

The Roles of Women in the New Indonesia's Conditional Cash Transfer Program: Preliminary Findings from Cirebon

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Outline

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Research Topic

- *Program Keluarga Harapan* -PKH(Family Hope Program) ~ a new social protection program in Indonesia - providing conditional cash transfer for the chronic poor
- Intra-household gender relations ~ the roles of women as the recipient of the CCT fund



PKH – Program Description (1)

- Program objectives:
 - Improve quality of human: health and education
 - Cut intergenerational poverty trap by supporting the demand side of access to health and education services
- Means - cash transfer:
 - Rp600,000 - Rp2,200,000 per year (US\$1 ≈ Rp10,000)
 - Quarterly transfer ~ **in Cirebon: December 2007 (should be Nov 2007), April 2008, August 2008, January 2009 (should be Dec. 2008)**



PKH – Benefit scheme

Transfer Scenario	Transfer Amount per Poor Family per Year (Rupiah)
Fixed transfer	200,000
Transfer for poor families who have	
a. Under 6 year-old children	800,000
b. Pregnant/breast feeding women	800,000
c. Primary school aged children	400,000
d. Junior secondary school aged children	800,000
Average transfer per poor family	1,390,000
Minimum transfer per poor family	600,000
Maximum transfer per poor family	2,200,000
Source: <i>Pedoman Umum PKH</i> , 2007; Note: US\$ 1 ≈ Rp10,000	



PKH – Program Description (2)

- Individual targeted households:
 - The chronic poor (*KSM-Keluarga Sangat Miskin*), selected through proxy means-testing by Statistics Indonesia (BPS)
 - Fund is directly transferred to women in the HH (mother, grandmother, aunt, or elder sister), whose name is written in the PKH card
~ in Cirebon, the fund is given to the father in the case of the mother is either ill, working overseas, or died



PKH – Program Description (3)

- HH receive the following transfer only if they comply with the requirements, otherwise the transfer will be terminated ~ **in Cirebon:**
 - **The monitoring and control system for compliance on the conditionality was not yet in operation**
 - **Health service providers know about PKH, but do not understand the monitoring and reporting system ~ monitoring sheet is not distributed yet**
 - **Schools do not know about the program**
 - **Relatively good level of compliance: the PKH families do go to health services and send their children to primary and junior secondary schools ~ few are going to traditional Moslem schools that do not follow national curriculum standard**



PKH - Conditionality

Conditionality for health:

1. Four prenatal care visits for pregnant women
2. Taking iron tablets during pregnancy
3. Delivery assisted by a trained professional
4. Two postnatal care visits
5. Complete childhood immunizations
6. Ensuring monthly weight increases for infants
7. Monthly weighing for children under three and biannually for under-fives
8. Vitamin A twice a year for under-fives

Conditionality for education:

9. Primary school enrollment of all children 6 to 12 years old
10. Minimum attendance rate of 85% for all primary school-aged children
11. Junior secondary school enrollment of all 13 to 15 years old, and
12. Minimum attendance rate of 85% for all junior secondary school-aged children



PKH – Implementation Progress

Number of	2007	2008	2009 (Plan)	Indonesia (Total, 2008)
Household	392,819	637,770	720,000	57,716,100
Sub-district	337	629	729	> 4,000
District	48	70	70	> 400
Province	7	13	13	33

Source: PKH Implementation Unit



Context – Women in Indonesian Culture

- Traditional gender relation :
 - In general:
 - Lower position of women in relation to men, in domestic and public spheres;
 - Women bear more tasks and longer working hours than men;
 - Boys enjoy higher priority to continue schooling than girls.
 - Regional variation:
 - Matrilineal rules in West Sumatera and some part of Flores
 - The power in decision making in the family
 - The economic contribution to the family
- Evolution in gender relation, influenced by:
 - Education, information, exposure to other culture
 - Working opportunity ~ e.g. female migrant workers



Context – Women in Indonesia's Development

Some government programs in the past had used and indeed reinforced traditional gender construct:

- Introduce dual roles of women: increase women economic contribution, while maintaining their domestic responsibilities
- Family welfare programs, focusing on women (e.g. PKK-Family Welfare Improvement, family planning)



Women in CCT (1)

- Household is not homogenous entity. Who control the resource or to whom it is given could really matter (Thomas, 1997; Luttrell and Moser, 2004).
- Income in the hands of women is associated with a larger increase in the share of the household budget devoted to human capital (household services, health, and education) and leisure goods (recreation and ceremonies) (Thomas, 1997; and Quisumbing, 1999).
- Household is not a homogenous entity within which each members of household may have different interest or priorities over the household resources. It is therefore important to understand what these priorities are and the factors determining these priorities (Ngom, et al., 2000; Bennet, 1990).



Women in CCT (2)

- Control over resources is not the only factor determining intrahousehold dynamics. There are three other factors contributing to the bargaining power of both husband and wife: (1) basic attitudinal attributes, (2) mobilization of interpersonal networks or social capital and (3) influences such as skills or level of education (Quisumbing, 1999).
- Having the access to the resources does not guarantee that woman will control the money and that the program objectives will be met. This is because women are at risk and hazard –prone under the conditions: (1) disadvantaged position in the households, (2) different levels of skill and education, (3) women face a higher susceptibility to domestic violence (Luttrell and Moser, 2004; Johnson, 2003).



