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The Paradigms and Politics of Reproductive Health: UNFPA in West Java, Indonesia

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The central aim of this research has been to examine a particular development intervention by exposing its underlying paradigms and the discourses this generated. It was hypothesized that there is often a disjuncture between the changes explicitly pursued by such an intervention and those that result, which can then be linked to the paradoxical relationship between these paradigms and discourses. In other words, the incongruence of development aims and project actualities arises from the tensions between competing agendas and understandings. Therefore by exposing the contradictions in these underlying paradigms we gain insight into the politics of change. The programme studied was the UN Population Fund project in West Java, Indonesia, examining its layers through multi-sited research based in the centre (Jakarta), provincial government (Bandung) and two villages in the province. A Foucauldian framework, emphasizing local politics as a site of both physical and semiotic struggle and integrated within the analytical framework of a hermeneutical circle, was employed. In studying these gender-targeted programmes, conclusions were drawn on the nature of institutional discourse creation, bureaucratic ignorance, power in its many facets, and the construction and contestation of gender roles

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I hereby certify that this thesis is the result of my own work except where otherwise indicated and due acknowledgement given.

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Chapter I
Ideas and Institutions

1.1 Exploring Paradigms, Politics, and Change

Change in some form is the end goal of development interventions. Yet often there is a discrepancy between the changes explicitly pursued within a particular intervention and those that are attained. These unexpected results are linked to underlying paradigms and political differences that have not been directly articulated. Exposing these paradigms and contradictions thus serves to better explain what will be termed here the politics of change.

This thesis, situated within the interdisciplinary field of development studies, and drawing therefore on anthropology, political science, history, and gender studies, among others, takes a case study of reproductive health socialization to examine the notion of the politics of change. It is based on fieldwork done in Indonesia, studying the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) programmes in West Java on a number of levels: from the centre in Jakarta, to provincial bureaucracy, and finally to the village. On all these levels, UNFPA is attempting to implement a 'new paradigm' for reproductive health, which comprises a large range of issues including those related to gender roles and the status of women. This thesis will examine the multiplicity of competing interpretations occurring at the various levels to demonstrate how these competing understandings direct programme action and individual behaviour. The argument being made is thus that by exposing the underlying paradigms involved in this particular development intervention—which will here be analysed through attention to discourses, particularly where this is disjuncture between competing discourses—it is possible to gain insight into the politics of change. This chapter will lay the foundation for this argument by first introducing the research project, then explicating the theoretical framework to be used in this thesis: an integration of Foucauldian concepts within a 'hermeneutical circle' that accounts for global discourse, local contestation, and the self in a dialectical, reflexive process. Finally, this chapter will conclude by sketching a brief portrait of the Indonesian state, highlighting a few aspects of its recent history that prove relevant to UNFPA programme operation.

We begin by situating this research within its broader context. Gender-oriented programmes in development, such as those of UNFPA, have proliferated since the 1970s, when the need to attend specifically to women's concerns in development became internationally recognized (Smyth 1993: 118). Much of the political force behind these has come from international 'consensus' on particular issues such as gender equity, and through international institutions such as the UN. In more recent years the stated logic of these gender advancements has most often been the case for human rights. In fact, much development intervention today is intertwined with the explicit promotion of human rights (cf. Sen 1999; Peet 1999: 5-6; Sheth 1997: 329-330).

The UNFPA agenda itself, once focused on what were essentially population-reducing policies, now elaborates as its guiding principle the notion of human rights (UNFPA 2002: 3). The specific projects of UNFPA's 6th Country Programme in Indonesia (2001-2005), operating in West Java and three other provinces, relate to advocacy, population and development strategies, and essential reproductive health. UNFPA is meant to provide both initiatives and project funding, and works closely with Indonesian government agencies that are charged with actual project implementation. These government agencies, most notably

BKKBN (*Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional*, or the National Family Planning Coordinating Board), run national reproductive health (RH) programmes, which include such areas as family planning, contraceptive security, maternal care, adolescent reproductive health, STI and AIDS prevention, and improvements in clinic-level quality of care. BKKBN is structured in tiers that range from the central offices in Jakarta to the PLKBs (*Petugas Lapangan Keluarga Berencana*, or Family Planning Field Worker) who visit people in their homes and hold 'socialization' meetings in villages. UNFPA representatives exist in some form on all of the levels, though at the lowest level they cover an entire district, which may number hundreds of thousands of people.

On all these levels, UNFPA is deliberately attempting to implement a 'new paradigm', succinctly described in the Essential Reproductive Health project documents as the 'new paradigm of gender sensitivity and integrated RH service delivery' (INS/06/01/01 2001: 9). To articulate this more directly, UNFPA in Indonesia is purposely trying to change the way people think about a huge range of issues tied up with 'reproductive health', including the status of women and gender equity. Though some of its efforts are more concrete, such as seeking to maintain the supply of contraceptives to local clinics, it is the UNFPA programme discourse that shall be examined here. This discourse is understood as the process through which social reality is constructed, the articulation, in Escobar's words, 'of knowledge and power, of the visible and the expressible', which serves to delimit the boundaries of what may be perceived and acted upon (1995: 39). These boundaries, it will be argued, are spaces of contestation, thus it is not merely UNFPA discourses that will be considered but rather the intersection of these discourses and those of the other stakeholders of this programme, including Indonesian bureaucrats and the project recipients in the villages. Within this intersection—where an explicit 'paradigm' is being promoted by UNFPA—there are underlying, and often contradictory, paradigms that require elucidation. The research project here seeks to explicate the second use of the term paradigm, studying not the explicit aims of the project but rather the framework and assumptions within which these aims have been formulated.

The central premise of this research, that exposing the underlying paradigms involved in this particular development intervention with attention to competing discourses lends insight into the politics of change, is explored through a series of questions and locations. The goal has been to examine the intersection of a particular discourse ('reproductive rights') with a particular institution (UNFPA) in a particular context, namely West Java. However, given limited time and the extent to which these three elements are highly imbricated, the research project was limited to studying the programme at three primary levels: Centre (Jakarta, the national capital), Province (Bandung, the provincial capital, and Tasikmalaya), and 'Grassroots' (two villages in the province of West Java, Sukajaya and Cisayong). Three questions guided the approach to these layers of the programme, each question correlating to one particular level:

- First, how does the international development discourse on the issue of reproductive rights and gender equity translate itself as it enters Indonesian society at the 'centre'? What are the underpinning paradigms, and how does this effect the politicization of this process of 'translation'?
- Second, how tangibly are these paradigms operationalized through governmental institutions at the level of the provincial bureaucracy?
- Third, how is this discourse contested or appropriated in the everyday lives of women and men in villages, where competing agendas for change flourish?

Addressing these questions required research in three different sites. For five weeks, I worked in the UNFPA offices in Jakarta as the Advocacy Programme Coordinator. In this position, I had unique responsibilities for programme operation, and was additionally called upon to write the brochure describing UNFPA's work in Indonesia. At the provincial level, I conducted interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), collected documents, attended meetings and workshops, and worked closely with the UNFPA District Facilitator for the Bandung *Kabupaten* (regency).[1] Finally, at the village level I collaborated with two research assistants who conducted 40 in-depth interviews in two *kampungs* (villages) in which UNFPA operates: Sukajaya and Cisayong, in the districts of Bandung and Tasikmalaya respectively. The categories of questions for these interviews were selected to match the components of the UNFPA programme; for example, one such component is Adolescent Reproductive Health (ARH), thus a series of questions related to adolescents were asked. Of the stratified sample from each village, six husband and wife pairs and eight individual women were interviewed. The methodology of this research will be further discussed in the appendix.

A few brief caveats as to the structure and content of this thesis must be offered before proceeding. With regard to structure, the three substantive chapters correspond to the three levels noted above: centre, province, and village. Each chapter will contain a brief review of the relevant theoretical literature. Though different themes will be drawn out in the chapters, it is not assumed that these 'layers' are entirely separate, or that a theme occurring in one does not occur in the other. Social relations and theorizations thereof are more complex than can be neatly contained in any one framework. Yet for the sake of organization and brevity these artificial sections will be imposed and maintained.

Regarding content, it must be noted that the approach in this thesis relies heavily on discourse analysis (described below). Yet by giving priority to what people say, without long-term ethnographic portrait of their behaviour, I run the risk of not accounting for the contradictions between speech and behaviour and thus offering a lopsided view of 'reality'. There are two ways by which this problem may be avoided. First, while stressing the importance of people's representations in relation to their performances, there will also be reference to behaviour through both personal observation and secondary sources. Second, the impact of discourses on project direction will be studied to demonstrate that it is in fact necessary to lay stress on these representations. In other words, particular UNFPA and BKKBN discourses construct a 'discursive space' within which project interventions are explicitly delineated and gender roles are implicitly prescribed. Hence examining these discourses, and the changes and contradictions represented therein, is critical and merits exploration.

1.2 Theoretical Framework: Power, Discourse, and A Hermeneutical Engagement

The analytical framework to be applied here draws primarily upon Foucauldian theory, as woven into the work of Ferguson and Scott and building into it notions of reflexivity. Depicting this framework will proceed in three stages. First, Foucault's analysis of discourse, power, and knowledge will be described. Second, the dangers inherent in the application of Foucault's ideas to an analysis of 'development', specifically those dangers of discursive determinism and the assumption of a monolithic discourse, will be considered. Finally, the

[1] Throughout the thesis, interviews will be referenced simply by the name of the interviewee or the location of the interview, which will be referenced in a more complete interview reference list at the end.

tensions between theorization and application will be resolved in an integrated framework accounting for Foucauldian concepts, global discourse, local contestation, and the self in a dialectical, reflexive process. It is argued that this framework provides a valuable analytical tool to understand the paradigms and politics of change in West Java.

1.2.1 Foucauldian Theory

Recognizing that fully addressing Foucault's ideas is not possible in this limited space, we nonetheless begin with a cursory examination of Foucauldian theory. Understanding that how we conceptualise development within a broader discourse affects how we then *act* can be credited in part to the work of Michel Foucault. Discourse, for Foucault, exists on a realm above language: 'discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this *more* that renders them irreducible to language (*langue*) and to speech' (1972: 49). The dominant discourse and discursive practices develop from the underlying 'rules' or epistemes[2] within a particular period and place. Discourse is thus linked to the production of knowledge which in turn is inextricably tied to power. 'In producing knowledge, power produces truth', Foucault claims. He argues that power and knowledge are mutually-constituting and cannot be viewed as discrete categories; 'there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations' (1979: 27). Furthermore, Foucault sees power not as 'top down' but as diffuse and ubiquitous throughout society. What he terms the 'microphysics of power' (1991: 73) describes how power meets resistance not only at the grassroots level but also at the broader discursive level of the meta-narrative (the superstructural 'truth').[3] Thus discourse, power, and knowledge are highly interconnected. Even as discourse is a historical product of power producing knowledge, 'the manifold relations of power which constitute the social body cannot be established, consolidated or implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse' (Foucault in Gordon 1980: 93).

Foucault's ideas have already impacted many disciplines at the theoretical level. It is no flamboyant claim to say that Foucault's ideas have revolutionised the way we conceive of power and knowledge—and in essence, how we view the way the world works. 'Foucault Steals Political Science', Paul Brass claims in the title of a recent article (2000). Foucault's ideas have been argued to be central to fields ranging from nursing science (Gastaldo and Holmes 1999) to feminist theory (Phelan 1990). Post-colonial theory in particular owes a large intellectual debt to Foucault's work; for example, understanding how the scientific-rational methodology became the meta-narrative of colonial truth in India (cf. Alvares on 'Method as Colonizer' [1988: 91-95]) opened doors to critical analysis of areas ranging from the body (Arnold 1993) to Western science and medicine (Drayton 1999) to enumeration and the census (Cohn 1987). In terms of theoretical impact, the study of development has also been affected by Foucauldian concepts. Authors such as Arturo Escobar, James Ferguson, James Scott, Alberto Arce, Norman Long, Donald Moore, R. D. Grillo and R. L. Stirrat have all worked to conceptualise and study development by drawing upon ideas of discourse and

[2] 'Episteme' describes the totality of laws and rules tying together all discursive practices, not just the sum of this knowledge, and refers to the historical period during which those rules operate.

[3] In further elaborating this concept of power, Foucault talks about strategies, technologies, and programmes. Programmes of power define forms of knowledge and discourses about objects of knowledge; technologies are apparatuses of power designed to implement that knowledge; and strategies develop in response to changing circumstances and are therefore improvisations (Foucault as described in Gledhill 2000: 150).

power/knowledge.[4] Foucault makes us question what might previously have been taken as given in modernist thinking. He highlights how local power and knowledge are imbricated within larger processes and how the truth that is produced by power generates particular patterns of action that may lead to—or halt—'development' as it has been conceived. Thus, in Grillo's words, a 'discourse … of development … identifies appropriate and legitimate ways of practising development as well as speaking and thinking about it' (1997: 12).

1.2.2 Critiquing Applications of Foucault

Having noted the centrality of Foucauldian notions of discourse and power/knowledge to ways of theorizing, it is possible to now critique its application. Two particular traps on-the-ground analysis must avoid are those of discursive determinism and the assumption of a monolithic discourse. First, the trap of discursive determinism assigns discourse the power to ultimately shape social realities, while ignoring the exigent realities of brute power residing in both the material world and institutions. For example, the editor of *The Post-Development Reader* concludes that 'the development discourse was bound, from the beginning, to cause the tragedies it did in fact bring out' (Rahnema 1997: 378). Though his arguments are more nuanced than this as a whole, nonetheless he seems to ascribe to discourse an exclusive power to enact change. In critiquing this discursive determinism, Moore introduces the metaphor of 'the crucible of cultural politics' (2000: 656). For him, struggles are both material and symbolic: 'There is no gap between materiality and semiosis; the meaning making processes and the materiality of the world are dynamic, historical, contingent, specific' (Moore 2000: 674).

Second, the trap of a monolithic discourse may presume not only that discourse has the power to shape events, but also that this power is centralized both in the hands of the powerful elite and as a unified, uncontested body of knowledge. Various examples of this trap can be found in the analysis of development discourse. The view that development is constructed from 'a single gaze or voice which is all-powerful and beyond influence' (Grillo 1997: 20) is central to works such as the *Development Dictionary* (Sachs 1992)[5] or Escobar's *Encountering Development* (1995).[6] It is also put forward in the claims of others who talk about 'the one and only way of thinking' (Ramonet 1997: 179-181). Casting the development discourse in such 'monolithic' terms may be a necessary first step to unearthing and exposing some of the forces of power/knowledge working to define and shape social processes. However, by this assumption, 'contemporary analyses eclipse the micro-politics through which global development discourses are refracted, reworked, and sometimes subverted in particular localities' (Moore 2000: 655). In other words, towards a more critical analysis of development we must go further than analysing global development discourse. Yet Foucault does not promulgate a monolithic, top down concept of power or discourse; in his view power permeates society in a capillary fashion. Nor does he assume that a discourse brings about the ends it seeks without resistance and change. Thus Foucauldian concepts do not in

[4] Foucault refers to power and knowledge in this way, sign-posting their irreducibility to one without the other.
[5] For example, the definition of 'development' offered in this book argues that the concept of 'underdevelopment' began with U.S. President Truman's speech in 1949, which 'gave global hegemony to a purely Western genealogy of history, robbing peoples of different cultures of the opportunity to define the forms of their social life' (Esteva 1992: 9).
[6] Though it is unfair to dismiss the many strengths and insights offered by Escobar by simply saying he slips into this second 'trap' throughout his analysis, nonetheless he tends to describe development discourse in terms of its monolithic imposition by the World Bank. For him 'the single most influential force shaping the development field' is 'the discourse of development economics' wielded by the World Bank, which maintains its 'intellectual and financial hegemony' over the discourse (1995: 18, 165).

and of themselves promote the above two traps through which discourse theory may over-simplify the analysis of development. Rather, it is how they have been applied in some instances that is problematic.

1.2.3 Integration of Foucauldian Theory Within the Hermeneutical Circle

It has been shown that applying Foucauldian concepts of discourse and power/knowledge can be difficult. However, these concepts are in fact essential to an understanding of development and change, and can be usefully employed to analyse the UNFPA's paradigm-changing interventions in Indonesia. The theoretical framework to be explained here, therefore, hopes to reconcile the complexity of Foucault's views to better capture their explicatory power. The Foucauldian approach—particularly emphasizing his microphysics of power and the notion of power existing coterminous with resistance—can be utilized within the conceptual framework of the hermeneutical circle. As with any methodological framework, we must first consider its theoretical fabric; then we can analyse its actual application by those researchers seeking to understand the 'development' process, particularly evidenced in the work of Scott and Ferguson.

Although the concept of the hermeneutical circle commonly refers to the study of meaning in texts, it seems apt to apply it to the study of meaning in discourses (particularly as Foucault himself analysed discourses as they appeared in written texts). In this application, hermeneutics[7] simply refers to a dialectical, reflexive analysis that must constantly be 'in motion', using an ever-changing referential point to gain an ever-evolving understanding. It is because of the unceasing dynamic of change in social processes that such a 'methodology-on-the-move' becomes useful. This research project is interested in what is happening in the interstices—it is neither solely about the 'developer' (UNFPA programme staff) nor the 'developed' (programme beneficiaries and stakeholders), but about the interaction and contested space between the two. If this is the case, and discourse is actually a site for struggle—a 'semantic space in which social meanings are produced or challenged' (Grillo 1997: 12)—then we must conceive of a methodology to account for this contestation.

For the researcher, this means it is necessary to address simultaneously the macro, the micro, and the self. Clifford Geertz argues that the hermeneutical circle calls for an understanding of people and institutions in 'a continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structures in such a way as to bring both into view simultaneously' (1979: 239-240). It is claimed here that it is also necessary to engage oneself reflexively in the process, to be highly self-critical of our own discourses and knowledge systems as they affect our approach as researchers (cf. Kaufmann 1997; Rahmena 1997: 397). This translates to an approach to development that is increasingly 'multi-vocal' and also 'multi-sited', as it moves through the social 'layers' stretching from broader discourses down

[7] Hermeneutics, 'or interpretive philosophy, is essentially a philosophy of understanding, which elucidates how it is that one person comes to understand the actions or words, or any other meaningful product, of another' (Lavoie 1990: 1). Going deeper, hermeneutics may be defined in both a narrow and a broader sense. The narrow definition refers to a specific school of German philosophy and may be labelled 'philosophical hermeneutics'; it is most closely associated with Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur. In the words of Hans-Georg Gadamer, philosophical hermeneutics is concerned with 'our entire understanding of the world and … all the various forms in which this understanding manifests itself' (1975: xviii). In the wider sense, hermeneutics refers to the many strands of 'interpretive' philosophy that stand opposed to positivist-oriented philosophies; writers such as Thomas Kuhn, Charles Pierce, Max Weber, Charles Taylor, and Richard Rorty may be said to exemplify this understanding of hermeneutics (Lavoie 1990: 2).

to intimate and intricate village-level ethnographies (cf. Grillo 1997: 26-27), and includes the researcher herself as a reference point along the way.

This conceptual framework thus attempts to balance Foucauldian notions with the 'multi-layeredness' of social reality and its materiality. We cannot deny the power of words and what they represent. But does discourse alone actually change fertility rates or end violence against women? What happens when discourse that is imposed is then opposed? We can explore the explicatory potential of discourse and power/knowledge through the works of two relatively recent contributors to thought about development: Scott and Ferguson. Both have grappled with Foucauldian theory in their analysis of particular fields, Scott in Southeast Asia, Ferguson in Lesotho. Though they have not necessarily conceived of their methodology in the terms of a hermeneutical circle, they have approached and applied Foucault's concepts in this manner. What will be shown through articulating their major arguments is a progression toward specificity and an emphasis on local politics as a site of both physical and semiotic struggle.

The strength of Scott's analysis lies in his ability to analyse both what happens on the level of power-sustained discourse and within the politics of local resistance. Two of his books specifically address this theme. Scott began to develop the ideas of 'transcripts' in an early work, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985). After living in and researching a Malaysian village for two years he extrapolated such conclusions as 'the exercise of power nearly always drives a portion of the full transcript underground' (1985: 286). In other words, if the public transcript of Scott is analogous to the 'dominant discourse' of Foucault, then Scott recognizes that there is no such thing as a completely hegemonic discourse. The power/knowledge that seems to reign ascendant is actually much more diffuse. In *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990), Scott further explicates his use of 'transcripts' by casting societal discourse within a set of 'public' and 'private' transcripts. Essentially, there is a discrepancy between the transcript of the powerful elite—which becomes the 'public' transcript and strengthens the hierarchical order (1990: 45)—and the transcript of the poor and the powerless. Scott draws from literature and the historical experiences of slaves, serfs, and peasants in other cultures, to reveal the nature and extent of the bifurcation between public discourse and what boils beneath it. As the private transcripts cannot be spoken openly, there occurs instead what Scott calls 'undeclared ideological guerrilla war', including: 'rumor, gossip, disguises, linguistic tricks, metaphors, euphemisms, folk tales, ritual gestures, anonymity' (1990: 137). All of these cloaked verbal weapons operate in the contested 'semantic space' between the elite and the oppressed. The presumed 'powerless' have some power after all, their resistance shown, in part, through forms of 'embodied' vocalizing (e.g. foot-dragging, slow moving, 'forgetfulness', carelessness, feigned ignorance, arson, etc.).

