulated Bu Happy’s confidence to manage many community activities such as being the facilitator of planning village development; managing working groups as a coordinator of rattan craft group and being involved as chief of early child education school.

“I always support my wife; I would encourage her, all activities in any form, I support her, especially problems of our community. If there were someone who could not afford to pay the certificate, my wife would pay it for her” (Bu Happy’s husband, Aik, Central Lombok).

The husband supported Bu Happy because in his view actively working to change the community was more important than just donating money.

“That’s all she could give to the community, if in the form of money, assets, maybe she couldn’t help, but she could help only with her thinking and efforts, ma’am. On money-related problems she still could not help the community” (Bu Happy’s husband, Aik, Central Lombok).

This kind of support from her husband made Happy’s personality develop. Prior, she was only a housewife, but after engaging in community activities, the wife started becoming public-minded. Her husband’s support gave space for woman to grow and develop. The wife started to do well in public speaking with no fear. The husband also had no fear of his wife becoming smarter than him. Happy and her husband also encouraged their neighbours’ active involvement in community and village activities.
Roles and work division in the house were delegated equally. When Happy had to leave for a couple of days, the husband would take care of the children without complaint, making Bu Happy feel more secure.

“I keep on supporting my wife, I give permission to her, like yesterday she had to stay overnight at Santika Hotel, I let her, so I took care of the children, I never forbid her” (Bu Happy’s husband, Aik, Central Lombok).

Role division in domestic work was delegated equally in the community. Cooking, washing, and taking care of the household were no longer women’s domain as housewife. Men started to do them as well. In addition, the community started to understand that household works are no longer women’s job alone.

“Relating to it (household works), I can do it all, even sometimes when she’s so busy so she hasn’t washed yet, I washed it. For example she’s busy but she wanted to wash, I’ll wash so she could continue what she’s doing. My neighbours near where I live, especially my family, there’s no such thing as prestige. Our Ustadz here named Ustadz Misan, his wife rarely cooks, we’ve been here for quite a long time, no prestige, it does not matter who does it (household works). Same with my brother who was the chief in local bank in Sumbawa, when he arrived home he will wash, his wife did the other works” (Bu Happy’s husband, Aik, Central Lombok).

Bu Happy acknowledged this support in her interview. She said:

“I salute my husband, even though he is from another region. He was so different from others. He always supports me in the things I do.... He never intervened. He was more concerned if he saw me looking troubled. He always supported me in anything I did. ... One day I said that I must attend training tomorrow, and he surprisingly answered, ‘although I could not provide financial support for your higher education, now is an alternative way for you to learn
more.’ Like an old Arabic proverb: ‘seek knowledge, even as far as China’” (Bu Happy, Aik, Central Lombok).

These interviews suggest that individual motivation to make a change is an impetus for women to do such activities. Happy has been able to do various activities outside the house, to attend training outside the region, because such activities required family support, particularly from her husband and children. In this case, women required support in sharing the responsibility to handle household affairs with their husbands or other members of the family. It is the support of her family that greatly contributed to change in gender role and increased women’s capabilities.

Other respondents suggested that supporting male members is not the only factor which influences women to act. Unlike Bu Happy, Bu Hida’s husband disagreed with her involvement in community activities. It was noted that he complained about her activities in the community, not appreciating her wanting to become involved. He did not like the close interaction between Bu Hida and their community, as such strong behaviour is against Sasak cultural ideals, where women should focus on the domestic sphere. This conflict led to divorce, so Bu Hida felt pressured to stop her activities for one month. During this time, Bu Hida’s self awareness and personal growth helped her realise many people needed her involvement, so she wants to continue her community activities:

“The wife of the head of the village often asks to conduct a community meeting in my house, as does the wife of the head of sub-district. So, my house is always busy. My neighbours seemed jealous of my involvement in the community. My neighbour asked my husband why he was not angry with me? I had stopped for one month to recharge my batteries. I told my friends that I
would not be active for a while. I asked them to coordinate with the treasurer. The next meeting was disorganised and poorly attended. I thought then, if I were inactive, who would assist the other women to deliver their ideas at village meetings. Therefore, I became motivated to wake up and continue my previous community involvement” (Bu Hida, Inaq, Central Lombok).

Hida demonstrates that agency emerges when the individual becomes aware of her capacity to make changes to an existing condition. Individuals act when necessary to oppose oppression. Bu Hida’s awareness led her to challenge the ideal and norm which placed women only in the domestic sphere. Finally, Bu Hida decided for herself to continue playing three roles as household manager, kindergarten teacher, and village facilitator. In this instance, Bu Hida’s free will challenged the hegemonic standards of her society.

In Central Lombok the author found two women who became heads of household from opposite economic backgrounds. These women were Halimah and Nina. Halimah was an active cadre in Aik who became head of the household when her father and two brothers passed away. Her mother was already old, and her nephews had no parents, there was only her. So, she became the head of the family. The modification also altered her status in family meetings. In her words:

“I am one of nine children, ma’am, six boys, three girls including me. Two of my brothers have passed away so when there were family meetings, we were treated the same as the men, they asked our opinions, we also made decisions for the family, had the same rights as the men. Back then when the men did not want to, then it was not allowed, but now it’s different” (Bu Halimah, 46 years old, woman).

With a high school education, Halimah could send her two sisters to school, conduct a home-based garment business, and participate in
social activities in the community. She exuded a feeling of being capable and confident to participate in local decision-making. It could be argued that some women also assume agency when needed and manage to support their families.

**Women’s Participation in Local Policy**

This section investigates how the changing social conditions are influencing a more dynamic gender relationship and increasing women’s agency. It also examines how empowerment training and participation in community meetings have facilitated women’s involvement in decision making processes, particularly relevant to water access. It also discusses structural and cultural underpinnings of water management policy which affect women’s authority to make decisions, take ownership and voice opinions regarding resource distribution.

Climate change in Central Lombok combined with the rapid population growth and ecosystem degradation has led to limited natural resources, such as reduction in arable land, water availability, and food insecurity. It is also increasing, both directly and indirectly, social, economic, and cultural vulnerability (Butler et al., 2014; Wise et al., 2014). Women in Central Lombok must bear multiple burdens due to the climate change that has worsened since 2008. Latifa and Fitranita (2016, p. 1) have discussed “the paradox of women’s position” in very difficult situations where, while more vulnerable than men, they show persistence, devise strategies for survival or improve their situation (Torri, 2012). They also adapt to difficult situations by playing multiple roles as household managers and take the lead in contributing to family income. With their economic activities outside home, women could also
expand their social network, to raise their social status both in their household and community (Torri, 2012). Women who can participate in community activities, feel particularly respected and valued. Their self-image improves, as does recognition from the community. However, these women remain excluded from decision-making processes as the community prevents women from assuming agency in solving problems. This is the case with women in Central Lombok.

Halimah believes that women activists in *posyandu* need emotional resilience, what she labelled ‘strength of spirit’, and the capacity to change society rather than simply being attractive.

“It was not on purpose that I had become *posyandu* cadre, having met the midwife to distribute supplement tablets to the community. The midwife asked me to replace the previous cadre who was getting married. According to the midwife, there was no salary to become a cadre. I became *posyandu* cadre in 2008” (Bu Halimah, 46, Tahun, Perempuan).

Becoming *posyandu* cadre to Halimah allowed her to learn and grow, and to become a public figure. Many people felt comfortable asking her assistance. Aik villagers approached the *posyandu* cadre to solve their problems. It helped them become more active as opposed to remain passive in the community. Aik women villagers enjoyed receiving training for capacity building, and became more confident to speak and act in public sphere:

“In fact, I got much benefit (from being involved in community activities). As did Bu Happy, I too have often assisted communities to register births to issue birth certificates. I often assisted many people who were sick, giving birth, and have invited locals to involve themselves in village meetings” (Bu Halimah, Aik, Central Lombok).
Bu Halimah and 11 other women villagers acted as representatives of women in every hamlet to voice women’s needs in village planning meetings, becoming involved in mid-term village planning, publicly addressing issues:

“(In village meeting) I spoke about education. I was always involved in *musyawarah perencanaan pembangunan* (musrenbang) (discussion of development planning) that included drafting mid-term development plans. I brought real villagers’ needs to the next level within planning and development” (Bu Halimah, Aik, Central Lombok).

Women joined a village organisation and collaborated to participate in village and district level development planning discussions which gave them the opportunity to meet and express their opinions. The capacity to work collaboratively was essential to gather support to counter opinions of detractors of ideas proposed by women.

“Formerly women were not heard at all. *Alhamdulillah*, now we are asked to present our opinions. For example, we proposed family latrines (as also proposed by men). We proposed the idea so that local people in Aik no longer freely defecated in public. Initially, there were parties that rejected the proposal; such behaviour was normal in society. We continued holding our position as there were many supporters. There were five village facilitators that also supported the water toilet proposal. The village facilitators and us villagers were united. We have often met with the village facilitators in Aik village” (Bu Happy, Aik, Central Lombok).

