

**International  
Institute of  
Social Studies**

*Erasmus*

**Deconstructing Interventions in Childcare by Local NGOs in  
Indonesia**

A Research Paper presented by:

***ANISA***  
(Indonesia)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Social Policy For Development  
(SPD)**

Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Roy Huijsmans  
Dr. Gerard McCarthy

The Hague, The Netherlands  
December 2025

***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

***Inquiries:***

International Institute of Social Studies  
P.O. Box 29776  
2502 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460  
e: [info@iss.nl](mailto:info@iss.nl)  
w: [www.iss.nl](http://www.iss.nl)  
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>  
twitter: [@issnl](https://twitter.com/issnl)

***Location:***

Kortenaerkade 12  
2518 AX The Hague  
The Netherlands

# Acknowledgments

Thank you to Allah SWT for Your love and grace, providing the opportunity to continue learning.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the NGO that served as the location for my research.

To Roy Huijsmans, my supervisor and mentor. I am deeply grateful for the guidance and motivation provided throughout the completion of this research.

To Gerard McCarthy, my second reader. Thank you for your insightful suggestions and input throughout the writing process of this RP.

To my mother, father, and family, thank you for your motivation and prayers.

To the LPDP (Indonesian Education Endowment Fund) Scholarship program for providing me with the opportunity to pursue this study.

To my friends at ISS and PPI Kota Den Haag for their time and companionship.

To myself, who never gave up and continued to believe that you could overcome this.

# Contents

## Chapter 1

### Introduction:

#### **Childcare Amidst Women's Migration and Gender Inequality and the Role of NGOs in Indonesia**

1.1 Background of the Problem	1
1.2 Justification and Relevance	5
1.3 Research objectives and research questions	5
1.4 Thesis Structure	6

## **Chapter 2: Theoretical Foundations and Analytical Framework: Social Reproduction, NGOs in Development, and Governmentality**

2.0 Introduction	7
2.1 The Concept of Social Reproduction	7
2.1.1 Origins and Basic Concepts	7
2.1.2 Dimensions of Social Reproduction	7
2.1.3 Social Reproduction and Capitalism	8
2.1.4 Social Reproduction, Female Migration, and Gender Inequality	8
2.2 The Concept of NGOs in Development	10
2.2.1 The Concept and Role of NGOs in Development	10
2.2.2 Power Relations: NGOs, the State, Donors, and the Neoliberal Regime	
2.2.3 Implications and Reflections on the Role of NGOs	10
2.3 The Concept of Governmentality	12
2.3.1 The Concept of Governmentality	
2.3.2 Technology of Government	
2.3.3 The Production of Subjectivity and Non-State Actors	
2.3.4 The Role of the State and Government Programs	

## **Chapter 3: Methodology: A Comparative CDA of NGO Texts and Interventions in Indonesia**

3.0 Introduction	16
3.1 Research Design	
3.2 Data Sources	
3.3 Analysis Techniques	
3.4 Researcher Positionality	
3.5 Research Ethics	
3.6 Research Limitations and Challenges	

## **Chapter 4: Small NGOs in Indonesia: Institutional Conditions, Donor Relations, and Implications for Childcare Governance**

4.0 Introduction	22
4.1 Characteristics of Small NGOs in Indonesia and Their Survival Strategies	
4.2 Donor Relations	
4.3 Three NGOs in Focus of the Research	

**Chapter 5: Framing and Governing Care: NGO Rationalities, Technologies, and Subject Formation** 30

5.0 Introduction

5.1 NGO Problem Framing

5.1.1 Tanoker Community: Framing Childcare as a Shared Responsibility

5.1.2 Damar and Rifka Annisa: Framing Childcare Requires Father Involvement

5.2 NGO Interventions

5.2.1 Tanoker Intervention

5.2.2 Intervention of Damar and Rifka Annisa

5.3 Comparative Discussion

5.3.1 Framing Patterns of the Social Reproduction Crisis: The Role of NGOs in the Politics of Care

5.3.2 Patterns of Governmentality and Isomorphism: Homogenization of Forms of Intervention

5.3.3 Power Relations: Negotiations with Donors and the State

**Chapter 6: Governing Care in Practice: Conclusions and Recommendations**

## **ABSTRACT**

The migration of women and gender inequality put pressure on social reproduction in Indonesia, one example being childcare. The absence of the state in providing childcare services has prompted local communities and NGOs to take on this role. This study stems from the questions of how and why small NGOs in Indonesia frame the issue of childcare due to the pressures of female migration and gender inequality, how this framing shapes their interventions, and how this study is important for development studies in viewing the role of NGOs as state actors amid the limitations of NGOs and their relationship with donors and the state on the issue of childcare.

This research focuses on the interventions carried out by three NGOs in Indonesia, namely the Tanoker Community in East Java, Damar in Lampung, and Rifka Annisa in Yogyakarta. These three NGOs were selected to examine how small NGOs in Indonesia respond to the childcare crisis through different entry points (migration and gender inequality), yet face similar challenges related to the absence of the state, negotiations with local needs and donors, and survival strategies. This comparison is analytically valuable because it reveals common patterns and specific variations in the framing and intervention strategies carried out in the context of each community.

The research method uses secondary data, with the main empirical basis being NGO documents such as reports, modules, books, and publications. Documents from NGOs are treated as “discourse facts” of how NGOs define problems and offer solutions. Meanwhile, limited interviews were conducted as supporting evidence. This approach not only allowed researchers to see how framing and interventions were formed, but also the factors that influenced why these choices emerged.

