

Indonesian New Cooperative Movement (IN Coop-Me) to Achieve Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) in Indonesia

Virtuous Setyaka
{vsetyaka@gmail.com}

Political and Social Sciences Faculty, Andalas University, Padang, Indonesia
Department of International Relations, Political and Social Sciences Faculty, Padjadjaran University,
Bandung, Indonesia

Abstract. This article will discuss about new cooperative movement as the key to achieve gender equality and social inclusion in Indonesia. New cooperative movement is a concept that used to be differentiate general concept of cooperative (movement) in Indonesia. In this article, the first is will be explained about that concept, than will describe the practical of that concept in the daily life of Indonesian society. The second, will be explain about the role of the new cooperative movement to achieve gender equality and social inclusion, especially in Indonesian society cases. This article is not a complete report from a field research, but it is an initial paper compiled and analyzed based on a literature review to be continued into better research in the future. The literatures taken from journals, books, mass media, and other script sources the relevant to the topic. In the cooperative movement to achieve gender equality and social inclusion globally, there are usually two recognized types of cooperatives: general cooperatives (non-discriminatory membership based on sex) and women's cooperatives. The existence of these two types of cooperatives must indeed be distinguished and recognized for their existence because of the context for achieving these goals. When public awareness about gender equality and justice and social inclusion is good, general cooperatives are more ideal to be formed and organized. However, when this awareness still has to be fought for more specifically, women's cooperatives are usually an option as a step towards an ideal general cooperative. Based on the Online Data System (ODS) of the Ministry of Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises as of April 20, 2018, there were 13,212 units of active women's cooperatives and 4,631 had obtained a certificate of Cooperative Identification Number. Based on data from the Ministry of SMEs, the number of women's cooperatives in 2020 is 10,382 units. The number has the potential to become one of the drivers of the nation's economy, especially the driver of women's economic empowerment. The Women's Cooperative is not only a form of organization, but also a place for women to meet, gather, share about their daily life problems. In addition to the function of cooperatives to create economic productivity, cooperatives are also institutions where culture is preserved through various activities including formal education programs and non-formal interactions. Cooperatives in general, and women's cooperatives in particular, are also instruments for aggregating women's political interests, including advocating for policies on achieving gender equality and justice and social inclusion. Finally, this article will be closed by the hypothesis and recommendation for the next research.

Keywords: Mapping Models; Social Vulnerability; and the Covid-19 Pandemic

1 Introduction

Gender inequality and injustice still exist today in the world. Significant disparities between women and men in economic opportunities, professional work, wages, access to resources, and participation in leadership and decision-making. Gender equality and justice must be a fundamental requirement in achieving sustainable development. To resolve gender inequality and injustice, analysis is needed not only in implementation, but also must start from the conception of gender equality and injustice. This is because the implementation is also greatly influenced by the conceptions carried out, including the understanding of the existing concepts of gender equality and justice. This includes gender equality and social inclusion (GESI).

In the political analysis of social change in general, there are actors and agents as the unit of analysis, namely government or state actors, and actors from civil society organizations (CSOs) or citizen groups. The differences in actors as agents of socio-political change in the analysis indicate different levels of analysis as well as character differences more firmly to clarify the roles of actors/agents with their respective positions. Here is a table of these differences:

Table 1. Different Roles of Actors/Agents in Social Change

Actors/Agents	Politics of Social Change	Social Change Mechanism	Social Change Instruments	Forms of Social Change
Government/State	Gender policies/progressive policies	Top-down	Regulation and systemic education	Gender-based government bodies/institutions
Civil Society Organizations/Groups of Citizen	Gender equality and justice movements/governance initiatives	Bottom-up	Demand/Issue and education	Gender-based practical needs

Processed by the author from various sources.

Cooperatives as organizations as well as actors and agents of social change, are different from the government or the state, because cooperative members are individuals, and they are not distinguished whether as part of government officials or state officials. In a cooperative, all members are treated equally in a democratic framework to manage it as an organization or institution. The tendency of cooperatives as a social movement is also part of those who can be in opposition and can also partner with the government or the state.

The tendency to increase women's welfare but ignore their more strategic interests is identified by Molyneux (1985) as a strategic or practical concept of gender interests. Moser (1993) takes this idea further by conceptualizing gender needs in the context of development planning. According to Molyneux (1985) the interests/practical needs of gender that arise from the concrete conditions of women's position in the gender division of labor, will be formulated by women based on their experiences.