The engagement of women in an organisation had seemingly provided them with the capacity to overcome one of their problems related to toilets. Bu Happy strategised to preserve the solidarity by meeting routinely with village facilitators, solidifying the idea.
Bu Halimah, Bu Hida and Bu Happy’s experiences indicate that women’s agency has increased within the community sphere. Some of these women have gradually acquired the capacity, through community activities involvement or women’s empowerment training, to make a difference. They feel respected by and significant to their community. However, space for women is limited to those at the village planning level; even though there is recognition from the community, they are denied a strong voice in decisions. Many positive proposals delivered by women, were rejected in the end and they felt their work was not appreciated.

“One example ... I proposed a strategic place for the posyandu center. But, in the end, posyandu center was built in an inconvenient location near the cemetery. I complained about this matter. But I did not have any alternative solutions, because only this land could be acquired. So, I had to agree” (Bu Halimah, Aik, Central Lombok).

“People share their complaints with me. Why does PAMDES water only benefit the neighbouring community? I wanted to complain about this matter to my head of village, but I did not want to make him uncomfortable. It is because someone in his family received money. It provided greater water distribution inland than in my area” (Bu Mila, Inaq, Central Lombok).

Sasak cultural values about the “ideal woman” have influenced the way women express their views. While Bu Halimah and Bu Happy are confident to question men’s ideas, Bu Mila is not always willing to share her views openly with the villagers. Although local authorities had not undertaken development of piped water infrastructure in Bu Mila’s neighbourhood, and though she and her husband kept drawing water in buckets in her dug well every night, she was reluctant to criticise the omission for fear of offending the village head. This is despite the fact
that Bu Mila is known as a confident woman who expresses her opinion at many community meetings. She also shared her views that given the notion of an “ideal woman” as being quiet, polite, and passive, women need to be brave and assertive to address policy issues.

“As always, we were invited to speak, especially if it was related to health care. The decision-makers and leaders appreciated and complimented our brave voice and ideas. Actually, when we spoke true fact [sic], they also appreciated and took things into consideration. Eventually, they rejected politely; we took no offense; nor did we feel rejected. Even, from our opinion which might be unacceptable, we learned new and better insights” (Bu Hida, Inaq, Central Lombok).

Women’s participation has improved in changing society which gives space to and encourages women to speak although the community at large, particularly the elite, do not completely support this situation. Despite being actively involved and assuming agency, women are not always included in the village decision. This is manifest in their inability to access clean water easily. At the same time, women also are reluctant to always take a stand, due to the cultural norms that prevent women from asserting themselves.

Women’s aspirations are accommodated only if men support them. Bu Hida’s experience is evidence of this. She shared her views about provision of clean water with the villagers. Her ideas were considered and accommodated as it gained support from men connected to external parties in the village the apparatus of DPU of Central Lombok. In Hida’s words:

“In the village office, I have always attended the invitation given to me, despite no material incentive. I felt it is the time for me to struggle for women. On some occasions, I only attended alone as a woman, as the majority of women here are still uneducated.
Finally, I proposed the provision of clean water in 2009. However, the idea was considered less important because it was proposed by a woman. Men become leaders, and have capital so they are usually respected” (Bu Hida, Inaq, Central Lombok).

Table 5.10. Table of Traditional Water Decision-Maker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Water Management</th>
<th>Actor who make Decisions</th>
<th>Decision-Making Forum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Household water management</td>
<td>Mostly women</td>
<td>Individual decision-maker (without forum)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2.  | Community-based local water resource management for domestic purposes | Mostly men and exclude women participation | - Formal Water Management Committee  
- Formal Water User collective forum  
- Informal Meeting community gathering |
| 3.  | Community-based local water resource management for irrigation sector | Mostly men and exclude women participation | - Formal local farmer group forum |

There is gender inequality in the decision-making power of local water resources management. Men have the power to decide on water use not only for men’s needs but also for women’s needs. Furthermore, women are excluded from participating in community water resources management and even excluded from decisions about water use for domestic purposes. This phenomenon reduces women’s knowledge of water resources and their ability to effectively manage household water
Men hold the dominant authority in local decision-making. In an emergency situation, only men have the authority to overcome the problem. BUMDES was finally initiated by men that learned about the program to aid providing clean water facilities in Inaq from the local government of Central Lombok. The establishment of BUMDES for clean water, and its management team worked to gain trust from the local community and the provider of such program aid (DPU of Central Lombok). The management of BUMDES argued that it recommended approaching intelligent and vocal male activists to become engaged in this program. It was not considered urgent to approach female groups for their opinions in favour of or against the idea of the establishing BUMDES for clean water:

At the moment, we understand that not approaching women did not mean we were belittling them. The problem we faced was that there was demand from the provider of program aid so that the aid could be utilised by the local community in the long term. It was a burden, so that it did not come to our mind to invite women. Thus, we only invited intelligent clever men to express their opinion. There were unclear opinions, but it is such opinions that were deliberately expressed; so that no woman was engaged in the discussion (Pak Ali, FGD’s participant, Aik, Central Lombok).

In the urgent situation, we only invited men who bravely disclosed problems encountered and were mostly vocal and brave to hold their principles ... If one of them could be persuaded, it is assumed all others would follow. Therefore, it is possible that we missed inviting women (Pak Hary, FGD’s participant, Aik, Central Lombok).
The results of FGD with the social figures that established BUMDES for water indicate that women were only to be the beneficiaries of benefit, users, and those to be consulted when determining the price as customers. The manager of BUMDES only consulted with women as the domestic users of water, as women manage household finance, including paying invoices for the provision of clean water.

Thus, mothers were not involved in the establishment, but the men feel that their struggle was for the ladies.” (Treasurer of BUMDES, Inaq, Central Lombok).

“At the moment, we held a meeting to determine [the price]. We actually invited all local people; even more women than men were present in the village office. In fact, it is women who determined the price (Treasurer of BUMDES, Inaq, Central Lombok).

Even unfortunate women become the passive beneficiaries of the policy of clean water supply service. The managers of BUMDES were concerned about the needs of the poor for clean water service but did not engage them in formulating the policy. They determined the criteria of the low income independently, not involving the village apparatus or engaging the low income as users of the water service. They argued that it was to prevent social conflict and discrimination in a wider scope among the community.

A year ago, we devised it (the program for the low income). The chief of the program proposed the idea. Some days ago there was a new program introduced to the village; then, the seventy-year-olds were identified as the low income. Thus, a question to ask is, What criteria [is used to] determine who is low income? We made an agreement with those selected in the program. They may not tell anything to others, even to their children. If they were unable to do so, we might cancel their subscription (Treasurer of BUMDES, Inaq, Central Lombok).

Women’s participation in local public policy-making suggests that women’s agency is not static. Since changes in circumstances
occurred, their relationship to the local structure has undergone some transformations. Women’s need to become involved as income earners and active social workers, has given them some significant influence in the traditional structure. Mostly, women have become independent and less dependent on men. The shifting reality of agency does not translate into their being heard at the village level, contributing to discussions, especially regarding water access. When women raise questions about problems related to water management at the family and community levels, they are often ignored. A women’s voice is often disregarded and furthermore, the community gives less attention to women’s concerns, in water-related and other matters. Therefore, this shows that women’s agency in decision-making is insignificant.

Reflecting upon local decision-making process not fully engaging women’s participation, I would argue that real gender mainstreaming does not take place at grassroots level. It is important to understand the attitude of local government and local elite society towards promoting women’s agency and implementing gender mainstreaming dealing with water problems.

Central Lombok Regional Development and Gender Mainstreaming

In practice, women have not been engaged in making policy about the water crisis in Central Lombok. This has left women’s basic rights unfulfilled, even among low income. Regional development in Central Lombok does not fully support gender mainstreaming related to water issues. The services delivered by government have not directly targeted the low income or overcome the problem of the low level of basic capability, preventing them from achieving dignity as citizens. Regional development planners in Central Lombok are struggling to include
women’s concerns and experiences in design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluating policy related to water issues.

The following is the perception of one of the officials in DPU of Central Lombok concerning what approach was selected when clean water was provided:

In my opinion, the provision of clean water is a technical problem, so men are considered first, and then after it (pipelined water) was connected to houses, they (women) are told about the benefit. It did not mean we ignored women. In fact, we might not invite them and observe the field together. Men worked first and then women support after. This was the model applied here. Women then gain the benefit. They just use, save, and pay the service so that they know the way of payment to the institutional group determined. In this case, men brought equipment; it is erroneous if women must bring materials used. In general, they contributed by bringing coffee or snacks for men that work (Pak Heru, an official of DPU, Central Lombok).

At that time, as average head of household, men represent the family and they would discuss among each other. Then, they chose one person as their representative. In the past, men usually felt unsatisfied (about water supply services). As a result, women feel satisfied currently (because men’s efforts alleviated their water problems from the past) (Ustad Muzakar, Head of BUMDES, Inaq, Central Lombok).

These examples show the mindset of service providers, decision-makers, and local elites when they design local policies. Men dominate the decision-making while women remain passive participants. Excluding rural and unfortunate women in design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of development policy raises questions about how gender mainstreaming implementation is advocated and operated in Central Lombok. Autonomous local governments have enthusiastically attempted to make their respective region progressive.
and independent, and to improve the welfare of the community in Central Lombok. However, despite local government’s initiatives to provide justly and evenly distributed services, the benefits of development privilege more men and tend to marginalise women.