The theory of social reproduction was used to understand the challenges of childcare as a crisis arising from female migration, where children are at risk of dropping out of school and other social vulnerabilities. To address this, Tanoker developed collaborative parenting through schools for mothers, fathers, grandparents, and children's forums.

Meanwhile, Damar and Rifka Annisa framed childcare as a result of unequal division of labor within the family and gender-based violence, where patriarchal norms are considered an obstacle to positive parenting. To overcome this, both NGOs run the same program, Prevention+, with a Gender Transformative Approach (GTA) through classes for mothers, fathers, and teenage girls and boys. Damar and Rifka Annisa emerged from the same donor framework, while the difference lies in their implementation. Damar emphasizes village-based advocacy, while Rifka Annisa emphasizes legal advocacy and counselling.

Social reproduction analysis shows that Tanoker uses community solidarity (mothers, fathers, grandparents) to maintain the care of migrant workers' children, while Damar and Rifka Annisa emphasize the redistribution of gender roles by encouraging male involvement. This redistribution is then institutionalized by NGOs not only at the family level but also at the village, legal, and formal service levels.

An analysis of governmentality shows that schools/classes and modules function as technologies of government used to introduce and normalize certain values considered ideal in childcare.

## Chapter 1

### Introduction: Childcare Amidst Women's Migration and Gender Inequality and the Role of NGOs in Indonesia

#### 1.1 Background of the Problem

The term social reproduction refers to all activities and responsibilities that ensure the continuity of daily life, including care, education, and the reproduction of the next generation, including child rearing (Laslett and Brenner, 1989, 382-383). Historically, social reproduction work was carried out within the family; responsibilities were restructured based on gender, and domestic and non-domestic work was divided within the household. (Laslett and Brenner, 1989, 381-385).

In her review of Joan Tronto's *Moral Boundaries*, Hirschmann (2018, 5) states that childcare is often considered a private domain. Several feminist thinkers pushed for the inclusion of care issues in the public and political spheres, which was later referred to as the "care revolution" in the 1980s and 1990s. However, it is important to note that this achievement in its implementation is not a global achievement, highly dependent on the social, economic, and policy contexts of each country. In the literature, Hirschmann (2018, 5-6) states that there has been an improvement in the care landscape in 2018, marked by increased male participation in childcare, the commercialization of household services, and broader access to services for the disabled and the elderly. However, several things have not yet been achieved, such as strong public support, significant state funding, and an equal division of labor based on gender. Hirschmann also emphasizes what Tronto said; that care is not only a gender issue but also a power relation and structural inequality.

In the context of Southeast Asia and Indonesia, the challenges of caregiving are influenced by female migration, even though this migration has become a strategy for women and men in Southeast Asia to improve their quality of life and avoid food insecurity and unemployment in their home countries. This culture of migration has become attractive as a means of escaping poverty and opening gender pathways for women to achieve equal or even higher incomes than men due to the high demand for feminist labor. These women also persevere in migration due to low employment opportunities in their home countries and to improve the quality of life for themselves and their families (Yeoh et al, 2023, p. 422).

Indonesia is one of the main countries sending migrant workers in Asia (IOM, 2024). The chart below shows the number of international migrant workers placed from 2020 to 2024 and placements by gender.

**Figure 1. Data on Indonesian Migrant Workers, 2020-2024**



Source: BP2MI, 2024 (edited by author)

Based on the chart, the number of migrant workers has increased from year to year, except in 2021, due to the closure of destination countries because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Meanwhile, based on gender, women dominate.

Based on the provinces sending migrant workers in 2024, the main provinces sending migrant workers are East Java (79,339), followed by Central Java (66,611), West Java (61,556), West Nusa Tenggara (31,031), and Lampung (25,162). Meanwhile, in 2022-2024, there were 361,055 married migrant workers, 316,234 unmarried migrant workers, and 117,970 divorced migrant workers (BP2MI, 2024).

Most migrants experience a “chain of precariousness” throughout their lives, repeating a two-year cycle of employment contracts, unable to return to their home countries or deciding not to return for fear of losing their jobs or no longer being competitive for the next contract (Silvey and Parreñas, 2020, Yeoh et al, 2023, p. 423).

As unskilled or low-skilled workers who are considered guest workers and temporary laborers, their circumstances do not allow them to bring their families with them, and they may return when their labor is no longer needed. As a result, the children of migrant workers in Southeast

Asia often experience long-term separation due to the rigid migration regime in Southeast Asia (Hoang, et al, 2015, p. 273). Several studies show that children experience more difficulties when their mothers migrate than when their fathers migrate (DeWaard et al., 2018; Dreby & Adkins, 2010; Graham & Jordan, 2011; Liu et al., 2009; Wen & Lin, 2012).

Female migrants are involved in temporal conflicts between the demands of paid productive work and unpaid reproductive work. These migrant women also strive to maintain their families' reproduction (Yeoh, et al, 2023, p. 414). The wider community often considers mothers to be the primary caregivers (Dreby, 2006; Hondagneu Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 2005). If mothers cannot meet these standards, they may feel stressed and guilty. Meanwhile, the children of migrant workers may feel that something is missing in their lives (Caarls, et al, 2018, p.1).