In Scott's more recent work, *Seeing Like a State* (1998), even as he continues to use concepts of discourse and power/knowledge he more fully deals with their materiality—the relationship between existing natural and social structures, strategies for implementation, thwarted intentions, and political resistance. For instance, though planners in scientific forestry tried to design and grow a timber-producing forest through processes of simplification and legitimation, ecology defied 'taming' and as the soil declined so did the once-successful timber harvest. In this book, Scott addresses the process and impact of state planning, or what he calls 'state-engineered social engineering' (1998: 4). He argues that this planning is driven by what can be seen as a development discourse, a 'high-modernist ideology' which wants to order society according to 'a scientific understanding of natural

laws' (1998: 4). However, Scott displays greater subtlety and complexity in his explication of the role of discourse toward enacting change. It is only through 'the authoritarian state' and where there is 'an incapacitated civil society' that this high-modernist discourse can truly transform society (1998: 5). Scott thus looks at the imposition of social planning on cities, farms, and villages and notes that their success does not stem solely from the power/knowledge of a particular discourse, but rather from 'the administrative technology and social knowledge that make it plausible to imagine organizing an entire society in ways that only the barracks or the monastery had been organized before' (1998: 378*n*11). In this sense, Scott sees Foucault's ideas as particularly persuasive (1998: 378*n*11). We will see in the following section that this analysis matches very closely the Indonesian development experience under Suharto's New Order government.

In *The Anti-Politics Machine* (1994), James Ferguson offers another interpretation of the development discourse as it interacts with a particular historically-situated society. In attempting to engage the dualism of the material and symbolic power of discourse, he does not reference the 'development discourse' but rather deconstructs what he terms the 'development apparatus' (1994: xv). His investigation is thus about 'how specific ideas about "development" are generated in practice, and how they are put to use' as well has 'what effects they end up producing' (1994: xvi). In other words, he focuses not on what ideas mean or if they are true, but about what ideas actually do. Toward this end, Ferguson examines the World Bank's interventions in Lesotho between 1975 and 1984, showing how all the emphases, interpretations, and even fabrications of World Bank documents combined to paint a particular portrait of Lesotho which is ultimately distorted. He then argues that what appear as mere 'distortions' in the portrait of Lesotho are actually necessary steps toward the theoretical task of 'constituting' Lesotho as a Less Developed Country (LDC). If this can be achieved, then it justifies and calls for a definite kind of intervention: 'the technical, apolitical, "development" intervention' (Ferguson 1994: 28). Thus the discursive project of constructing Lesotho in a particular way directed the World Bank's technical-rational mode of intervention in the name of 'development'.

Ferguson's analysis is applicable to other development interventions with regard to its concepts of 'devthink', depoliticization, and unintended outcomes. Ferguson argues that the Lesotho case is a microcosm of larger development practice, which is highly standardised the world over because of common personnel, a single 'development' expertise, specific program elements, and 'standard' discursive practices associated with development (1994: 258-259). This development discourse, he says, 'seems to form a world unto itself … hence it is not only the matter of "devspeak" at stake, but of "devthink"' (1994: 259-260). 'Depoliticization', in the sense applied by James Ferguson to the 'development' apparatus of the international institutions, means 'the suspension of politics from even the most sensitive political operations'—in other words, the development project itself ends up being the anti-politics machine (1994: 256). However, drawing on the Foucauldian concept of power as being something bigger than intended by the elites who wield it, Ferguson argues throughout that the unintended effects of these 'failed' development projects (and the vast majority do fail, he asserts) end up having political uses. Depoliticization can have the effect, then, of masking more strategic, hidden interests beneath a seemingly neutral agenda. In the end, the 'whole mechanism is … a "mushy mixture" of the discursive and the non-discursive, of the intentional plans and the unacknowledged social world with which they are engaged' (1994: 276). Ferguson argues that we need to 'demote intentionality' and recognize that what actually happens is usually very different from what planners conceived as it deals with 'unacknowledged structures and unpredictable outcomes' (1994: 276). Furthermore, what

'actually happens' has its own logic in relationship to society and history (1994: 276). Methodologically Ferguson employs Foucauldian concepts in a dialectical relationship between the macro and the micro. In his analysis of clash between the World Bank's Thaba-Tseki project and the cultural phenomenon he terms the 'Bovine Mystique'[8], he shows how power is indeed capillary and diffuse, discourse is contested, and micro-politics infuse the process of 'development'.

To summarise to this point, the application of Foucauldian concepts has caused a reconsideration of how to study development practices while speaking to questions of power (Arce 2000: 50). However, this study of meaning—this hermeneutics—must account not only for discourse and power/knowledge theory but also local practices and contestation. For social realities, as Arce and Long argue, must be understood 'as the outcome of social processes that are contingently located in ongoing struggles over meanings, values and resources' (2000: 159). Thus the employment of Foucauldian concepts in a hermeneutical circle, which simultaneously accounts for global discourse and local contestation, provides a crucial analytic tool to understand the processes of 'development' as it is both conceived and played out. Scott and Ferguson both provide examples of how such an approach can explicate specific historical occurrences of 'development'. My claim is that the complete engagement of a hermeneutical circle must additionally account for the self in a dialectical and reflexive process. In Arce and Long's words,

> The strength [of good ethnography] lies in fully acknowledging the 'battlefields' of knowledge and power wherein a multiplicity of actors engage in struggles over the meanings and practicalities of livelihoods, values and organising processes. It thus implies detailed and systematic treatment of how the life-worlds of the researcher and other social actors intersect in the production of specific ethnographies and types of interpretation (2000: 8).

The analytical framework for this thesis therefore draws upon Foucault, Scott, and Ferguson in a reflexive and coherent whole. Conceptualizations of gender, also relevant, will be discussed in the fourth chapter, as a type of discourse within this broader framework.

1.3 Decentralising the '*Kraton* mentality'? The Indonesian Context

Understanding the Indonesian context is critical to understanding the players and the playing field involved in UNFPA's efforts. However, given the limits of this thesis, only a few aspects of recent Indonesian history can be addressed. After a brief summary of the major political and economic transitions during and after President Suharto, we will consider three factors relevant to the current research: how the development project was legitimized under the New Order government, how it was further underpinned by socio-cultural factors such as patron-client networks and the *kraton* mentality, and finally how political decentralization is affecting these continued development interventions.

After General Suharto successfully orchestrated a coup in 1965, he began his 32-year reign as president in what was purportedly a form of parliamentary autocracy. This New Order government (1966-1998) quickly became known, among other things, for its entanglement with military politics and *KKN—korupsi, kolusi, dan nepotisme* (corruption, collusion, and nepotism). Suharto's military promoted the previously-existing doctrine of *dwifungsi*, or dual function, which prescribed its purpose in both political and military fields. 'By the 1990s',

[8] Ferguson describes the ways the particular project ended up reinforcing relational hierarchies among the Basotho people.

political scientist Adam Schwarz writes, 'the army had used *dwifungsi* to push its way into the societal fabric' (1994: 16). When President Suharto stepped down on 21 May 1998, in the midst of rioting and deep financial crisis, it opened the doors to a process of democratization that remains contested. After two rather short-lived presidencies (Habibie, 1998-1999; Wahid, 1999-2001), Megawati Sukarnoputri came to power. Instability continues in the unrest of outlying regions such as Aceh and West Papua and terrorist threats such as the Bali bombing of 12 October 2002. Yet there have also been positive political changes; for example, the 2004 parliamentary and presidential elections will include direct voting for the president for the first time, enhancing the legitimacy of election results. Indonesia's economy, however, continues to suffer after the Asian financial crisis of 1997-1998. Among other things GDP growth has declined to nearly 3 percent (less than half what it was in 1996), the nation is still in the throes of a major banking crisis, and unemployment rates have increased (Asian Development Bank 2002; Lingle 2001; Sitathan 2002). This economic malaise colours people's perceptions of their present and future opportunities and contributes to a general sense of insecurity.

Prior to these political changes of the past five years, the New Order government followed its modernizing impulse to implement projects in a highly 'top down' fashion. New Order rhetoric displayed a teleology of modernization in order to legitimate the government's actions, including the use of specific words. For example, in the Indonesian language there are two words for 'development': '*pembangunan*'—from the root verb 'to build, construct, erect'—and '*perkembangan*'—from the root 'to flower, bloom'. Perkembangan thus refers to 'a presumably natural process of change, which is motivated primarily by some internal necessity, enforced primarily, if not exclusively, by its own internal energy, its pace and extent being proportional to its own "nature"' (Heryanto 1995: 21). Pembangunan, conversely, was appropriated under the New Order government to mean development in the economic sense, and refers primarily to state-sponsored economic development programs and large-scale construction of economic infrastructures (Heryanto 1995: 16-18). Pembangunan consciousness, rhetoric, and programs came to characterize the New Order in Indonesia (McDonald 1980: 68), causing one analyst to describe the government as 'modernization theory made flesh' (Smith 1999). It is thus that the keyword pembangunan 'can be seen simultaneously as a constitutive force for the so-called pembangunan process and an essential product of that process' (Heryanto 1995: 9).[9] Toward the ends of pembangunan the government used another slogan to maintain tranquil communities and mobilize voluntary labour: that of *gotong royong*, typically meaning 'mutual cooperation' or 'mutual assistance'. Gotong royong was actively promoted by the state as an 'ideology of community'; this 'ideology' ostensibly allowed the government's presence and power to permeate village life (Sullivan 1992: 4, 178). In other words, the government cloaked itself in idea-filled language that lent symbolic substance to their hold on power, helped to preserve order, and allowed them to achieve their goals.

The pembangunan paradigm was successfully promulgated in the New Order regime not only because of this semiotic conquest—the inculcation of the rhetoric of development in the national psyche—but also through a number of socio-cultural factors. First, patron-client networks made possible the transmission of both ideas and actions along patterns of

[9] I am not attempting to argue that the double-role of this definition of development is unique; for the term 'development' in general 'defies definition … because of the difficulty of making the intent to develop consistent with immanent development' (Cowen and Shenton 1996: 438). However, the decision to select pembangunan as the primary governmental slogan over perkembangan was a distinct choice that then legitimised the government's further actions toward achieving the goals of pembangunan.

deference (cf. Newland 2001: 30). For built into Suharto's regime was a strong network of patron-client relations fostered from higher levels of the state and present down to the village level (cf. Jackson 1978). Golkar, the government party, embodied this patron-client structure; the bureaucracy of some three million civil servants was its backbone (Tapol 2001). Acronyms such as 'ABS' were popular descriptions of the mindset of this era, '*Asal Bapak Senang*', meaning something like 'as long as the Patron/Boss [literally the 'father'] is happy'. Second, patterns of hierarchical deference were also exhibited in what one well-known sociologist, Professor Suweno from Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, has termed the *kraton* mentality. Kraton is the word for the Javanese kingdom of central Java—it means a feudal structure mind-set, a serf-Lord mentality. As long as the serfs have basic primary needs (food, shelter, etc.) and security needs met, they will accept whatever the royals do. This concept of kraton stems from Indonesia's feudalistic roots. Mochtar Buchori, a retired government official and acclaimed writer, describes this heritage by quoting a friend: 'In Southeast Asia we are courting democracy, but we are still married to feudalism. As long as we have not succeeded in divorcing feudalism, we will never be able to implement democracy in its fullest form' (1996). Consequently, he states, 'most people in Indonesia [exhibit] a mixture of feudal and democratic characteristics. I call a person with such a blend a "feudal democrat"' (Buchori 1996). Moreover, some of Indonesia's many ethnic groups, particularly its two largest—the Javanese and Sundanese—tend to be status-oriented, hierarchical, and deferential (cf. Geertz 1960), and hence willing to accept mandates and definitions that 'come from above'. These socio-cultural trends continue to impact how development interventions function today, particularly with regard to how information is transferred—or socialized—between those with differing levels of social standing.

Also affecting development interventions are more systemic structural factors. Of greatest significance is the *desentralisasi* (decentralization) of the national government. This process officially began in January 2001, as Megawati's administration worked to devolve many of the functions of the government from the centre to the district. After decades of centralized control, Indonesia's more than 360 municipal and district governments have been mandated to manage most affairs of state, excluding foreign and monetary policy, religion, and security (Thorburn 2002). Yet this has already proved problematic as the shift in power has sparked controversy over a number of issues, including among other things: the fear of increased governmental corruption, the question of who should control revenues from taxes on natural resources, and the concern over separatist provinces (Economist 2001). During this transition, therefore, implementing programmes from the centre is increasingly difficult. Decentralization processes have replaced the '*sistem komando*' (commando system)—as the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs described it in a personal interview with the author—which made the New Order government able to successfully implement its programmes, however crude or oppressive the machinery. What appears to be happening in this transition is the disappearance of many of the mechanisms of top down planning, without the concomitant fading of its impetus. The system of idea propagation still emanates from the centre—from Jakarta, or the head provincial office. Through virtually all of the interviews done at the provincial level, the presence of 'top down planning'[10] was reiterated. Yet no longer is this top down planning as successful in its implementation. Recalling Scott's argument that it is only through 'the authoritarian state' that a high-modernist discourse can truly transform society (1998: 5), the repeated cry of provincial officials in a number of personal interviews with the author has its own logic: 'If it's going to be top down

[10] Interestingly, I heard no Indonesian phrase/word equivalent for this. The English phrases 'top down' and 'bottom up' are used as such, but with Indonesian intonation.

planning, at least do it right!' Desentralisasi is a theme—and in some cases, a concern—running through much of the discussion related to government and political change. There is the sense that at least top down 'worked' in the past, and there is not yet a strong enough 'civil society' to fill the void left by such strong governmental machinery. As the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs noted, there seems to be a 'gap' in the system, where, in reaction to previous authoritarianism, those at the 'bottom' are rejecting mandates from the 'top', but those mandates coming from the 'bottom' are '*belum mateng*' (literally not yet ripe or fully formed). This shifting context has bearing on UNFPA programmes, which now must be operationalized through an increasingly complex system of delegated responsibilities.

Chapter II
Changing Paradigms: UNFPA at the Centre

We begin analysis of UNFPA intervention in the field of reproductive health (RH) by examining the broader paradigms within which it operates. Here we question how the international development discourse on the issue of reproductive rights and gender equity translates itself as it enters Indonesian society at the 'centre', the capital city of Jakarta, and to what extent this event is politicized. This chapter will progress in three stages. First, the history of family planning in Indonesia through the early 1990s will be described within its global and theoretical context. Second, the post-1994 paradigm shift of the population establishment will be examined, problematising the RH discourse that has developed from this shift with regard to both its terminology and theoretical implications. What will be explored here are the ways in which discourses display a circular logic, rationalize certain interventions, obscure conflict, and can be applied instrumentally with wide-ranging implications. Finally, the politics of paradigm creation will be considered by a study of UNFPA's intra-office relations at its headquarters in Jakarta. Here, Long's actor-oriented approach and his concept of domains and arenas, as well as Hobart's theories of power and discourse, will be applied to examining the dynamic between the UNFPA Representative and the staff and the writing of the UNFPA brochure. The theoretical framework outlined earlier guides this analysis, as it links together discourse, contestation, and the researcher in order to demonstrate that the multiplicity of competing agendas at work may generate unintended outcomes, with variable gains accruing to the different parties involved.

2.1 Indonesian Interventions in Family Planning

2.1.1 BKKBN: The National Family Planning Coordinating Board

We first consider the history of family planning in Indonesia through the early 1990s, as this will provide a contrast to more recent developments in reproductive health (RH) programmes. In the late 1960s the total fertility rate (TFR) for Indonesia was around 5.5, education levels were low, infant mortality high, and marriage nearly universal. These combined conditions were 'not normally considered conducive to rapid fertility decline' (Streatfield 1985: 342). Then in 1970 the New Order government established BKKBN (*Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional*, or National Family Planning Coordinating Board) to integrate all activities concerned with family planning. By late 1974, the Indonesian government began experimenting with village distribution of contraceptives. Quite early on, this local dissemination seemed to be successful, particularly the ways in which the 'acceptors' of the contraceptives programme were grouped together, which was claimed to create 'a development dynamic' (*International Family Planning Digest* 1976: 4). At this time, resupply depots for contraceptives were often in the homes of village leaders, who were also 'acceptors' (*International Family Planning Digest* 1976: 3). Typically the wife of the village leader would lead the 'Acceptor Club' for the village, which grouped around not only contraceptives, but also access to credit, and basic mother and child health services (Hartmann 1987: 75). By 1976, the BKKBN estimated that 21 percent of married women in Java and Bali (aged 15-44) were using modern contraceptives obtained from their programmes (Freedman *et al.* 1981: 4). This rapid growth surprised many people. As by the late 1970s BKKBN had expanded 'its ways of reaching the people more than any other large national program outside China' (Ross and Poedjastoeti 1983: 69), the Indonesian family

planning programme was considered 'a model of government-sponsored fertility in a developing country' (Warwick 1986: 453).

The question became how Indonesia in all its vast diversity 'came to accept such a swift and fundamental transition in reproductive behaviour' (Ross and Poedjastoeti 1983: 76). One answer to this question lies in socio-cultural factors. Early assessments of the programme noted that the highest rates of contraceptive use took place among those families with the highest and lowest standards of living. Freedman *et al*. argue that this stems from:

> The convergence of two forces: modernization may work to increase contraceptive use among higher status groups; sheer Malthusian pressure coupled with aspirations arising out of access to outside influences including the information and services of the family planning program may increase contraceptive use among the poor (1981: 15).

It is possible to argue that the poor were using the information given them by BKKBN as a form of access to the 'trappings of modernity' in which they have active choice; in other words, their participation in the programme was an exercise of agency. Counterbalanced against this is the very striking possibility that these poor people were adopting contraception because they found it 'difficult to resist the strong pressure of local officials to help them meet the mandated goals for local areas' (Freedman *et al*. 1981: 15). Yet the Indonesian government relied much less on overt coercion than it did on 'subtle forms of paternalism and social pressure' (Hartmann 1987: 81). The message conveyed was that by participating in family planning, women were doing their patriotic duty. Parsons (1984), in analysing the Indonesian family planning program, explains its success as partly stemming from the 'mystical reverence' of the lower classes toward authority figures; practically speaking, when health officials and workers told villagers that they needed to take contraceptives for the good of the nation, this was accepted without much (if any) argument. These socio-cultural factors were not the only influences on the programme, and institutional factors will be addressed in the next chapter.

2.1.2 Paradigms of Reproductive Health

Having considered the institutional framework of BKKBN, we turn to situate this in the global trends of family planning within the population establishment.[11] Various scholars have noted three primary rationales driving this population establishment. Freedman argues that there are three fundamental paradigms of contraceptive delivery programmes: demographic, biomedical, and reproductive health (1995: 23). The demographic approach emphasises population control, precisely as the Indonesian programme did for many years. Philipps (1990) shows that this approach views population growth as a root cause of poverty, underdevelopment and environmental degradation, necessitating fertility decline through family planning programmes. The biomedical approach arose when reports found family planning to have general health benefits; thus family planning could be promoted 'to prevent maternal mortality in pregnancy and childbirth, to improve women's health and to reduce child mortality through birth spacing' (Smyth 1998: 226). However, even here there is a tendency toward 'using the biomedical model of health and health care associated with conventional Western medicine' (Freedman 1995: 28). Furthermore, it has been argued that 'assumptions about gender have always played a formative role in biomedical conceptions of the physical body and in the health policies and programmes that derive from them'

[11] The population establishment includes UNFPA as a primary figure, along with the Population Council, the IPPF (International Planned Parenthood Federation), the World Bank and USAID (cf. Marden *et al*. 1982).

(Freedman 1995: 28; cf. Hubbard *et al*. 1982; cf. Shapiro 1985). Finally, there is a reproductive health paradigm, in which 'human rights are a formative principle' (Freedman 1995: 29). The distinction between the biomedical and RH paradigms might be seen as one drawn between consent and choice, for 'where ethically sensitive biomedical programmes champion informed *consent*, viewing women as the objects of medical practice, reproductive health programmes champion informed *choice*, viewing women as the subjects and architects of health strategies' (Freedman 1995: 30, emphasis in the original).

The demographic approach describes the women-focused programmes of the Indonesian government in the 1970s and 80s. During these years, on the global level, 'family planning [had] been divorced from the concern for women's health and well-being' (Hartmann 1987: 31). The goal was numbers, namely the achievement of 'contraceptive acceptance' targets. Yet by the late 1980s, a shift in the population discourse was beginning to take place. Betsy Hartmann argued that 'the expansion of reproductive choice, not population control, should be the goal of family planning programs and contraceptive research' (1987: 33). She also noted that 'safe, effective birth control services cannot be "delivered" in a top down, technocratic fashion' (1987: xiv). Yet at the time she was writing, these services were being successfully administered in Indonesia in precisely such a way. It was not until the mid-1990s that the population establishment could be seen experiencing a paradigm shift toward the reproductive health paradigm described above.

2.2 Paradigm Shift: Post-Cairo '94 and the Creation of A New Discourse

It has been shown that up to the early 1990s, trends in Indonesian RH emphasized quantitative demographic targets without overmuch concern for the reproductive rights of women themselves. However, as the global intellectual climate began to change toward a greater emphasis on human rights, so to did pressure build on nations such as Indonesia to work toward more 'strategic gender goals' (cf. Moser 1993), such as gender equity, empowerment, participation, etc. The result was a paradigm shift among the population establishment as a whole, and UNFPA in particular. This shift will be examined here, followed by a problematisation of the RH discourse that has developed from it with regard to both terminology and theoretical implications.