Women in CCT (3)

- Based on the complexity of intrahousehold decision making process, there is no guarantee that the transfer of the money to mothers will necessarily put them in the central role:
 - Molyneux (2006) indicates transfer to wives may generate internal household conflict.
 - Based on the Progresa/Oportunidades experience, there is no significant improvement of mothers' position in the family.
 - The higher secondary school attendance and enrollment also means burden of mothers in domestic areas as children spend more time in schools (Adato, 2002; Skoufias and Parker, 2001).



Research Objectives

Objective:

to assess the implications of the PKH design of transferring the fund directly to women on intra-household welfare dynamic and on program output in term of the family welfare in general

Main research questions:

1. Within the recipient household, who enjoyed the benefit of the program, and who has to bare the associated social and economic costs?
2. What is the implication of the program on household resource allocation, gender-based division of labor and responsibility, as well as intra-household decision making process and conflict?
3. What is the perception of the mother and father (women and man) about the PKH program in general (compared to other social protection programs that they received) and the channeling mode in particular?

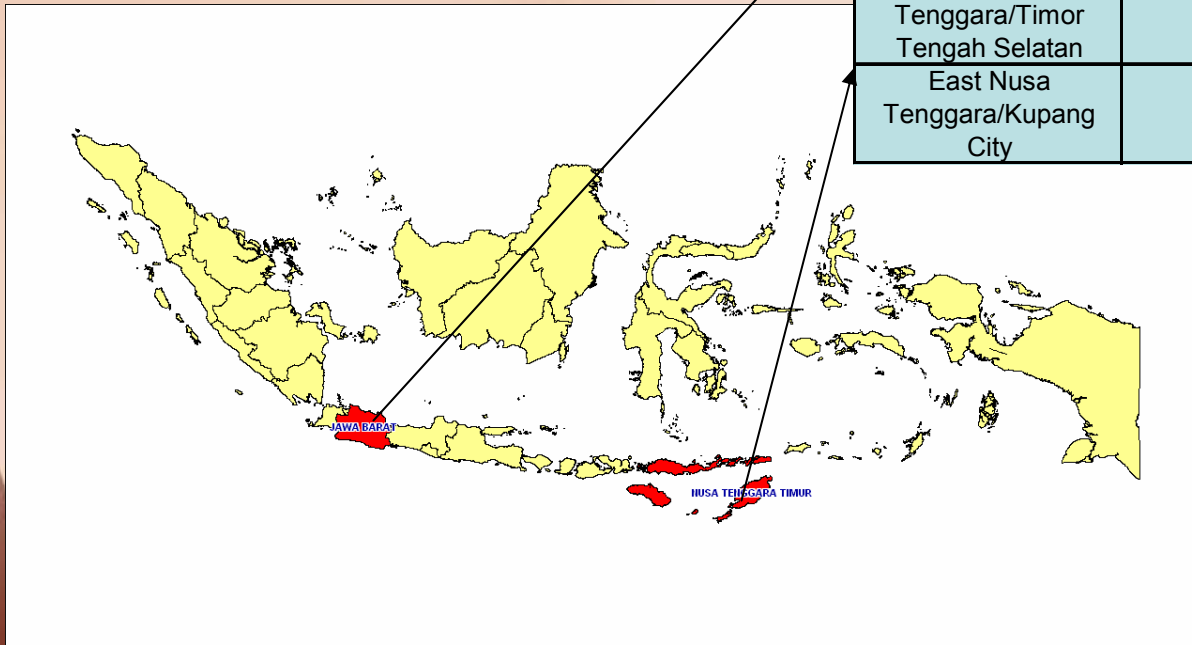


Research Locations

Gender relation:

Women in West Java enjoy relatively better position in household decision making process than those in NTT

Province/District	Sub-district	Village	Total HH	PKH Recipient
West Java/ Cirebon	Gegesik	Jagapura Kidul	2,487	60
	Gunung Jati	Mertasinga (Semi-urban)	1,427	25
East Nusa Tenggara/Timor Tengah Selatan	Kie	Oenay	732	180
East Nusa Tenggara/Kupang City	Alak	Fatufetto	825	20



Research Methods - Approach

Qualitative ~ data collection through:

1. Indepth interview, household respondents:

- 4 PKH recipient households & 2 non recipient households ~ in each village
- Separate interview of husband, wife, and children

2. Interview, key informants:

- Program operators: National & district level PKH management unit, other relevant offices, PKH facilitators
- Service providers: health centers, midwives, schools
- Others: village head, adat/religious/community leaders (man, woman)

3. Focus Group Discussions:

- Village FGD with poor community (male and female separately)
- Sub-district FGD with relevant PKH stakeholders

4. Observation:

Schools, health center, *posyandu* (integrated post for weighting and health check of baby, children under 5 years old, and pregnant mother)



Research Progress

- Small discussion on the research design, with relevant stake holders (including: National PKH Management Unit, National Development Planning Board) and a gender expert: 2 February 2009.
- First field work in Cirebon, West Java: February 5 – 20, 2009.
- Second field work in East Nusa Tenggara: April 26 – May 13, 2009.