Parents who are far from home then entrust the care of their children to single parents or relatives in their home country, causing millions of children to grow up without the presence of their father or mother (Hoang, et al, 2015, p. 263). Meanwhile, caregivers play an important role in the functioning of transnational families as mediators between children and migrating parents and are important for the psychological well-being of children (Mazzucato et al, 2015). In terms of substitute caregivers, migrant mothers usually choose female family members, namely their mothers (grandmothers) or sisters (aunts) (Åkesson, Carling, & Drotbohm, 2012; Banfi & Boccagni, 2011; Haagsman, 2015; Parreñas, 2005) (Caarls, et al, 2018, p.3). Studies on migration in Asia show that, in general, extended family members, who are often women, take over the caregiving tasks left behind by absent mothers (Gamburd 2000; Parrenas 2005; Save the Children 2006; SMC 2004).

However, migration is not the only factor; caregiving challenges also arise from gender inequality within families. This is evident when men have to make many adjustments in carrying out the reproductive tasks left behind by women when they migrate, while women are also expected to take on the role of breadwinner, which has traditionally been considered the responsibility of men (Hoang and Yeoh, 2011, p.718).

Within society, there are long-standing gender boundaries between the public and domestic spheres occupied by men and women. There is a threat to male power in the domestic sphere, where the old idea is that women are the caregivers and men are the primary breadwinners (Brittan 1989, 84).

In Indonesia, a successful masculine identity is closely linked to a man's ability to provide for his family (Elmhirst (2007, 230). Male identity is also seen in terms of men's non-participation in housework, including childcare. It is considered normal in society for women to have a double burden and to be expected to take on paid work. Meanwhile, expectations for men to take on reproductive roles are not as strong, because women are expected to spend more time caring for both children and men themselves. Men who do housework and childcare are often seen as "helping out." Even when women take on the role of breadwinner, men do not increase

their share of or refuse to do household chores and childcare altogether for fear of undermining their masculinity and self-esteem (Hoang and Yeoh, 2011, pp. 719-720).

Childcare and daily care delegated to female family members, rather than fathers, upholds normative domestic gender roles and maintains a conventional gender-based division of labor (Hoang and Yeoh, 2011, pp. 721-722).

A study conducted in two districts in Indonesia shows that there is no specific support from the district government or lower administrative levels in facilitating the needs of migrant workers' children. There are only initiatives carried out by communities and volunteers who care about migrant workers' children, such as childcare practices for families left behind, maintaining communication between families and migrant mothers, and managing remittances. The involvement of both individuals and groups in the family and village spheres aims to reduce the adverse effects experienced by migrant families (Rizky, et al, 2019).

One of the interventions carried out by the community is that carried out by the Tanoker Community in Ledokombo Village, Ledokombo District, Jember, East Java. Tanoker developed a "*pengasuhan gotong royong*" (in Indonesian term, gotong royong: cooperation, in Module and Bulletin as called: collaborative parenting) model in response to the large number of female migrant workers who go abroad to work. The collaborative parenting model is parenting that is not only carried out by family agents, but other agents are also involved together, caring for and paying attention to the children of migrant workers, such as the community, NGOs, educational institutions, religious institutions, health institutions, and other institutions (Tanoker, 2021). Meanwhile, Damar Lampung and Rifka Annisa Yogyakarta, through the Prevention+ program, intervene in childcare by encouraging fathers to share more equal roles in the family, including childcare, through community discussions, counseling, advocacy, and strategic campaigns (Rutgers, End Term Review, 2020, 5-7).

This condition shows that childcare initiatives in Indonesia generally implemented by NGOs. However, both communities and NGOs have different perspectives and approaches in defining and framing childcare issues. It is this difference that makes the role of NGOs important to study in greater depth. Therefore, this study is going to examine in greater depth how NGOs frame childcare issues and how this framing leads to interventions.

## **1.2 Justification and Relevance**

Studies on childcare in Indonesia are still limited to psychological and social aspects. How NGOs frame childcare issues and interventions are still limited. This research is relevant because it highlights the role of NGOs in shaping discourse through the modules and interventions they implement. By analysing how and why NGOs frame issues and implement interventions, this research fills a gap in the literature on migration, childcare, and the role of non-state actors.

### **1.2.1 Contribution and Scope**

Theoretical Contribution: This study uses theories of social reproduction, governmentality, and NGOs in development to examine the role of NGOs as non-state actors in childcare issues.

Empirical Contribution: This study compares three local NGOs in Indonesia: Komunitas Tanoker, Damar Lampung, and Rifka Annisa Yogyakarta. The study utilizes NGO documents (modules, bulletins, reports) and limited interviews.

The scope and unit of analysis in this study are the framing of childcare and the interventions carried out by three local NGOs in Indonesia. The documentation period is 2015-2025.

### **1.3 Research objectives and research questions**

This study aims to:

1. Analyze how and why NGOs frame childcare issues in Indonesia in the context of migration and gender inequality
2. Explain how this framing is realized in interventions and the reasons for choosing these interventions.

#### **Main research question:**

How and why do NGOs in Indonesia frame childcare issues and shape interventions in the context of migration and gender inequality?

#### **Sub-questions:**

1. How do NGOs define and frame childcare issues?
2. How is this framing translated into interventions and why do NGOs choose these interventions?

### **1.4 Thesis Structure**

This thesis is divided into 6 chapters:

Chapter 1 Introduction regarding the background, justification and relevance, research objectives and questions, and thesis structure.

Chapter 2 Theoretical review and theoretical framework regarding the concepts of social reproduction, governmentality, and NGOs in development and the Indonesian context

Chapter 3 Research methodology regarding research design, data sources, analytical techniques, research position, research limitations, and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 The role of small NGOs in Indonesia regarding the characteristics of small NGOs in Indonesia, their relationship with donors, survival strategies, and case studies of 3 NGOs

Chapter 5 NGO problem framing and intervention: regarding NGO analysis of childcare issues and how this is translated into interventions in the form of modules and promoted values.

