Non-State Actors and SDGs: NGO Challenges in Achieving Gender Equality Within Minangkabau Matrilineal Society

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Abstract. Gender inequality has been proven to be one of the global development's most urgent problems to date. As discrimination against women and girls remains and even increases, it persists as one of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In 2019, Indonesia's GDI was in group three, and its GII ranked was number 121 out of 162 countries. These numbers are largely related to the development of Indonesia's provinces. Being the largest matrilineal society, Minangkabau ethnic has frequently been the center of the research, particularly on matrilineality and gender equality. However, although West Sumatra's HDI and GDI are higher than Indonesia, its GII is still below the national level. This research aims to identify the challenges experienced by NGOs in implementing programs related to the targets of SDG gender equality in West Sumatra. This research is qualitative research employing literature study and semi-structured interviews as methods to compile data. Interviews are focused on NGOs in West Sumatra such as Nurani Perempuan, Pambangkik Batang Tarandam (PBT) and Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (LP2M). Each NGO experienced challenges in terms of its activities, organizations, and relations with partners. Although specific challenges between these institutions/organizations differ, there is a similar line connecting them; the challenge of patriarchy which manifests in various levels and forms.

Keywords: Minangkabau, gender equality, NGO, challenges, SDG

1 Introduction

1.1 Gender Equality as a Global Agenda

The fight for gender equality is a never-ending battle; many have argued that it resists the social construction that deeply embedded patriarchal values into our society. In time, these values have become a significant part of society's beliefs and even culture, thus making it more difficult to rectify. Understanding this complication, global citizens representing various world actors such as individuals, organizations (intergovernmental and non-governmental), states, and other non-state actors, have gathered numerously in an effort to establish common grounds on the concept of gender equality and to create initial strategies to start narrowing the gender inequality gap; and in some cases, to further advance existing equal opportunities. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and many more declared that gender equality is the problem of the world, which requires global action.

CEDAW, also known as 'women's international bill of rights, is an international human rights treaty specifically dedicated to gender equality. The particularity of CEDAW is presented through a detailed explanation of women's equalities and discrimination, highlighting the clarity of what constitutes sex-based discrimination. This not only makes CEDAW unique but was considered as a breakthrough since it was adopted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in the late 1970s and entering into force in 1981. It has widely been accepted as the guideline to implement gender equality nationally; since 90% of UN member countries have ratified this treaty (UN Women, n.d.-a).

Through its definition of discrimination against women, CEDAW emphasizes its principle of "substantive equality" (UN Women, n.d.-a) by recognizing that women's fundamental rights are not only in the political, economic, and civil field; but goes beyond into culture and tradition. CEDAW could be the solution to the gender gap problem if it is implemented effectively. Not only because of the purpose, principle, and strategy, but it inclusively incorporates other factors that are not detailed in any other human rights treaties, "…which affirms the reproductive rights of women and targets culture and tradition as influential forces shaping gender roles and family relations…" (United Nations, 2009).

Before adopting CEDAW, the United Nations initiated the first of four World Conferences on Women in Mexico City in 1975. The other three conferences were organized in Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), and Beijing (1995) (UN Women, n.d.-c). This Fourth World Conference on Women was identified as the "most progressive blueprint for ever-advancing women's rights." It became more known as the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action. The conference prioritized 12 areas of concern (The United Nations, 1995) and was unanimously adopted by 189 UN member countries.

Almost 50.000 people worldwide from various backgrounds attended the opening in September 1995 (UN Women, n.d.-b); these included 17.000 conference participants and 30.000 participants for a parallel NGO forum. There were "6,000 government delegates at the negotiations, along with more than 4,000 accredited NGO representatives, a host of international civil servants, and around 4,000 media representatives" present at the conference (UN Women, n.d.-c). This marks the turning point in the global agenda of gender equality.

Five years after the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the United Nations member countries signed the United Nations Millennium Declarations with the purpose to fight against poverty and alleviate development. This objective was then identified into eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with poverty, education, gender equality, environmental sustainability, health, and global partnership at the center (Chibba, 2011).