Whereas strategic interests/needs arise from an analysis of subordination and from the formulation of alternatives, a set of arrangements that are more satisfactory than existing ones, requires external intervention to understand the situation and formulate alternatives. According to the World Bank, empowerment is "...the expansion of the assets and abilities of the poor to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives" (Narayan, 2002).

Neoliberal regimes want the poor and marginalized, including women, to have the resources and capabilities to “control their lives” (Narayan, 2002). The neoliberal approach to empowerment is to shift the responsibility for improving the lives of the poor from the state to the people themselves (Eisenstein, 2017). In the series of women in development (WID), women and development (WAD), and gender and development (GAD), the criticism is that women are used to achieve different development goals (Molineux, 2006; Calkin, 2015; Beneria, Berik, and Floro, 2016).

Women are exploited by the state and the market; the state uses women to do jobs that were once the responsibility of the state (Eisenstein, 2017), the market uses women as consumers and cheap labor (Benería, Berik, and Floro, 2016). Recent discourses, exploitation of women have become more explicit in the dominant neoliberal approach to women’s participation in the market economy through their slogan “gender equality as a smart economy” (World Bank, 2006; 2012).

Investing in women (and girls) by empowering them to participate in the market economy, is a policy that will increase productivity (women are assumed to be more productive than men) and they will use their income more wisely for their children to create a better generation (World Bank, 2012). This general approach to “empowering” women to enter and contribute to the market economy (or “womenomics,” as *The Economist* is termed) is criticized by feminists as “seduced feminism” (Eisenstein, 2009), “instrumentalization of gender equality” (Wilson, 2009). 2015), “international business feminism” (Roberts, 2012; 2015), and “neoliberalization feminism” (Prügl, 2015; 2017). The neoliberal approach to women’s empowerment and gender equality only keeps women trapped in even deeper exploitation so that some feminists suggest “quitting feminism” (Halley, 2006).

Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) is a concept that addresses increasing access to livelihood assets and services for all, it supports more inclusive policies and mindsets and increases the voice and influence of all including women, the poor and marginalized. A concept that addresses the unequal power relations experienced by people on the basis of gender, disability (poverty and disability), age, location, caste/ethnicity, language and agency or a combination of these dimensions. Focus on the need for action to rebalance power relations, reduce inequality, and ensure equal rights, opportunities, access, and respect for all individuals regardless of their social identity.

Improved access to livelihood assets and services for all is key to gender equality and social inclusion. Both of these reflect actions in the context of a structural political economy. Livelihood assets are included in the capital in a certain production model, while improving access and services is a job that is primarily the task of the authorities in the government. When it means that the role of external parties is more dominant, then does this concept reflect the independence and emancipation of women, the poor, and the marginalized?

In a discussion conducted by the author with Ramadhaniati, an activist from an NGO in Padang City, West Sumatra Province, Indonesia on the issue of gender equality and social inclusion in Indonesia, the tendency to domesticate women on the one hand but also employs women in various fields, position, and role; apparently cannot be separated from the interest to accumulate capital for the capitalists. Including what is happening in general in West Sumatra, especially groups of people living with Minangkabau culture, economic problems are key issues including issues of gender equality and social inclusion.

Domestication of women departs from the understanding that women as workers are considered less productive when compared to men, as well as when women are finally considered important in the economy also departs from the understanding that women are one of the potential consumption markets. Even when women are employed in industry, it is also

evident that women are positioned as cheap labor. Even if female workers are paid more properly, in the end they are targeted to be able to consume commodities on the market. One of the conclusions in the discussion was that women's empowerment for gender equality and social inclusion must put viable economic empowerment first.

The Government of Indonesia's policy commitments related to gender equality and social inclusion and cooperatives: (1) Indonesia signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) on 29 July 1980. Indonesia ratified it by Law 7/1984 on Ratification of the Convention Concerning the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 13 Sep 1984. In Article 14 € to establish self-help groups and cooperatives in order to obtain equal opportunities for economic opportunities through work and entrepreneurship. In addition, it can also be read in (2) Regulation of the Minister of Cooperatives and SMEs No. 7/2015 Strategic Plan on Development in Cooperatives and SMEs.

2 Methods

This article is not a complete report from a field research, but it is an initial paper compiled and analyzed based on a literature review to be continued into better research in the future. The literatures taken from journals, books, mass media, and other script sources the relevant to the topic. In addition, the author also tries to be actively involved in various discussion forums, seminars, and so on with relevant topics.