Chapter 6 Conclusion summarizing the main findings, theoretical and practical contributions, and directions for further research.

## **Chapter 2: Theoretical Foundations and Analytical Framework: Social Reproduction, NGOs in Development, and Governmentality**

### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter utilizes three complementary theories. Social reproduction provides context for why childcare emerged as a program amidst migration and gender inequality. The concept of NGOs in development (focusing on Indonesia) explains the rationale for NGO framing and interventions, which are shaped by power relations with donors and the state. Governmentality examines NGO documents (modules, books, classes, curricula, etc.) as governmental technologies that promote values or produce subjects deemed "ideal."

### **2.1 The Concept of Social Reproduction**

#### **2.1.1 Origins and Basic Concepts**

The theory of social reproduction originates from Marxist thinking to expose the "hidden space" of capitalist production and feminist studies that place the reproduction of labor and daily life at the centre of analysis. Within this framework, Lambardozzi & Pitts (2019, 580) define social reproduction as the domain where life is maintained and reproduced, describing how daily activities such as caregiving, education, and healthcare are an integral part of social reproduction. Meanwhile, Rao (2021, 39) states that from a feminist perspective, social reproduction is not only formal economics but also includes the production and maintenance of labor itself. This approach emphasizes that domestic and biological work, which is not usually recognized monetarily in a capitalist economy, means that social reproduction goes beyond the production of capital goods.

#### **2.1.2 Dimensions of Social Reproduction**

Bakker (2007) defines social reproduction into three aspects; namely biological reproduction related to social constructions of motherhood. Second, labor force reproduction related to the necessities of life such as education and training. Third, care, which occurs in family and kinship relationships, and is socialized through state intervention. This theory implies that social reproduction is not only about biological work, namely childbirth, but also the process of maintaining the labor force through food, housing, education, and so on, as well as care work, namely caring for children, parents, and other family members (Cantillon et al, 2023, pp. 45-46).

Meanwhile, Lao (2021, 40) categorizes social reproduction into four aspects. The first is biological reproduction, namely giving birth to children. The second is providing care to children, parents, and other family members. Third, producing goods and services to sustain life, such as producing food and beverages, collecting water and fuel. Fourth, reproducing cultural forms and practices that maintain racial, gender, ethnic, and caste differentiation. In other words, social reproduction encompasses the entire process of maintaining daily life physically, socially, and culturally in reproducing society.

### **2.1.3 Social Reproduction and Capitalism**

In the capitalist system, social life needs are always in conflict with the goals of capital (value accumulation). Fraser (Cantillon, 2023, 56) states that capitalism “free rides” by not paying or recognizing its value, and this results in the vulnerability and frequent occurrence of crises in social reproduction. In other words, the capitalist economy is highly dependent on and even exploits the free fulfillment of life's needs such as production, care, and social interaction, but does not provide monetary value for this work.

Meanwhile, in this pamphlet, Dalla Costa and James (1975) argue that there has been a degradation of the role of the working class to that of housewives, where women are trapped and isolated in the home, but this has become commonplace, even though women do not only produce for household matters but also produce labor. In addition, SRT also produces other things outside the household, namely low-paid activities such as in the education, health, social care, and basic infrastructure sectors. (Cantillon et al, 2023, p. 49-53)

This is added to by Nguyen et al (2024, 151), who argue that in the Global South, many workers do not earn enough to cover the costs of reproduction, so they are forced to seek other sources of income or take on debt to cover the shortfall.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, this social reproduction crisis became even more apparent. This is in line with what Mezzadri (2022, 380) stated, namely that during the COVID-19 pandemic, the capitalist process was vulnerable and revealed the inability of the state and the market to provide health, education, and welfare for its citizens.

Furthermore, Mezzadri (2022, p. 386) states that in the southern hemisphere, informal employment dominates. According to Agarwal (2021) in Mezzadri (2022, p. 386), during COVID-19, the sphere of reproduction supported capitalist life and overcame the employment crisis.

### **2.1.4 Social Reproduction, Female Migration, and Gender Inequality**

Social reproduction is also interrelated with female migration and global gender inequality. Boccagni (2013, 222-223) states that many female migrant workers are involved in the global care chain, and this cross-border practice ultimately gives rise to new social needs such as leisure time for rest, self-care, or social support. However, because it is cross-border, these needs are often invisible to national policies. Furthermore, gender inequality is also evident in these transnational care practices, as migrant women often experience a double burden: in addition to working outside the home, they still carry out tasks and responsibilities for their families in their hometowns. This gender inequality occurs because social reproduction is never taken into account in economic and political arrangements.

With the increase in migrant workers to meet the demand for care workers in the receiving country, this has led to the neglect of care for themselves and their relatives (Nguyen, 2024, pp. 222-223).

Furthermore, (Laslett & Brenner 1989) added that feminists understand the idea of social reproduction as a form of preserving gender inequality, but this is different from class inequality. Furthermore, in Bezanson & Luxton 2006, Bhattacharya 2017a; Mezzadri & Fan 2018; Stevano, Ali & Jamieson 2021; Rao et al. 2021; Stevano 2022), It is understood that social reproduction is related to forms of exploitation and oppression not only based on gender and class but also on race, ethnicity, caste, migration status, and so on (Cantillon et al, 2023, p. 47)

Meanwhile, the process of privatizing social reproduction also deepens inequalities between households, where wealthier households utilize social reproductive work by paid domestic workers, who are often migrant women (Anderson 1997; Fraser 2017). Under the regime of financial capitalism, reproduction is regulated in two ways: it is commercialized for those who can afford it and privatized for those who cannot (Cantillon et al, 2023, pp. 54-56).