The world committed to this fifteen-year agenda on September 2000, and at the end of its period, the UN stated that the effort to achieve these goals were "largely successful" (United Nations Development Program, 2017) despite uneven progress (including the persistence of gender inequality) and significant obstacles remaining (Wysokińska, 2017). The MDGs further declared gender equality as a limited social or territorial problem and is considered the foundation of global development. The 2015 MDG Report concluded that there remains significant effort in eliminating discrimination against women in the professional, economic, decision-making, and labour market (United Nations, 2015).

The MDGs were superseded by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by the United Nations and its member countries in 2015. This continuous effort to achieve global development further elaborated its strategies by introducing 17 goals which included 169 targets with a period of 15 years, similar to its predecessor (United Nations, n.d.-b, n.d.-a). This global

agenda was built on the shortcomings of the MDGs and was created with a different purpose, politics, and concept (Fukuda-Parr, 2016), with the principle of interconnectedness between the goals to achieve maximum results (United Nations Development Program, 2021; Wysokińska, 2017).

Once again, gender equality became one of the goals of SDGs, a universal agenda for development. However, according to Pham-Truffet et al. in their research regarding relations among the SDGs, discovered that gender equality (SDG 5) along with poverty (SDG 1), health (SDG 3), and inequality (SDG 10) are considered as "predominantly systemic buffers" (2020). This means that these SDGs are not the dominant goals that countries should focus on. By prioritizing these goals, "the co-benefits and multiplication effects on behalf of the 2030 Agenda will be very limited from a systemic perspective" (Pham-Truffert et al., 2020). The solution then; effectively implementing other goals, thus benefitting these buffer goals (Pham-Truffert et al., 2020).

Fundamentally speaking, gender equality is a basic human right that could arguably place this goal as a constant global agenda. On the other hand, Pham-Truffet et al.'s research describe the world's reality in terms of the position of gender equality and its relation to development. Nonetheless, gender equality remains a significant stimulant to development, whether locally, nationally and globally. This has been further supported by the government of states, activists, NGOs and IGOs working in the field, and academics.

These endorsements such as "Guaranteeing the rights of women and giving them opportunities to reach their full potential is critical not only for attaining gender equality but also for meeting a wide range of international development goals. As (Peace Corps, n.d.), "Gender equality is a goal in itself and a prerequisite for sustainable and peaceful development" (Government Offices of Sweden, 2015), "Reducing inequality strengthens economies and builds stable, resilient societies that give all individuals – including boys and men – the opportunity to fulfil their potential" (UNICEF, n.d.) reinforces the need for narrowing the gender inequality gap, for the sake of all.

1.2 NGOs and SDGs: The Other Actor

The nature of the SDGs, such as many other international treaties, requires national adoption of these goals into national policies and action plan based on the national realities, circumstances, prior regulations and commitments (United Nations, 2016). Although SDG goal 5 (gender equality) has provided a broader and more complete framework than MDG goal 3 (promote gender equality and empower women), problems may still arise in national implementation.

This specific issue was elaborated by Fukuda-Parr (2016), who stated that potential problems of SDG implementation prevail through selectivity, simplification, and national adaptation. Selectivity signifies the failure to optimally accomplish all goals, considering the many goals and targets that need to be addressed, thus only focusing on several goals and disregarding other goals (Fukuda-Parr, 2016). The complex character of the SDGs – 17 goals, 169 targets, interconnectedness – result to simplification of the concept, hence "stripping away the important qualifiers" (Fukuda-Parr, 2016). National adoption of the SDGs, specifically goals related to inequalities (including gender equality), poses a difficult challenge for states because it requires significant change (Nicolai et al., 2015) whether related to political, economic, and social aspects. Fukuda-Parr (2016) further that:

… challenging inequality involves questioning and shifting the economic model that has been promoted over the last decade. This goal will prove as problematic and challenging as Goal 5: this, too, involves profoundly questioning power and the current economic model.

As a result, there could be a possibility where "It can then be an invitation to water down the ambition of the SDGs" (Fukuda-Parr, 2016). It is specifically because of this that the implementation of the SDGs should include other actors besides the state. In the context of gender equality, NGOs are regarded as suitable actors based on their functions, on the issues they focus on, and on their nature of filling in the gaps of the states' work.