The documents of development planning in Central Lombok have implicitly accommodated gender issues as the manifestation of the local government’s commitment to implement gender mainstreaming. Such implementation did not result in good governance of justly distributed benefits for men and women. The implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies in Central Lombok encountered some challenges.

The first challenge relates to the lack of understanding of the definition and goals of gender mainstreaming strategies in development planning. Local Mid-Term Development Plan (Rencana Jangka Menengah Daerah/RPJMD) (2011-2015) of Central Lombok accommodated gender mainstreaming to support one mission of development in Central Lombok, to wit: “To improve community health and intelligence and gender mainstreaming.”

Development planners translated the second mission of the Local Mid-Term Development Plan by focusing on the implementation of three women-specific interventions. First, to protect women from various forms of violence, such as protection of domestic and foreign labourers. Second, to improve women’s and children’s lives. Third, to encourage women to participate in local development.

---

43 Women-specific intervention is an intervention which gives more consideration to women’s issues in the development policy (Parpart & Barriteau, 2000).
Development planners saw gender mainstreaming strategies as women-empowerment specific interventions aimed at improving the quality of women’s life and public participation. Program planners did not design these to overcome problems between men and women through gender-responsive programs to achieve gender equality by engaging more men and women as the subjects and objects of development. They used the low level of women’s participation in the public sphere to focus on merely increasing their participation in community meetings. The documents from the Middle-Term Local Development Planning (2011-2015, in Central Lombok) show that local government merely used the statistical data of the powerless women’s participation in development as an entry point. They did not use Gender Development Index, early marriage, unpaid employment, or unequal pay between men and women, as background into formulating gender mainstreaming programs. They did not attempt meeting women’s need to improve capacity, to increase their bargaining position, and to participate in making both local and regional development policies.44

There are also practical challenges to meeting the targets of gender mainstreaming. Central Lombok has established the Women’s Empowerment and Family Planning Board (Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Keluarga Berencana/BPPKB) in 2008 as an institution to implement gender mainstreaming strategies. For six years, BPPKB has performed several activities such as socialisation, advocacy about the importance of implementing the gender mainstreaming strategies in Work Units of Sub-Department Apparatuses (Satuan Kerja Perangkat

44 These findings reflect those of Subramanian (2004) who argues that local government meets only practical and not strategic needs of women.
Dinas/SKPD in Central Lombok and training the formulation of gender-responsive planning and budgeting. The Gender Mainstreaming Work Group showed less progress as a forum in implementing gender mainstreaming strategies among SKPDs in 2013. BPPKB couldn’t maximize work groups’ function to encourage the formulation of gender-responsive planning and budgeting into budget planning documents in each SKPD, or to design gender-responsive policies, programs, and activities for the next year. Gender responsive planning and budgeting are measures to accelerate such gender responsive governance in providing both men and women with social equality as the subjects and objects of development.

BPPKB advocates that each SKPD observes its respective budget, then formulates gender-responsive budgets, which went unanswered by SKPDs. An alternative was sought, i.e., for BPPKB, with Local Development Planning Boards (Bappeda) to observe the SKPDs in Central Lombok that could potentially formulate gender-responsive planning and budgets.

The Sub-department of Public Works (Dinas Pekerjaan Umum/DPU) of Central Lombok that handles water affairs, had not yet implemented gender mainstreaming strategies. The Focal Point Team of Gender Mainstreaming was not yet established in DPU. Its role was limited to being attendees at the socialisation of gender mainstreaming and training on the formulation of gender-responsive planning and budgeting. Not being a member of the Focal Point Team, meant the results of socialisation of gender mainstreaming and training in formulating gender-responsive planning and budgeting weren’t submitted to officials with authority over infrastructure development.
Job rotation frequently occurring among local officials in BPPKB became an institutional obstacle in effective advocacy of gender mainstreaming strategies.

In gender socialisation, the attendees changed, so one’s understanding also varied (Head of Women’s Empowerment Section, Central Lombok, February 2014).

Misunderstandings arose in different SKPDs when invited to meet to implement gender mainstreaming strategies. They commented that:

This is a session on gender mainstreaming. Why do you invite us from DPU? ... Do you ask us to build roads for women? (Head of Women’s Empowerment Section, Central Lombok, February 2014).

Gender and human resources experts were limited, particularly in exploring gender issues in development sectors, which caused the issues explored to be limited to education and health services, and women’s and workers’ protection. Specific gender issues on community welfare, like clean water, can’t be explored yet.

Limited funding is an obstacle to implementing gender responsive development programs. The Head of Women’s Empowerment has a limited budget, causing local government to focus more on concrete public services, rather than improving socialisation activities. Local Government provides IDR 548,000,000 (AUD $54,800) to increase women’s participation in regional development by participation and gender equality and conducting women entrepreneur management training for 150 people. Funds were used to conduct skills training, rather than gender mainstreaming, socialisation, and advocacy, necessary to implement gender mainstreaming strategies. Local government budgeted IDR 5,284,000,000 (AUD $528,400) to improve exposure of family planning precepts to 2800 child-bearing-age couples.
NGOs and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Central Lombok are active in various women-related issues, but do not facilitate social groups’ and governments’ gender-responsive planning and budgeting. Expansion to grassroots was through various advocacy and training activities in women’s empowerment. The NGOs and CSOs were less comprehensive and systematic and would remain active if financial support were available from the funding providers with the agendas of their respective interests.

Changes and improvements in women’s capacity are discouraged by both local government, and NGOs, who had a significant effect on socio-economic change locally. Central Lombok showed that NGOs [such as Berugak Dese, the Indonesian Forum for Budget Transparency (FITRA), Combine Resource Institution] and CSOs applied a strategy to affiliate with NGOs, and collaborate in a consortium of the Integrated Community Empowerment Institution (Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Terpadu) (sapa.or.id). This consortium is synergic with local community empowerment activities and movements in 12 subdistricts, which have collaboratively been managed or coordinated by the secretary of the Local Poverty Eradication Coordination Team (Tim Koordinasi Penanggulangan Kemiskinan Daerah/TKPKD):

The consortium of NGOs in Central Lombok is a forum for the collaboration of 27 NGOs on various issues, particularly in community empowerment ... We work with the secretary of TKPKD (Bu Rahma, an activist of Berugak Dese, Central Lombok).

The consortium of NGOs in Central Lombok began to change its operational strategies. Formerly, the NGOs and CSOs emphasised criticizing the policies of local and central governments (lumbung.or.id),
worked on community empowerment at a grassroots level, and collaborated with local governments forming policies with support from funding providers and government programs (yappika-action.or.id). The NGO of Berugak Dese in the consortium has applied Information Data Systems (IDS) to the poverty eradication program (lumbung.or.id). IDS has controlled data processing applications, citizen journalism, and data or information analysis for the village-level development. Berugak Dese aided training IDS facilitators and operators locally, and assisted the local community to develop village planning and development programs for the application of IDS:

Hida assisted us (Berugak Dese) in interactive data processing (IDS) with the secretary of the village. We intentionally selected the secretary of the village so that there was an authority to control and involve one of the most active people in the community, Hida. ... In fact, we have always held the basic training of data processing in IDS ... (Bu Rahma, activist of Berugak Desa, Central Lombok).

Some NGOs and CSOs have consulted about planning and budgeting for IDS to the Village Community Empowerment Board of Central Lombok. With the bottom-up planning approach, the budget demonstrates IDS is needed locally. Local Secretary of Central Lombok stated that NGOs played a great role in supporting local government’s performance:

Yes, for example, in some discussions on Local Budget, the NGOs played a great role in bureaucratic reforms. NGOs’ activists become assistants in villages, the consortium of NGOs provided facilitators, and they were active in the Development Planning Consultation, while in other regulatory processes, we usually engaged them in some public consultations, and sometimes we accommodated NGOs’ initiative to be discussed so that it can be formulated
into policy. [...] There are also NGOs that built a partnership with *Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah* (SKPDs)/local sector office in the implementation of programs. This is one of our motivations to involve them so that they understand the mechanism of local government. So, it is expected that they can eventually be much better communicators with the local community. This is our strategy (Local Secretary of Central Lombok).

The NGO of *Berugak Dese* has encouraged community empowerment, including for women, as a component of society. It contributed to the braveness of Hida in Inaq as well as Happy and Halimah in Aik, to attend important meetings to express women’s opinions. Their courage enabled others not only to have the courage to express their opinions, but also oppose differing thoughts of elites in local communities:

Formerly I could not speak fluently before the public ... After gradually learning it from *Berugak Dese*, I can do it... [...] Although he is head of the village, I am courageous enough to oppose him. In *Berugak Dese*, I learned public speaking ... Now I am not ashamed but brave to express my opinion (Bu Happy, Aik village, Central Lombok).