The crisis of social reproduction is largely related to gendered activities and is characterized by the exploitation of paid workers, female labor, migrants, and unpaid people of color (see England 2005; Glenn 1992; Perrons 2009) (Lombardozzi, 2020, pp. 575-576).

According to Gideon 2008; Whitehead 2009) 54, ultimately poor households must bear increased responsibilities with longer working hours, balancing reproductive and productive work, and taking low-paying and insecure jobs (Cantillon et al, 2023, p.54).

According to Folbre (1986) in (Mezzadri, 2022, p. 383), the marketization of household activities in the US began in the 1980s. Over five decades, the North-South divide has led to the marketization of social reproduction and, in response to the declining wages of the working class, reproductive issues have been resolved at a low cost.

Their children, who became dependents in their home countries, and social protection for the families they left behind, were stigmatized in the domestic public discourse as bad mothers and the like (Sorucu et al., 2008). This is a form of gender-related reaction to the increasing number of female migrants in the care chain (Ozyegin and Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008; Parreñas, 2010).

Meanwhile, women have negotiated in various ways, namely through remittances, loyalty, and ties to their communities of origin (Nguyen, 2024, pp. 227-228).

Remittances, money transfers, and goods are sent by migrant workers as a form of obligation and attachment to their families. Then, they return home periodically to provide direct care as a form of physical presence. They also use technology to maintain long-distance communication, although the challenge lies in the quality of care itself (Bernhard et al., 2009; Merolla, 2010).

These remittances also show that migrant parents have worked hard, honoring their commitment to a better life for their families in their home countries. According to Razavi (2007: 15), migrant workers often conflate love and money as prerequisites for effective long-

distance care, while for the families left behind, remittances activate the commodification of care (Nguyen, 2024, pp. 231-234).

Transnational caregiving requires invisible social and emotional costs when families are separated, which is done to maintain cross-border family relationships. Bernhard et al. (2009: 5)

According to Kofman and Raghuram (2009: 6), physical closeness is necessary as a condition for carrying out caregiving tasks. However, in transnational caregiving, more than one environment is needed, and this requires interaction from many actors, namely migrant parents, children, and caregivers who replace parents (Nguyen, 2024, pp. 228-231).

## **2.2 The Concept of NGOs in Development**

### **2.2.1 The Concept and Role of NGOs in Development**

Since the 1980s, when donor agencies began to shift most of their aid to non-state channels, NGOs have become important actors in the global development landscape. Lewis & Kanji (2009, 1) describe NGOs not only as providers of social services to vulnerable groups, but also as drivers of public policy change. NGOs have three characteristics: self-governing, non-profit organizations, and social orientation. However, priorities, organizational structure, and relationships with the state are vulnerable when NGOs rely on donor funding (Banks et al., 2015, 708).

NGOs cannot be viewed as administrative, formal, and structured organizations, because the social and political context is an arena where development discourse is continually negotiated by local actors, donors, and communities. Therefore, NGOs are fragmented and multifaceted, with social networks constantly changing (Hilhorst, 2003, 5-7). The dual role of NGOs, both as implementers and advocates in the development context, is when NGOs act as liaisons between communities and higher powers, not simply as providers of basic services (Hilhorst, 2009, 5).

The role of mediators between communities and international donors has been evident since the 1980s, when NGOs played a role in aid distribution in areas with limited access (De Haan, 2009, 7). The famines in Ethiopia and the Sahel amply demonstrate the increasing involvement of NGOs in the international aid system today.

New values within the development agenda, such as "empowerment," "gender equality," and "participation," represent the normative function of NGOs as agents of social change. However, within the development arena, NGOs remain part of power relations, so these values are not free from politics (Hilhorst, 2003, 12).

### **2.2.2 Power Relations: NGOs, the State, Donors, and the Neoliberal Regime**

The phenomenon of "industrialization of aid," where aid continues to operate as an economic system that requires professionalism and remains governed by donor control, donors and

governments utilize NGOs as implementers of development projects, where NGOs are required to follow the logic of efficiency and financial accountability. This ambivalent, collaborative yet fraught with tension is the nature of the relationship between NGOs, donors, and the state (De Haan, 2009, xi).

These practices can be seen in developing countries, for example, in Myanmar. McCarthy (2023, 61) states that non-state actors such as NGOs and religious foundations often perform social service roles. The process of "welfare capitalism" occurs when the state, economic actors, and philanthropists retain control and a monopoly on political legitimacy.

These relationships are not always symbolic. Lewis & Kanji (2009, 18) observe that in some contexts, NGOs are perceived as undermining state authority. This highlights a fundamental dilemma: on the one hand, NGOs are strategic partners for states and donors, but on the other, they have the potential to create new dependencies that ultimately marginalize the role of public institutions in the long run.

The role of NGOs cannot be separated from the political-economic context of neoliberalism. Lewis & Kanji (2009, 48) state that since the 1990s, the rapid growth of NGOs has been linked to the retreat of the state and the rise of neoliberal governance. NGOs have become an extension of the free-market agenda that promotes efficiency and participation, which is in line with the managerial logic of donors.