NGOs are organizations assigned to form collaborations with private and national groups on various developing issues in the international world, such as economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian issues. The non-government organization includes religious groups, international legal experts, humanitarian organizations, trade organizations and teaching organizations (Plano 1982). Another definition of NGO is a non-profit, voluntary group formed at the local, national, and international levels to raise awareness in creating welfare for the wider community (Leverty 2008).

According to the World Bank, NGOs conduct various activities to reduce suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, and provide social services as a basic right of the community (Carmen 1995). In the context of human rights, human rights NGOs play an important role in raising human rights issues by organizing activities to promote and protect human rights (Marcinkute 2011). Efforts made by human rights NGOs are to collect data through documentation and investigations from various sources such as newspapers, witnesses, reports from other NGOs, and direct information from victims by looking at the wounds or injuries suffered, evidence of physical disability, court proceedings, and demonstrations. Through information and data, NGOs can attract the attention of the public, the government, and other actors related to human rights issues, which could raise public awareness on the subject (Marcinkute 2011).

NGO has become an important actor in defending and protecting human rights issues. This is explained by David Lewis who specifically formulates this role such implementer, partnership dan catalyst (Lewis 2001). Implementer defines the function of NGOs in conducting roles in mobilizing resources to provide goods and services (independent or collaborative). This role includes providing services to people such as the provision of health services, credit, agricultural extension services, legal advice, and emergency assistance (Lewis 2001). The catalyst role signifies inspiring and contributing to the change of specific issues. NGOs could influence broad policy processes and public campaigns by forming and organizing groups, as well as building social spheres with an empowering approach to development, innovation, lobbying and advocacy (Lewis 2001). The last role of NGOs is building partners with government, donors, and the private sector in a joint activity which forms a complex relationship known as a 'capacity building' (Lewis 2001).

This research builds on previous study related to gender equality and development, specifically in the Minangkabau ethnic. The Minangkabau culture is argued to have already the values which can advance gender equality in the region, if it has not been achieved. However, research on the role of the Minangkabau matrilineal culture to the achievement of gender equality, specifically SDG goal 5 has discovered that the values of matrilineal kinship, Bundo Kanduang's role in musyawarah mufakaik (decision making), women's possession of high cultural inheritance has not been able to contribute to the achievement of SDG goal 5 in the province (Nasir et al., 2021).

This previous study argued that although Minangkabau already had the social capital to achieve gender equality, they could not apply it effectively, thus resulting in a stagnant gender gap (Nasir et al., 2021). In order to complete the preceding literature on the topic, this study focused on the actors related to the achievement of gender equality within the setting of the Minangkabau culture, specifically the grassroots organizations. This research attempts to

highlight the challenges local NGOs experience in trying to implement their programs, which could have significant impact to the achievement of SDG Goal 5.

2 Methodology

This study used a qualitative method with a descriptive type of analysis. The specific choice of this research method was because it could empirically interpret the data findings (Affifudin and Saebani 2009). This study explored the challenges faced by NGOs that are concerned with gender issues in achieving SDG goal 5, which focuses on establishing gender equality, especially in West Sumatra. This study departed from the findings of other studies which presented that the low achievement of SDG goal 5 is related to gender equality in West Sumatra. Meanwhile, West Sumatra has cultural values that can support the acceleration of achieving gender equality. This study combined two data collection techniques, namely, literature study and field research.

Field research in this context was in-depth interview, which used the semi-structured interview method with pre-determined questions (Lamont 2015). Interviewees were founders or current leaders of local NGOs in West Sumatra that focus on gender including Nurani Perempuan, Pambangkik Batam Tarandam, LP2M. The findings of library study data and field research were processed through data processing techniques introduced by Miles and Haberman, namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion (Milles and Huberman 1992). Data reduction was then selected, and the data findings were adjusted with the theory used as an analytical tool. The results of the data reduction were compiled and presented as the academic findings of this study. The presentation of the data generated the conclusions in this study.