On various occasions, the author then discussed intensively with various relevant individual sources both offline (face to face discussion) and online (online meetings with various applications such as Zoom, and through the WhatsApp application, in addition, the author also communicates with individual sources through social media used such as Facebook and Instagram). The writing of this paper also analyzes more directly on the practices carried out by the object of research and matches it with the concepts used.

3 Results

Gemapalu is one of the models for a Indonesian new cooperative movement to achieve gender equality and social inclusion after 20 years more organizing, educating, and empowering the people in rural areas by Credit Union Gema Swadaya that established in 2016. For more detail of information about the achievement, it can be seen in tabel 2.

Table 2. The Members of Credit Union Gema Swadaya

Tahun	Awal Tahun	Jumlah Anggota		Anggota Masuk		Anggota Keluar		Akhir Tahun
		Lk	Pr	Lk	Pr	Lk	Pr	
2016	708	344	364	163	251	19	20	1,083
2017	1,083	488	595	134	254	59	60	1,351
2018	1,351	563	788	73	131	70	138	1,347
2019	1,347	566	781	34	98	55	63	1,361
2020	1,361	560	865	34	90	19	41	1,425
Calon Anggota								
2020	291	93	198	20	80	19	4	368

CU Gema Swadaya strategies to realize the vision and mission are by two steps: (1) education and organization to develop critical consciousness of the members and communities; (2) Community Based Service in finance, save and loan consultation, and members and communities business.

4 Discussion

It is very easy to find information about GESI and the implementation of efforts to make it happen in various programs by various actors in the world by accessing various literatures through the internet. In writing this article, the data needed is information that focuses on the cooperative movement and GESI, especially in Indonesia. The cooperative movement ideologically takes a direct distance from the ideology of liberal-capitalism and its derivatives including neoliberalism. Therefore, the new cooperative movement in Indonesia is a post-New Order cooperative movement that explicitly and clearly distances itself from the ideology of liberal capitalism.

The Indonesian New Cooperative Movement (IN Coop-Me) is a post-New Order cooperative generation that tried to revitalize cooperatives after the structural and systematic weakening of cooperatives: the ideology of cooperatives was weakened by distancing cooperatives from their socialistic or de-ideological ideology and surrounded by regulations and policies that tended to be (neo)liberal-capitalistic; institutionally, the organization of cooperatives does not run democratically with management that does not come from below but from above; in addition, the organization and management of cooperatives are not adapted to the use of information technology.

IN Coop-Me revitalize cooperatives ideologically, institutionally, and technologically in contrast to what was done by the New Order regime which ended in May 1998. Cooperatives in Indonesia are mostly problematic due to internal cooperative factors related to institutional governance, membership, and the business they do; also caused by external factors related to the community paradigm, as well as government regulations and policies that do not support the strengthening and restructuring of cooperatives in Indonesia.

Globally, cooperatives accept the call of the United Nations, and contribute to gender equality and women's empowerment. Cooperatives as a people-focused and values-based business model, facilitate the participation of women in the local and national economy, through the principles of voluntary membership, openness, and democratic member control. Anyone, regardless of gender differences, can become a member of a cooperative. In particular, cooperatives enable the most vulnerable and marginalized women to create their own economic opportunities, influence decisions that affect their livelihoods in a democratic setting and build a more inclusive economy.

In South Africa, women make up 60% of cooperative members. In Japan, 95% of the members of consumer cooperatives are women. Nearly 40% of women members of workers' cooperatives in Spain occupy leadership positions, and women represent 49% of workers' cooperatives as a whole. In Uganda there has been a 132% increase in women's participation in agricultural cooperatives. Female leadership on financial cooperative boards is 65% in Tanzania.

In the UK, 41% of retail business cooperative board members are women. Nearly half of the larger retail cooperatives have at least 50% of their directorships occupied by women. For cooperative enterprises to continue to advance gender equality and women's empowerment,

they need an enabling legal, economic, and social environment to thrive. Local institutions, national governments and international organizations can assist by providing regional, national and local policies and regulations that facilitate the formation and development of cooperative enterprises and respect the unique identity of value-oriented cooperatives.

The existence of the General Cooperative and the Women's Cooperative is a global phenomenon that must be understood in the context of its existence. Several models of women's cooperatives in Indonesia, including the Koperasi Simpan Pinjam Gema Swadaya in Lumajang, the Koperasi Setia Bhakti Wanita in Surabaya, and the Koperasi Setia Budi Wanita in Malang, can be used as a reference for women's empowerment. In addition, it has been 13 years in 2021, the Koperasi Aneka Usaha Perempuan Kencana was established in the Rancaekek Kencana area, Bandung Regency.