The community assists women in solving women related problems. Some NGOs as women observers have taken the economic empowerment issue to help women to access public facilities and to improve gender relations in society. *Perkumpulan Panca Karsa* (PPK) (Group of Five Power of Soul to Will) specifically focused on the issues of female migrants and their families. *Perempuan Kepala Keluarga* (PEKKA) or Women-Headed Household Empowerment has strengthened women who are head of the family. *Asosiasi Pendamping Perempuan Usaha Kecil* (ASPPUK) (Association Companion of Small
Business Women Entrepreneurs) offers an empowerment movement for small and micro enterprises owned by women.

**Conclusion**

Sasak women use water for both productive and reproductive purposes. Mostly they wish to share their views on dealing with water management issues, especially after receiving training in empowerment. But the water management policy and cultural factors create structures that limit their agency. Women are subordinated and discriminated against in the process. The low level of women’s participation in decision-making and clean water resource management causes women to be only passive beneficiaries of development policy and programs. Men control decision-making and water resource management.

The government, in its efforts to increase women’s participation in decision-making and clean water resource management, uses a formal approach limited to inviting women to attend meetings in the village. Few women attend due to their limited knowledge about water management in the public sphere, lack of confidence to express their opinions before male participants, limited time available to attend due to reproductive and productive activities, and the assumption that engaging in decision-making in the public sphere is a task mainly for men. Hence it could be argued that in order to implement gender mainstreaming comprehensively, the government should focus on addressing issues of social equality and gender, with due attention to overcoming cultural and structural barriers that limit women’s participation in ensuring access to clean water for community welfare.
CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

Gender mainstreaming is a term often mentioned in the government’s discourse on development. Yet, the term appears simply as acknowledging the appearance of women’s participation in, for instance, the communal or public meeting on preparation of the Village Middle-Term Development Plan (known as Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Desa or RPJMDes), which usually takes place in the region (kabupaten) or sub-region twice or three times a year. The appearance of women in such public meeting might lead one to believe that women have been involved in the strategic policy making process. In fact, as I have examined throughout this thesis, the appearance of women in the meeting was merely a formality of women’s attendance without taking into account the women’s own attitudes, judgments, opinions, and preferences. The women’s physical attendance was acknowledged, but the women’s voices have been minimised, or even, almost unheard.

As this thesis explores the impacts of gender mainstreaming in local provision of clean water in particular regions (kabupaten) of Indonesia since the government issued the decree in 2000, it argues that the women’s roles in everyday life have determined how gender mainstreaming empirically translated and practiced differently in the local contexts. By observing the everyday life of local villages women in two different regions (Kulon Progo and Central Lombok) regarding their attitudes and roles in dealing with basic human issues such as clean
water provision, this thesis provides a closer look of how the term ‘gender mainstreaming’ has been interpreted and implemented by the local/regional authorities into the society.

This study highlights the significance of patriarchal norms, ethnic and cultural traditions, and religious interpretations that subordinate women and exclude them from community decision-making processes. The findings of this study support studies done in South Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, but identifies distinctive features of the belief systems of rural Java and Lombok that affect the perception and treatments of women in community projects including water management.

This thesis suggests that since women’s representation in gender mainstreaming is the actualisation of women’s way of thinking, so the design and framework of gender mainstreaming should begin with proper understanding of gender through women’s interactions in their daily lives. Gender mainstreaming is not just to provide a space for women to be involved in public activities. It also enables women to autonomously determine their choices and attitudes in daily life, to have the same rights as men, to manage their needs, and have wide access to water management. Although women have an important and decisive role in the family, women are limited in decision-making and access to water management. The internalisation of a new concept involves interacting with the countervailing concept among community members. The rationale in the daily space (the focus of the study on women’s representation) allows us to understand the mentality of a community. Thus, this study places gender study and mainstreaming within the society rationale of everyday life practices. It will be
transparent if gender mainstreaming positions women fairly in the decision-making public arena. The Indonesia’s bureaucracy does not completely understand gender mainstreaming in developing policies that put women both as objects and as subjects actively involved in formulating their own policies.

Four factors supporting and three factors inhibiting the implementation of gender mainstreaming have been identified. On the positive sides are the rise of internal awareness of women’s capacity to make a difference in families and communities; the rising public awareness among men to provide space for women to contribute to social change; the availability of regulations and instruments to implement gender mainstreaming at the grass roots; and increasing access to infrastructure at the local level promoting equality and position of women in social relations. Inhibiting factors include cultural aspects of the hegemony of patriarchy that influence society’s worldview and behaviour; misconceptions about gender and misunderstanding gender mainstreaming in documents and development planning; as well as technical obstacles thwarting fulfilment of key prerequisites towards implementing gender mainstreaming.

**Gender Mainstreaming in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok: Lesson Learned**

Previously noted, implementing gender mainstreaming in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok made marginal progress despite inability to promote equitable gender relations or improve the status of women. Local governments accommodated the concept of gender mainstreaming into local planning documents and regulations protecting women and
children. Women still occupy a lower status and social position than men, as seen in limited access to material resources including: water, income, social resources including information (knowledge), power, and family prestige, in the community and society (the State). Gender mainstreaming manifested similarities and differences in access, obstacles, and current gender relations in both regencies.

Gender mainstreaming implementation in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok encountered conceptual and technical constraints. Misconceptions and lack of understanding regarding the meaning and purpose of gender mainstreaming in the development planning document led to ineffective implementation. Instead of being understood as addressing gaps in male/female relations through gender-responsive strategies to achieve equality, gender mainstreaming is misinterpreted as specific programs for women.

Cultural ideas about the position of women are reduced to their involvement in the public sphere *per se*. Women’s understanding of water management is missing from community awareness. Women’s participation in public spaces is seen merely as sharing work space rather than promoting their capacity to participate as development agent through enhancing women’s condition and position. Conditions in this term refers to what women’s need to support their work; and position refer to “women’s social and economic relative to that men” (Parpart, 2014, p. 143). The development activities do not refer to a women’s capacity in creating a better life for herself, addressing inequality and enhancing women’s position through women’s role as individuals and as family and community members. This incompatibility confuses the community’s understanding of gender mainstreaming It is often
misunderstood as meaning simply that women should have a greater role in public spaces.

Implications of Gender Mainstreaming in the Provision of Clean Water in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok

Communities in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok have similarly problematic stereotypical gender roles rooted in history, culture, and religion; that men are the household heads and women are the household managers, and that their roles and responsibilities differ with regard to managing water resources. Women desperately need water for household uses: cooking, cleaning, and taking care of children and family; men need water for agriculture and other productive (income-generating) activities. Changing social conditions make women need water for both their household reproductive activities and social involvement in the community. Women need clean water to perform their reproductive work domestically while simultaneously carrying out productive work to increase income and family welfare.

Poorly conceived and implemented government policies impact public welfare. Gender mainstreaming and water management policies which disadvantage women cause public welfare to suffer. As WHO outlined, public welfare is measured in households with access to clean water and proper sanitation. In 2013, 61.37% of households in Kulon Progo District could access clean water; in Central Lombok the figure was 72.9%. These figures are only slightly short of the MDG targets (68.9% in 2015); Central Lombok has exceeded the MDG benchmark. These indicators from local authorities were hiding injustices in clean water access for recipients because they do not consider the distance
from residences to water sources, quantity collected, and frequency and
duration of collections, or who is responsible for water collection (men,
women, children). Indicators of distance, time, quantity, and quality of
water reflect quality of service providing drinking water, should be
created and evaluated to protect the community from potential abuse by
service providers, and from privately controlled water resources.
Privatisation of water resources in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok has
increasingly marginalised vulnerable groups, especially women. Thus,
privatisation is insensitive to the gender dimension in society.

Misconception of gender issues hamper the poverty alleviation
programs of the Kulon Progo and Central Lombok governments. These
issues range from government water service providers to those at the
glass roots. Women bear the impact of poor water management as
fulltime housewives or those who work outside – without assurances
clean water would be provided in every household. Women feel doubly
burdened as tasks are gender-biased; men enjoy free time while woman
care for children, find and prepare food, perform household chores, with
next to no free time.

Gender harmony as understood in the global context of gender
mainstreaming clashes with Javanese values, obstructing it at the glass
roots level in Kulon Progo. With the ultimate goal of physical and
psychological welfare, “gender harmony” in the global context stresses
mutualism and cooperation between the sexes. In Javanese culture,
harmony is intimately connected with hierarchy; it requires people to
give in to avoid conflict -- to subordinate their own interests to that of the
group, through silencing one party’s voice in the name of tepo seliro
(tolerance) to maintain social equilibrium. Differing interpretations of
harmony highlight cultural constraints for women’s empowerment in Kulon Progo.

In Central Lombok, Sasak culture and gender-biased religious interpretations of Islam affected Sasaks’ world view and perception of women when gender mainstreaming was integrated into local development processes, especially providing clean water. The Sasaks confirm a division of labour; men are leaders in domestic and public areas where as women are wives and mothers at home. Islamic teachings uphold and promote gender equality; gender-biased perceptions and interpretations of traditional scholars in Central Lombok, and cultural practices and philosophy perpetuate men’s superiority and women’s inferiority. Women face social and cultural barriers in non-domestic activities. Existing gender ideology stops women exercising the functions of family breadwinner and playing a community role in society.