2.2.1 Paradigm Shift

In 1994 the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) was held in Cairo. This conference signalled a shift in the population establishment, confirming that the organisations which had operated previously under the demographic paradigm were now using the language of reproductive rights (Smyth 1998: 217). Paragraph 7.3 of the ICPD Programme of Action declared that

> Reproductive rights … rest on the recognition of the basic right of all couples and individuals to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children and to have the information and means to do so, and the right to attain the highest standard of sexual and reproductive health.

Reproductive health was also defined in more holistic terms as 'a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, in all matters related to the reproductive system, its functions and processes' (ICPD POA paragraph 7.2). In general terms, using a human rights framework the ICPD extended the scope of work within the field of population and development.

By the late 1990s the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) had fully adopted the ICPD agenda. The numbers and kinds of activities, the contents of documents and discussion, and the terms used by UNFPA all indicated a new tone and range of work. Smyth notes that these elements reveal 'a shift in approach from one which focused on the statistical correlation between women's fertility and their social position … to one which allegedly looks at population issues from a woman's perspective' (1998: 219). This idea of taking the woman's perspective along with other relatively 'new' terminology infuses UNFPA programme documents. Interestingly, these terms are rarely questioned. For instance, Hartmann argues that if family planning programs are 'organized for the explicit goal of reducing population growth, they are subverted and ultimately fail' (1987: 34). Yet she indicates that if we organize RH efforts toward the pursuit of 'basic rights', which are presumed themselves to be a worthy end, then somehow the goals will not be subverted. In other words, by promoting these 'worthy ends' the means to achieving them are not problematised sufficiently.

To analyse this paradigm shift in UNFPA approaches to population, we will employ Alberto Arce's notion of the 'cartography of development discourses' (2000: 36). The power of such discourses, he notes, lies in their ability to draw 'contemporary linguistic maps': institutional authorities define 'certainties' and in doing so they represent these certainties in 'linguistic reference maps of reality' (Arce 2000: 36). Critical to this process is language and language representations, without which knowledge cannot be expressed or conveyed. As both the meaning and intention of policies must be expressed through words, the institution uses words to 'accomplish technical tasks' (Arce 2000: 36). Thus as words, which are embedded in institutions, are employed in particular ways they actually accomplish the goals of the institution. The cartography of discourses is useful, therefore, to 'help us to identify forms of linguistic representation and the extent to which they produce rather than reflect their objects of intervention' (Arce 2000: 37).

2.2.2 The Logic and Power of Discourse

Applying Arce's model, we will map some of these forms of linguistic representation, asking both how they are being used to 'reflect' the new reproductive health paradigms as well as how these forms may 'produce' their stated goals. With regard to the reflection of the RH paradigm, a few of the terms used in UNFPA project documents for Indonesia will be questioned, namely, participation and ownership, gender equality, and capacity building. What will be shown is that these particular discourses display a circular logic which renders particular modes of action legitimate while obfuscating underlying conflict.

First of all, 'ownership' and 'participation' are ideas used throughout many of the UNFPA project documents. The premise is that the community, the individuals benefiting from the programmes UNFPA offers, must participate in and 'take ownership' of these programmes in order to maximise their potential. The UN Junior Professional Officer (JPO) in the UNFPA Jakarta office noted that 'the idea of ownership is really interesting', as 'ownership is something that donors ask governments to feel'. The same officer also noted that in the end 'there is no room for the government to move' and so 'donors decide'. With regard to UNFPA, the relevance of her statement is that there is a tension between what must be expressed by governments and the actual constraints upon their action. BKKBN must implement UNFPA projects while acknowledging its ownership of this work; at the same time, BKKBN is given a definitive mandate by UNPFA to work in a certain way. For in a seeming contradiction, 'participation' and 'ownership' appear always as a methodology and a

request from a higher level to a lower one. As one example from the grassroots level, the Essential Reproductive Health programme document notes that 'through innovative demand creation activities, the community will be galvanized to take a more active role in seeking information and service for their reproductive health care needs' (UNFPA ERH 2001: 6). The assumption here is that the significant actor remains the project officials, whose job it is to 'galvanize' the community out of their supposed inactivity to take more ownership of their RH needs.

Project documents thus maintain a divide between the 'actors' (the development project workers) and the 'acted upon' (those who are being asked to 'feel ownership'). We see such a divide in the log-frame for the RH sub-programme. The log-frame, shorthand for the 'logical framework matrix', links project outputs to Objectively Verifiable Indicators (OVIs) to Means of Verification (MOVs), with reference to risks and assumptions therein. In the RH sub-programme log-frame, there are 19 different risks and assumptions listed. Of these, 17 focus on the project 'actors'—the government, the various ministries, donors—and only two address the potential recipients of the programme. Of these two, furthermore, only one is positive, noting that to achieve a particular output 'community support' will be needed, whereas the other simply points to the assumption that there will be 'no significant opposition' from the community (UNFPA Reproductive Health Sub-Programme 2001: Annex I, i-xv). Thus terms such as participation and ownership are used though there remains an underlying assumption of binaries—micro versus macro, margins versus the centre, local versus elite, powerless versus the powerful. The problem with this bifurcation is that when local people are viewed as the 'powerless' this reproduces the notion that 'power' lies at the centre—and this belief further reinforces the polarization (cf. Cooke and Kothari 2001). In essence, as 'participation' or promoting the 'ownership' of others becomes a privileged methodology, this legitimizes those who purport to practice it even as it obscures potential tensions arising from its exercise.

Second, the concept of 'gender equality' is fundamental to UNFPA work (UNFPA 2002: 4). How to measure this, however, proves problematic. The OVIs listed for 'gender equity and equality' in the log-frame are that the Gender and Development Index increases and the female illiteracy rate decreases. Yet UNFPA programmes do not actually work on these specific fronts (particularly not with education per se). Rather, the goal is to integrate gender concerns in policy and planning (UNFPA INS/06/03/02: 5). The official sub-programme of 'Gender Mainstreaming' (GMS) attempts to bring gender issues to the forefront of political discourse (UNFPA INS/06/02/01). This is then measured by the number and extent of seminars, meetings, official public statements, training notes, advocacy materials, etc. that reflect gender matters. In other words, programme attempts to raise awareness on gender are successful based on the increased use and reach of gender discourse itself. Interestingly, unique terms are used to describe how these gender issues will be raised among different groups. Whereas politicians and decision-makers at both central and provincial levels, religious and community leaders at central and provincial levels, and parliamentarians are targeted for GMS and gender 'sensitization' (UNFPA INS/06/03/02: 5), more local levels of the programme including villagers are targeted for gender 'socialization'. A particular mode of intervention, the idea that people must be 'socialized' to understand the 'correct' conceptions of gender, is thus legitimated as the discourse of 'gender equality' is cast as unequivocally positive. Further, even if sensitivity to notions of 'gender' does increase, this gender usually refers to the external position of women—their literacy rate, employment rate,

etc.—whereas the social construction of this position is not queried.[12] In UNFPA discourse, 'gender equality' becomes an abstract goal assuming merely the levelling of the playing field between two 'given' entities, men and women. The dynamic of power shaping these entities is not scrutinized. To summarize, the discourses of gender equity and empowerment are self-perpetuating as their dissemination becomes an end in itself. They legitimate the 'socialization' process (which will be further problematised in the next section), and they also obscure the dynamic of power and conflict shaping gender roles.

Finally, 'capacity building' is another term frequently used in UNFPA documents. Yet the term is often conflated with a number of meanings, such as tangible acquisitions (e.g. supplying offices with computers or obtaining new cars with the official logo) and more intangible human capacity building (in terms of skills upgrading and heightened work proficiency). On a more abstract level, capacity building is also used to denote the implementation of UNFPA's 'new paradigm' within the minds of those it seeks to reach. For instance, it may refer to helping a group of parliamentarians or other decision-makers to understand the concept of 'gender' and 'gender equality', in the sense that this is therefore 'capacity building' toward the goal of attaining this equality. In this sense, capacity building is most often meant capacity for advocacy, decision-making, information handling, etc. Thus for instance in the list of 'outputs' for the RH Sub-programme, both Outputs 1 and 3 seek to have the 'capacity' of BKKBN (*et al.*) 'strengthened'. Specifically Output 1 relates to the capacity strengthening of BKKBN and the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare 'for planning and management of the RH programme at central, provincial and district levels' (UNFPA Reproductive Health 2001: 6). How this is measured is revealing. Among the OVIs for Output 1 are that the National Commission on RH becomes functional—which is then to be verified through reference to the Commission minutes—and that standardized protocols and guidelines are to be developed and applied. In the first instance, 'capacity building' has been attained through the use of discourses (i.e. the Commission minutes must evidence particular paradigms, such as gender sensitivity), in the second it is realized through the concretization of discourses in protocols and other written documents (UNFPA Reproductive Health 2001: ii). However, in practical terms capacity building may often become simply 'experience building'. In other words, the need for capacity building is met once the proper number of meetings and seminars have been held, wherein attendance requirements are set as the targets that measure the success of the transfer of knowledge. Additionally, there is the problem of project justification: since capacity building is a goal of UNPFA work and yet remains imprecisely defined, a variety of activities can be subsumed under the category of 'capacity building' and therefore justified. The stress placed on capacity building further legitimates UNFPA work by carrying with it the implicit assumption that the projects themselves are not controversial and it is only a matter of 'strengthening capacities' to guarantee their implementation.

2.2.3 The Danger of Instrumentalism in Discourse

In critiquing a few of the terms in UNFPA programme discourse, it has been shown that discourses may display a self-perpetuating logic, legitimate particular modes of action, and obscure underlying conflict. We now analyse more specifically the instrumentalist use of discourses, particularly where there is a disjuncture between the discourse and the underlying paradigm.

[12] These regards of gender will be discussed in Chapter IV.

Ines Smyth, a sociologist who has long studied population issues in Indonesia, questions whether organizations such as UNFPA have actually grasped the principal theoretical tenets of some of the early feminist critiques of family planning, so pivotal to the post-Cairo paradigm shift in population policies. Failure to do so leads to what she describes as 'a kind of instrumentalism' that characterises much of the population establishment, where basic feminist concerns and terminologies are adopted but only superficially (Smyth 1998: 218, 226-228). Before the paradigm shift occurred, Smyth notes that most interventions in population planning attempted to mitigate symptoms rather then to deal with the root causes of problems and inequalities which afflict women (1993: 128). Today in Indonesia there has been a visible discursive shift toward targeting the root causes of women's unequal standing. For instance, in writing about the national programme for women's health, Iskandar notes that 'addressing safe motherhood must go hand in hand with addressing gender inequality, the creation of better women's condition and position, starting during adolescence' (1998: 42). Yet whether or not these root causes are actually being targeted remains questionable, precisely because an instrumentalist use of terms such as 'gender equity' means that much of what has been accomplished remains on the realm of discourse.

To illustrate this point we consider how the change being sought within the new paradigm of RH involves not only a change in 'behaviour', but also one in 'perception'. For instance, under the early demographic paradigm of family planning, if a woman was to accept birth control then she was exhibiting proper 'development' behaviour (i.e. behaviour that was in line with the goals of the family planning institutions). However, it is no longer enough that this woman is an 'acceptor' of birth control—she has to be able to speak the proper 'lingo' of empowerment and gender equality. In my research I witnessed this in a variety of contexts. In the villages, BKKBN, in collaboration with UNFPA, holds monthly *sosialisasi* (socialization) meetings for village women and their husbands. At one such meeting, held in Desa Sukarasa in Lembang, the BKKBN field worker set forth to 'socialize' two concepts: the increasing danger of narcotics, especially for adolescents, and the concepts of gender and gender equality. Displaying what has been referred to as the 'banking concept of education' (Friere 1997: 52-67; cf. Dewey 1938), she presented a definition of gender as being the view of the general population which differentiates the social responsibilities of men and women. The women in attendance then repeated this definition back to her in unison, several times, until they were able to say it without prompting from her. What was most interesting about the entire meeting was how it demonstrates the goals of this new paradigm, wherein the socialization of ideas is central to the changes being sought. If applied in such a way, the discourse touting gender equity becomes women intoning a definition of gender, without the 'root causes' of their unequal standing being addressed. The danger of a superficial theoretical base and instrumentalist application of discourses therefore becomes that change and development can be reduced to simplistic 'information transfer'.

We can briefly note two additional examples of the unintended consequences of instrumentalist application of particular discourses. First, there is a lack of attention to the question of power with regard to the use of the word 'empowerment', noted to be a core value of UNFPA work in Indonesia (UNFPA 2002: 4). Even as 'empowerment' is sometimes tied to more tangible goals, namely increasing educational and employment opportunities for women, it is frequently employed in the abstract. It is important to question how this empowerment is meant to happen. If the object of UNFPA programmes is to 'empower' women, this relegates them to the 'acted upon', and by doing so, may reinforce hierarchies of position and knowledge. Second, there remains a contradictory tendency in the discourse of reproductive health to essentialize women to the sphere of their bodies. That is,

though women's reproductive health is now being targeted within the much broader understanding of the need to challenge underlying gender inequities, by focusing on women's reproductive capacities—however holistically—women are still being typecast by their ability to procreate and to be mothers. As Postel-Coster has argued, the messages passed down to village women 'are primarily concerned with women's reproductive tasks: breeding, caring and feeding, and passing the dominant values of society to the next generation' (1993: 133). In both these instances, the simplification needs of institutions and programmes may lead to these unintended theoretical implications. Where 'empowerment', for example, is wielded instrumentally as a word to legitimate a range of interventions without proper consideration given to the context in which this is done or the power relationships therein, this can be seen as unintentional circumvention of the 'true' meaning of empowerment (in the most optimist case) or as veiling the more strategic interests of maintaining hierarchies by keeping separate those who 'need empowerment' from those who do the 'empowering' (in the most cynical case).

2.3 The Politics of Paradigms? UNFPA and Discourse Creation

The historical trends of family planning in Indonesia and subsequent shifts in UNFPA discourse have been examined. Now we approach the intra-office politics of UNFPA in Indonesia.[13] In essence, the central UNFPA office in Jakarta is a critical nexus point wherein some of the global discourses of human rights, gender equity and empowerment, etc. are being translated into a plan of action for the Indonesian context. This process of 'translation' will be considered here: the micro-politics of those defining macro strategies. Using Alberto Long's concept of an actor-oriented approach, the intra-office relationships—most specifically those between the foreign UN Representative and the national staff—will be studied. Next, Hobart's understanding of discourse theory will be applied to an analysis of the writing of the UNFPA brochure during August of 2002. Through these various points, we will explore the idea of agency within prescribed social boundaries. What is implied throughout is that although institutional discourses typically create an image of consensus, in fact much contestation occurs, and that discourse is created out of a disjuncture between the more powerful and the less powerful, the ideal and the real.

2.3.1 Domains and Arenas

To study the inner-workings of the UNFPA office, what Long terms 'an actor-oriented approach' (2000: 189) will be applied. An actor perspective concentrates 'on delineating everyday organising and symbolising practices and the interlocking of actors' projects' (Long 2000: 197). In other words, an actor perspective does not take the organisational standpoint, which focuses on formal rules and administrative procedures. Rather, it looks at the way the rules governing interaction are actually being shaped at this very point of interlocking projects. It is the interface, 'where discontinuities exist based on discrepancies in values, interests, knowledge and power', that is critical to examine (Long 2000: 197). Attention to the links, changes, accommodations, and contestations that take place—instead of assuming a set of rules governing interaction—will illuminate how programmes function.

[13] Research for this section is based on my internship in the central UNFPA office in Jakarta. I acted as the Advocacy Programme Coordinator, one of the project directors, for five weeks in August and September of 2002.

This 'actor-oriented approach' must have a setting within which to examine these interlocking projects. Long depicts this setting as being one of domains and arenas, 'in which contestation over values and resources takes place' (2000: 191). A domain refers to an area of social life organized around a cluster of values that order social relations; for instance, the domains of family, community, market, etc. Domains are helpful to understanding how 'social and symbolic boundaries are created and defended' (Long 2000: 191). It is precisely this boundedness of domains that is critical, for it defines the ways in which actors' choices and room for manoeuvre is shaped (Long 2000: 191-192). Arenas, on the other hand, 'are social encounters or a series of situations in which contests over issues, resources, values, and representations take place' (Long 2000: 192). This concept of arena is particularly useful for analysing development projects, Long argues, since intervention processes comprise a set of interlocking arenas of struggle, each characterised as belonging within a particular domain (2000: 192). It is difficult to separate domains from arenas entirely, as the boundaries of domains may be defined more by exclusion than inclusion—that is, as they are in conflict with other domains, in the interstices that are here denoted arenas.

In looking at how power structures the relationships within UNFPA headquarters, we consider the relationship between domains and arenas. We begin by looking at the domains of those in the office, including my shifting set of domains and related status, since understanding how these domains are 'bounded' will allow us to better understand the constraints upon those acting within them. The principal division between UNFPA staff at headquarters is that between the Representative (the Rep), a foreigner, and the national staff. The Junior Professional Officer noted in an interview that two stereotypes within the office are those of the 'Rep is king' and the 'national staff is lazy'. Yet these stereotypes tend to be mutually reinforcing, for the Representative would respond to his perceptions of the laziness of staff by keeping tight control of all of their projects. The more that he micro-managed all of these projects, the less the staff members seemed to care about showing initiative. The general perception of the staff was that he did not trust them to perform their jobs and thus it was difficult to 'ever want to do them well' in their words. According to them, their ways of handling matters were resonant with their general social norms (such as a more passive, consensual approach to change), which the Rep could not understand as an 'outsider'.

As the boundaries of domains are socially defined they remain open to fluctuation at the perimeter, especially where contestation occurs. This can be seen in how my status within the office changed over the course of my time there. When I first arrived, both the Rep and the staff attempted to take me into their confidence. The Rep would share things with me about the staff, treating me as an 'outsider' to the culture like himself. Yet the Indonesian staff included me in their circle, over lunchtime, rather boldly telling me story after story about the Rep and painting a less than flattering portrait of his ability to run the programmes. For both groups, they saw me as being able to switch sides: to the staff, especially since I had grown up in Indonesia and was fluent in the language and customs, I was able to be an 'insider', a sympathetic collaborator; to the Rep, as I was still a Western-educated foreigner, I was able to be 'on his side'. In each case, it was a sense of shared values that allowed for a common identity. However, this sense of shared values was breached when I wrote a monitoring report of various UNFPA projects in West Java that pointed out many of the structural problems related to implementation. The reaction from the office staff was mixed.[14] The Rep, who tended to be more critical of the Indonesian government's

[14] My information comes from an informant that I had within the office who wrote to me after I left to tell me of the varied reactions.

coordination efforts, agreed with my critique and generally commended the report. A couple of the staff members noted that I had written things that everyone already knew. But the reaction from the Senior Programme Director (the top-ranked Indonesian staff member) was particularly intense. She criticized my report as being 'typical' of a 'foreign female researcher', saying that I 'hadn't understood the issues' and was painting a negative and 'one-sided' portrait of BKKBN in particular. Whereas before she had treated me as being almost 'native', she now deliberately cast me as one of the 'foreigners' with no understanding of local needs.

The relationship between Rep and staff highlighted the discontinuities between their domains, the differences between their 'values, interests, knowledge and power' (Long 2000: 197). This intersection of domains, the 'social encounters or a series of situations in which contests over issues, resources, values, and representations take place' (Long 2000: 192), can be studied as arenas. Very often within the official discourse there is a harmonious picture of objectives presented. Yet this disguises considerable conflict. By exposing the dynamic of power and difference in social relationships, arenas can be useful to analyse intra-office dynamics. In the office, for instance, we can consider the power discrepancies requiring regular acts of dissimilation on the part of the staff. I referred to these acts as 'the daily dance' during my time in the office—the ritualised wearing of 'masks' around the boss in every formal setting. This 'dance' would play itself out as follows: the Rep calls a staff member into his office to give an account of some project he or she is overseeing; after it is over the rest of the staff gather around to hear about the meeting, and it is re-enacted often with dramatic flair for the rest. There would often be jokes about how to accept criticism from the boss ('Oh, Sir, you are so smart to notice my mistake') or how he 'only' yelled five times, or other such comments. Humour was usually used to portray the event. The minute the Rep would walk into the main office, however, all conversation, tone, and even body language would change in a way that portrayed absolute deference. James Scott (1990) has referred to such a gap between what those in power speak and what those without power speak as the discrepancy between public and private transcripts (described in Chapter One). Yet it is important to recall that the boundaries for such transcripts are based on a set of power imbalances between the two groups. As Scott argues, 'most subordinates conform and obey *not* because they have internalized the norms of the dominant, but because a structure of surveillance, reward, and punishment makes it prudent for them to comply' (1990: 193, emphasis in the original).

2.3.2 Complicity in Discourse Creation

The previous chapter looked at Foucauldian notions of discourse, arguing that it is necessary to add a reflexive and self-critical analysis. Though analysing discourse is necessarily abstract, nonetheless it draws attention to the differential functioning of knowledge and power in practice (Hobart 1993: 12). In other words, discourse allows us to study power—and more specifically, the power disparities of various social relationships. Hobart notes that there are three different discourses at work in development: those of the professional developers, the local people 'being developed', and the national government and its officials (1993: 12). We have already considered some of the terms in the professional discourse of developers, and will consider the discourses of government officials and local people in the next two chapters. Here we will examine a specific instance of discourse creation, namely the process through which I wrote the primary brochure for UNFPA work in Indonesia, intended to describe UNFPA's values, agenda, and programmes for an audience ranging from the Indonesian government to foreign NGOs to other health workers in the field of family

planning *et al*. The goal of this analysis is to highlight both the complicity of individuals and the constraints placed upon them by the broader agenda of power.