3 Result and Discussion

The achievement of NGO targets and duties must be supported by adequate NGO management. In an article titled "The Management of Non-Governmental Development Organization" written by David Lewis, there are three interrelated areas of the NGO management challenge. The three areas are activities, organization, and relationships. The internal structure of the NGO signifies the organizational area. NGOs develop activities that include projects, programs, campaigns, and services. Relationships refer to NGO collaboration or association with other actors related to their purpose or project, such as the government, other NGOs or IGOs, and additional components related to their work (Lewis, 2001).
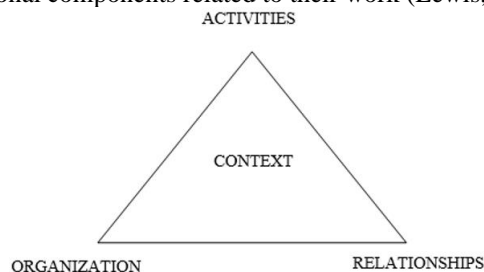

Fig 1. Three Inter-related Areas of NGO Management Challenge (Source: Lewis, 2001)_

Context is placed at the center to indicate a decisive variable that influences the other factors. In this research, the context of the analysis is the NGOs' work related to the implementation of programs contributing to the achievement of SDG Goal 5 in West Sumatra, therefore adding Minangkabau matrilineal society in the context.

3.1 NGO Challenges in Implementing SDG Goal 5 in West Sumatra

There are three local NGOs as the main concern in this research, which are Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (LP2M), Nurani Perempuan and Pambangkik Batang Tarandam (PBT). These three NGOs are concerned with gender issues in West Sumatra with a track record of consistent efforts. Additionally, these NGOs are the most active grassroots organizations related to gender equality in the province.

Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (LP2M) was emerged from the concerns for Minangkabau women who in fact should have important roles with the assumption of the matrilineal values own by its culture, but in reality is far from what is expected. On September 7, 1995 this NGO was established. Initially, LP2M was a foundation, but it was considered less democratic due to the existence of power levels in the existing structure. It was then converted into a legal entity associated with the same authority for each member. The vision of LP2M was to create a prosperous and critical society that is just and gender equal.

This vision is broken down into several main missions for strengthening women's leadership at the grassroots level, including strengthening women's economy, advocating for sexual and reproductive health rights, women's participation and political representation, and reducing disaster risk and adaptation to climate change. LP2M's main work programs are independent and collaborative research, building communities at the Nagari level that prepare agents for program implementation and build networks in the local and national levels (Ramadhaniati, personal communication, August 3, 2021).

Nurani Perempuan was founded in 1999, after two years of preparation and discussion. Before Nurani Perempuan exist, the founders of this NGO were active in Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia (PKBI) Sumatera Barat (Indonesian family planning association of West Sumatera). During the time, they met many victims of domestic violence who did not have the courage nor the place to share and complain about their condition. It is based on this simple condition that Nurani Perempuan was established. The NGO was founded under the Zilanisa foundation, which meant 'friends of women' (Kawan Perempuan).

To date, Nurani Perempuan's principle remains the same; confidentiality and siding with the victims, disregarding their personal background. The mandate of Nurani Perempuan has three mains' programs: handling or management of violent related cases (physical, mental and sexual), prevention of violence against women and girls, and advocacy related to discriminative policies (R. M. Yenti, personal communication, July 29, 2021).

The management of violence against women cases is a part of the service division of the NGO, which oversees other related programs under the management mandate. Within this mandate, there are several programs such as (R. M. Yenti, personal communication, July 29, 2021):

a. Consultation: all cases go through this step. After consultation, the next phase will be determined.
b. Accompaniment: after consultation, Nurani Perempuan will conclude whether the case will have to be reported to the police or the victim needs medical or psychological support. During all of this, Nurani Perempuan will accompany the victim.
c. Recovery: make sure the victim is consistent and committed to counseling;
d. Protection (safe house): for urgent cases such as human trafficking or sexual abuse victims.

e. Social reintegration: not only encouraging the victims who would have to face society, but also preparing society to reaccept the victims without stigmatizing and discriminating them; specifically, the victim's family.