Women’s limited access to clean water exacerbates gender issues in Central Lombok with its high poverty and maternal mortality rates (MMR). Distant inaccessible water sources affect the safety of pregnant women. Limited availability of water makes women spend more time fetching water, which could be more usefully employed in reproductive and productive activities to increase family income. Closer clean water would save time and energy for productive activities, increasing women’s contribution to family income while reducing poverty. More available time allows the mother to improve development of children and their education as well.
Women are missing in policy decisions. Their low involvement and the dominance of men in decision-making and managing water resources relegates women to passive roles as beneficiaries of policy and development programs in both Kulon Progo and Central Lombok. Women are responsible for providing clean water in households, but men control decision-making and management of water resources. Women are involved merely as consumers. Social cultural barriers affects women who have not been sufficiently involved in water management.

Local governments and village authorities promote rural women’s involvement in decision-making processes in water management by inviting women to local government meetings. However, women lack knowledge about water management, lack confidence in conveying their thoughts among dominant males, have little spare time due to reproductive and productive activities at home, and believe decision-making in the public sphere belongs to men.

Social change has enabled women to actively work for change, by either internally obtained power or externally obtained opportunities. Internal power is obtained through self-awareness based on experiences that transformed them; opportunities come from outside agencies such as women’s empowerment, and encouragement from men. Patriarchal gender ideology dominates locals’ thinking in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok, hence women’s capabilities are not yet recognized, and opportunities missed.

This study parallels to previous studies in rejecting divisions between domestic and public spheres (Andajani-Sutjahjo, Chirawatkul, & Saito, 2015; Ford & Parker, 2008; White & Hastuti, 1980), which
unjustly divided social structure (Sullivan, 1991). In Kulon Progo and Central Lombok, domestic and public spheres are interlinked and overlap. The study is critical of the New Order’s gender ideology that still dominates the worldview of government administrators, shaping their notion of the ideal woman and their tendency to dichotomise the domestic and public spheres regarding water management. Such a social problem also exists in Thailand (Andajani-Sutjahjo et al., 2015).

The enduring hegemony of patriarchal ideology blended with gender ideology and perceptions of Islamic teaching frame women as responsible for managing and nurturing the household rather than having a role in the public sphere. A small number of women with experience of involvement in public meetings or who have joined leadership training run by local NGOs, are influenced by gender mainstreaming agendas. The existence of women agency is acknowledged, but they have not being involved strongly, for instance in the decision making process. Therefore, gender mainstreaming is still problematic and requires a greater effort and more cooperation between government and NGOs to realise its aims.

The findings advocate changing the approach towards women in gender mainstreaming policy. Women are present in the public space for numerous reasons and different backgrounds economically, socially, and politically. There are cultural aspects, religious interpretations, and social classes that shape women’s logic and behaviour that kept them from public spaces and decision-making, wherein they became a reason for the lower accommodation of women’s practical needs such as clean water. It is necessary to develop an informal approach in absorbing the voices of marginalised groups into local policy making and to encourage
community participation in both private (household) and public spaces. Women should be encouraged more to participate in the halls of public policy and be recognized in women’s realm of thought (reason) and behaviour in daily life. Gender mainstreaming should enter family relationships, community, and society, so that women enjoy equitable status and position in their social relations.

The typology of participation levels proposed by Agrawal (2001) assisted in mapping the nominal participation among women in Planggi, Kulon Progo. This continues charting nominal, passive, and consultative participation among women in Inaq and Central Lombok, in which women were only considered users of water and passive participation in village development. Passive participation means women occasionally attend meetings to listen silently to water-users’ discussions. Some of the bolder women in Inaq exercised consultative participation, where they expressed opinions on specific issues [e.g. the pricing of monthly subscriptions for the Village-owned Water Supply Company (PAMDES)], but no guarantee was given that their opinion would affect the final results. Empowerment and participatory approaches face fundamental difficulties in dealing with established social structures. The absence of structural transformation leads to the lack of women’s involvement in the community.

This study supports Sadler (1997), and Moser & Moser (2005), who state optimistically that gender mainstreaming is a necessity to achieve gender equality in Indonesia, which could be accelerated if community participation were implemented providing space for women in public policy, acknowledging women’s participation in daily life in their
productive, reproductive and social roles, in the domestic and public spheres, within their local culture.

This study by and large confirms what research by John McCarthy and Greg Acciaioli (2014) found, namely that projects to empower women in rural communities produce ambiguous outcomes. On one hand they open new opportunities for (women) villagers to participate in development planning and provide space for adaptive learning at village level. On the other hand, women’s decision-making power remains limited because of elite capture and entrenched social hierarchy. This study makes new findings by explaining how women respond to unfamiliar discourses such as gender equality, social justice and human rights. It shows, for instance, how entrenched notions of gender embodied in state ideology, local culture and religious interpretations limit women’s willingness to strive for empowerment and equality.

How do service providers in regional and central governments intend to achieve gender equality? I will conclude this study by providing some closing thoughts for decision-makers, and three questions leading to further research.

**Concluding Thoughts and Recommendations**

Gender mainstreaming policy implies that gender mainstreaming continues to be a low priority for decision-makers in Indonesian policy context. The authorities both at national and regional levels must understand the shifting away from stereotype roles views to actual roles performed by women in their everyday practices. The understanding is important to support development programs like poverty alleviation...
and society empowerment identified by the regional governments of Kulon Progo and Central Lombok as their priorities.

Changes to gender mainstreaming policy and program development are needed. Encouraging women’s participation and empowerment as only a top-down approach, is prone to misperceptions among policy makers. There should be a changing to top down and bottom up parallel processes that include all areas relating to women’s issues in development and setting the agenda from the factual needs of women in their local contexts. Then, this approach also should initiate from the top to the transformation of the paradigm, sectoral priority of development; the improvement accountability mechanism through gender analysis, to influence the existing patterns of social relations and promote gender equality in the local cultural context. Therefore, solutions are designed to focus on overcoming the root of women’s exclusion from the public sphere and to influence existing social relations on private and public levels.

The preparation of the social agenda will be more effective if carried out bottom-up. Currently, the formulation of local policy and program priorities has been only top-down by public servants. It’s time to prepare social agendas formulated through policies and programs involving beneficiaries. Gender mainstreaming should be started at the local policy level in the village, then this previous result process would stimulate greater creativity on designing gender mainstreaming national/regional agenda. NGOs’ role is to encourage women’s groups to participate in gender-responsive village budgeting.
Cooperation between central government, the village (as the service provider), and NGOs should be strengthened in order to promote gender mainstreaming on individual and social levels, in formal and informal approaches. Individual levels refer to individuals with an awareness (knowledge, skills, commitment) so that socially they can improve the condition of women (and men) as part of the social agenda, supported by changes in informal values in informal cultural and religious interpretations.

Several findings in the research reveal a complex socio-cultural construction that does not challenge women’s status and roles, and gives rise to questions that reinforce my intention to delve further into how policy at grass roots level could encourage more lower-class women to participate?

This suggests the need to explore these issues: How could obstacles to women’s presence in the decision-making processes be removed? How can attitudes laws, regulations, and practices be changed? How can rural women in Indonesia confirm their multiple identities in class, gender, religion, culture, ethnicity, and age, all of which intertwine daily in complex and unexpected ways, either to adopt or refute the idea of women’s empowerment and women’s agency? How are women’s well-being affected by various policies such as decentralisation or bureaucratic reform? Do policies hinder or facilitate women’s well-being and opportunities? Finally, how can one locate mainstreaming machinery at the local level to achieve better gender relations?
List of References


Ing. (2016). Warga Kurang Mampu Bisa Pasang Instalasi Air Bersih Gratis [Low Income Communities Are Able To Receive Water Piped Instalation For Free], *Tribun Jogja*. Retrieved from