Through the lens of governmentality, Hilhorst (2003, 14) explains that NGOs are not only policy implementers but also part of the system of power and knowledge that determines the subjects of development. The role of NGOs as instruments of social regulation is to normalize intervention through moral language such as empowerment and participation.

Meanwhile, through the concept of social outsourcing, McCarthy (2023, 201) observes how post-socialist liberalization encourages the "privatization of social responsibility," which reinforces the dominant economic-political order. Social responsibility transferred to the private sector, charities, and philanthropy continues because it is in line with the interests and ideals of various parties. NGOs contribute to maintaining existing social structures rather than challenging them.

NGOs become a moral-political arena. The role of social services carried out by NGOs can ultimately encourage government irresponsibility, allowing McCarthy (2023, 150). This role of NGOs is described by Lewis & Kanji (2009, 20) as "moral actors in an immoral world."

Societal behavior can also be shaped by the donor framework, a phenomenon referred to as the "aid industry paradox," where the aid system itself can become a tool of social control (De Haan, 2009, 45).

### **2.2.3 Implications and Reflections on the Role of NGOs**

Criticism of NGOs focuses on legitimacy, accountability, and the reproduction of inequality. Lewis & Kanji (2009, 45) state that NGOs are extensions of colonial and neoliberal logics that are perceived as bringing Western values into local structures. McChrarty (2023, 150) also adds that the government's commitment and capacity to address economic injustice can be diminished when there is a dependence on philanthropy.

In the context of global NGOs, Hilhorst (2003, 18-21) points out the contradiction and paradox. NGOs sometimes reinforce the very inequalities they seek to change when they focus more on serving donor interests than listening to community needs. Ultimately, NGOs that focus more on administration and project results can erode closeness to grassroots communities. This is referred to as prioritizing “upward accountability (to donors)” over “downward accountability” (to communities).

In practice, unequal assistance, marginalization of minority groups, and increasing inequality are the impacts that can arise when the welfare capitalist system is managed by non-state institutions that are mostly dominant social or religious groups McCarthy (2023, 96). Meanwhile, Lewis & Kanji (2009, 73) see the community being invited to participate, but it is only a formality because it still does not have the power to make decisions as the "tyranny of participation".

The implication is that social justice must be achieved through structural change and equalizing power relations, not simply through resource redistribution. Even within a neoliberal system, NGOs remain spaces for moral and political resistance (McCarthy, 2023, 201). NGOs are expected to be responsible and reflective as institutions within the socio-political arena (Hilhorst, 2003, 22).

## **2.3 The Concept of Governmentality**

### **2.3.1 The Concept of Governmentality**

The term "biopolitics" describes how power regulates "life itself," both individual and collective, which includes physical and mental capacities, health, and reproduction. Governments play a role by managing populations or making them "productive" and "compliant," a concept known as governmentality (McKee, 2006, 466).

According to Foucault, governmentality is broadly understood as directing human behavior through a series of techniques and procedures. The art of government must also answer these three questions: who or what should be governed? why should they be governed? and how should they be governed? (Rose et al., 2006, p. 83-84)

Those governed are members of a group to be preserved or eliminated, legal subjects whose behavior must be constrained by law, individuals to be disciplined, or even individuals to be liberated. This perspective also recognizes that various types of governing authority exist in

various locations and with different goals, not just those of state actors. (Rose et al., 2006, p. 85)

Governmentality not only indicates how government operates and what it seeks to achieve from its citizens, but also how life should be lived (Rose et al., 2006, p. 95).

Governmentality is the exercise of a specific and complex form of power shaped by institutions, procedures, analysis and reflection, calculation, and tactics (Foucault, 1979, p. 20) (Rose et al., 2006, p. 86).

Thus, governmentality is a complex form of power shaped by specific institutions, procedures, and tactics.

### **2.3.2 Technology of Government**

Three concepts in governmentality are government, rationalities, and technologies.

The government must act using various strategies and tactics to ensure the well-being of everyone, regulate processes related to the population, laws governing wealth, health, longevity, work, and so on (Rose et al., 2006, p. 87).

Rationalization is the process or way of thinking for running a government, understanding who would be governed, having knowledge and planning regarding social processes and economic access. Rationalization is a consistent, continuously modified process of addressing various problems and identifying solutions, maintaining thinking styles and technological preferences (Rose et al., 2006, p. 88).

Technology is a strategy, government formula, tactic for managing a population, implementing a program, or corrective intervention within a program (Rose et al., 2006, p. 88). Donzelot (1979, 77) adds that technology creates "practical objects" in providing measurable interventions in government programs.

Concrete practices such as training, educational programs, curricula, and individual modification aimed not only at acquiring skills, but also attitudinal meanings are categorized as technologies of government, namely conditioning citizens to behave in accordance with state goals (Rudnycky, 2004, 413).

Furthermore, ethics is understood as technologies of the self, or specific techniques for how humans understand and act upon themselves, aimed at self-development (Rose et al., 2006, p. 90).

The most prominent thing in this approach is how we are regulated not only individually but also collectively in every realm of life from home, workplace, school, hospital, city, region, by government bodies both national and transnational (Rose et al, 2006, p. 101). Ware et al (2016, 506) add that government discourse spreads through narratives to control subjects at every level of the population to create citizens who are most in line with government policies. This social

control is through surveillance, obedience and regulation within the social structure. As part of the social policy strategy, disciplinary technologies such as identification and stricter surveillance are used for citizens deemed at risk (Ware et al, 2016, 509).