Preliminary Findings - Cirebon



Community Livelihood

Mertasinga Village

- Semi-urban fishing community
- Main source of income: sea fishing (men), fish handling and trading (women)
- Other occupations: migrant workers (mostly female, works in Malaysia, Arab, Korea, Taiwan), *becak* drivers
- The poorest: not working in fishing business - *becak* driver (men), household helpers (women), having lots of loan

Jagapura Kidul Village

- Rural rice farming community
- Main source of income: rice farming (men & women)
- Other occupations: migrant workers (mostly female, works in Malaysia, Arab, Korea, Taiwan), blacksmiths, small kiosks, *becak* drivers
- The poorest: no land, *becak* driver, limited access to harvest rice, having lots of loan



Gender Relations – Daily Activities

- Wife : Take care of domestic works, taking care of kids
- Husband : Main bread winner, sometimes helping in domestic works, taking care of all household matters if the wife working overseas
- General trend:
 - Husband ~ more participation in taking care of the children and in domestic works due to more time at home because of limited job opportunity
 - Women & girls ~ more job opportunities as migrant workers (overseas and to the cities)
- PKH:
 - No differences after receiving PKH
 - Similar pattern between PKH recipient and non-recipient, and general community



Gender Relations – Decision Making

- Wife can independently make decision on daily matters, health care, use of contraception
- Decision that will involve large amount of money should be consulted with Husband (e.g. buying asset, send family members to hospital)
- Common agreement of Husband and Wife: school continuation, marriage.
- Children involved in choosing school
- PKH:
 - No decision making in accepting the program ~ just accept
 - Decision in the use of fund varies:
 - Wife ~ if it is use for consumption and other small expenses
 - Wife & Husband ~ if it also used for buying expensive items (such as bicycle), house renovation or pay back loan



Gender Relations – Economic Activity

- Main income from husband
- Income from wife could be significant, especially if she is working overseas
- All income is given to and managed by the wife ~ “cupar” tradition – men is regarded acting as a women if he held and manages the money
- Income of the poor:
 - Rice farming community: around Rp40,000 per day
 - Fishing community: fluctuate seasonally, no income – Rp20,000 per day during low season; Rp200,000 per day during high season (crab season, Dec-Jan); make loan to cover consumptions during low season to be paid back in high season
- PKH:
 - Reduce frequency of getting loans
 - No substantial change in economic activities, although a *becak* driver no longer need to work until late at night or in bad weather because PKH fund has covered basic consumption needs



PKH – Beneficiaries Perception

- The program is to support education and health condition ~ as explained by program facilitator; some do not remember (do not know~men) the objective/purpose of the program and the conditionality
- It is considered better than other program (unconditional cash transfer - BLT) because the fund is directly received from post office with no informal levy
- Transfer of money to women in the family is in line with local custom ~ there is an opinion (of a man) that the funds should be given to the head of household, although he has to give it to his wife



PKH – Usage

- In orders of proportion from the largest:
 - Food consumption
 - Schooling related expenses
 - Others: pay back loan, house improvement
- Varies depend on the relative family welfare level:
 - The poorer ~ consumption; the decision is predominantly by the wife
 - The less poor ~ house improvement, large asset (e.g. bicycle); the decision is predominantly by the husband



PKH – Benefits

- Reduce the economic hardship ~ all family members (including extended family) enjoy the benefit
- Increase parent motivation to send children to school
- Increase family nutrition: increase eating frequency, more nutritious food
- Reduce household conflict (the conflict is used to be triggered by economic hardship)
- Increase routine participation in babies weighting and health check



Preliminary Conclusion ~ Cirebon

- The Cirebon cultural context:
 - women position in the household is relatively equal to men;
 - women is the financial manager of the household
- PKH fund transfer design is in line with local custom ~ no substantial alteration to local custom and intra-household decision making process
- PKH do not give more burden to women (note~ no control of conditionality compliance); decrease women financial pressure
- PKH decrease family conflict



Issues in the Pipeline

- Analysis of NTT data: more complex gender setting ~ some conflicting information
- Policy relevance:
 - What is the cost/benefit for women (the wife)?
 - What is the optimum involvement of men (the husband) in the program?
 - How should the program be adapted to local culture?



Future Agenda for Research and Dissemination

- Research:
 - Analyzing data from Cirebon, Kupang and TTS ~ May-July 2009
 - Drafting full report ~ July-August 2009
- Dissemination and policy advocacy:
 - Regional workshop: end of July 2009
 - Small workshop in Jakarta: September 2009
 - Report & Policy Brief publication: September 2009



Research Team

Widjajanti Isdijoso Suharyo (Adviser)
Stella Aleida Hutagalung (Coordinator)
Sirojuddin Arif
Meuthia Rosfadhila
Muhammad Syukri
Upik Sabainingrum



THANK YOU