Glossary: Abbreviations, Terms and Nomenclature

- Depending on the context, “daerah” may refer to either Province or District
- Words in quotation marks are the literal English translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Al Hadist A precept on all saying and conduct of Prophet Muhamad SAW.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-‘adāelah Equity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-hurriyah Freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-musāwah Egalitarianism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Awig-awig Balinese/Sasak cultural regulation practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Babat Lombok History letter of Lombok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAPPENAS Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional National Board of Development Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bappeda Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah Local Development Planning Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Berugak Sasak traditional wooden building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhinneka Tunggal Ika National official motto of Indonesia translated as Unity in Diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belik Seeps or spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPFA</td>
<td>Beijing Platform for Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPPKB</td>
<td>Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Keluarga Berencana - Women Empowerment and Family Planning Board.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bumdes</td>
<td>Badan Usaha Milik Desa - the Village-Owned Enterprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWSH</td>
<td>Community Water Services and Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Dinas Permukiman dan Prasarana Wilayah - the Sub-Department of Settlement and Regional Infrastructures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinas Kimprawil</td>
<td>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah - Regional People Representative Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSKPS</td>
<td>Dinas Sosial, Kependudukan, dan Catatan Sipil The Sub department of Social Affairs, Demography, and Civil Registry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPU</td>
<td>Dinas Pekerjaan Umum Sub-Department of Public Works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>United Nation Economic and Social Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embung</td>
<td>Local dam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAD</td>
<td>Gender and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAP</td>
<td>Gender Analysis Pathways – is one of gender analysis tool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garuda</td>
<td>The national symbol of the Republic of Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBS</td>
<td>Gender Budget Statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDI</td>
<td>Gender Related Development Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEM</td>
<td>Gender Empowerment Measurement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GMFP</td>
<td>Gender Mainstreaming Focal Point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWA</td>
<td>Gender and Water Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPI</td>
<td>Human Poverty Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hormat</td>
<td>Upholding respect or respecting others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDS</td>
<td>Information Data System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imam</td>
<td>Leader prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMW</td>
<td>Indonesian Migrant Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam Wetu Lima</td>
<td>A Sasak community that perform the five pillars of Islam i.e. shahadat, prayer, fast, zakat, and pilgrimage to Mecca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam Wetu Telu</td>
<td>A Sasak community that perform the five pillars of Islam i.e. syahadat, prayer, fast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRF</td>
<td>Java Reconstruction Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Kanca Wingking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabupaten</td>
<td>District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyai</td>
<td>Male Javanese Islamic religion leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Lalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Mahram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamiq</td>
<td>Means father in Sasak language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masak, macak, manak</td>
<td>Javanese cultural norm illustrates that the ideal Javanese women should be loyal to her husband and able to do three wife’s functions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merariq</td>
<td>Sasak cultural practice of eloping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitra sejajar</td>
<td>Men and women as equal partners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMR</td>
<td>Maternal Mortality Rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoHA</td>
<td>The Ministry of Home Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOWE&amp;CP</td>
<td>Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>One of modern Islamic organisation in Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muktamar</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahdlatul Ulama</td>
<td>One of traditional Islamic organisation in Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nrimo</td>
<td>Accept with gratitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAMSIMAS</td>
<td>Penyediaan Air Minum dan Sanitasi Berbasis Masyarakat - Community Based Drinking Water and Sanitation Provision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAMDES</td>
<td>Pengelolaan Air Minum Berbasis Masyarakat Perdesaan - a village-owned drinking water Company or Management of Community Based Rural Water Supply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panca Sila</td>
<td>the five principles of state ideology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDAM</td>
<td>Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum – The Regional Company for Drinking Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEKKA</td>
<td>Perempuan Kepala Keluarga – the civil organisation which has a mission is to strengthen women headed household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peran ganda</td>
<td>the dual women’s role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKK</td>
<td>Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga - Family Welfare Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPK</td>
<td>Perkumpulan Panca Karsa – the civil organisation for empowering migrants and their families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posyandu</td>
<td>Pos Pelayanan Terpadu - Health service program for women and children villagers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pribumi</td>
<td>Indonesian native people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priyayi</td>
<td>Hereditary Javanese elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proair</td>
<td>Water Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROBA</td>
<td>Problem-based Analysis - is one of gender analysis tool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2W</td>
<td>Peningkatan Peranan Wanita which can be literally translated as Team to Advance Status of Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPJMN</td>
<td>Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional - National Midterm Development Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rukun</td>
<td>Creating and maintaining harmony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasak</td>
<td>Ethnic Lombok society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepelembaran</td>
<td>Sasak term which means two yokes that are carried on the shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepersonan</td>
<td>Sasak term which means one basket on the head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SKPD</td>
<td>Satuan Kerja Perangkat Dinas Sub-Department apparatuses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soloh</td>
<td>Sasak cultural inheritance law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susenas</td>
<td>Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional National Socioeconomic Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tempe</td>
<td>Fermented soybean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tepo seliro</td>
<td>Greater tolerance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TKPKD  Tim Koordinasi Penanggulangan Kemiskinan Daerah - Secretary of the Local Poverty Eradication Coordination Team.

Tuan Guru  Sasak Islamic religion leader

W

WID  Women in Development

WSLIC  Water and Sanitation for Low-Income Communities

W/GSC  Women/Gender Study Centre

WMW  Woman Migrant Worker

Wudhu  Ablution

Y

YKSSI  Yayasan Keluarga Sehat Sejahtera Indonesia - The civil organisation organization with a focus on women and children health issues
List of Appendices

Research Questions:

- How gender mainstreaming strategies are translated into the provision of drinking water in Kulon Progo and Central Lombok;
- How the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the provision of water has impacted women’s role and status in society;
- How the implementation of gender mainstreaming affected women’s participation in the decision-making process at the community level.

Respondent’s characteristics:

Female and male villagers who actively attend, and who never attend (water-related) community meetings

Number of respondents:

26 adult female villagers and 11 male villagers as end users of safe water services in 4 villages (11 female villagers who actively participate, 13 females who rarely or never actively participate, 11 male villager who actively participates in community meeting, village project facilitators, officials from the office of public works, office of health, and two regional heads drinking water companies. With officials of public health and works. I explored the service providers, decision-makers, and elite local when they designed, implemented, and evaluated policy.
A. Questionnaires of in depth Interview

I. General Information:
   a. Name
   b. Address
   c. Age
   d. Information about residential building: (interview and observe)
      - Ownership status: private/rented/shared
      - Type of building: permanent/semi-permanent/temporary
      - Type of floor: tiled/concrete/soil
      - Sanitation facilities: private/shared/public usage
      - Availability of electricity or power for light and cooking:
      - Availability of motorized transport to public facilities
        (market, health care, school)

II. Role and Status of Women
   a. Last education:
   b. Occupation:
   c. Marital status:
   d. Number of Children:
   e. How many people live in this house and how are you related to them? Who is the head of the household (KK)?
   f. Income of head of household on average in a day/month/week:
   g. Could you explain your daily activities from waking up in the morning until going to sleep at night?
   h. What kinds of activities do you do outside the home?
   i. Ditto Inside the home
   j. What kinds of activities does your spouse do that are done inside the home?
k. What kinds of activities does your spouse do that are done outside the home?

l. What are the main sources of water for this household?

m. Who is responsible for collecting water for the household (if relevant)?

n. Who is responsible for making decisions about when and how to collect/purchase water for the household?

o. Who is responsible for making decisions regarding?
   - Children’s education
   - Family’s health
   - Family care
   - Marriage
   - Management of household budget
   - Property purchase (land, housing, motor bike)
   - Agricultural management (type of crop)
   - Marketing of agricultural produce

II. Women’s Access (quantity, quality, price) to safe drinking water and basic sanitation

- Quantity
  a. Could you explain the availability of water in the wet season and in the hot, dry season?
  b. What kind of water sources is your family able to access in the wet season and in the dry season?
  c. How far is the source of water from your place of living?
  d. How do you/your family collect the water (by walking, riding bicycle/motorbike, receiving from water cart, truck)?
e. What is the best time to collect water?

f. How much water do you collect/receive on average in a day during the wet season? During the dry season?

g. What household activities use water?

h. Where do you wash the clothes of family members? If NA, who washes your clothes and where? Where does the water for cooking and washing up come from? Who does the dishes?

i. Where do your family bathe? Urinate? Defecate? (home/public/river)

j. Could you explain about the sufficient water availability that you can access for your household need?

k. What is your response in facing the situation above?

- Quality:
  a. Could you explain how you treat the water before you use it, e.g. before drinking (such as filtering and boiling)
  b. Could you explain the taste, odour and colour of the water? (Might have to ask about different sorts of water used for different activities.) Do you consider that the water you drink is clean and safe?
  c. What kind of diseases are common in your family and neighbourhood? Do you consider that you or your family get sick because of the quality of the water you use?

- Price:
  a. How much money did you have to allocate for water on average per month last year?
  b. How do you feel about this price?
c. How did you respond to this price? (e.g., did nothing, used untreated water, found another way to get a cheaper price)

III. Women’s participation in community decision-making
   a. Are there any meetings here that make decisions about water? If so, please explain.
   b. Are you eligible to attend those meetings and participate?
   c. Are you comfortable attending formal and informal village meetings.
   d. Could you please explain why you are comfortable or not?
   e. What kind of meeting would you feel comfortable attending?
   f. What was the response of the other participants at the meeting when you expressed your opinions? How did you feel regarding such response?
   g. Could you explain whose opinions are taken into account in making a final decision?
   h. Do you feel your opinion is taken into account when decisions are made?
   i. Could you explain how interested you are in being involved in decision-making about water?
   j. Could you explain how interested you are in being involved in maintaining water provision?
   k. Could you explain how interested you are in being involved in monitoring water provision?
   l. Could you explain any obstacles for you to be involved in organizing the provision of safe drinking water?

IV. Customer satisfaction (public services/PDAM services)
a. How do you feel about government/PDAM services related to water provision?
b. If something is not satisfactory, how do you complain about drinking water and basic sanitation provision?
c. What types of complaints do you have about drinking water and basic sanitation provision?