### **2.3.3 The Production of Subjectivity and Non-State Actors**

Wells (2014, 339) states that individual or subject identities are not static; they are shaped by government discourse and practices. Governmentality theory examines the role of rationality and governmental techniques in producing subjectivity. In practice, both the government and other non-state actors design narratives and programs that create citizens to see themselves as certain types of subjects or internalize certain values and norms, such as being responsible, productive, or ideal family caretakers.

Governmentality also highlights the role of non-state actors. Wells (2014, 342) states that government encompasses not only state institutions but also other bodies with similar goals. Rudnyckyj (2004, 408) adds that state institutions such as NGOs are no longer opponents of state power but rather work to strengthen it.

According to Barry et al., 1996; Burchell, social governance is a realm of government where power aims to shape, guide, and influence the behavior of others, not through command, but through the organization of action spaces. Social governance is defined as a modern government technology that empowers individuals as subjects and contributes to maintaining social order (Seki, 2015, p. 1253).

This type of governance emphasizes norms and ethics for citizens, such as self-reliance, volunteerism, entrepreneurship, responsibility, productivity, and empowerment, to form responsible communities and invest in themselves. The burden of reproducing this solidarity is shifted to citizens, who are collectively responsible for the public good (Muehlebach, 2012, p. 11–12). (Seki, 2015, p. 1255–1256).

Foucault stated that the mechanisms of government operate not only within state institutions but also outside of them, extending across domains typically considered separate, such as the state, civil society, the family, and even private life (Ferguson et al., 2002).

### **2.3.4 The Role of the State and Government Programs**

Although many government activities are carried out by non-state actors, the state still plays a role, such as defining problems and finding solutions, one way being through policies, programs, etc. A way for the state to avoid complete withdrawal from government is by facilitating, stimulating, shaping, and encouraging self-governance activities by non-state entities (Osborne and Rose, 1999: 751).

In governance studies, programs generally receive more attention, such as the goals to be achieved, the rationale behind them, and the strategies and techniques used to achieve them. Practices, processes, and events are reflected in programs and produce specific effects. The

results of government interventions can be examined at various spatial scales and occur directly and indirectly, planned and unplanned (Li, 2007, p. 279-280).

Overall, the three theories used in this study—social reproduction, NGOs in development, and governmentality—are interconnected in understanding the framing and interventions of childcare carried out in the context of local NGOs in Indonesia. Social reproduction theory provides context for how care work, often carried out by women, is structurally underrecognized despite supporting social and economic life. The perspective on NGOs in development provides an understanding that NGOs, as non-state actors, play a role in filling the gaps left by the state in providing social services, but exhibit new power dynamics influenced by projects and donors. Governmentality theory is also used to interpret the discourse, modules, and interventions carried out by NGOs as governmental technologies in shaping community values, behaviors, and subjectivities. By using these three theories, this study seeks to uncover the reasons for the framing and interventions carried out by NGOs, where power and values are negotiated with the state, donors, and communities.

## **Chapter 3: Methodology: A Comparative CDA of NGO Texts and Interventions in Indonesia**

### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter would explain the methodology used to answer the research questions regarding the framing of childcare issues and the forms of intervention used by three NGOs in Indonesia: Tanoker, Damar, and Rifka Annisa. This research is qualitative and interpretive, with a primary focus on Critical Discourse Analysis of NGO documents as social practices, with limited interviews as a complement. According to Janks (1997, 329), CDA originates from language, which is not merely a means of communication but also reflects part of social action. Therefore, this research is going to examine NGO documents as discourses that reflect social values or power relations in childcare issues. The structure of this chapter consists of the research design, data sources, analysis techniques, researcher positionality, ethical considerations, and limitations and challenges of the study.

### **3.1 Research Design**

This research design uses a qualitative comparative case study approach. The comparative cases were purposively selected for three NGOs, Tanoker (Jember), Damar (Lampung), and Rifka Annisa (Yogyakarta) to allow the researcher to capture contextual variations in framing and interventions in response to the childcare crisis.

This approach was chosen because this study compares the similarities and differences in the discourse and practices of parenting developed by the three NGOs, rather than simply understanding a single phenomenon in general. The comparative element focuses on a systematic comparison of:

- 1) How each NGO defines and frames the childcare issue.
- 2) How this framing translates into interventions, and how the local social, institutional, and political context (relationships with the state, donors, and communities) influences the choice of interventions.

These three NGOs were selected purposively because they represent a variety of contexts, namely:

- 1) Tanoker, a community-based organization with a "gotong royong: collaborative" approach.
- 2) Damar and Rifka Annisa, NGOs within the Prevention+ program framework and from the same donor (Rutgers WPF Indonesia), focus on the Gender Transformative Approach, but demonstrate differences in their focus on implementation strengths and socio-political relations at the local level.

Based on this comparison, this study seeks to understand how the caregiving crisis caused by migration and gender inequality is addressed based on local conditions and institutional

dynamics. The research design was inductive and reflective; this research design was not rigid; reformulations and adjustments were made throughout the research process and field findings, making it inductive and reflective (Maxwell 2005, viii).

This study also utilized limited semi-structured interviews with several key informants as supporting data. This was done to clarify the context and test the interpretation of the documents. It is hoped that general patterns and contextual differences related to NGO framing and intervention strategies can be identified through this combination of comparative case studies and qualitative data.