Performance marked the initial stages of writing. This text was meant to emphasize all of UNFPA's achievements as well as describe their strategies and goals. Yet as somewhat of a 'critical outsider' who had been asked to perform an 'insider's' task, I had to read through large amounts of official UNFPA documents and listen to input from the office staff and the UNFPA Representative. Before I began to write I was aware of two things. First, as the goal of this brochure was to promote UNFPA work it needed to portray UNFPA in an unequivocally positive light. Second, there were no actual constraints upon my options, there were no guidelines for the writing, there was no pressure to keep a job I did not have as I was only an intern; I was bound only by my knowledge of what was expected. It was a question of performance. In the first draft of the text, I maintained a more critical position toward UNFPA programmes, attempting to depict them as occasionally problematic but always good-intentioned and working toward improvement. When the Rep read this text, he said that it did not give the 'impression' of UNFPA that he wanted. He proceeded to stress major themes that he wanted to be emphasized, such as freedom of choice, the empowerment of women, and the new focus on quality of care. All of these were to be linked to the ICPD, ICPD+5, and Millennium Development Goals under the umbrella of human rights.

The second stage of writing was marked by embellishment and the establishment of a particular 'tone'. As the second draft reflected the Rep's themes, he praised it by saying that the 'tone was excellent', minor revisions aside. Yet it was precisely this tone that marked what I perceived to be a disjuncture between the words used and the reality of the programme. This reflected precisely what Hobart termed the 'differential working of knowledges and powers in practice' (1993: 12); that is, the Rep's knowledge of affairs was paramount and thus had to be expressed in the brochure, even though I knew the embellishments to be rather substantial. For example, the text refers primarily to UNFPA engaging with people, partnering with men, women, and youth, in order to promote a higher quality of life; the tone is quite 'personal'. Yet with regard to programme operation UNFPA functions based on numerical targets. The new 'logistical framework matrix' links clear outputs to inputs, and all the projects—however 'qualitative' they might be—have numerical measures of their success. For instance, toward the goal of attaining 'gender equity and equality' mentioned earlier, the OVIs for this include reducing the female illiteracy rate from 14.5 to 7.5 percent. As none of UNFPA's programmes work with literacy or directly with education, this OVI is an example of numerical targets being used as measures even when these targets are not within the purview of the project itself. As another example, the text represented UNFPA as the primary implementing agency of a myriad of efforts, which obscured the fact that as a donor agency UNFPA is not directly involved in project execution so much as it attempts to influence policy while allowing others to do the grassroots work.

One particular sample from the text is illuminating, that of the section on partnership. This section was added to the final drafts, as the finishing touch to ensure the 'tone' was right in the Core Values piece:

> UNFPA recognizes that only in true partnership can positive change come. In Indonesia, this means working not only with government officials and NGO staff, but also with field workers, health practitioners and community leaders across public and private sectors, at different levels of society, and with the men, women, and youth who are striving for a better future (UNFPA in Indonesia 2002: 4).

All data from my research to this point told me that these statements were not fully true. There remain competing interpretations of UNFPA's strategies and methods. Interviews with BKKBN officials indicated a sense that UNFPA holds the budgetary strings and therefore dictates the course of action in terms of project design and implementation. The men and women interviewed in a number of different health clinics in Bandung, Garut, and Tasikmalaya, including those villages where UNFPA purports to work, had never heard of UNFPA at all. This included many of the health workers themselves.

Analysing the process of writing, and in particular the awareness of a gap between the 'ideal' model of UNFPA work and the 'real' model, requires critical self-reflection as well as an understanding of how distancing is related to discourse. I was willing to portray what I felt were UNFPA's good intentions as actual practice. In other words, I constructed an image of UNFPA claiming that the organization works in a particular way (for example, through partnerships with local populations), and in so doing, I marketed UNFPA work. The critical next step is the circulation of this 'package', for if these claims are circulated widely enough it is possible for them to gain sufficient credence to be sustained. Extrapolating from this, it is possible to conceive of the staff members of other international organizations also writing in such a way to infer that what they wish to be true is actually true, and thus perpetuating a belief in its accomplishment. In other words, discourse helps to create its own realities. If, for instance, the underlying aim of the partnership section was to validate UNFPA methodology, then this aim is realized every time an interested party reads the brochure without enough knowledge of grassroots circumstances to be aware of the embellishment. Yet we must also consider the distance that most major donors are from these grassroots. Assuming that those in power would be somewhat distanced from the recipients of development interventions (with regard to class, status, physical location, etc.), it follows that the discourse would be most easily received at this level. Thus the discourse gains even more power as it is sustained by those in power, further widening the rift between the reflection and the reality.

Chapter III
Provincial Propagation: Bandung and Outwards

The paradigms underpinning reproductive health work in Indonesia, and the ways these impact managed change and power relations, have just been examined. This chapter will explore how these paradigms are operationalized through governmental institutions at the level of the provincial bureaucracy. The institutional apparatus, that of BKKBN and its coordination with UNFPA, will first be described and analysed briefly, noting the hierarchical and relational nature of its organization. Then Hobart's theorization of ignorance will be used to examine the interrelationships of knowledge, ignorance, and power in project implementation. This will show the need to approach the multiple translations and contradictions at work in the different levels within the BKKBN-UNFPA programmes through the arena model, which can account for contestation. Finally the influence of morality and religion in provincial government will be addressed, to demonstrate that religion's intersection with the development project requires study as it comprises a specific arena within which there are competing agendas and paradigms.

3.1 Institutional Apparatus and Hierarchy

3.1.1 BKKBN and UNFPA Structures

BKKBN as the primary implementing agency of UNFPA programmes will now be examined, followed by consideration of UNFPA structure. The defining characteristic of BKKBN's organization is the strength and breadth of its hierarchy—as it extends from large office complexes in Jakarta all the way into villages across the islands, through a network of field workers and village leaders with their wives. Overall, BKKBN 'is structured from center to periphery, from city to rural areas, with the intention that family-planning education will trickle down and outwards' (Newland 2001: 30). In the cities the highest office is the *kodya madya* (municipality), while in the rural areas it is the *kabupaten* (regency). Below this is the family planning (FP) fieldwork supervisor, operating at the *kecamatan* (district) level, overseeing the FP field workers (called *PLKB*) who work at the village level. Volunteers operate below the PLKB at both RT and RW levels (representing village organization), and are typically under the supervision of cadres. Describing the family planning efforts of the 1970s through the 1980s, Hartmann notes that the 'structure of political authority in Indonesia has profoundly influenced the organization of family planning services' (1987: 80). In fact, according to AID, it was this 'strong hierarchical power structure' that allowed central authority to 'produce compliant behaviour all down the administrative line to the individual peasant' (1979: 33-34). All branches of the government were integrated in BKKBN's efforts. For instance, even the military in certain cases became directly involved in promoting IUD insertion in order to meet high targets (Hartmann 1987: 80).

UNFPA began working in Indonesia in 1971 to aid family planning and to undertake demographic research; since then it has spent more than $110 million on population projects over five country programme cycles, working with various Indonesian NGOs and government agencies, though primarily through BKKBN. UNFPA coordinates with BKKBN and other Indonesian government branches on four different levels: central oversight (Jakarta), provincial support, district management, and clinic level activities (UNFPA INS/06/01/01). In Jakarta there are two locations, the actual UNFPA office in the UN building, headed by the UN Representative, and the NPCU (National Programme

Coordinating Unit), which is supposed to have 'responsibility for the overall country programme' (UNFPA INS/06/01/01: 23). By all accounts, including interview responses and my own observations, the NPCU is relatively inactive, whereas the UNFPA office is the real headquarters for their programmes. Beneath this there is a Provincial Programme Management Unit (PPMU) with a Provincial Programme Manager and a finance secretary, UNFPA staff, coupled with a government counterpart. The next and final level comprises the District Facilitators (DFs) who are meant to collaborate with government employees in the district government headquarters and to ensure that UNFPA programmes are being properly implemented.

Though purportedly a well-structured system, there remains a disjuncture between stated aims and bureaucratic feasibilities within the UNFPA programme. For instance, UNFPA notes that the *Puskesmas* (community health centre) is the actual 'project implementation unit', where the service delivery staff 'will perform many of the key project activities as they try to implement an integrated approach to reproductive health' (INS/06/01/01: 24-25). This means that at the key intersection of bureaucracy and the actual 'clients' there is no actual UNFPA presence. Much of the success of UNFPA programmes thus rests on the assumption that these clinic staff will 'perform many of the key project activities'. Another example of a contradiction is in UNFPA documents describing the PPMU presence at the provincial level as 'crucial' because of diversity necessitating a 'bottom-up approach addressing different local needs' (INS/06/01/01: 24). Yet the recorded population of West Java in 2000 was approximately 32 million people (SMERU Research Institute 2002). The expectation that a staff of two is sufficient to ensure a 'bottom-up approach' in West Java may be seen as foolishly optimistic or blatantly ignorant.[15] Indeed, the outgoing Provincial Programme Manager (who resigned in frustration with UNFPA administration) noted that the primary problem with the project was its continued use of 'top down planning'. She also argued that the UNFPA programmes are being implemented without regard to the actual problems and not in response to felt needs. Considering that the UNFPA DFs—as the final tier of UNFPA staff—are expected to cover districts which may comprise up to hundreds of thousands of people, it is unsurprising that determining 'felt needs' is an impossibility. These points merely highlight what seems obvious: however good 'on paper' a plan of bureaucratic action might be, implementation requires there to be 'implementers' who are inevitably distanced from the problems they seek to address.

3.1.2 Power Relationships in the 'Organic' Bureaucracy

The organization of BKKBN is paradoxical, being both highly structured and highly relational. In terms of its structure, from the early days of Suharto's rule, the government assumed that the bureaucracy could advance economic growth only through a highly centralized hierarchical structure of command directly under the regime's control (Legowo 1999: 81). In his study of the Indonesian bureaucracy, Legowo stresses that the 'Indonesian bureaucracy has come to dominate … society' (1999: 86). Up till Suharto's fall in 1998, BKKBN was a monolith within this bureaucratic framework, being integrated into many other government departments. This integration was not merely a strategy for BKKBN but rather a necessity as the government sought to mobilize all its available resources to pursue development objectives (Sumbung *et al.* 1984: 15). Within this structure, clear lines of authority are delineated, each level being expected to report to the level above in monthly meetings.

[15] The implications of this second perspective will be considered in the section 3.2.

The hierarchy of the family planning programme is suffused with power relationships on all levels. For instance, it has been argued that even as power was exercised in higher levels of the bureaucracy during the 1980s, as the institutional structure extended to the villages it created the possibility for certain local leaders to 'gain another source of leverage' (Hartmann 1987: 83). Many studies confirm the critical role of village leaders in the programme (cf. Warwick 1986: 464).[16] At this village level, the core strategy for recruiting contraceptives clients during the family planning programmes of the 1980s and early 1990s was a combination of individual urging and community pressure (Warwick 1986: 469). The goal remained, however, to 'win' these clients and reach numerical targets of contraceptive users. In a personal interview with the author, the BKKBN Director for Kabupaten Bandung noted that BKKBN had achieved its greatest success in the 1970s and 1980s, when they simply 'pushed' contraceptives, only giving explanations or information about the different methods when deemed necessary. The point, he said, was simply to get people into the family planning programme. He then explained that today a different approach is required: people must be informed and educated first, and only then can they be put on some form of family planning. Both methods, however, involve strong networks reaching all the way into the family home—whether these families are being presented with contraceptives or simply 'information'.

Though existing within a decidedly ordered framework, BKKBN displays a modus operandi based on a network of interpersonal relationships with ritualized patterns of deference, reflecting in particular the patron-client dynamic that permeates Indonesian relationships (Newland 2001: 30). This is resonant with a model for the broader Indonesian state as an 'integralistic-organic' state where 'state and society, in effect, [constitute] an organic whole, with individuals and groups as parts of the whole. The implication is that individuals can exist only in relation to the whole and that no conflict between individual and whole can be countenanced' (Suryakusuma 1996: 93; cf. Rahardjo 1984: 18). In this 'organic' bureaucracy, therefore, systems of information are highly relational. For instance, the Head of *Bapeda* (the central government's regional planning office) in Garut claimed that all the different bureaucratic departments were now '*saudara kandung*' (siblings), whereas before they were simply '*sepupu*' (cousins). His comment reflects the *azas kekulargaan*, or family principle, of this 'integralistic' state. Moreover, Suryakusuma notes, 'paternalism infuses Indonesian social organization and relationships' (1996: 95). All other meetings I observed in government offices followed formalized, almost ritualistic, patterns of deference and communication.[17] 'Business' does not take place without a great deal of talking 'around' the subject as direct and overly-explicit communication styles are seen to be too confrontational and not '*halus*'[18] enough for the Sundanese.

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[16] For instance, anthropological research in East Java 'showed that community response to the family planning program was greatly affected by the degree of residents' deference to the hamlet head' (Warwick 1986: 465). Interestingly, as village leaders are always male, it can be argued that the 'rules of the game' for family planning are held in male hands.

[17] Perhaps another example of the 'relational' aspect of the bureaucracy can be seen in the ritual of eating snacks. One of the ways the volunteers are attracted at the RW level is through money to buy snacks for their meetings (cf. Newland 2001: 30); though insignificant by Western standards, these snacks are an omnipresent element in what I term a 'snack culture'. No formal meeting at any level of the Indonesian bureaucracy that I attended, from the parliament in Jakarta to the village house in remote Lembang district, went without uniformly packaged snacks.

[18] '*Halus*' literally means smooth, and refers to a gentle, calm, collected manner of self-presentation with an almost mystical quality to it (cf. Geertz 1960).

3.2 Ignorance and Power in Programme Implementation

3.2.1 The Role of Ignorance

In researching programme implementation in West Java, the incongruence between rhetoric and reality became evident.[19] Though change is occurring it does not always take the direction intended. The closer one is to the centre the more of the new human rights discourse one will hear, but the farther away one travels, the less of this there is—leading many upper-level bureaucrats to discuss the problem of needing to 'socialize' the UNFPA programme down to each administrative level. In Jakarta, a typical comment from the UNFPA Representative was whether or not the level under discussion had received the project documents. In one instance, I was sent to monitor the West Java Provincial Management Unit (PMU) to ensure that the new Provincial Manager had received all of these documents, was familiar with them, and knew how to use them properly. Stress was placed on disseminating the discourse even though inculcation of this discourse in action seemed to be lacking. Programme goals are thus achieved if people can come to know the programme paradigms—if, for example, they begin speaking the new 'lingo' of empowerment. This process of coming to know something, Hobart claims, is 'an act which involves work as part of one's relationships with others' (1993: 21). However, with regard to UNFPA work knowledge is not regarded as relational so much as unidirectional, with UNFPA and BKKBN staff in charge of its transmission.

To question why there is a unidirectional flow of information transmission, and how this contributes to incongruence between stated objectives and actual outcomes, we consider the role of ignorance. Quarles van Ufford argues that within development programmes there is an 'inherent ambiguity, an inescapable contradiction' between the interests of those who set the projects in motion—particularly western donor agencies—and those on the receiving end of said projects (1993: 142). However, these ambiguities are contained—or even overcome—by

> segmenting the different levels of organization. This compartmentalization consists of a careful balancing of knowledge as well as ignorance by the various parties involved; and it is this which makes the coexistence of multiple, and often contradictory, bodies of knowledge possible (van Ufford 1993: 142).

This concept of ignorance is important, for it does not merely describe a void but rather an active re-ordering of representations and judgements. Hobart notes that as 'systematic knowledge grows, so does the possibility of ignorance. Ignorance, however, is not a simple antithesis of knowledge. It is a state which people attribute to others and is laden with moral judgement' (1993: 1). In other words, just as the Jakarta office would discuss how it was simply a problem of the provincial bureaucrats not 'being familiar' enough with project documents, much bureaucratic discourse (particularly on the UNFPA side) is replete with the assumption that the majority of the project beneficiaries are 'ignorant' and need only to be given the 'right information'.

Yet Hobart takes this a step further, arguing that instead of being merely the effect of compartmentalization, ignorance may be *'used actively* as a means of ignoring what others

[19] Admittedly, it is difficult to separate these two as reality has phenomenological interpretations understood through language and rhetoric. However, I use this distinction in the simplest of senses to describe the difference between lofty visions of 'empowerment', 'participation', etc. and the continued trend of bureaucrats simply telling villagers what they need to do.

say and do'; in fact, he suggests 'resurrecting the old English word 'obliviate', which implies an *active ignoring* of such representations [of resistance or denial] and the prosecution of one's own point of view' (1993: 16, emphasis added). Many examples of this 'active ignoring' were present throughout the time I worked at UNFPA headquarters. These can be grouped these in two categories: what might be termed 'turning a deaf ear' and 'passive listening'. In the first instance, information is completely blocked out as in the reporting I did on Desa Surabaya in Garut. At a gathering in the health centre on 29 August 2002, the village head expressed the view that the primary needs of his community were those of communication and transportation infrastructure, without which any projects faced major obstacles. In fact, this expressed felt need for improvements in very basic infrastructure was common across many villages and in a variety of settings, but when this was presented in a report to UNFPA staff it evoked no reaction and was summarily dismissed. In the second case, information is received and yet relegated to inactivity. Paradoxically, it makes no difference to the way things are run. For example, when all the District Facilitators for West Java were gathered for a meeting at the PPMU on 28 August 2002, the top complaint from each one was the manner in which funds are disbursed late in each fiscal quarter, resulting in project failure and budgeting crises. When the scope of the problem was conveyed to the UNFPA office, programme officers made it clear that they were fully aware of the situation and yet were not going to do anything about it. The line between these two 'methods of ignoring' is admittedly blurred, yet it is clear that there is something of a spectrum across which those in charge of programme operations use ignorance strategically.

As ignorance and knowledge are inextricably linked, it can be argued that basic assumptions about knowledge are tied to patterns of ignorance. We might consider, for instance, the underlying assumptions surrounding the Information, Education, and Communication (IEC) approach used in BKKBN and UNFPA work, or the push to socialize the programmes. IEC has been defined by UNFPA as 'a comprehensive programming intervention—an integral part of a country development programme, which aims at *achieving or consolidating behaviour or attitude changes in designated audiences*' (Cohen 1994: 3, emphasis in the original). These attitude or behavioural changes are expected to be elicited through the successful transmission of information. If IEC fails, as Mamdani has argued, the problem is perceived to be having not used the 'right techniques' (1972: 40). The information itself is unquestioned, as it is conceptualized within these programmes as what Hobart terms 'a model of knowledge as communicable propositions' wherein rationality and interpretations are shared (1993: 11). In other words, the programme operates on the assumption that content is communicable and the method of transmission compatible. For example, during a focus group discussion at Puskesmas Manonjaya in Tasikmalaya, one doctor commented that the number of men using contraceptives was still very low, but that the problem could be solved through simply using '*KIE ke stakeholders-nya*' (IEC to the stakeholders). The assumption here and in other such cases is that project goals need only to be 'targeted' through the proper IEC approach. This is in striking contrast to Hobart's notion of understanding, 'which is inevitably always imperfect, dialectical and critical' (1993: 11). Thus information tends to be used instrumentally for the purposes of those in charge of the programme. Project recipients must be cast as 'ignorant' to legitimate their socialization, yet project implementers feign ignorance in select cases to perpetuate their position. This is what we will consider in more detail next.

3.2.2 The Question of Power

If information—transmission as well as 'ignorance' of it—is an integral element in the relationships between the top and bottom of the UNFPA and BKKBN bureaucratic structure, a logical question is why this is so. It has been contended that knowledge and ignorance are mutually-constituted. But what ends—or perhaps more explicitly, whose ends—does this serve? As Quarles van Ufford notes, 'we must try to understand the part played by knowledge and ignorance in the struggle for power between the various interdependent, yet relatively autonomous groups of participants' (1993: 141). His point is that

> Ignorance therefore becomes an important asset for those who are engaged in policy processes. Lack of insight into what is actually going on in the 'implementation' process in fact becomes of paramount importance. Ignorance is a defensive construct against the false assumptions which, for cultural and political reasons, underpin development policy-making (van Ufford 1993: 157).

This is therefore the link between ignorance and power. Ignorance typically serves the ends of those with the power to direct policy, who are remarkably adept at simply ensuring project perpetuation and thereby job perpetuation without necessarily ensuring that the project is actually implemented as intended. In other words, needing to know what happens locally as well as needing to remain ignorant of it is inextricably connected; in fact, the project's survival depends on 'maintaining—or creating—sufficient ignorance about what [is] happening locally' (Quarles van Ufford 1993: 138). To analyse the relationship between ignorance and power, we will follow Quarles van Ufford's model and address the 'two social fields in which problems of constituting knowledge and ignorance must be discussed': '(1) the relations between the project officers and the local population, and (2) the relations of the project staff with the sponsoring agencies who have authority over funding and the continuation of the programme' (1993: 137). These two social fields, he contends, 'are antagonistically interrelated' (van Ufford 1993: 137).