In Jakarta, the Koperasi Komunitas Tanah Baru is one of the community-based cooperatives, in 2021 it will be 9 years old. In 2019, it has 87 members, with routine bi-monthly meetings and cooperative activities. The Koperasi Osseda Faolala Perempuan Nias (K-OFPN) in 2021, has 12,107 members spread over 238 villages in districts/cities in North Sumatra. Implementing the Pang Pade Payu pattern or a system of togetherness and kinship, triggering the Koperasi Perempuan Ramah Keluarga (KPRK) to continue to exist during the Covid-19 pandemic, and never even stay silent and continue to intensify education and social service activities throughout Bali, directly targeting communities affected by the pandemic.

One example of a new cooperative movement to achieve gender equality and social inclusion in Indonesia is the Lumajang Rural Community Movement (Gemapalu). According to Misbach Isnaifah (Isna) as one of the founders and movers, Gemapalu is a social community organization that is proactive in empowering the community, especially women. More than 90% of Gemapalu members are agricultural laborers, and 65% of them are female farm workers. Gemapalu has assisted the community until now it has more than 1,500 active members with assets spread across 183 Neighborhoods, 25 Villages, 12 Sub-districts, and 3 districts.



Fig 1. Misbach Isnaifah, one of the founders of Gemapalu, in a presentation at a discussion forum attended by the author on June 25, 2021.

Gemapalu empowers the economic sector through the establishment of a Credit Union (CU) named Gema Swadaya. CU Gema Swadaya is one of the missions or outcomes of Gemapalu's vision in realizing the independence and economic sovereignty of rural communities. Andi Median Yasnawi, Chairman of Gemapalu, stated that the focus of CU Gema Swadaya is to assist the community in the financial sector, as well as assisting

production and strengthening market networks. Isna as Chairman of the Governing Board of CU Gema Swadaya stated, in 2012 CU Gema Swadaya was established and continues to survive to maintain an independent rural economic movement. In 2018, CU Gema Swadaya was officially incorporated as a cooperative, has its own office, and total assets of more than four billion rupiah. Gema Swadaya CU members continue to grow and have spread to three districts in East Java, namely Lumajang, Jember, and Probolinggo.

The purpose of CU Gema Swadaya is to build access to financial services and economic development of rural communities to create an independent and sovereign village economically, politically, socially, and culturally. Three important aspects in the development of CU Gema Swadaya are (1) ideology or principles and values, (2) governance, and (3) education and organizing members. Ideology is what lies behind CU Gema Swadaya: as a tool to build economic independence and sovereignty, not only as a savings and loan service.

Principles: self-help, solidarity, mutual cooperation, democracy, growing together, regeneration, cooperation, and mutual trust to help themselves and the community. In realizing the vision and mission, there must be governance: institutional, financial and internal business, learning and empowerment of members, and the impact of changes on the environment. Meanwhile, to realize the principles and values/ideology there must be education, training, organization, and regeneration. CU Gema Swadaya also aims to increase the ability to gain access and financial education according to the needs of its members.

According to Isna, villages are victims of policy politics, therefore political power must be built from the countryside. Cooperatives become an instrument that helps the community, especially women, in accessing capital to produce and manage the market for the products produced as a social movement to create an alternative system to the existing system and has been marginalizing women.

There are four basic problems that are continuously faced by members in building and developing businesses: (1) capital and infrastructure, (2) skills as well as knowledge and innovation, (3) networks, and (4) markets. Cooperatives play an important role in ensuring economic, political, social and cultural sovereignty. Cooperating is a strategy not a goal, the cooperative system ensures that each member grows together, not just building economic assets, but having awareness of the social environment, then together making changes without weakening one another.

Gemapalu implements a strategy of economic empowerment supported by capacity building for socio-political empowerment. The economic empowerment movement through Gema Swadaya CU is carried out with indicators based on the Head of the Family (Kepala Keluarga/KK) who are encouraged to have a Family Financial Plan (Rencana Keuangan Keluarga/RKK) and are grouped in Community-Based Services (Layanan Berbasis Komunitas/LBK). The savings and loan pattern at CU Gema Swadaya is not for consumptive but productive and for increasing member income.