**In depth Interview Questionnaire for:** Village Heads and villager empowerment facilitators

a. What do you think are the main development issues for this village?
b. How do you think it would be possible to enhance the role of the community in the development process?
c. Could you explain, do women and men have the same role in the development process? What differences are there?
d. How does the water and basic sanitation provision in the system work in the present?
e. How did the water and basic sanitation provision system work in the past?
f. Is there any significant difference between them?
g. Which people in the village are involved in water and basic sanitation provision?
h. How do you think it would be possible to ensure the same treatment (equity) in men and women’s access to water and basic sanitation?
i. How do you think it would be possible to ensure the same treatment in men and women’s participation in water and basic sanitation provision?
j. How do you think it would be possible to ensure the same treatment in men and women’s control of water and basic sanitation provision?

k. What are the barriers to achieving this same treatment?

In depth Interview Questionnaire for district officer (development planning agency officer)

a. Responsive gender policies for the purpose of bureaucracy reform process, specializing in human resources: Internal Policies
   - How accurate is the employee database of this institution?
   - Does the employee database of this institute identify gender?
   Are the statistics on employees in this institution disaggregated by gender?
   - How does the institution profile each employee’s individual competence?
   - What is the definition of a good employee in your opinion?
   - How has the standard of competency for each position in the institution been made?
   - What is the ratio between men and women with regards to educational in this institution?
   - What is the current ratio between men and women with regards to official position in this institution?
   - When this institution is seeking new recruits, is gender considered? Have you noticed any difference in the support given to male and female employees as they try to develop their careers?
   - How does the regulation for the official discipline affect, and differ between men and women?
- To what extent does a supervisor respond to/show understanding of an employee’s personal or family issues (e.g. medical appointment, meeting with child’s teacher, maternity leave, sick child)?

- How is the system of individual performance assessment implemented?

b. Responsive gender policies in bureaucracy reform process for making better public service: External Policies

- What kinds of special programs exist in order to support PDAM, Municipal Public Works Office and Municipal Health Office, for the purpose of creating gender equality in access to the provision of drinking water and basic sanitation?

- What kinds of special programs exist to support PDAM, Municipal Public Works Office and Municipal Health Office, in creating gender equal participation in the provision of drinking water and basic sanitation?

- What kinds of special instruments exist to support PDAM, Municipal Public Works Office and Municipal Health Office, in creating gender-equal treatment in the provision of drinking water and basic sanitation (e.g. Standard Operational Procedure (SOP), Standard Minimum Services, Specific Guidelines).

Respondent: PDAM Officer

1. What efforts have been made by the central Lombok PDAM Office to make better quality public services?
2. What are the barriers faced by Central Lombok PDAM Office in achieving better quality public service?

3. What kind of measures have been taken to demonstrate PDAM performance to the public?

4. What kind of factors affect this performance?

5. What are the strengths of the PDAM institution?

6. What are the challenges for PDAM in achieving better performance?

7. How do you measure the satisfaction of customers?

8. What kinds of special programs exist to assist poor rural households?

9. What kinds of special programs exist to achieve/ensure the same treatment of men and women in water provision?

10. How did you design these programs?

11. How did you communicate these programs to stakeholders and consumers?

12. How did you implement these programs?

13. How do you monitor these programs?

14. How did you evaluate these programs?

15. Who are your partners in the design, communication, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of these programs?

**In depth Interview Questionnaire for** district Public Work Officers

1. What kind of efforts have been made by the Municipal Public Works Office to improve public service?

2. What kind of barriers does the Municipal Public Works Office face in providing a better quality public service?
3. What kind of measures have been taken to demonstrate the Municipal Public Works Office performance?
4. What kind of factors affect this performance?
5. What are the strengths of Municipal Public Works institution in achieving better performance?
6. How do you measure the satisfaction of customers?
7. What kinds of special programs exist for assisting poor rural households in the provision of drinking water and basic sanitation?
8. What kinds of special programs exist to create/promote the same treatment of men and women in the provision of drinking water and basic sanitation?
9. How did you design these programs?
10. Is there any specific tool/method that was used for designing specific programs?
11. How do you communicate these programs to stakeholders and customer?
12. How did you implement these programs?
13. How do you monitor these programs?
14. How did you evaluate these programs?
15. Who are your partners in the design, communication, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of these programs?
Respondents: Municipal Health Officer

1. What kind of efforts have been made by the Municipal Health Office to improve public service?
2. What kind of barriers does the Municipal Health Office face in making a better quality public service?
3. What kind of measures have been taken to demonstrate the Municipal Health Office’s performance?
4. What kind of factors affect this performance?
5. What are the strengths of the Municipal Health institution?
6. ?
7. How do you measure the satisfaction of customers?
8. What kinds of special programs exist to serve/assist poor rural households in the provision of drinking water and basic sanitation?
9. What kinds of special programs exist to create/promote equity between men and women in the provision of drinking water and basic sanitation?
10. How did you design these programs?
11. Is it any specific tool/method that is used for designing specific programs?
12. How did you communicate these programs to stakeholders and consumers?
13. How did you implement these programs?
14. How did you monitor these programs?
15. How did you evaluate these programs?
16. Who are your partners in the design, communication, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of these programs?
In depth Interview Questionnaire for District Women’s Empowerment
(Society and Village empowerment) Officer

1. What kind of efforts have been made by the Municipal Women’s Empowerment (Society and Village empowerment) Office to improve public service?

2. What kind of barriers does the Municipal Women Empowerment (Society and Village empowerment) Office face in making better quality public service?

3. What kind of measures have been taken to demonstrate the performance of the Municipal Women’s Empowerment (Society and Village Empowerment) Office?

4. What kind of factors affect this performance?

5. What are the strengths of Municipal Women Empowerment (Society and Village empowerment) Office?

6. How do you measure the satisfaction of customers?

7. What kinds of special programs exist to support PDAM, Municipal Public Works Office and Municipal Health Office in creating/promoting equity between men and women in the provision of drinking water and basic sanitation?

8. How did you design these programs?

9. Is there any specific tool/method that is used for designing specific programs?

10. How did you communicate these programs to stakeholders and customer?

11. How did you implement these programs?

12. How did you monitor these programs?
13. How did you evaluate these programs?

14. Who are your partners in the design, communication, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of these programs?

B. Questionnaires of Focus Group Discussion

First Group: Mixed female and male villagers who actively attend (water) community meetings

Second group: Females only who actively attend (water) community meetings

I. Water Value

a. What are the main issues regarding water in this community?

b. What are the implications/effects of water shortages in your opinion?

c. Could you explain any local legends or stories about water? –might need to give some prompts here, e.g. are there any myths or stories associated with natural water features like local springs, waterfalls, etc.

d. Are there any stories that involve conflicts over water – e.g. fights over water rights, theft of water?

II. Customer satisfaction (public services/PDAM services)

a. How did you feel about government/PDAM services related to water provision?

b. What types of complaints do you have about drinking water and basic sanitation provision?
c. What should be done by government to solve these problems?
d. What should be done by the community to solve these problems?

III. Women and decision-making

a. Who is responsible for making decisions in each household?
   Such as:
   - Number of Child in family
   - Use of contraception (men and women)
   - Children’s education
   - Family’s health care
   - Marriage of son/daughter
   - Management of household budget
   - Property purchase (land, housing, motor cycle)
   - Management of agriculture (type of crop)
   - Marketing of agricultural produce
   - Use of water in the household

b. Who makes decisions regarding water in community meetings?

c. What are women’s roles in community meetings?

d. What is the difference between men and women related to water provision and basic sanitation

Third group: Women who never attend (water) community meetings
Third Focus Group Discussion

I. Water Issues
   a. What are the main issues regarding water in this community?
   b. What are the implications/effects of water shortages in your opinion?
   c. Could you explain any local legends or stories about water? – might need to give some prompts here, e.g. are there any myths or stories associated with natural water features like local springs, waterfalls, etc.
   d. Are there any stories that involve conflicts over water – e.g. fights over water rights, theft of water

II. Customer satisfaction (public services/PDAM services)
   a. How do you feel about government/PDAM services related to water provision?
   b. What types of complaints do you have about drinking water and basic sanitation provision?
   c. What should be done by government to solve these problems?
   d. What should be done by the community to solve these problems?