We consider the relations between project officers and the local population as the first social field. Many scholars have noted the 'paternalism, status consciousness, high centralization and low initiative and autonomy' of the Indonesian bureaucracy (Legowo 1999: 90). In Baker and Soesastro's words, 'the Indonesian bureaucracy remains highly politicized', and is 'essentially an extension of the political system' (1999: 257). Furthermore, the government prioritizes the maintenance of stability and control over the accommodation of popular concerns (Baker and Soesastro 1999: 256). Yet it is not simply a question of a dominant bureaucracy, for it is also arguable that Indonesian attitudes toward government officialdom and other powerful figures tend to stress respect and deference (Legowo 1999: 89), thus compounding the power dynamic of 'uppers' and 'lowers' (cf. Chambers 1983). There are also differences in coordination among the various bureaucratic levels. In describing provincial coordination the Bandung DF noted the problem of '*ego sektor*' (sectoral ego), with a general lack of cooperative integration. A Department of Health official from Garut noted in an interview that '*koordinasi di lapangan sudah enak*' (coordination on the field is already good), whereas it is the coordination from offices to the field that can be problematic. His comments, like others, reflected the common perception that physical distance plays a role in how easy it is to coordinate efforts. Even at the most intimate level of the bureaucracy, however, that of the *kader* (cadres), *bidan* (midwives) and *PLKB* (BKKBN fieldworker), there seems to be a trend toward 'transmitting' knowledge rather than engaging in dialogue with the local population. One of the kaders for Desa Kalimanggis in Tasikmalaya, when discussing her strategies for reaching the adolescent population in a focus group discussion (FGD), noted that she would link info on STIs with already present social

gatherings in order to '*terjun ke lapangan*' (to dive/enter into the field). The kaders and bidans in this FGD were in agreement: their mission was simply to 'reach the people', there was no talk of listening to them.

To study the second social field, that of the relationship between the project staff (i.e. BKKBN) and the sponsoring agency (i.e. UNFPA), we consider the issue of agenda-setting. For even where 'planning from above' is rejected in favour of a 'bottom-up approach', this does not necessarily change matters since the terms of the debate and the parameters for action usually remain defined by 'superiors' (Hobart 1993: 15-16). On the larger scale, Smyth notes the possibility 'that the population establishment can use dialogues as a way to "engineer consent" around specific activities, thus silencing oppositional voices' (1998: 232). This is due to the general power imbalances between those who are calling the meetings and setting the agenda, and those who are being 'consulted' by the population establishment, such as women's groups, NGOs, health workers, and others. Put most dramatically, there are fears that 'dialogues and co-operation are fraught with dangers of co-option, of marginalisation and of trivialisation of women's issues' (Smyth 1998: 233). More specifically for UNFPA, its programmes are now built around the logical framework matrix (the log-frame) mentioned in the previous chapter which links aims to Objectively Verifiable Indicators (OVIs) to Means of Verification (MOVs), and only infrequently notes risks and assumptions. The log-frame is meant to drive how project officers work. They are given the project documents, 'socialized' into how to use the log-frame, and then expected to use it as the primary tool guiding their actions. However, this means that a rigid structure is being enforced from above, both of described problems and for prescribed solutions.

In both of these social fields, the delineation of problems and solutions is often misleadingly presented as a consensus. Smyth notes that 'one … danger of the institutionalisation of women's issues has been their removal from the domain of struggle, to one where technical solutions can be negotiated leaving basic social relations unchanged' (1998: 232). It is precisely this abrogation of struggle, of difference, of conflicting interpretations, which marks the dominant narrative. The process of defining problems and solutions, however, is inevitably one of conflict and difference. The UNFPA District Facilitator for Tasikmalaya commented that '*Tidak ada persamaan persepsi di tingkat atas*' (there isn't a unified perception at the top level), with different information transmitted down various departmental lines that are '*tidak synkron*' (not in sync). The Director of Adolescent RH and Reproductive Rights at BKKBN's central office in Jakarta stated in an interview that there was 'struggling' over preparation of project documents; there were UNFPA and BKKBN discussions of the relevant issues, but in the end UNFPA staff wrote up the documents and set the budget according to their own agenda. This imbalance in agenda-setting is further perpetuated through budgetary and transparency differences; though UNFPA requires BKKBN to report all their expenditures to them in detail, they do not share their own financial records. Some explanation for this imbalance may come from institutional arrangements; however, it is clear that attitudes also play a role. For example, in a private meeting, the UN Representative quoted a saying from the era of British colonial rule in India that 'three British overseers' were required 'for every working Indian'. He claimed that he therefore needed to scrutinize the work of those underneath him lest it be incorrect or of poor quality. This general lack of trust permeates many of UNFPA's interactions with the Indonesian government institutions, generating conflict and misperceptions. Understanding this interaction, as well as that of the Indonesian bureaucracy with the local population, therefore requires a careful look at the contending voices and contradictory perceptions therein. A useful tool of analysis is that of the arena model (described earlier in section 2.3.1), which conceptualizes the policy process

not as an integrated whole, but as multiple negotiations between participants that are inherently problematic (Quarles van Ufford 1993: 139).

3.3 Islam and Morality in Provincial Bureaucracy

It has been shown that contestation occurs through the BKKBN and UNFPA hierarchies, marked by relationships of power and ignorance in programme implementation. The arena model is useful to account for such contestation. Here we will look at one particular arena, that of the intersection of Islamic norms and the UNFPA reproductive health agenda. Although the debate surrounding religion and power cannot be fully addressed, we will explore the role religion plays at various levels of programme bureaucracy. There remains a caveat before beginning: in analysing the relationship between Islam (or other socio-cultural norms) and UNFPA objectives, it is overly simplistic to merely view religion or 'culture' as 'obstacles' to change. Nor is it proper to criticize UNFPA for pushing programmes that may be a bit unsettling for more 'traditional' approaches. In other words, we should avoid dichotomized ways of thinking that view one side as a promoter of change and the other side as an obstacle to change. Rather, it is in the intersection of all these competing agendas and paradigms that change occurs. It is therefore these arenas that we must continue to study, questioning relations of power.

Islam, the dominant religion in Indonesia by the end of the 16th century and today's majority religion with approximately 88 percent of the population claiming to be Muslim, has played a changing role in Indonesian politics. A syariah state was never established, rather the New Order government built a secular state around the principles of the *Pancasila* which recognized five faiths (Hunter and Mahlow 1998). However, political Islam has risen in prominence such that by the 1990s the Indonesian state began to adopt 'a more Islamic demeanor' (Cammack 1997: 167). At this point,

> Suharto introduced an Islamization strategy, particularly focusing on the accentuation of Islamic symbols in public discourse and the accommodation of religious socio-political powers … there was a growth in popularity of the *jilbab*, an Islamic head covering for women, the *hajj*, pilgrimage to Mecca, and religious rituals and festivals (Hasan 2002: 162).

Thus in the 1990s political Islam made a stronger appearance, as more Muslims entered the political mainstream and the civilian and military bureaucracy. A researcher at the Center for Information and Development Studies in Jakarta described this as a process of 're-Islamization', with a particular rise in piety among the urban higher and middle classes (Lanti 2002). This phenomenon was referred to by some as the '*santri*-nization of society', from the word santri, meaning pious Muslims (Lanti 2002). More recently, it has been claimed that the 21st century has witnessed 'the eruption of Islam into the political landscape of the Indonesian nation-state' (Hasan 2002: 145). Significant here is the link of religion's influence to wider social changes. Hunter and Mahlow (1998) from the Center for Strategic and International Studies write of the possibility of a re-emergence of a militant Islamist trend in the context of the upheaval left in the wake of the New Order's demise. In other words, the rapidity of transformation on social, economic, and political fronts may be provoking a response from religious movements. However, this response—the santri-nization—is seen by some analysts to reflect cultural changes more so than political ones (Lanti 2002).

Statist efforts with regard to family planning in particular have been kept under an Islamic veneer, replete with all its terminology. Cammack (1997) argues, in essence, that the Indonesian government attempted to co-opt Islamic influence over familial roles, particularly

through passage of family laws tied directly to Muslim principles. 'Although the government's regulatory efforts are now articulated with a vocabulary supplied by Islam,' he concludes, 'the regime's basic objective of expropriating control over Indonesian family law remains unchanged' (Cammack 1997: 168). This expropriation of Islamic vocabulary could be seen in all RH-related bureaucratic proceedings in which I participated in West Java. All mid-level bureaucrats (i.e. excluding those in Jakarta and in the villages) that I observed would open their speeches with the formulaic greeting '*Assalam-u-alaikum wa rahmatullahi wabababarakatuhu*', to which everyone would intone in response '*Wa-alaikum-us-Salam*'. Though the individual act is not necessarily significant, the ritualizing of religious phrases situates bureaucratic action within religious discourses. It was never long before the question of morality came up in such settings. For instance, a seminar held on 11 July 2002 for the entire Bandung municipality, specifically entitled 'Reproductive Health', spent more than two hours out of three on issues of personal and public morality. Every speaker cited religion on more than one occasion, yet always in such a way so as to give it causal significance: in other words, religion stood as a reason for or against something. For example, the head of the proceedings noted that although he did not want to criticize the practice of women 'choosing to work and limiting their number of child-bearing years', as a doctor and a religious man he felt that this was 'a problem'. Similarly, the BKKBN Director for Kabupaten Bandung noted that the primary need related to RH was that of adolescent reproductive health insofar as it is a 'moral issue'. In essence, morality and religion comprise integral parts of the reproductive health discourses of the bureaucracy.

On the level of the village and the local health centres, religion continues to affect reproductive health behaviour. We will consider two examples, that of contraceptive choice and early marriage. In West Java, where the Sundanese are the predominant ethnic group, Islam is strong and people take the religion seriously (Hull *et al*. 1977; cf. Lerman *et al*. 1989: 33). In terms of contraceptive choice, orthodox Muslims have traditionally shied away from using IUDs, 'because of the intimate physical contact between medical personnel and clients' (Lerman *et al*. 1989: 33). Further, the study of Lerman *et al*. (1989) found that in areas predominantly Islamic and least developed, there was a tendency to use the pill most often, and the IUD, condoms, and other modern methods least. More than 10 years later, I found similar trends in the different health centres I visited. At Puskesmas Kumisangan in Garut during a focus group discussion the health workers noted that those who will not use the IUD fall generally into two groups: '*Ada yang takut*' (there is fear), and '*engga boleh*' (not allowed). They estimated that 30 to 40 percent of those who choose not to use the IUD do so out of embarrassment ('*rasa malu*') or because their husbands will not allow them to do so for religious reasons. Similarly, vasectomies are '*haram*' (forbidden) for religious reasons, as a fatwa has been issued prohibiting vasectomy.[20] With regard to early marriage, West Java continues to show higher incidences of early marriage, as it has been argued that in strong Islamic areas it is preferred that girls be married quite early (Blackburn and Bessell 1997: 133-134; cf. Taj 1990: 56). Though the official position of Islamic groups has changed to now accept the desirability of later marriage for girls (Blackburn and Bessell 1997: 141), much anecdotal evidence from focus group discussions and interviews in several towns across West Java would suggest that early marriage is still common. In other words, even as on the discursive realm there may have been shifts on the question of early marriage, the tangible effects of such a shift remain contested on the ground.

[20] The reason for this, I was told, is because the technology for reversing a vasectomy is still inadequate and not guaranteed. If the technology for reversal is improved, the fatwa might be withdrawn.

Out of the broader arena where UNFPA projects intersect religious paradigms, two other cases can be examined. In UNFPA's advocacy projects, one goal includes the targeting of religious leaders to develop advocacy messages on topics including the 'prevention of violence against women in the context of Islam' (INS/06/03/02 2001: 8). This 'context' requires a measure of sensitivity. Though a debated issue, the Qur'an does permit husbands to hit wayward wives as a third and final resort—although only lightly and not on the face—provided they have admonished them first and refused to share their beds second (Surah 4:34; cf. Chaudhry 1997: 7-18). Different reactions to this marked all levels of the programme. Most government bureaucrats in Jakarta and Bandung evidenced a general disapproval of any forms of violence against women; however, of the village level interviews, a number responded that husbands are perfectly within their rights to beat their wives so long as it is done with the intent to instruct and discipline and not in anger, assumping that the wife had been '*nakal*' (naughty).

Second, through the regular distribution of advocacy materials UNFPA hopes to influence Muslim Imams (religious leaders) to discuss in religious settings 'selected issues of reproductive health with special emphasis on adolescent reproductive health [and] gender' (INS/06/03/02 2001: 8). Both gender and adolescent reproductive health (ARH) remain contested issues, however. With regard to the condition of women in general terms, Islam in Indonesia has actually been relatively favourable, in contrast to the more traditional Islamic heartland (Lev 1996: 193). Yet with regard to reproductive health and sexual behaviour, Islamic and social norms are strongly felt. For instance, UNFPA's ARH programme offers the growing youth community something akin to sexual education, in particular counselling them on the dangers of HIV and other sexually-transmitted infections. In interviews ranging from the PPMU to various government offices to clinic staff, however, concern was expressed that the *ulama* (religious teachers) and parents would view this sex education as encouraging youth to be sexually active. One kader at a Tasikmalaya health centre said that she was hesitant to pass on the IEC information from BKKBN for teenagers, as she was afraid the youth would use the information to 'do bad things'; because kissing is not listed as a way to contract AIDS, she was afraid that kids would '*coba cium-ciuman*' (try kissing).

Chapter IV
A Tale of Two *Desas*: Discourses of Gender and Change

We have considered some of the broader discourses involved in UNFPA programmes in Indonesia, as they relate to the Indonesian government and BKKBN in particular (Chapter II) as well as to programmatic functioning in West Java (Chapter III). Now we turn to a more intimate level of analysis, that of the Sundanese women and men targeted by UNFPA work, to consider how the prevailing discourse of UNFPA programmes is either contested or appropriated 'on the ground'.[21] This chapter will develop in three stages, beginning by discussing the relevant literature on gender theory, examining the gender ideologies of the New Order government, and reviewing selected studies of Indonesian women. A full explication of the meaning of 'gender' requires more space than available here. However, we will examine a number of theories of gender in order to demonstrate that gender is irreducibly complex and therefore attempts to change gender roles are necessarily problematic. Next we will move on to analyse the interview responses on reproductive health. What will be shown here is that maintaining the assumption of a dichotomy between 'traditional' and 'modern' practices and beliefs—a simplification required by organizations such as UNFPA in order to function—is tenuous at best. What occurs at the local level is much more nuanced, and distinctions between 'tradition' and 'modernity' are in fact blurred. Finally we will analyse in more depth the interview responses related to gender roles and sex, in order to emphasize the overly-simplistic contrast between 'modern' and 'traditional' conceptions of gender roles, the differing model of change each vision offers, and the ways in which these models of change are being appropriated and contested at the local level.

4.1 Theorizing and Constructing Gender in Indonesia

4.1.1 Theories of Gender

In this section we will look at various definitions of sex and gender, then account for the relationship of this to the body, and finally discuss the relevance of power in our examination. Defining sex and gender has proven contentious. Out of this debate, two theorists will be considered. Shelley Errington argues that we must distinguish between sex (lower case) as biologically sexed bodies and Sex (upper case) as a particular construction of human bodies (1990: 19-31). Gender is then how different cultures interpret sex (lower case) (Errington 1990: 27). Central to Errington's perspective is the Neo-Foucauldian notion that it is not simply gender that is socially constructed, but rather sex itself (Moore 1999: 153-154). Whereas sex is the biological binary, and Sex the socially constructed sex, gender is the social construction *of* sex. Gender is more of a process, an action, it is 'about the sexual division of labour, cosmological beliefs and symbolic valuations' (Moore 1999: 154). We might therefore consider, as does Judith Butler, gender as performance—not as something that one is so much as something that one does. These shifts in thinking have served to invert the relationship between sex and gender, for where the relationship might have been expressed as sex-therefore-gender, now there is increased emphasis on gender-therefore-sex.

[21] However, these considerations are limited to how paradigms of gender and reproductive health are understood by those interviewed. Chandra Mohanty has pointed out that 'Agency is thus figured in the minute, day-to-day practices and struggles of third world women' (qtd in Sears 1996: 28); I am arguing that agency is also figured in the comprehension and words of these women. In other words, as with the other portions of this thesis, I am consistently emphasizing what people say, their representations of their realities, instead of my analysis of what this 'reality' might be.

Judith Butler's point is that gender is 'an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts*': gender is central to the process of becoming (1999: 179, emphasis in the original). Yet as 'an ongoing discursive practice, it is open to intervention and resignification', which means that the terms man or woman are themselves terms in process, a constructing that is continual (Butler 1999: 43).

Another difficulty in approaching gender lies in how to understand human bodies (Moore 1994: 815; cf. Errington 1990). By the 1970s, as Henrietta Moore notes, gender was argued to be the cultural elaboration of meaning imbibed from biological difference (1999: 151). In other words, it has been assumed that gender is simply how culture makes sense of biological sex differences and thus that binary biological sex differences underlie—though perhaps without determining—gender categories (Yanagisako and Collier 1987: 15). This is important, as the 'body cannot take any form without being subjected to representation. The human body is never just a natural body, but always has imaginary and symbolic dimensions' (Moore 1999: 163). More explicitly still, Moore notes that 'bodies are the site where subjects are morphologically and socially constructed, they mark the intersection of the social and the symbolic; each subject's relation with his or her body is both material and imaginary' (1999: 168). Foucault in his *History of Sexuality* points out the mutually-constitutive role of Western discourses of biology and sexuality:

> The notion of 'sex' made it possible to group together, in an artificial unity, anatomical elements, biological functions, conducts, sensations, and pleasures, and it enabled one to make use of this fictitious entity as a causal principle, an omnipresent meaning … Further, by presenting itself in a unitary fashion, as anatomy and lack, as function and latency, as instinct and meaning, it was able to mark the line of contact between a knowledge of human sexuality and the biological sciences of reproduction; thus … some of the contents of biology and physiology were able to serve as a principle of normality for human sexuality (1984: 154-155).

Foucault argues that 'sex' becomes a product of a specific set of discursive practices, tying the body to sexual practice and thus to a determined 'gender' which is defined by social norms.

Given these notions of symbolic and social construction, we must be critical of how these processes actually work by assessing the role of power. However we look at gender, whether the constructed Sex (upper case), gender as the construction of sex (lower case), or gender as process or performance, concepts of power and bargaining are involved. Butler's point is precisely this, that 'the "unity" of gender is the effect of a regulatory practice that seeks to render gender identity uniform through a compulsory heterosexuality'—and that the performance of gender is consequently bounded (1999: 42). It is important to note, therefore, the relevance of power to gender, and gender to power. Joan Scott describes gender as the 'constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and a *primary way of signifying relationships of power*' (Kandiyoti 1998: 145, emphasis in the original). Kandiyoti summarizes it most clearly: 'Thus gender is constitutive of power itself insofar as relations which may not always literally be about gender utilise the language of sexual difference to signify and legitimise power differentials' (1998: 145). In other words, by speaking in terms of gender other forms of hierarchy can be sustained, such as husbands over wives, religious clerics over uneducated women, male civil authorities over village families. Typically the power-balance has swung in favour of men, thus the construction of gender hierarchies has been shown to result in the subordination of women.

Various theorists have proposed reasons for women being afforded a lesser status than men[22]; the point being made here, however, is that power makes gender seem a foundational, albeit illusory, reality. When gender is constructed in such a way that it becomes an unquestioned 'given', we might consider this the most potent exercise of power, one that is very difficult to challenge (cf. Lukes 1974: 24).[23]

4.1.2 Constructions of Gender in the New Order Hierarchy

Having just considered how power is relevant to gender construction, we can now more specifically address this dynamic in the Indonesian context. To do so, we explore briefly the link between power and language and then highlight some aspects of the New Order government's approach to gender. With regard to language and power we can analyse Bourdieu's notion of language as a 'structuring structure' (1991: 166). Language, in effect, acts as the filter through which our biological being must pass, meaning that 'sex' only has a position in relation to representation. Sexual difference in this sense is therefore 'produced in language, in the realm of the symbolic' (Moore 1999: 168). Yet we are not individually in control of this language or the symbolic realm it signifies. Bourdieu's point is that a discourse, such as one defining gender roles, gains power based 'on the degree to which it is *recognized* by a numerous and powerful group that can recognize itself in it and whose interest it expresses' (1991: 188, emphasis in the original). In other words, the creative power of words in politics can serve as the 'imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world'—and, ostensibly, as its preservation (Bourdieu 1991: 239).[24] Yet the legitimacy of discourses is in some ways fideistic and self-fulfilling. For as Bourdieu concludes:

> In politics, 'to say is to do', that is, it is to get people to believe that you can do what you say and, in particular, to get them to know and recognize the principles of division of the social world, the *slogans*, which produce their own verification by producing groups and, thereby, a social order (Bourdieu 1991: 190, emphasis in the original).

Shared acknowledgment then becomes central to the translation of 'language' into 'power'.

What happened under the New Order government in Indonesia was a direct translation of a particular set of gender discourses into power—the power to create an ordered social reality with particular gender roles understood and agreed by the general population. This is not to say that these discourses have not been rife with contradictions, but merely to argue that the modern Indonesian state has reproduced a gender ideology that exalts traditional notions of

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[22] Sherry Ortner (1974) has argued that women are universally devalued because of their symbolic association with the realm of nature, which itself is perceived to be subordinate to male-associated culture. Michelle Rosaldo (1974) near the same time claimed the relegation of women to the domestic/private sphere, while men dominated the public sphere, led to women's general subordination to men. Both of these links were later criticized as too simplistic and Western-centric (Moore 1994: 821). Another school of thought, emerging through Marxist feminist writing, noted that women's reproductive work lends itself to a specific sexual division of labour, which then affords them subordinate status (Moore 1994: 822).