The second mandate of Nurani Perempuan is prevention which focuses on educating the society which includes community-based services. From 2014 until today, women groups are formed and then strengthened by education and knowledge, which then prepares them to be the agents who can help educate, at least, their community about violence against women. Another activity is awareness-raising in schools (along with other communities). Advocacy is their effort to change discriminative policies by immersing themselves in policymaking, policy hearing, lobbying, and monitoring and evaluation. Within this mandate, they annually hold campaigns to commemorate International Women's Day (8th of March) and Activism against Gender-Based Violence 25th November – 10th December) (R. M. Yenti, personal communication, July 29, 2021).

Before being fully active in 2014, NGO Pambangkik Batang Tarandam (PBT) was initiated by Yulianti Puti, the current director, in 2010. Due to minimum fundings at the beginning of their establishment, PBT focused on women's group meetings. In 2014, after building a network with Kapal Perempuan and the Australian Government, PBT started its mission in assisting isolated areas in the province in the education and empowerment of women. These isolated areas were Baringin, Tarantang and Batu Gadang.

Their activities include education of basic human rights (opportunities and equality for women), advocacy on gender equality, economic empowerment for women (such as gender-based agriculture), strengthening women's capacity, consultation related to domestic violence, and the cooperative movement. In order to achieve the goals of their program, similar to LP2M and Nurani Perempuan, PBT formed women groups within these areas which become the focus of their activities (Yulianti Puti, personal communication, July 28, 2021).

It can be concluded that comparatively, the activities of these NGOs are within the same realm, which essentially focuses on equal opportunities, economic empowerment, advocacy, eliminating violence against women, and women participation in politics or other decision-making procedures. These activities align with SDG Goal 5, specifically Goal 5.1 (End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere); Goal 5.2 (Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation); Goal 5.5 (Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life); Goal 5.6 (Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights); and Goal 5.A (Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws).

Challenges towards Activities

Based on the conceptual framework that is the reference in this research, the researcher will explore the results of interviews conducted with NGOs regarding the obstacles NGOs face in achieving the target of gender equality in West Sumatra, which is the Goal 5 of the SDGs. Challenges related to activities are direct or indirect obstacles that prevent these NGO's from achieving their program goals. It is necessary to highlight that all of the interviewed NGO's programs are within the framework of SDG Goal 5. The researcher's findings in the activity challenges faced by LP2M in achieving gender equality are the patriarchal mindset that still dominates the West Sumatran society insofar it obstructs program implementation. This is then

coupled with the cultural values that are dominated by traditional leaders and religious leaders who do not provide space for women to get involved and have the tendency of patriarchal arrogance.

Another challenge faced by LP2M in program implementation is ensuring the sustainability of a program. Most NGOs are still at the stage of only implementing programs but have not reached the stage where programs are organized regularly and continuously until the desired goals are achieved, these are also related to the women groups and also significantly linked to the mindset of the society. In the context of globalization and technological advancements, the low level of digital literacy is also a challenge faced in forming an independent society. Women's economic development, especially in the context of small and medium enterprises, is expected to be able to develop digital marketing to maximize women's independence in the economic context. There are still many women in West Sumatra who have low levels of digital literacy, therefore challenging the optimization of digital-based economic development (Ramadhaniati, personal communication, August 3, 2021).

With their work related to the elimination of violence against women, Nurani Perempuan faces challenges in all of its mandated programs. In terms of challenges related to activities, the most substantial problems are within the violence against women case management. Nurani Perempuan believes that their handling of the cases has not been intensive and comprehensive due to the number of cases received, staff ratio, and the various natures of these cases. For example, interventions for sexual rape and human trafficking will have to go through different approaches.

For one specific case, there are many steps that they would have to go through (consultation, accompaniment, recovery, protection if necessary and social reintegration) to ensure that the victim will be able to heal from their trauma and can live well within the society. For a sexual assault by a family member victim, after consultation, they would then determine whether this case should be reported or if they should follow any other solutions. If the case is reported, they would then have to accompany the victim to make reports to the police. There could also be medical and psychological treatments of the victim. If it becomes dangerous for the victim, then they would be placed in a safe house. The last step would be to integrate this victim into society, specifically their family (R. M. Yenti, personal communication, July 29, 2021).