III. Women and decision-making
   a. Who is responsible for making decisions in each household?
      Such as:
- Number of children in family
- Use of contraception (men and women)
- Children’s education
- Family’s health care
- Marriage of son/daughter
- Management of household budget
- Property purchase (land, housing, motor bike)
- Agricultural management (type of crop)
- Marketing of agricultural produce

b. Who makes decisions regarding water in the community meeting?

c. What are women’s roles in community meetings?

d. What is the difference between men and women related to water provision and basic sanitation

IV. Women’s Participation

a. Why don’t you attend formal and informal village meetings?

b. What kind of barriers do you feel prevent you from attending community meetings?

c. With whom do you speak about your problems related to drinking water and basic sanitation provision? (Please explain the reason for choosing to discuss with this person)

d. What responses did you receive from them?
C. Table of Informant of Interview in Kulon Progo

The researcher conducted a semi-structured in-depth interviews with end users of safe water services 14 female villagers and four male villagers, two men villagers, two village authorities, and seven government officers. All the villages where the research will take place in poor areas and are drought-prone. The researcher will choose two villages in each district, where one village has already had access to drinking water, and basic sanitation intervention from government/local community and the other village has not had any intervention. The researcher will choose some female and male villagers who actively attend and who never attend the (water) community meeting. The interview explores women’s experiences, ideas, and thoughts when they faced the challenge of providing safe water and the sustainability of basic sanitation on a daily basis, as well as their participation in policy making, policy implementation and evaluation. Male villagers will also be interviewed to gain a comprehensive understanding of both sides of the gender relationship.
II. Women Villagers in Kulon Progo District

II. 1.1. Planggi Village

1.1.1. Non-active Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Original Name</th>
<th>Pseudoname</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education Background</th>
<th>Husband’s occupation</th>
<th>Child Number</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>High School (SMA)</td>
<td>Retired and farmer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Fruit seller</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Family income $20/month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. 1.1. Planggi Village

1.1.2. Active Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Original Name</th>
<th>Pseudoname</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education Background</th>
<th>Husband’s occupation</th>
<th>Child Number</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tina</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Main Farmer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rosita</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Women Activist</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Domestic violence victim Active in village and district development planning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sita</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>1 + (pregnant)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wina</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Rice trader Farmer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Posyandu cadre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. 1.2. Kali Makmur Village

1.1.1. Non-active Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Original Name</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education Background</th>
<th>Husband’s Occupation</th>
<th>Child Number</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Suci</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Palm sugar maker, Firewood seeker</td>
<td>Junior High School (SMP)</td>
<td>Palm tapper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Umi</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Shop retailer</td>
<td>Junior High School</td>
<td>Private employee</td>
<td>2 son (oldest 18 years old)</td>
<td>Income family $200/month Early married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Santi</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Farmer labour</td>
<td>Did not graduate Elementary School</td>
<td>Palm Tapper (sick)</td>
<td>2 daughter 4 grandchild</td>
<td>Elderly who are living alone, only with her husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kuri</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Palm Sugar maker</td>
<td>Elementary School (SD)</td>
<td>Palm Tapper labour</td>
<td>2 children Oldest 17 years</td>
<td>Lack of water access</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Tina 45 Palm Sugar Maker Junior High School Palm Tapper 2 She deliver public task to her husband

II. 1.2. Kali Makmur Village

1.2.2. Active Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Original Name</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education Background</th>
<th>Husband’s Occupation</th>
<th>Child Number</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Rena</td>
<td>Palm Sugar Maker</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Bachelor Degree</td>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Posyandu cadre, PAUD cadre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sari</td>
<td>Palm sugar maker</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Junior High School</td>
<td>Factory Labour in Bekasi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>PAUD cadre, Farmer Group, Cadre Incentive $1/month, family $100/month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Nuryanti Nita</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Junior High School</td>
<td>Village officer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wife of village officer, Active in posyandu cause of her husband’s position</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Original Name</td>
<td>Pseudoname</td>
<td>Position/Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Sugiman</td>
<td>Sukirman</td>
<td>Member of Water User Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Tukimin</td>
<td>Tukijo</td>
<td>Tumirah’s husband</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sudarwanto</td>
<td>Sudarsono</td>
<td>Head of Pipa Sub district</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Umar Makruf</td>
<td>Amir</td>
<td>Hamlet IX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Nugroho Sanyoto</td>
<td>Nugie</td>
<td>Comittee of village water community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Rustopo</td>
<td>Rasyid</td>
<td>District health officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Zahram</td>
<td>Zainall</td>
<td>District public work officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Arum</td>
<td>Armi</td>
<td>District public work officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table of Subject Interview in Central Lombok

The researcher conducted a semi-structured in-depth interviews with end users of safe water services 12 female villagers and six male villagers, two persons of NGO, 1 water project officer, 13 district government officers, and two village authorities. All the villages where the research will take place in poor areas and are drought-prone. The researcher will choose two villages in each district, where one village has already had access to drinking water, and basic sanitation intervention from government and the other village has not had any intervention. The researcher will choose some female and male villagers who actively attend and who never attend the (water) community meeting. The interview explores women’s experiences, ideas, and thoughts when they faced the challenge of providing safe water and the sustainability of basic sanitation on a daily basis, as well as their participation in policy making, policy implementation and evaluation. Male villagers will also be interviewed to gain a comprehensive understanding of both sides of the gender relationship.
III. Women Villagers in Central Lombok District

II. 1.1. Waja Geseng Village (Inaq Village)

1.1.1. Non-active Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Original Name</th>
<th>Pseudoname</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education Background</th>
<th>Child Number</th>
<th>Theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1.  | Inaq Nurhaetun | Nunik      | 54  | Small home industry owner   | Has not finished elementary school      | 4 (the youngest in university)           | 1. Collect water by drawing 2. Feeling too tired  
Not attend community meeting because of lack knowledge and tightly activity |
| 2.  | Inaq Ramli      | Nina       | 42  | Farmer worker Breadwinner   | Never attended school                    | 4 children   | She has not attended a community meeting because of                  |
(her husband palsyed and ill)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Original Name</th>
<th>Pseudoname</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education Background</th>
<th>Child Number</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Hadiani</td>
<td>Hida</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Kindergarten teacher</td>
<td>Bachelor Degree (S1)</td>
<td>1 daughter</td>
<td>Her husband works in abroad as Migrant labour in Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Hartini</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>House wife</td>
<td>Same level with High School</td>
<td>2 daughter</td>
<td>Her husband works in abroad as Migrant labour in Taiwan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>She is not interest to join community meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Her husband works abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prefer chatting with her neighbourhood to share her problems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1. Waja Geseng Village (Inaq Village)

Active Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Original Name</th>
<th>Pseudoname</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education Background</th>
<th>Child Number</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Hadiani</td>
<td>Hida</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Kindergarten teacher</td>
<td>Bachelor Degree (S1)</td>
<td>1 daughter</td>
<td>Her husband works in abroad as Migrant labour in Malaysia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Highly active
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Yuliati</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>House wife Posyandu cadre</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>1 laki laki</td>
<td>Her husband works in abroad as Migrant labour in Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yunita</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not confident to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Miliani</td>
<td>Mila</td>
<td>32 Retailer in her own shop</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>1 daughter, 1 boy</td>
<td>Not confident to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bag home industry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Because she does not want to hurt a feeling of village leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Titik Sri</td>
<td>Tika</td>
<td>29 Casual labour</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>One boy</td>
<td>Her husband works in abroad as Migrant labour in Taiwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reduce her activity in community because this activities do not give transportation’s compensations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prefer to spend her time with chatting to her neighborhood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Use jet pump to gain water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. 2.1. Aik Village

II. 2.1.1. Non-active Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Original Name</th>
<th>Pseudoname</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education Background</th>
<th>Child Number</th>
<th>Theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Susiana</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Elementary School</td>
<td>2 child (L), First child still in Elementary School Grade 2 (2 SD)</td>
<td>Accident when she collected water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Women Villagers

2. Central Lombok District

II. 2.2. Aik Village

II. 2.2.2. Active Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Original Name</th>
<th>Pseudoname</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education Background</th>
<th>Child Number</th>
<th>Theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Hana</td>
<td>Halimah</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Village Cadre</td>
<td>Senior High School</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Has Motivation to join community activities, No salary, Receive empowerment training, Brave to speak, Strategy to release stress, Benefit join community meeting, Acomodate ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Habibah</td>
<td>Happy</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Village fasilitator, village cadre dan PAUD teacher</td>
<td>Bachelor of education</td>
<td>3 children ( 2 son and 1 daughter ).</td>
<td>Facilitator of village development planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Additional Information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mulan</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Bamboo handycrafter</td>
<td>Did not graduate Elementary School</td>
<td>2 children (1 son and 1 daughter)</td>
<td>Her first son has graduated from Senior High School. She often participates in hand craft exhibition district level.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Inaq Ani</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Tailor who is specifically produce a dust mask.</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>2 children (1 son and 1 daughter)</td>
<td>She contributes an income for her family.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Original Name</td>
<td>Pseudoname</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Suharman</td>
<td></td>
<td>Treasurer of PAMDES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Lalu Mansur</td>
<td></td>
<td>Secretary of PAMDES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ustad Muzakhar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Head of PAMDES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Krida</td>
<td></td>
<td>PAMDES’s technician</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Suami Happy</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aik Villager</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Mamiq Burhan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ex-head of village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Yuni</td>
<td></td>
<td>PDAM officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Syahir</td>
<td></td>
<td>PDAM officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Muchtarom</td>
<td></td>
<td>PDAM officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Arif Rahman</td>
<td></td>
<td>Head of Inaq village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Atika</td>
<td></td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Andhika</td>
<td></td>
<td>Facilitator Pamsimas project</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Totok</td>
<td></td>
<td>Development Planning Agency officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Pinandhita</td>
<td></td>
<td>Development Planning Agency officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Ema</td>
<td>Head of Central Lombok Health Office</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Ryas</td>
<td>Head of Central Lombok Public Work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Firdaus</td>
<td>Central Lombok Public Work Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Wawan</td>
<td>Central Lombok Public Work Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Surya</td>
<td>Central Lombok Public Work Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Secretary of Lombok Tengah District Government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Asisten 1 Lombok Tengah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Asisten 2 Lombok Tengah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>