[23] Lukes makes the point that true power will prevent conflicts from happening by, in essence, cutting them off at the root. 'Is it not the supreme and most insidious exercise of power', he claims, 'to prevent people … from having grievances by shaping perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial?' (1974: 24).

[24] Here, the act of naming is key: 'language [does] not simply make statements about the world, or ask questions about it. We use speech acts to give directions or commands, and even to make changes in the world' (Keesing 1998: 40).

women's place in society (Smyth 1993: 117).[25] The New Order government disseminated its gender ideology through national organizations such as the Dharma Wanita (for the wives of civil servants) and Kowani (the Indonesian Women's Congress), and in the villages through the PKK (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, Family Welfare Guidance). The *Panca Dharma Wanita*, the Five Duties of Women, as forwarded by the Indonesian state, were that women were to be 1) companions to their husbands, 2) procreators for the nation ('generation reproducers'), 3) mothers and educators of their children, 4) household managers, and 5) loyal citizens (*Asian Womenews* 2002; cf. Iskandar 1998: 41). Women are thus expected to be first and foremost wives and mothers, an idea promoted through both public messages and the media. For instance, defining the *kodrat wanita*, argues Krishna Sen, was a central function of New Order cinema: '*Kodrat* implies both the nature and the destiny of women (*wanita*) and the central element in this seems to be the woman's function as mother, contained within the family sphere' (1993: 117). Any move beyond this sphere is hence in conflict with the dominant discourse.

The interests driving the creation of this discourse should be explored. Daniel Lev has argued that the 'effort to define [women] essentially as wives and mothers, is … a New Order phenomenon' (1996: 196; cf. Postel-Coster 1993: 133). Yet why did the New Order government do this? Lev suggests that the source of an answer lies with the 'New Order elite and its political structure' (1996: 197). Central to this political structure is a 'bureaucratic ethos'. In essence, the bureaucracy of the New Order ran by virtue of its efforts to stabilize the nation.[26] Similarly, Suryakusuma (1996) has argued that the New Order state constructed 'informal ideologies' to justify state power, not the least of which was its emphasis on a particular form of gender hierarchy. Yet bound up in this is the notion of women as the bearers of tradition, for whom preserving a domestic role is critical to maintaining stability—for 'what could be more uncomfortable, even destabilizing, then women redefining themselves as something other than the wives and mothers they had always been?' (Lev 1996: 198). In other words, if a woman did not fulfil her role as wife, first, and mother, second, this would threaten the foundation of a state built upon paternalistic principles—the *azas kekulargaan*. In this paternalist state President Suharto through his 32-year reign was cast 'as the ultimate *bapak*, or father figure', and women were expected to play key roles in supporting their husbands in an '*ikut suami*' (follow the husband) culture[27] (Suryakusuma 1996: 95).

4.1.3 Women in the Indonesian Context

Ways of theorizing gender have been considered, along with how the Indonesian government has been active in implementing a particular set of gender ideologies. We can now begin to be more specific to the Indonesian context. Indonesian women, in the same vein as 'third world women', have received more scholarly attention than Indonesian gender construction, per se. Some of the approaches to studying women in Indonesia will be outlined here,

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[25] Ines Smyth contends that the family planning policies were imprinted with dominant gender ideologies, locating 'women's position squarely within the "traditional" spheres of home and family, and [defining] women's responsibilities as the time-honoured ones of mother and wife first, and citizen and worker later' (1993: 128).

[26] 'New Order rhetoric has consistently stressed stability as a special feature of its rule. … Responsibility, self-control, restraint, and self-denial for the common good have been called for in order to achieve national goals' (Hooker and Dick 1993: 3).

[27] '*Ikut suami*', literally meaning follow the husband, is an idea that has been strongly promoted through Dharma Wanita. The wives of most civil servants have unofficial, but specified, roles to play, particularly in the family planning networks.

looking at issues of women's status and the intra- and extra-household positions of Indonesian women. We will conclude with a few caveats on analysing gender in this setting. The goal of raising these points is to lay the ground for questions we will raise in the following section, as we begin to analyse the interviews of women in Sukajaya and Cisayong.

The concept of women's status has been debated and often criticized for being too abstract (cf. Williams 1990: 9). Status definitions usually concentrate on 'aspects of inequality between the sexes, and the inequalities examined tend to be centered [on] power, prestige, and/or resource control or access' (Williams 1990: 9). Yet as status can be reflected on a number of dimensions we must clarify which aspect we are addressing here. We first consider their intra-household status, often termed 'power' (Safilios-Rothschild 1982), and then how this relates to their extra-household status. Determining the power women have within the home is important, Williams notes, 'because variations in the distributions of power between household members have been found to affect decision outcomes, such as contraception and fertility, independent of other more commonly considered variables, including those that measure status on the broader dimension' (1990: 10).

Various scholars have offered different analyses of the position of the Indonesian woman, her status and manoeuvring ability vis-à-vis her husband. Within this debate, many have concluded that women in Southeast Asia in general have relatively strong decision-making power within the household (Lont 2000: 84-5; Papanek and Schwede 1988). However, others have argued that these conclusions stem more from faulty questioning than they are reflective of reality. Diane Wolf contends that if questions are asked in a more direct, and less abstract, way, it becomes clear that it is husbands who more often decide on household expenditures (1992: 65). Also relevant to assessing intra-household status are questions of class and education. It is sometimes assumed that greater education offers women a better position in the house. However, Valerie Hull, in a study of women in Central Java from 1972 to 1973, found that 'although middle-class women have obtained formal schooling and have had greater exposure to modern ideas in general, they are more home and family centred than are lower-class women, but at the same time do not have measurably greater authority within the family unit' (1996: 80).

Hull's findings are particularly interesting, as a similar reversal can be found when addressing the broader socioeconomic context, and women's status vis-à-vis others in the community or society—in other words, their extra-household status. Even as the women in Hull's study were afforded greater status outside their home, they evidenced little authority within it. Conversely, in her studies Wolf emphasizes that when Javanese women are given increased freedom as economic actors within the household, this may in fact signify an inferior social position (1992: 66; cf. Keeler 1990: 128). Therefore it is important to keep note of not merely the decisional power afforded women within the household, but also outside it. Brenner (1998) argues similarly, noting that even as women obtain power through playing a stronger economic role, they are often mistrusted for this power, as men fear a loss of control or a challenge to their status in the hierarchy. Some of these findings would suggest an inverse relation between intra- and extra-household status. Without being able to fully explore this relationship, we note a final interesting bridge between these two spaces, that of the long-established Indonesian tradition (primarily Javanese in origin), of Ibuism ('*ibu*' means mother). Ibuism permits 'women to use the authority conferred on them by their mother role, to go beyond narrow domestic boundaries in order to pursue economic and

political activities beneficial to their families' (Locher-Scholten and Niehof 1987: 7).[28] If Ibuism allows women to extend their authority outside the home, while preserving their accepted 'mother' role, this would permit women who draw upon this tradition the chance to achieve higher status in both realms, inside and outside the household.

As word limitations prevent us from further exploring these debates, we conclude with a few brief yet important points on how we might approach our study of gender in this context. If, as Judith Butler has argued, gender is simply performance, we might infer that we could simply change our performance. However, Moore's response is that Butler has been criticized for ascribing too much agency as if gender is purely voluntaristic. Based on available anthropological data, Moore contends, most people do not find their gender identities especially flexible or open to choice (1999: 158). Without slipping into biological essentialism, we cannot avoid the 'ontological primacy of sexual difference' (Kandiyoti 1998: 140) nor factors such as social restraints or the power of language discussed earlier. Assessing the gender roles discussed by interview respondents requires awareness of these elements. Interestingly, Laurie Sears maintains that gender 'may be one of the least contested sites of discontent in contemporary Indonesia where poverty, ethnic tensions, persecution, and disease coexist within global networks of late capitalism' (1996: 4). In other words, in a nation full of many cross-cutting cleavages of identity that highlight difference and require attention, gender discourses may not be as prominent as they would be in other more homogenous environments. As gender may not be the most explicit discourse with regard to identity construction, we need to be careful to 'read between the lines' as well as to listen to the differences within understandings of gender. Anna Meigs (1990), based on her anthropological fieldwork in Highland New Guinea, has argued that societies will most likely have more than one model and discourse of gender, and that these discourses are likely to be in conflict with each other. I hold this basic assumption when approaching the Indonesian context. Though there may be an 'official' version of gender, which we have considered with regard to the New Order government, when we begin to listen to the voices of the men and women living in West Java, we must be sensitive to a multiplicity of understandings which necessarily overlap and contradict. For 'women and femininity in Southeast Asia', Oester argues, 'are never what we expected' (1998: 201). Gender thus exists as a paradox, to be held gently.

4.2 Discourses of Reproductive Health in the Village: Imbrications of 'Modern' and 'Traditional'

Here we begin to analyse the interviews of the proposed beneficiaries of the UNFPA programme. As stated earlier, what will be looked at are the nuances in their conceptions of reproductive health. The argument is that these understandings cannot be disembedded from their context, nor the different elements disaggregated from each other. Yet this is precisely what projects such as UNFPA's assume is possible: that society can be led to change very specific practices in isolation from the broader social fabric in which they exist. The UNFPA vision of change ostensibly involves a shift from 'traditional' perspectives on reproductive health to increasingly 'modern' ones. We will examine how the interview respondents conceive of and act out reproductive health (RH), arguing that the distinction between elements of tradition and modernity within these responses is more complex than a cursory

[28] Ibuism is a cultural phenomenon developed in the late 19th and early 20th century under Dutch colonial rule (Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis 1987: 43-4). Here, it is the role of women to look after their families, a group, a class, a company or the state, 'without demanding power or prestige in return' (Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis 1987: 44).

examination would maintain, as these views and actions need to be understood in light of wider social relations. I do not propose to draw quantitatively substantiated conclusions related to RH. Rather, the argument is that as project planners rely on precisely such conclusions being drawn they disregard the embeddedness of knowledge and practices in a highly interwoven social fabric. Further, in remaining blind to this fabric they may develop a plan to bring change which has unintended effects, as will be argued in the subsequent section with regard to gender roles (4.3).

Forty women and men were interviewed in two villages, Desa Sukajaya in Kabupaten Bandung, and Desa Cisayong in Kabupaten Tasikmalaya, both areas where UNFPA works. Sukajaya lies in the Lembang hills, just on the outskirts of Bandung, a major metropolitan city, where many of its residents are agro-pastoralists; Cisayong is more than an hour outside of Tasikmalaya, a city of around one million said to be strongly Islamic in comparison to other parts of West Java. With respect to the surrounding area, Cisayong is a relatively wealthier village. Of the sample from each village, there were six husband and wife pairs and eight individual women. Respondents were selected from different generational and economic groups, such that the resulting sample included respondents ranging in age range from 17 to 70, grouped generally in low-, mid-, and high-income groups. Two research assistants under my close supervision conducted these interviews. The research techniques used here will be discussed further in the methodology appendix.

Before beginning to address the findings, we must note the degree of UNFPA work in these two areas. The UNFPA only works in a very limited number of villages—sixteen in West Java by 2002—claiming that limited resources force them to be selective with regard to selection of locales. How the selection of these locales actually works is another matter entirely, one which is purportedly related to the higher incidences of events UNFPA works to mitigate, such as maternal and infant mortality rates, violence against women, HIV/AIDS, substantial youth populations, etc. Yet with regard to the on-the-ground implementation, it is primarily the BKKBN fieldworkers (the PLKBs) and the Puskesmas (health clinic) workers who are expected to convey the relevant points of the UNFPA programme. This point has been inferred earlier. Often for an entire village, the burden of communicating the 'new paradigm' of reproductive health falls upon the shoulders of the PLKB. For instance, the PLKB for Sukajaya has the responsibility of organizing monthly 'socialization' meetings with the women and men of the village. Having worked with her and watched her run one such meeting, it can be argued that her personal energy in social interaction is vital to programme operation. She noted that she has no teaching tools and no reading materials, yet is expected to pass along the information she receives from her superiors to the women in her area through regular house visits and community gatherings.

In asking questions about RH, one of the initial goals was to assess familiarity with the term and perceptions of it. Of the respondents, however, only 15 (of 40) claimed to have heard of the term; twice as many had heard it in Sukajaya than in Cisayong.[29] From those familiar with the term, roughly the same number had received the information from personal contact with health workers (kaders, bidans, and PLKBs) as had seen something on a television advertisement. One of the kader for Cisayong noted that as contraceptives/family planning

[29] When the UNFPA District Facilitators for these two areas was questioned as to why the number was possibly so low the general response was that the programme had not been in place long enough, and in fact, had been ongoing in Cisayong for only several months, hence the limited dissemination of information.

(KB)[30] had long been promoted by BKKBN, most people were familiar with it, in contrast to the term '*kespro*' (the shortened version of '*kesehatan reproduksi*', viz. reproductive health). The unfamiliarity of this term seemed to daunt some of the respondents, who were reticent to suggest a definition of RH. Only when assured that there was no right or wrong answer did some venture to define what they thought could be classified as kespro. The two general replies were consistently that RH had to do with the health of 'pregnant women' and with contraceptives. When asked what is specifically included in RH, answers covered such areas as regular check-ups during pregnancy and contraceptive use, nutritious and ordered eating, increased male involvement in family planning, having 'healthy babies, healthy mothers', and even such responses as 'sperm and egg'.

The following series of questions related to levels of current and desired knowledge. In response to whether they felt as if they knew enough about RH, 14 respondents said they were comfortable with their level of knowledge, whereas the rest asserted the need to know more. Generally, if they made a distinction between contraceptives/family planning (KB) and RH, they claimed to know enough about KB and not enough about RH. Questionable, however, is the extent or depth of this knowledge of KB. For instance, one male respondent claimed to have enough information about KB and RH, yet soon thereafter began to ask very basic questions about what options were available for KB, finally admitting that he knew very little of what family planning actually entailed or the choices offered of contraceptives. It was then asked of those interviewed what they would be interested to know with regard to reproductive health. Many were curious simply to know what all was entailed by the term 'kespro'; others listed more tangible areas about which they would like to have greater knowledge, ranging from good childcare, the childbirth process, and 'everything about pregnancy', to more specific facts such as what to do in health emergencies, steps toward lowering the maternal mortality rate, explications of the various contraceptives and their side-effects, and how the '*Kartu Sehat*'[31] works. With regard to how they would like to receive this information, the majority of those who replied said that they would prefer to learn from a health professional, typically in a personal meeting with the bidan, the kader, or another health official. The other two categories of answers (excluding those who vaguely referred to '*penyuluhan*', or illumination/information) were split between those who would attend a social gathering and those who preferred to read health materials on their own time. A possible explanation for this rests in what has been described earlier as a culture built around patron-client relations, with established systems of deference to authority figures, hence a preference for receiving knowledge from such established health authorities.

As virtually all those who offered their definition of RH said it related to pregnancy, more questions were asked related to practices during pregnancy and birth. Though the question was worded as 'what care did you have during pregnancy (including prohibitions, medicinal drinks, etc.)', the theme through most replies related to what was prohibited to women during pregnancy. In only five instances were women not forbidden anything. The prohibitions included exclusion of the following things in numerous cases: sitting in doorways or on windowsills, leaving the house after *magrib* (the final call to prayer marking sundown), wearing cloths or towels around the neck, letting the hair hang loose ('it must be pinned up'),

[30] KB literally stands for *Keluarga Berencana*, or 'Family Planning'. Yet KB is conflated with contraceptives such that it can mean both family planning and the actual contraceptives themselves; hence you would both 'practice' KB (family planning) as well as 'use' KB (contraceptives).

[31] The '*Kartu Sehat*' involves a government system whereby those who demonstrate a lack of financial means can receive basic health care for free, yet acquiring this 'Health Card' requires navigating a rather complex line through local community leaders and the health bureaucracy.

carrying heavy objects, and eating fruits such as pineapple and *salak*. The women interviewed were also told to do things such as eat off smaller plates, take various natural herbal drinks, eat healthy foods and get a lot of rest, sit with their feet crossed, and drink milk and the juice of young coconuts. One respondent listed a number of prohibitions from her husband, such as not bathing during the middle of the day, not looking for lice on anyone's head, and not loosening her hair (which had to be kept up), and then said that she did these things during her pregnancy because of '*khawatir terjadi sesuatu bila tidak dituruti*' (fear that something would happen if they were not obeyed). Interestingly, the only couple to say they saw these general prohibitions as 'not making sense' noted they would not follow them as religion forbids those things that '*berbau syirik*' (suggest an element of polytheism).

Before analysing these prohibitions, we must first situate them within wider belief systems, looking at respondents' perceptions of what it means to be healthy. Many simply noted that health means being 'not sick', yet words frequently employed were '*segar*' (fresh) and '*bersih*' (clean). Of those in the more fundamentalist Cisayong, ten used the phrase '*sehat jasmani dan rohani*' (healthy in body and spirit), a term coming from Islamic teachings, whereas only one from Sukajaya said the same. When asked what elements of daily life are most important to individual health, therefore, '*kebersihan*' (cleanliness) was one of the most common answers, along with eating nutritious food. One respondent from Cisayong replied that to be healthy one must 'wake up early' and '*ikut pengajian*' (follow the Koranic teachings, usually held at the local mosque). We can consider these recommendations from the viewpoint of religion and Sundanese cultural norms. For Muslims, ritualized ablutions are necessary before each five-times daily prayer time and there are prohibitions with regard to personal cleanliness (for instance, bodily fluids are perceived as unclean, women are meant to shower after sex and avoid prayers while menstruating, certain foods are forbidden on a *halal* diet). Furthermore, it is a norm among the Sundanese to shower twice daily, in the morning and just before magrib. Personal cleanliness thus is both inscribed in social and religious customs; its correlation with a state of health is unsurprising. Interesting to note is the difference in tone between this 'wider umbrella' for RH and that of UNFPA. Whereas UNFPA's broader conception of RH includes aspects such as women's empowerment and human rights, the Cisayong and Sukajaya respondents painted a portrait of health involving spiritual overtones. Much as Lansing's (1987) research in Bali demonstrated that Balinese cosmological-religious beliefs ordered rice cultivation and the selection of agricultural technologies, so too it can be argued that Sundanese cosmology orders understandings and practices of health.

Assuming this interrelatedness of Sundanese cosmology and understandings of health, we return to analysing the prohibitions discussed above. Most of these could be labelled by Western rationality as 'traditional' or even 'irrational' beliefs. Yet we must consider them from two vantage points. First, the ways in which the respondents were comfortable with these beliefs challenges the notion in dichotomized development planning thinking that 'traditional' and 'modern' are exclusive categories. Instead, what might be marked traditional and modern are imbricated within broader cosmological paradigms. June Nash, in her study of Bolivian tin miners, realized that 'the simple traditional/modern dichotomies were not going to explain much in this society' (1979: 21). Geertz argues similarly for Indonesia, asserting that we cannot slip into past dichotomies, for 'there is nothing "underdeveloped," "thirdworldish," ... or "traditional" about it' (2000: 255-256). Just as in the 'developed' countries of the West, in Indonesia cultural identity is being forged as a field of differences confronting one another at all levels: family, village, neighborhood, region (Geertz 2000: 255-257). Nash concludes from her research that in fact 'indigenous thought is

capable of entertaining coexistant and apparently contradictory worldviews' (1979: 122). These worldviews, however, are rarely perceived as contradictory by those who hold them. As Evans-Pritchard (1976) demonstrated in his study of the Azande, their magical beliefs formed an intellectually coherent system with each set of rites and actions 'proved' by others. In this case, as the women follow the recommendations given them and experience no complications, this 'proves' their effectiveness. We recall, however, the one couple that described the prohibitions as 'berbau syirik'. They viewed what may be termed Sundanese folk beliefs as in contention with their Islamic faith. In contrast, we consider one woman's claim that during her pregnancy, as instructed, she always carried the leaf of a particular tree and garlic cloves when she walked alone at night. This same woman had one of the higher levels of education among the respondents (up to but not including university) and by all other appearances seemed 'modern' in her thinking; the daughter of the local ulama, she wore the Islamic head-covering and said her faith was central to her life. For her, as with other respondents, no such contradiction between 'folk beliefs' and 'religious rationality' existed; ethnic and religious identities proved fluid categories that could be maintained concomitantly.

A second approach to analysing these prohibitions questions their place within hierarchical social relations. In other words, what is significant is not so much what is banned but who is in the position to give such prohibitions. As has been noted, we do not deny the role of culture in informing action, but need 'to understand more precisely how cultural forms work to mediate social relationships among particular populations' (Wolf 1997: 19). In every case the prohibitions came from the parents, parents-in-law, and/or the husband of the pregnant woman. Of those who explained why they followed the recommendations given them, the only reason offered was 'fear of something happening' if they were not kept. There was no evidence of coercion or the intent to wield power by those telling the women what needed to be avoided and done. This is not an argument for an intentional exercise of power by the older generations over the younger, or husbands over their wives. It is, however, an argument for the impossibility of comprehending these patterns out of their context. Thus any dismissal of these beliefs related to pregnancy as being 'traditional', needing to be replaced by more modern conceptions of reproductive health practices, disregards the social relationships in which they exist. It is possible to argue that in fact attempts to change these beliefs has the potential to undermine the deference afforded older generations as the bearers of more 'traditional', or 'folk', knowledge.