These steps are prone to challenges, be it financial, time, human resource, legal, culture, and many more. Reported cases are time-consuming, similar to medical but particularly psychological treatments of the victim. Nurani Perempuan needs to ensure complete treatments of the victims in order to heal their trauma. Their safe house program is also difficult to manage related to financial problems due to the daily needs of the victims and family members accompanying them at the shelter. There is also no time limit when a victim could stay at a safe house, making it difficult for Nurani Perempuan to maximize the use of their safe house. Integrating a sexually assaulted victim into their family is one of the biggest challenges. In many cases, these women are rejected by their families because they believe she has brought shame.

Therefore, Nurani Perempuan does not only tend to the victims but also their families. Due to the incomplete or unsatisfactory implementation of this mandate, there have been cases where victims go through the same case, bringing them back to Nurani Perempuan, thus adding to their already numerous and diverse cases (R. M. Yenti, personal communication, July 29, 2021). Challenges to their prevention and advocacy activities are mainly caused by the management of the cases received. This means that almost all of their time, energy, and other resources are concentrated on handling the cases. Therefore, they are not able to optimally create and implement their prevention and advocacy programs. One of their most important roles in advocacy is that Nurani Perempuan contributes in writing policies relevant to their work.

However, this does not guarantee that the government could accept what they have suggested (R. M. Yenti, personal communication, July 29, 2021).

For PBT, challenges to their activities are related to society's bias culture of patriarchy, along with problems within the local government. Like LP2M, PBT has encountered implementation problems because at the beginning of their work, 75% of targeted areas' local government were not pro-women. They asked about what needs to be advocated in terms of women's empowerment and discrimination. They felt that women in West Sumatra are already highly positioned because of the Minangkabau matrilineal culture. Within this, 75% of non-pro-women local government officers were also women themselves.

However, ironically, women are also less considered within this society, which means that women do not have the same opportunities or burdens as men within the realms of politics, economy, and domestic work. Some problems arise from the lack of program-related knowledge transfer between these officials. For example, after having been acquainted to an appointed village head and another official replaces this official, PBT would have to reexplain their programs to the new village head, this delays the progress that they have made. Another challenge was the nature of the isolated areas, which translates to difficult access, the possibility of dangerous situations such as encounters with wild animals, no electricity, and distance between residences (Yulianti Puti, personal communication, July 28, 2021).

Challenges within Organization

The second indicator in the analysis of the challenges facing NGOs is the challenges of the organization. Organization challenges are defined as the ability of an organization to regulate program plans, activities, and actions taken internally. In the interview with LP2M, the obstacles faced in the organizational context are the creative challenges that LP2M had in adjusting programs that could be accepted by the community. In addition, in the regeneration process, several members who have been sufficiently trained and being program implementer were faced financial dilemmas that requires them to choose other professions to meet their daily needs because realistically, NGO staff members are not highly paid. There have also been cases where members would have to shift their focus to their family once they have been married or have given birth. This results in human resource deficiency, which have distracted them from achieving their goals (Ramadhaniati, personal communication, August 3, 2021).

Nurani Perempuan's current structure comprises five positions: the director, finance and administration, services division, education division, and data and advocacy division. Currently, there is no staff assigned to the data and advocacy division because of staff shortages. In addition, the existing staff is fully focused on handling cases. As a result, their prevention and advocacy-mandated programs have been difficult to execute. However, despite intensifying their work on cases management, they still have not been able to achieve their maximum goal because of the number of cases (and steps need to be taken for each case) and number of staff ratio is not balanced (R. M. Yenti, personal communication, July 29, 2021).

For PBT, organizational challenges do not only come from limited staff but also from the internal dynamics of the organization itself. There are currently only three staff members of PBT, including its founder and director. This itself has raised issues in terms of management and program implementation. There were periods where PBT employed additional staff, but because they were limited to a one-year-contracts, difficulties arise when these employees had to leave. Quick changes in the staff imply complications in regeneration and attachment to the organization.

The director, Yulianti Puti, also believed that her lack of education as a founder, or how other more educated staff perceived her based on her education, was also a major problem. She

felt that these staff did not respect her as a founder and did not believe that she was competent. Problems worsened in so far that these staff reported the director to its networking organization, Kapal Perempuan. Differences in their organization's vision also became an issue, where Puti concluded that some staff, who were supposed to vitalize the organization, were living off the organization instead (Yulianti Puti, personal communication, July 28, 2021).