The strategy taken by Gemapalu with the community business model according to Isna is by (1) forming a community-based business group with a financial value chain and commodity supply chain model through Gema Swadaya CU, a community-based service program at the Rukun Tetangga (RT) level consisting of 10 families in the countryside, formerly known as Dasa Wisma; (2) manage the market independently called Gotong Royong Mart in which there are members who act as producers as well as consumers.

The management of Gotong Royong Mart is carried out by providing consumption for family members consisting of nine basic commodities (sembako), agricultural production and distribution facilities, telephone credit, electricity bills, water bills, educational facilities,

health facilities, transportation facilities, and so on; and (3) accommodate members' products in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, processed food, services, and trade.

During the Covid-19 pandemic and having adapted to the outbreak, Gemapalu and CU Gema Swadaya strengthened community gatherings. So far, Community-Based Services (LBK) are still serving members for depositing, withdrawing, and consulting as well as member education. In the context of organizing the people, services must be strengthened by the process of organizing the vision and mission of the community in economic, political, social and cultural sovereignty, so as not to be trapped in pragmatism.

Gemapalu uses various media to support their cooperative movement: website gemapalu.id; YouTube Gemapalu; Instagram Gemapalu and Gema Kedai; and Facebook CU Gema Swadaya. In addition, currently they have also managed movements and cooperatives with an Android-based mobile application. Finally, Gemapalu began to sew ideas together with social activists who have the same perspective with various elements (other social movements). Indah Amperawati, Deputy Regent of Lumajang at that time who inaugurated the Gema Swadaya CU office in 2018, gave great appreciation because it was considered to have contributed greatly to creating economic independence for the people of Lumajang.

5 Conclusion

According to the author, Gemapalu is one of the models for a new cooperative movement in Indonesia, starting with organizing rural communities before establishing a cooperative, in this case CU Gema Swadaya. This is a reflection of the importance of mass organizing before establishing cooperatives, in the study of the movement in general and in particular the movement for gender equality and justice, it is understood as the integration of social movements with the cooperative movement.

Apart from Gemapalu, in Indonesia there are other examples of cases that might be interesting for further studies: (1) the Indonesian Peasant Union (Serikat Petani Indonesia/SPI) with the National Indonesian Peasant Cooperative (Koperasi Petani Indonesia Nasional/KPIN), (2) the Federation of Indonesian Metal Workers Union (Federasi Serikat Pekerja Metal Indonesia/FSPMI) and the Joint Venture Cooperative for Prosperous Social Society (Koperasi Usaha Bersama Sejahtera Sosial Masyarakat/ Koperasi UBSSM), (3) Community of Young Lecturers at Andalas University with Self-sufficiency and Independent Cooperatives (KMDM); with various similarities and differences in their movements and roles.

References

- Emy Susanti, Implementasi Isu Gesi (Gender Equity & Social Inclusion) dalam Penelitian DRPM Ristekdikti, https://simlitabmas.ristekbrin.go.id/unduh_berkas/Implementasi%20Isu%20Gesi.pdf, accessed 17062021, 15:43.
- Gender Equality and Social Inclusion, UN Peace Fund for Nepal Strategies and Lessons Learned, https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Gender%20Equality%20and%20Social%20Inclusion_1.pdf, accessed 09062021, 10:19.
- Muhammad Syukri, Gender Equality in Indonesian New Developmental State: The Case of the New Participatory Village Governance, SMERU WORKING PAPER, The SMERU Research Institute, March 2021, p. 6-7.
- Rodrigo Gouveia, Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: The Co-operative Approach, <https://www.ica.coop/sites/default/files/Alliance-Coops&Gender-Brief.pdf>, accessed 17062021,

15:37.

Strategi Kesetaraan Gender & Inklusi Sosial, KOMPAK 2017-2018,
https://new.kompak.or.id/id/download/38/20170224_KOMPAK_GESI_Strategy_2017-18_ID_FINAL1.pdf, diakses 15062021, 21:55.
<https://lumajangsatu.com/baca/5-tahun-perjuangan-cu-gema-swadaya-jadi-koperasi-beraset-milyaran>,
accessed 19062021, 13:41.
<http://satunama.org/1390/menabung-tidak-hanya-kegiatan-ekonomi-tapi-juga-tindakan-politik/>, accessed
19062021, 13:35.
<https://suaraindonesia-news.com/anggota-cu-masih-terus-hadapi-persoalan-dalam-mengembangkan-usaha/>,
accessed 19062021, 13:47.