4.3 Gender Roles, Sex, and the 'Threat' of Change

It has now been shown that perceptions and practices related to reproductive health cannot be disembedded from their wider social context, nor do they exist in simple 'traditional versus modern' dichotomies, and interventions which fail to recognize this complexity may have unintended or problematic effects. Now we turn to question several areas at the village level: the current understanding of gender roles and sexual practice, along with both descriptive and prescriptive explications of the changes taking place in these areas. We will explore these questions by assessing the gender roles described by the respondents, perceptions of sex—examining in particular the relationship of changing sexual practice to HIV/AIDS, abortion, and youth—and finally the respondents' vision of change. By doing so, we will be able to expose the underpinning assumptions of UNFPA work and the problems this incurs.

UNFPA intervention in West Java is directed at the public sphere, with the explicit aim of expanding the range of choices available to women with respect to reproductive health. Given the increasingly broad definition of reproductive health, as well as the emphasis on

empowerment and human rights, UNFPA efforts assume that changes must occur to improve the status of women. Underlying UNFPA's more explicit goals, therefore, is the need to influence a paradigm shift toward more 'modern' understandings of gender roles. This paradigm shift necessarily includes changes in the private sphere. We therefore consider the gender roles within this 'private sphere' as depicted by the respondents. Generally speaking, their portrait lines up with what may be termed 'traditional gender roles'. Though we have just critiqued the category of 'traditional' as failing to communicate the complexities and paradoxes existing in social understandings, most of the available literature would ascribe certain basic attributes to more 'traditional' gender relations. In Sukajaya and Cisayong, a number of these characteristics were iterated: women work within the house while men work outside the home to provide for the family, women are the primary care-givers for the children (responsible for their physical and moral well-being), and men are the head of the household with whom the ultimate authority rests. Regarding the division of household labour, even where respondents were willing to say that husbands in general should do more housework (and this happened infrequently), virtually none would say that their particular husband needed to do more work (or the husband himself would say that he worked 'enough'). In other words, even if a minor 're-drawing' of the boundaries between male and female tasks within the home was acceptable in an abstract general sense, no one individual was willing to re-draw their own intra-household division.

As regards UNFPA's stated goals of expanding women's opportunities in employment and education (among other things) through empowerment, responses were consistent with the stated gender roles. When asked what they thought of more and more Indonesian women receiving educations and entering the work force, only six respondents expressed unequivocally that this was a positive change, while ten expressed the opposite statement. One 20-year-old woman was very straightforward: 'The woman's place is in the kitchen … higher education and a job, these won't be brought into the hereafter'. Interestingly, the implication of such a perspective is that although religious rewards would not be bestowed upon women for achieving such things as education or jobs, women would be rewarded in the afterlife for fulfilling their roles in the home. The largest number of respondents said something to the effect of this change being '*tidak apa-apa*' (permissible) so long as women did not neglect their duties as wives and mothers.

Another implicit assumption within UNFPA relates to the level at which its programmes must ultimately operate. By speaking a language of empowerment and human rights with regard to reproductive health, the discourse, in effect, becomes a 'sterile' discussion of what is in fact a highly intimate set of bodily practices, what has been termed 'the politics of the body' (Petchesky 1998: 4). What is argued here, however, is that even as the discourse of the population establishment 'links sexual and reproductive freedom to women's human rights' (Petchesky 1998: 3), the transition to greater 'sexual freedom' has negative consequences. These consequences are discussed throughout the interview responses related to sex. Overall, the theme of these pertains to the increase in '*pergaulan bebas*' (free sex) against the backdrop of a shifting moral landscape. Respondents still expressed reticence to discuss sex, however. In response to whether sex is still a taboo topic, only 15 replied in the affirmative, which would seem to indicate that sex is more widely discussed. Yet when asked if people in their community talked about sex, respondents were evenly split between affirmative and negative answers, with only a small number willing to state that they themselves discussed sex with other people. Further, when asked to describe social perceptions of sex, many replied that they were '*malu*' (embarrassed), and that it is 'not proper' to discuss sex.

In essence, the respondents evidenced a distancing mechanism whereby they were able to discuss sex as something that 'other people' are doing, usually 'in the city', so long as it did not impinge upon themselves or their local community. This was most clear in the responses related to the increase in instances of HIV/AIDS and abortion. Regarding HIV/AIDS, in defining and offering ways of avoiding the disease most respondents spoke with a tone of judgement. For instance, the largest number of responses to the question 'What is HIV/AIDS?' referred to loose morals and free sex; one woman commented that HIV/AIDS was the '*penyakit akibat perbuatan nakal*' (illness resulting from 'naughty' or 'mischevious' action). Similarly in the case of abortion, in virtually all cases respondents classified it as either forbidden or a sin. The three central reasons offered for as to why more abortions are occurring were the increase in free sex (and changing between sexual partners), pregnancy outside of marriage, and a general lack of a sense of responsibility. Interestingly, one respondent said in Sundanese '*Atos jamanna meureun*', to the effect of 'I suppose it is just the age', demonstrating a sense of helplessness that permeated many of the responses seeking to explain why particular changes were occurring.

Like this particular respondent, much of the interview responses were imbued with comments related to a changing moral environment. Some of these changes can be linked to the guiding assumptions of UNFPA work, even though UNFPA does not explicitly seek to bring about such transformation, nor can it be said to have done so through its own efforts. Rather, certain aspects of UNFPA's vision of change lend themselves to misinterpretation, at best, and problematic social outcomes, in the worst case. We see this most clearly with regards to the behaviour of the youth population, the target of UNFPA's adolescent reproductive health programme. UNFPA claims to promote 'safe and responsible behavior' among the adolescent population through providing them with 'full and accurate information regarding reproductive health' (2002: 7). It is assumed that the adolescents will exercise a certain degree of autonomy in assessing this information and making decisions. However, this freedom is what virtually all respondents criticized most heavily, noting that adolescents are '*terlalu bebas*' (too free). Without exception, they said that young people are having sex 'more than they should', pointing to increased cases of pregnancy outside of wedlock. Along with youth having too much freedom, the other reasons offered for this change were as follows: greater access to TV and VCDs (video CDs)—particularly pornographic VCDs—lack of religious faith, and a 'change in the era'. However, when explaining in more general terms how Indonesian youth have been changing, respondents emphasized how information has been transforming sexual practice by emboldening youth. For example, one respondent stated that 'Teenagers before were afraid because they didn't know anything about sex; teenagers today have no such fear'. Furthermore, when asked what changes they would like to see for youth, the majority of respondents called for limitations to be placed on their freedom, whereas only one noted that youth needed better sex education.

Another constrasting vision of change relates to women's roles. As has been noted, a core value of UNFPA work is the 'empowerment of women', including the expansion of opportunities in education, employment, and health (2002: 4). Without suggesting that this widening of opportunity is not positive for women, there remains the complication of achieving these ends. Regarding what changes the respondents would like to see for women in the future, only five mentioned better education or employment. The rest wanted either no change at all or a return to more 'traditional' gender roles; for example, they emphasized the need for women to dress more modestly ('they should not wear mini-skirts'), to put their families first, to obey their husbands, to 'know herself that she is a woman' and to 'know how to act as a wife'. Underlying this is the assumption of the woman as the guardian of

social morality. UNFPA's overarching goal of 'empowering' women, which necessarily affects gender roles, thus challenges this understanding.

Chapter V
Conclusion

5.1 Studying the Politics of Change

The central aim of this research has been to examine a particular development intervention by exposing its underlying paradigms and the discourses this generated. It was hypothesized that there is often a disjuncture between the changes explicitly pursued by such an intervention and those that result, which can then be linked to the paradoxical relationship between these paradigms and discourses. In other words, apparent schisms between rhetoric and reality may not be schisms after all if the rhetoric is examined on a deeper level to understand how discourses are created through contestation rather than reflecting consensus. It was further suggested that to study these relationships it would be necessary to employ a research methodology that was both 'multi-vocal' and also 'multi-sited', tracking the discourses of a programme from its point of origin at the 'centre' through more intimate village-level enquiries at the local level. These inquiries also included the researcher herself as a reference point in reflexive analysis. In this way, the layers of a specific development programme can be examined to account for paradoxes in both discourse and practices—paradigms and politics.

A theoretical framework for this research was described in Chapter One. Foucauldian concepts of discourse, power, and knowledge were discussed and their interconnectedness noted. In brief, power produces knowledge which in turn becomes discourses, and these discourses then circulate and function to establish relationships of power. Yet tensions between theorization and application arise, as it is possible to deal in abstractions and thus reify discourses. The arguments of Scott [1985, 1990, 1998] and Ferguson [1994] were then explored to demonstrate their application of Foucault's concepts in a way that progresses toward increasing specificity and emphasizes local politics as a site of both physical and semiotic struggle. These perspectives were integrated within the analytical framework of a hermeneutical circle, which requires a dialectical tacking between the macro and the micro: that is, between global discourses and local contestation, the 'developer' and the 'developed', and the researcher and the 'researched'. It was argued that this analytical model might serve to explicate how multiple competing agendas generate unintended outcomes, particularly on theoretical planes. Chapter One concluded by outlining briefly several facets of the Indonesian political context, arguing that the historical structure and success of the Indonesian development project as well as recent moves toward political decentralization are relevant to today's development interventions.

5.1.1 From Jakarta to the Village

Analysis of UNFPA intervention in the field of reproductive health (RH) began in Jakarta with an examination of the broader paradigms within which this intervention currently functions. Chapter Two explored how the international discourse related to reproductive rights and gender equity has shaped UNFPA work in Indonesia. After a brief history of family planning in the country was set within its theoretical context, the post-ICPD paradigm shift of the population establishment was considered. What was argued here is that a particular RH discourse emanated from this paradigm shift which can be problematised on a number of fronts: this discourse tended to be self-perpetuating, to legitimate modes of intervention, and to obscure conflict. Further, there is the danger that when discourses are

applied instrumentally they can become ends in themselves, such that development as it relates to changing paradigms is reduced to 'information transfer' which then reinforces hierarchies of position between those who are in place to 'give' information and those who must 'receive' it. The environment within which these official discourses are generated was then scrutinized by using a case study of the UNFPA central office in Jakarta. Based on the concepts of domains and arenas, within which power is contested, the relationship between the UNFPA Representative and the staff was described. A specific case of institutional discourse creation was subsequently addressed. This noted the tension between competing visions of what constitutes reality and the constraints placed upon individuals in the process of document writing.

In Chapter Three the scope of analysis shifted to the provincial bureaucracy, and evaluated research data from Indonesian government officials, UNFPA provincial and district staff, and health workers at various levels. The goal was to examine how the paradigms underpinning RH interventions are operationalized. The institutional apparatus, BKKBN in its coordination with UNFPA, was described with regard to the hierarchical and relational nature of its organization. Then Hobart's theories of ignorance were applied to analysis of the ways that knowledge, ignorance, and power are intertwined in project implementation. Here it was suggested that ignorance is often necessary for a project's survival; ignorance can be applied strategically and information used instrumentally in a way that serves the ends of those with the power to direct policy. It was then argued that bureaucratic discourses are often disingenuously represented as consensus, which is why the 'arena' model proves a useful method of analysis as it conceptualizes the policy process as a series of problematic negotiations involving divergent agendas for change over time. One particular arena, that of the intersection of morality and religion with project goals, was then explored with regard to these competing agendas and paradigms.

The final level of research shifted in Chapter Four to an examination of the Sundanese women and men targeted by UNFPA programmes, focusing on two villages in West Java. As UNFPA work deals with concepts of gender and gender equity, theories of gender were examined and then followed up by a more specific explication of the gender ideologies of the New Order government and selected studies of Indonesian women. What was shown here was that gender is irreducibly complex, embedded in a host of social relationships and in a perpetual process of construction, and therefore attempts to change gender roles are necessarily problematic. The subsequent section addressed the respondents' perceptions of reproductive health. By considering the distinctions between what is considered 'traditional' and 'modern' in terms of beliefs and practices, the conclusion was drawn that they are in fact much more nuanced at the local level. The assumption of a 'traditional versus modern' dichotomy—a simplification UNFPA requires in order to function—was thus shown to be unconvincing. Further, it was argued that understanding these beliefs and practices requires that they be studied by reference to the social relationships of power in which they occur. The interview responses relating to gender roles and sex were likewise analysed to illustrate the conflicting visions of change stemming from differing conceptions of gender roles. Thus UNFPA's intervention with regard to these roles may lead to negotiations of identity and problematic social outcomes. As Brenner has noted,

> Much of the public angst over modernization has focused directly or indirectly on women, suggesting that women's attitudes and behaviour are considered crucial in determining the course that Indonesian modernity will take. Women's sexuality, domestic life, and work life all serve as arenas in which symbolic battles over modernity are waged (1999: 22).

In other words, it was argued that as UNFPA work rests on certain assumptions about women and gender this creates an arena within which gender roles are contested.

5.2 The Paradox of Development Intervention

Development interventions seek to bring change. This managed change is a political process, involving negotiations of paradigms which both shape discourses and are shaped by them. This negotiation occurs on many levels, such as global discourses of human rights influencing paradigms of reproductive health even as local discourses of gender roles challenge UNFPA's vision of change. Power is everywhere a factor. This power may be held by individuals, such as in the UNFPA Representative's ability to enforce a particular discourse of development, or exist in capillary form evidenced by the action of mid-level bureaucracy where there is no single 'powerful' or 'non-powerful' person but rather layered relations of subordination and domination. This can be seen in such relationships as those of husbands and parents over their wives and daughters. Power resides also in paradigms and discourses. More specifically, power is reinscribed in social hierarchies when discourses are used instrumentally, that is, when the attainment of a particular discourse becomes an end in itself (e.g. influencing people to speak a specific 'lingo' of empowerment and gender equity, among other things). This gives rise to a divide between those who are 'fluent' in this discourse and those who are not. The 'socialization' of paradigms implies relative positions of power, those who have knowledge 'giving it' to those who do not. Similarly, instrumental use of 'participation' as a legitimizing methodology of intervention results in a paradox: hierarchical organizations claiming to leave space for local participation nonetheless prescribe and maintain the boundaries of this participation.

The ultimate paradox, however, might be seen to reside in the question of development itself. Criticism of the concept of development from post-developmental thought has argued that 'the idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape' (Sachs 1992: 1). In essence, the claim is that development is based on faulty conceptual foundations. This is because much of the modernist development project is based on binary dualisms—a structural-functionalist conception of society juxtaposing 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' and 'modern' and 'traditional'. These dualisms then necessitate a certain mode of action upon the world. The UNFPA discourse of reproductive health never explicitly draws upon these categories, yet they remain implicit within the paradigms of RH that are being socialized into Indonesian society. A more nuanced understanding of UNFPA intervention, however, should draw on a post-structural conception of development as a set of conflicting discourses and practices (Peet 1999: 156). From the perspective of materialist post-structural critique, in Peet's words, 'the social relations that undergird discourses have to be transformed by radical politics rather than the discourses themselves merely being deconstructed: it takes more than changing words to change the world' (1999: 161). That is, both paradigms and politics are central to the development process, the interaction of which can lead to surprising results. As Ferguson argues, there is most often a contrast between what project planners conceive and what actually happens (1994: 276). Yet it is not a matter of intentionality per se. Porter *et al.* (1991) contend that people involved in development projects have sincere intentions to improve the lives of project beneficiaries. I recall listening to a senior staff member in the UNFPA office saying that she wanted to '*nangis darah*' (literally to cry tears of blood) at her frustration with her inability to do more to slow the increasing spread of HIV/AIDS and her desire to see people's health protected. Rather, the incongruence of development aims and project actualities arises from the tensions between

competing agendas and understandings. Therefore by exposing the contradictions in these underlying paradigms we gain insight into the politics of change.

Research Methodology Appendix

Implementing a research project requires translating theoretical approaches into practical techniques within a coherent methodological framework. This is both far simpler and more complex than it would seem initially. With regard to how to come up with ideas or how to link together empirical facts, Bernard notes that 'those activities remain essentially humanistic—you think hard' (1995: 6). More humorously, Robert Chamber writes that the manual for Participatory Rural Appraisal could be titled 'Use your own best judgement at all times', and then it would be a blank book (1997: 105). Thus the way in which research is conducted may rely upon the intuitive sense of the individual researcher. However, the research design needs to maintain a degree of elegance and rigour. Furthermore, the conclusions drawn through such a research project must be critiqued, as it is possible for faulty methodological approaches to bias results or invalidate findings. The task here will be to outline the research design used in this thesis and then to discuss its limitations. We will proceed in several stages. First, the inter-disciplinarity of the thesis will be discussed relative to how this affected overall research design. Second, theoretical caveats will be explored with regard to the researcher herself: the significance of the emic/etic perspective as well as phenomenological considerations. Third, the three stages of the research project will be outlined as different techniques were employed at each level: centre, province, and village. It will be argued that using these different techniques was necessary for each level even as their limitations will be addressed. Finally, the implications for future research will be considered briefly.

1. Issues of Inter-disciplinarity

The research for this thesis was inherently interdisciplinary as situated within the field of development studies. The overall methodology required a blending of approaches, including such things as participant observation, interviews, ethnographic study, and textual analysis. The goal was to avoid what Daly and Cobb (1989) refer to as 'disciplinalotry'—the demarcation of boundary lines around the academic disciplines as singularly providing a way of thinking, structuring arguments, gathering data and explicating it. With regard to how this research project fits into the currently available scholarship, I have found no other studies applying my methodological approach to the Indonesian context. A D.Phil thesis which studied an FAO aquaculture development project in Zambia uses a similar approach, tracking the project from its conception to the grassroots level within a framework drawing upon discourse analysis (Harrison 1995). Another D.Phil student has approached the family planning programme in West Java within a Foucauldian framework, yet much of the research draws upon only one 'layer' of the programme, that of clinic-level health care (Newland 2001). However, the theoretical framework laid out in the introductory chapter of this thesis required that a 'multi-sited' and 'multi-vocal' approach be used, which then necessitated the use of a variety of research techniques. As a word of caution, it must be noted that this inter-disciplinarity has its own limitations. It is possible that by drawing on a variety of techniques without sufficient depth the explicatory power of each is not fully captured. For example, because of the time spent in the UNFPA office in Jakarta less time was spent in the villages doing ethnographic observation, which then constrained how in-depth this portrait could be. Yet in scrutinizing the overall methodology of this research project, it may be argued that the bottom line is, as Bernard notes, that 'validity is never demonstrated, only made more likely' (1995: 42). In essence, the validity of the methodology itself 'depends on the collective opinion of researchers' (Bernard 1995: 43). Because interdisciplinary approaches are gaining

credence, as is the application of discourse analysis in Foucauldian frameworks, it can be claimed that the methodology used in this thesis is legitimated by its more widespread acceptance among researchers as a legitimate approach (an inescapably tautological argument).

2. The Researcher as Interpreter

Before addressing more specifically the techniques employed in the research project, it is relevant to examine my role as a researcher in two different ways. We begin by addressing my status as both foreigner and 'native' among the Sundanese. Though a Western researcher, my childhood was spent in West Java, leaving me fluent in Indonesian and intimately familiar with the Sundanese worldview and social customs. Precisely because of this intimate involvement with the people over a substantial portion of my life, there is a degree of empathy and 'resonance' in my approach to the Sundanese; that is, there is 'an underlying appeal to shared experience', which enables me to appreciate the local contexts over and above mere 'understanding' (Wikan 1993: 194). When I am in West Java, therefore, I am received at a number of levels. Indonesian government officials and Jakartan elites perceive me as a Western-educated foreigner, yet one they accept as being sympathetic to their country and practices. When I am in the *kampung* (village), the people's typical reaction is that of one to a foreigner—until I speak with them, at which point my Sundanese accent invariably enables them to be more comfortable and familiar with me. After a broad survey of ethnographies Raoul Naroll has argued this very point: that fluency in the local language builds rapport (1962: 89-90). It has also been shown that accent and intonation play a part in giving a researcher access to cultural insider phrases (Bernard 1995: 146). We might draw upon Pierre Bourdieu's (1991) idea of habitus to argue that in my body I hold many Sundanese traits, physical and linguistic. It is as simple as stepping into a Sundanese village, and my entire vocal tone and volume, comportment, and mannerisms change instinctively. This ability to switch between both perspectives affected my research. Being able to slip on both Western and Indonesian identities gained me entry into not only the corridors of power in Jakarta but also the sitting rooms of small village homes. I was able to have that 'intimate contact' which Evans-Pritchard (1951) holds is essential to observe and understand social interactions even as I was able to understand folk analyses and seek the emic perspective so important from a humanistic standpoint (Lofland 1971). At the same time, I remained a visible outsider and retained some degree of scepticism, not 'going native' and instead having an etic perspective considered so valuable to ethnographic research (Miles and Huberman 1994: 216; cf. Monaghan and Just 2000: 30). This balance between emic and etic perspectives on a culture is not unique to me; current writings on the 'third culture kid' (the TCK) cast light on my unconscious accommodation to which ever of the two childhood cultures I currently inhabit (cf. Pollock and Van Reken 1999).