Challenges Related to Relationship

Management in NGOs also prioritizes the relationship aspect. This aspect is needed to build relationships with related actors who can accelerate the achievements and goals of NGOs. LP2M has built connections with various important elements in accelerating gender equality goals achievement. This connection is conducted by establishing cooperation between LP2M with the government and related NGOs that have the same issue as well as donor agencies. In relation to the government, LP2M has collaborated with local governments at the central level, namely the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, the West Sumatra Provincial Government, including the health office and the Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection as well as the district government covering the Bappeda of Padang Pariaman City, Padang Pariaman City Health Office, and others.

However, in the process, the built relationships are faced with the challenges of synergy and collaboration. The lack of government initiative in supporting NGOs and low government contribution in terms of funding for the implementation of programs have weakened the relationship that was built. The need for synergy between NGOs and clear and sustainable program collaboration is a component of the challenges that must be resolved. Other relationships include establishing links with NGOs that have the same concern on gender issues as LP2M by building a network for women's care, caring for children, and caring for people with disabilities.

These networks have been formed at the local, regional, and national levels, but along the way, the challenges faced in this relationship are differences in perceptions, egocentrism, and sectoral ego, which result in difficulty in finding common solutions to common problems. In the context of the relationship with donors, the challenges faced are administrative challenges that require high demands, such as complex documentation, which interferes with program implementation, although to only a limited extent (Ramadhaniati, personal communication, August 3, 2021).

Relationship challenges experienced by Nurani Perempuan and PBT are similar, which are mostly connected to the local government. In the case of Nurani Perempuan, obstacles come from other institutions or NGOs in the region. Nurani Perempuan has indicated to the local government that they encounter difficulties in implementing their activities. However, this has not been adequately responded. Not only have the local government been slow or have not responded to their difficulties, Nurani Perempuan believes that related to violence and discrimination against women, but they also have not made any breakthroughs. By the nature of their work, Nurani Perempuan requires the assistance of other experts connected to violence against women cases.

However, there have been instances where although the role of each institution has been determined, most of the burden still falls under Nurani Perempuan (R. M. Yenti, personal communication, July 29, 2021). For PBT, building relationships with local government was difficult in the beginning, particularly because their work focuses on more isolated areas. However, even after relationships are built and programs start to be implemented, changes in local government officials have impeded in program implementation due to the rebuilding of

relationships with the newly appointed official (Yulianti Puti, personal communication, July 28, 2021).

According to three of the NGOs, culture in this sense patriarchy has played a significant role in undermining the value of women. It has influenced the mindset of the West Sumatran people to the extent that what they believe related to the position of women in society is correct, thus blinding them to the basics of human rights and human discrimination. When asked whether the values of the Minangkabau matrilineal culture have benefitted them in implementing their activities or building their relationships, the unanimous answer was that it did not have significant or even any contribution.

This underlines that although the Minangkabau people are unique because of their matrilineal society, this does not translate to gender equality. This is the context of the environment of these NGOs, which heavily influences the challenges of their activity implementation, organizational structure, and relationships with potential assisting parties.

4 Conclusion

LP2M, Nurani Perempuan, and PBT have encountered management challenges that prevent them from achieving their goals. Achievement of these goals would mean realizing SDG Goal 5 for West Sumatra, a region famous for its matrilineal society. This becomes more significant since in reality, matrilineality in Minangkabau has not contributed to regional gender equality. In terms of activity challenges, each NGO experience different problems, but all originate from society's patriarchal mindset, which manifests in different forms and hinders their activities in various ways. All of them lacked human resources, thus challenging their organizational structure, which impacts the organization and management of their activities.

These NGOs were also similarly faced by the challenges of relationships with local government. However, despite these challenges, all of these NGOs could survive and are still active to this day. Their similarity in creating local women groups to educate and empower other women in the society is considered to be a better success than building relationships with the local government. In a society deeply entrenched with patriarchal values, although they have not been able to accomplish all of their goals optimally, being able to alter the minds and attitudes of the society, even by little, can be considered as a big step towards the achievement of SDG Goal 5.

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