A second consideration related to my role as researcher is linked to issues of phenomenology in qualitative research. My research was qualitative and relied on a subjectivist point of view, seeking to address the concepts and meanings of the actors involved rather than simply describing their actions from my viewpoint (Bernard 1995: 14-15). Heidegger (1962) argues that all understanding has an essentially circular nature, thus we can never have an explicit understanding of anything unless we come with some kind of implicit understanding of what is to be understood. We come to any and all encounters with the world with our own 'interpretive presuppositions' (Madison 1990, 51), or 'forestructures' in Heidegger's terms (1962: 195). Thus the hermeneutical circle is used as a device to conceive of the links between the 'whole' and its 'parts'. How these are constructed depends on my own

preconceptions and paradigms. In other words, my research must be placed within phenomenological brackets. Phenomenology differs from ontology in that it incorporates the layer of perception and awareness; whereas ontology is the study of being, phenomenology is the study of the perception of being, thus adding another layer to interpretation of data. Phenomenology's relevance derives from the fact that there is no disengaged subject. As Karl Popper has noted, 'knowledge never begins from nothing, but always from some background knowledge' (1979: 71). As a researcher I had to be aware that my research was never of raw experience, but rather of interpretations of those experiences (Schafer 1978: 24). Geertz puts it plainly: 'what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to' (1973: 9). This understanding highlights the need to be critical of how I was engaged in a process of 'joint construction of meaning' with the subjects of my research (Pawson 1989: 292). Criticism of this qualitative approach includes claims that findings cannot be replicated, observations tend to be selectively reported, and flexible research design means it is difficult to substantiate findings through statistics (Katz 1983: 128). Nonetheless, this qualitative, phenomenological research approach was necessary in order to investigate the nuances of discourse and power.

3. Three Stages of Research

3.1 Jakarta: Observing Participant and Textual Analysis

Part of my research involved interning in the UNFPA office in Jakarta, standing in for the Advocacy Programme Coordinator (APC) who was on maternal leave. I was invited to fill this position after a preliminary meeting with the UNFPA Representative and programme officers. At that meeting I explained my research goals and asked if I could help them with work around the office in exchange for access to their project documents. They were willing to enter into such an arrangement, particularly as they needed someone to write the UNFPA brochure and wanted someone for whom English was a first language. Because of this internship, it can be said that I shifted (however unintentionally) from the role of participating observer to that of observing participant (Bernard 1995: 138-9; cf. Fleisher 1989). This had its benefits and its drawbacks. Bernard notes that participant observation gives an intuitive understanding of what is going on in a particular 'culture' in such a way that allows the researcher to make strong statements about the collected information: 'In short, participant observation helps you understand the *meaning* of your observations' (1995: 141, emphasis in the original). At the same time, however, because I was drawn into programme management as the APC, I had to be disciplined to distance myself enough to analyse what was happening around me. Toward this end, I kept detailed diaries of my observations and my interactions, which proved useful in directing my research (Moore 2000: 144).

Participant observation 'involves a certain amount of deception and impression management' (Bernard 1995: 136-7); understanding this is a first step toward conducting ourselves ethically in fieldwork. I made it clear to UNFPA staff from the beginning that I was researching their programme for my Masters thesis, not wanting to fall into the ethical trap of disguised observation, where a researcher pretends to actually join a group and proceeds to record data about people in the group (Bernard 1995: 347-9). However, it is possible to argue that I was involved in passive deception as my day-to-day role was that of the APC in the office, not obviously that of a researcher. Bernard notes that 'passive deception is ethically aseptic' and up to the individual researcher to assess as a practice (1995: 352). As I never hid the fact that my research agenda was primary, and reiterated this through my time in the office, particularly in my semi-structured interviews with the JPO, I am confident that I did

not compromise my integrity as a researcher. However, there remain ethical considerations related to the writing of the brochure. Part of the reason I agreed to write the brochure was my knowledge that I could critique and analyse the process itself (see Section 2.3.2). This did not change how I wrote the text, as I had to follow particular guidelines and to create a certain image. Yet without my involvement the brochure would invariably have been worded with slight differences, raising the question of whether any reference to the text is thus invalidated. I aimed to circumvent this possibility by using the case to illustrate the process of discourse creation rather than relying heavily on analysis of the resulting text.

With regard to document analysis, both primary and secondary sources were used in different ways. UNFPA documents were analysed as discourses, where I attempted to 'read between the lines' in order to understand the paradigms underpinning the explicit statements made. This could have led to selective and inconsistent illustration, as I could only use a few textual examples to substantiate my arguments. However, my interpretations of the texts were checked and confirmed through general discussions with office staff to avoid misinterpretation based on a lack of clarity. Secondary sources, primarily related to the population establishment, added historical depth to my analysis that would have been otherwise unattainable given the limited time-frame of my research (Hoddinott 1992: 74). As my research goals involved 'unearthing' the paradigms involved in reproductive health, I read these documents in light of their relevant frameworks. In doing so, I had to resort to the uneasy dualism described by Moore and Vaughn, where the constructedness of accounts are called into question even while acknowledgement is made of the basic 'realities' underpinning them: 'All accounts, including our own, are constructed accounts, but they are also accounts of something' (1994: xxiv).

3.2 Provincial Level: Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

To research the implementation of UNFPA programmes at the provincial level, I relied most on interviews and focus group discussions, substantiated with relevant secondary literature related to project structure and the Indonesian bureaucracy. The strategy for these interviews matches closely what Douglas describes as creative interviewing:

> Creative interviewing is purposefully situated interviewing. Rather than denying or failing to see the situation of the interview as a determinant of what goes on in the questioning and answering processes, creative interviewing embraces the immediate, concrete situation; tries to understand how it is affecting what is communicated; and, by understanding these effects, changes the interviewer's communication processes to increase the discovery of the truth about human beings (1985: 22).

Informants were told that confidentiality would be maintained, and if they so chose their name would not be mentioned in the thesis (Bernard 1995: 143).[32] Friendliness and respectful inquisitiveness served me well in the interview situation. Often points of greatest interest would come from discussion where I had remained silent to allow respondents to speak openly without interruption. These interviews provided a wealth of information, confirming the claim that verbal data has become 'the keystone of contemporary social science' (Foddy 1993: 11). However, it must be recognized that this verbal data may be at times unreliable or invalid (cf. Cicourel 1982; cf. Bernard 1995: 114). For instance, some

[32] Whether informants chose strict confidentiality or said it was all right to use their name depended for the most part on the sensitivity of the material they shared. Many of the bureaucrats and health workers in particular stayed with comments that could be deemed 'public information' and indicated that quoting them was acceptable.

methodologists have concluded that the many factors at work in the interview situation invalidate the links drawn between verbally expressed attitudes and actual behaviours (Foddy 1993: 3; cf. Douglas 1985). It has also been argued that interviews are social situations with their own agendas, wherein verbal responses may be given not to communicate reality but to influence the interviewer (Bulmer and Warwick 1993). There were moments, for example, where I felt as if the stress placed upon issues of religion and morality were directed at me as a Western woman, particularly when this was linked to the debate about 'free sex' in the West.

There are other considerations related to the interview situation. I hoped that by asking open-ended questions people would reply based on their own worldviews or conceptual frameworks; however, symbolic interaction theory predicts that instead respondents will negotiate a shared definition of the situation with the researcher (Silverman 1993: 95; Foddy 1993: 20-21). In other words, even though I was attempting to understand the paradigms behind verbal answers, these paradigms were influenced by my interaction. Further, it proved difficult to strike a balance between indicating what kind of information was required in the interview situation and not asking leading questions. Foddy has noted that respondents will look for clues to contextualize questions and therefore guide their responses (1993: 21). In explaining my research objectives, however, I indicated my intention to critically examine UNFPA programmes. My goal was to gain the trust of the Indonesians involved in the projects and allow them to express their own thoughts and opinions of these projects. Yet it is possible that interviewees read this as an invitation to criticize UNFPA work, rather than simply a chance to do so. If this were the case in some interviews, it could mean that the responses were selectively unfavourable, which would indicate bias in results. Worth noting also was my link to UNFPA. Peil (1993) notes the need for researchers to define their role to the people they are involved with because of the ascriptive nature of roles (people need to know into what categories the researcher fits). Even though I defined myself as a researcher from a foreign university, frequently people assumed that as I was the foreigner I was there to represent UNFPA and would call on me to help them in this capacity. This led to my having to emphasize more than once that I could not make changes in the organization, which seemed difficult for some informants to receive.

Focus group discussions proved a rich source of perspectives on issues related to reproductive health and UNFPA work. They proved a quick way to gain general knowledge of many viewpoints and thus helped to bridge the gap between a dearth of available research on the local situation and the need for basic knowledge of local contexts in order to conduct research properly (Peil 1993). Focus group discussions thus offered an excellent starting point from which to draw themes for further inquiry during individual interviews, a practice employed by many researchers in the field of reproductive health (cf. El Dawla *et al*. 1998; Ortega *et al*. 1998; Osakue and Martin-Hilber 1998). One danger in using these focus group discussions, however, is that of receiving the 'situational opinion', that is, the opinion given in a group context which is different from one that would be given in private, even where both might be equally valid (Stycos 1993). It remains that 'question-answer behaviour involves complex interrelationships between sociological, psychological and linguistic variables', and this complexity is both compounded and made more visibly apparent in the context of groups (Foddy 1993: xi).

3.3 Village Level: Snowball Sampling, Semi-structured Interviews, and Research Assistants

Two villages were selected for my research, after discussion with UNFPA District Facilitators (DFs) for Bandung and Tasikmalaya, based on practical considerations of transportation and access. Two female research assistants were then contracted to conduct in-depth, semi-structured interviews in these villages. Each spent several sessions with me discussing the aims of the research, the methodologies she would use, how interviews were to be written up, and how we would coordinate data sharing. I arranged for their first contact in the village through the help of the DF, and accompanied them on one observation each. For the interviews, sample size and type were determined primarily by time and financial constraints. Upon discussion with the research assistants of how to best target interview respondents, it was decided that a blend of quota sampling and snowball sampling was required. To establish quotas, certain cross-cutting cleavages among village women with possible effects on reproductive health perspectives were assumed, namely age and socio-economic status. The interviews had to include different levels within these categories (*viz*. women who were younger and older, and wealthier and poorer). All of the respondents were Sundanese and Muslim, reflective of the population around them. Finding the respondents required a snowball approach, similar to the methodology employed by Diniz *et al*. (1998) who started their research with contacts among community leaders who referred them to individual participants. In this study, the PLKB (family planning fieldworker) was the key gatekeeper for the community, as she was involved most closely in discussing reproductive health issues with those in each village. For both villages, the PLKB helped to name a few key individuals to interview, who then named others who could be suitable candidates for research. This method proved especially useful as the local communities included a relatively small population of people in contact with one another (Bernard 1995: 97). However, the reliance on methods of nonprobability sampling limit the applicability of this study to the broader population and further ethnographic data would be required to substantiate my conclusions (Bernard 1995: 94).

Constructing the questions for these interviews involved a lengthy process. Categories for these questions drew upon the basic categories in UNFPA programmes, hence, along with general questions about reproductive health there were also questions related to ARH, HIV/AIDS, and violence against women, among other things. After brief consideration of the 'open question versus closed question' debate (cf. Foddy 1993: 126-152), I chose open questions in line with a more qualitative research approach. I was careful to minimise the level of delimitation inherent to question-posing, recognizing that even something as seemingly innocent as the ordering of questions has an effect on how they are answered (Foddy 1993: 52-75). The format for interview questions thus adhered to principles of simplicity, using concrete language and moving sequentially from the more general to the more specific (Foddy 1993: 38-51). The selection of concrete terms to query abstract ideas highlighted the problem with operationism: determining how to measure perceptions of things necessarily turns abstractions into reality and is difficult to achieve (Bernard 1995: 31-32). Also, the language used in the interviews changed depending on the individual; for example, the research assistants tended to use Sundanese in homes of lower socio-economic status and/or education levels. It is possible that between multiple translations (Indonesian, Sundanese, and English) nuances and shades of meaning could have been lost.

Not only the posing of questions but also the data analysis must be problematised. My intuitive understanding of the local culture, based on years of close contact with the

Sundanese, described earlier, guided the ways I elucidated meaning from the interviews (Bernard 1995: 141). However, I recognize that I ascribed significance to answers based on interpretations. There is thus a caution to avoid the trap of thinking the research explicates nomothetic theory when in fact it may be more idiographic (Bernard 1995: 110-113). Another related issue was the way in which interview responses were 'disembodied' through the process of analysis. Although setting out to study 'the raw material [of] social life itself (Evans-Pritchard 1951: 74), in the end I was dealing with texts, divorced from the people who spoke them and the contexts in which they were born and helped to shape. Robert Chambers speaks of moving from things to people, toward the paradigm of 'people as people' (1997: 188), yet by studying interview responses as texts I risked reifying the stories of the individual respondents, even as I concretized the answers by taking them out of their social contexts and then generalized their relevance to the broader sphere. Caution was taken to not over-interpret the data, however.

A further consideration for this level was the involvement of research assistants. It has been argued that since the shift from 'armchair anthropologists' to the groundbreaking fieldwork by Bronislaw Malinowski, Franz Boaz, and others, the idea of 'experience' has become paramount. The idea here is that if researchers want to test a hypothesis, they need to collect the data themselves. By relying on research assistants, I broke the 'cardinal rule' of anthropological research: 'being there' (Monaghan and Just 2000: 23-4; Ellen 1984: 21; Malinowski [1922] 1999: 2-8). However, it can be argued that the some of the respondents in the village may have been intimidated by the interview situation if they had had to sit across from a foreigner instead of a fellow Indonesian (cf. Srinivas *et al*. 1979). To attain a certain level of consistency in data collection I employed a variety of means. First, I chose female researchers noting the literature that claims that women researchers will sometimes face more problems initially and yet in the long run find greater ease at entering both female and male worlds (Peil 1993). I also looked for homogeneity in education levels (in their case, a university education), as some literature argues that this can provide greater evenness in reporting (Stycos 1993). Further, to allow me to assess their work and ensure better consistency, the write-up of each interview was required to be accompanied by a methodology and observations section. The research assistants were thus encouraged to be self-critical of their work and aware of their influence upon the research situation. These methods section proved revealing at times; for instance, one assistant mentioned that she always 'lowered her voice' whenever she talked about sex. We discussed how her manner of broaching the subject could influence responses, particularly around questions of whether sex was a taboo topic. Finally, to mitigate the possibility of wage-driven research leading to lower standards of precision and standardisation in recording, observing, and questioning, I offered a financial incentive for overall results that were of high quality, on top of otherwise fair compensation for their work.

4. Implications for Future Research

One of the primary lessons learned from this research project was the need for more time, yet not necessarily more information. Increasing the amount of information derived from research did not necessarily facilitate understanding (Moore 2000: 16). The study would have benefited from more time spent in ethnographic fieldwork as well as time spent on analysis and write-up. I believe that spending the proper amount of time engaged with a culture would allow one to answer in the affirmative the questions posed by Sears: 'who has authority to speak about Indonesian women's experiences? … Do non-Indonesians or men have rights to the hidden transcript [what people say behind the back of power] of Indonesian

women?' (1996: 17). A second consideration regards the need for more objective data, possibly by way of quantitative interview methods using probability sampling. Adding more objective data would lend weight to the research, yet these 'objective data' nonetheless would still achieve their highest intelligibility not when they had been subsumed under universally binding, atemporal 'laws' but when they had been interconnected and integrated into a narrative account (Madison 1990: 47). In other words, the ultimate validity of research conclusions rests not on empirical verification (or falsification) but on 'narrative acceptability' (Madison 1990: 49). Paul Ricoeur builds upon this idea as he discusses the acceptability measure of narrative:

> Following a story, correlatively, is understanding the successive actions, thoughts and feelings in question insofar as they present a certain directedness. … But a narrative conclusion can be neither deduced nor predicted. … So rather than being *predictable*, a conclusion must be *acceptable* (1980: 170, emphasis in the original).

The research for this thesis thus employed qualitative techniques to draw acceptable narratives of the ways in which UNFPA development intervention operates on paradigmatic and political levels. Future research projects would need to further develop the balance between subjectivist and positivist methodological approaches.

Acronyms and Selected Indonesian Words

ABS	Asal Bapak Senang
	'As long as the father/patron is happy'
APC	Advocacy Programme Coordinator
ARH	Adolescent Reproductive Health
Bapak	Father and/or Sir
Bapeda	Badan Perencanaan Daerah
	Regional Planning Authority
Bidan	Midwife
BKKBN	Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional
	National Family Planning Coordinating Board
Desa	Village
DF	District Facilitator
DPCU	District Programme Coordination Unit
ERH	Essential Reproductive Health
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FP	Family Planning
GMS	Gender Mainstreaming
Ibu	Mother and/or Mrs.
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
ICPD POA	ICPD Programme of Action
IEC	Information, Education, and Communication
IFPPD	Indonesian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development
JPO	Junior Professional Officer
Kader	Cadre (local health volunteer)
Kabupaten	Regency
Kampung	Village (Sundanese word)
Kecamatan	Administrative district below the Kabupaten
KB	Keluarga Berencana
	Family Planning, and/or contraceptives
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOV	Means of Verification
MOWE	Ministry of Women's Empowerment

NPCU	National Programme Coordinating Unit
OVI	Objectively Verifiable Indicator
PKK	Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga
	Family Welfare Guidance
PLKB	Petugas Lapangan Keluarga Berencana
	Family Planning Field Worker
PMU	Provincial Management Unit
PPCU	Provincial Programme Coordination Unit
RT	Rukun Tetangga
	Lowest administrative unit, a neighbourhood association
RW	Rukun Warga
	Second-to-lowest administrative unit, just above the RT
RH	Reproductive Health
STI	Sexually-transmitted Infection
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
Puskesmas	Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat
	Community Health Centre

Interviews and Focus Group Discussions Reference List[33]

Name	Identifying Information	Date
Pak Agus	BKKBN RH Director, Kecamatan Lembang, Bandung	16 July 2002
Ibu Alam	UNFPA provincial manager, Bapeda Bandung	4 July 2002
Anonymous	BKKBN Director Kabupaten Bandung	11 July
Anonymous	UNFPA Junior Professional Officer	8 August 2002
Cisayong (Kapubaten Tasikmalaya)	20 interviews conducted by Ibu Yayu	July-August 2002
Ibu Desi	UNFPA District Facilitator, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	12 July and 30 August 2002
Ibu Elah	PLKB Kecamatan Lembang, Desa Sukajaya	16 and 28 July 2002
Ibu Dewi	PKBI Bandung (Indonesian Planned Parenthood Federation), Bandung	8 July 2002
DPCU Tasikmalaya	Coordination Meeting for DPCU Tasik, Q&A session with BKKBN, MOH, and MOWE staff present	30 August 2002
Faridz, H. Hilman	Head of Bapeda Garut	29 August 2002
Gender Mainstreaming Seminar, Kabupaten Bandung	FGD with Ibu Wiwin, Ibu Yayu, and Ibu Yuyun with MOWE	27 August 2002
Hasmi, Edy	BKKBN Director of Adolescent Reproductive Health and Reproductive Rights	22 August 2002
Ibu Hera	UNFPA PMU Finance Assistant, Bapeda Bandung	4 July and 27 August 2002
Pak Idjaz	UNFPA PMU Director, Bapeda Bandung	27 and 28 August 2002
IFPPD Meeting	Indonesian Parliament, personal observation	20 August 2002
Kabupaten Bandung (Soereang)	Reproductive Health Seminar, personal observations	11 July 2002

[33] Interviews are listed by the name of the interviewee, FGDs by location, and special seminars/gatherings by name. As many Indonesians use only one name, they are noted here as such (with Pak or Ibu, Mr. or Mrs., as they would typically be called). Some respondents requested anonymity and are noted as such.

Ibu Lily	IFPPD Project Officer	20 August 2002
Malakew, Richard	UNFPA Population and Development Strategies Officer	2 July 2002
PPCU & DPCU Meeting	Coordination meeting for all West Java DFs, Bapeda Bandung, personal observation	28 August 2002
Puskesmas Cisayong (Tasikmalaya)	FGD with Kaders, Bidans, Doctors	31 August 2002
Puskesmas Manonjaya (Tasikmalaya)	FGD with Kaders, Bidans, Doctors	30 August 2002
Puskesmas Kumisangan (Garut)	FGD with PLKBs, Bidans, Dinkes, BKKBN, DF, and other health workers	29 August 2002
Puskesmas Limbangan (Garut)	FGD with PLKBs, Bidans, Dinkes, BKKBN, and DF	29 August 2002
Reproductive Health Seminar	Kabupaten Bandung (Soereang), NGOs and Government officials, personal observations	11 July 2002
Pak Risman	BKKBN Advocacy Director, Jakarta	22 August 2002
Rono, Dr. Hanni	Seminar on RH for Bandung	11 July 2002
Pak Samekto	BKKBN Advocacy Division	2 August 2002
Pak Saut	BKKBN Advocacy Division	2 August 2002
Siregar, Mahendra	Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs, Government of Indonesia, Jakarta	22 August 2002
Solihin, Drs. H.	Head of DPCU Kabupaten Bandung	27 August 2002
Sukajaya (Kabupaten Bandung)	20 interviews conducted by Ibu Ira	July-August 2002
Tegal Sumedang FGD (Rancaekek, Kapubaten Bandung)	FGD with GSI leaders, kaders, community leaders, BKKBN staff, and DF	27 August 2002
Ibu Yenni	UNFPA District Facilitator Kabupaten Bandung	8 and 10 July and 27 August 2002

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