### **3.2 Data Sources**

The data sources for this research are NGO documents in the form of modules, reports, and publications, as well as secondary data related to the condition of NGOs in Indonesia, as well as limited interviews as a supplement. These documents consist of:

#### **1) NGO Documents:**

The main documents of this research include:

- a. Tanoker: mother's school and child forum modules, community bulletins, parenting books, and online publications.
- b. Damar and Rifka Annisa: mother/father/youth class modules, reports, minutes, and online publications.

These documents were chosen as the primary research medium because they materialize and discursively represent NGO values, ideologies, and intervention strategies. This research analyses how the concepts of care, gender roles, and family responsibilities are formulated and disseminated to the community through these documents. The comparative objective lies in the differences in character and context contained within the documents.

- a. Tanoker's document demonstrates a community-based approach based on local culture and "gotong royong" (cooperation) in addressing the childcare crisis for migrant workers (Tanoker Ledokombo, 2022).
- b. Damar and Rifka Annisa's document contextualizes the global agenda on transformative gender and men's involvement in caregiving within the Prevention+ program (Rutgers WPF Indonesia, 2020).

Through these documents, researchers can answer questions about the framing of care created by each NGO and how differences in local context and institutions influence the choice of interventions.

#### **2) Secondary data related to the condition of NGOs in Indonesia:**

Secondary data was used to strengthen the macro context regarding the conditions of local NGOs in Indonesia, where institutional practices can be influenced by sustainability, funding sources, and the legal environment. These sources include:

- a. USAID (2022). 2021 Civil Society Organization Sustainability Index for Asia: provides an overview of the level of NGO sustainability, funding aspects, organizational capacity, and the legal environment.
- b. ICNL (International Center for Not-for-Profit Law) – Civic Freedom Monitor: Indonesia. This source is used to examine the scope of NGOs in Indonesia which is influenced by regulations and the dynamics of civil liberties.

This secondary data helps answer research questions regarding NGO strategies in carrying out childcare interventions that can be formed due to the political and institutional environment.

Bowen (2009, 27-29) states, to capture meaning and gain insight from their content, document analysis is necessary as a systematic way of reading and evaluating documents. Documents are also created without the intervention of researchers, allowing their content to reflect the organization's mindset and values. Atkinson and Coffey (1997, 47) add that documents are also referred to as "social facts" because they are produced, shared, and used in social life.

Interviews with NGO staff (four people) served as a complement and confirmation. The limited interviews were not the primary source but rather served to strengthen and supplement the data from the documents. Semi-structured interviews were not conducted face-to-face but online, namely via Zoom and Teams in August-September 2025. Interviews still met the ethical principles of social research by requesting informal consent and maintaining data confidentiality. The following is the data from the interview informants:

**Table 1. List of Interview Informants**

No	Name	Position	Organisation
1	Sely Fitriani	Director of Damar for the 2012-2022 period	Damar Lampung
2	Indah Lestari	Chairperson of Perempuan Lampung Timur (Women's Group)	Damar Lampung
3	Eka Tiara Chandrananda	Damar Association Supervisory Board	Damar Lampung
4	Nurmawati	Prevention+ Program Manager 2016-2020, Knowledge Management and Media Division (current position)	Rifka Annisa Yogyakarta

Source: Edited by author

Interview data is used to supplement contextual data and confirm findings from the documents. NGO documents are treated as "discourse facts" to be analyzed in-depth, and interviews complement the interpretation of that discourse. For analysis purposes, all document data and interview results would be recorded and archived.

### 3.3 Analysis Techniques

This study uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) as its primary analytical framework. Based on a CDA perspective, this analysis focuses on the interests, values, and power relations represented through the language and discourse within NGO documents. As Janks (1997, 329) states, language is a social practice through which governance is carried out, and critical discourse analysis is conducted when discourse is implicated in power relations.

Three levels in Fairclough's CDA Methodology (1995, 97):

- 1) Text analysis (description), which examines the words and language used, as well as how the document's content is structured. This stage identifies linguistic features from frequently occurring keywords, metaphors, or phrases and treats them as discourse markers, such as "collaborative parenting," "learning mothers," "role sharing," "social collaboration," "fatherhood," "positive masculinity."
- 2) Text analysis (description), which examines the language, document content, and words used. Linguistic features are identified through frequently occurring keywords or phrases and then treated as discourse markers, such as "collaborative parenting," "learning mothers," "fatherhood," and "positive masculinity." In practice, the analysis highlights how the text defines the parenting crisis, positions the roles of actors (mother, father, community), and promotes ideal values such as empathy, discipline, and responsibility.
- 3) Discursive practice analysis (interpretation), which examines how documents are produced and consumed within and outside NGOs. Researchers examine modules, books, activity reports, and bulletins to identify how NGO discourse is produced within the context of power relations (NGOs, donors, communities) and functions as a technology of governance that promotes values and shapes community behavior.
- 4) Social practice analysis, which situates documents within the broader social context of contemporary culture, policy, and societal structures such as gender relations, migration, and development. This stage uses theories of social reproduction, governmentality, and NGOs in development to understand the context of the caregiving crisis, how framing is formed, and the choice of interventions that function as technologies of governance that shape citizens into ideal, self-governing subjects such as "resilient mothers," "empathetic fathers," and "responsible communities."

The analysis used manual open coding, with each document being read repeatedly to identify recurring keywords and concepts. The coding results are not presented in the appendix but are presented as direct text quotations in the analysis chapter.

The analysis steps include:

- 1) Mark and annotate meaningful words such as “learning mother”, “father role”, “role sharing”, “positive masculinity”, “social collaboration”.
- 2) Grouping codes inductively into discourse categories, such as:
  - a. Empowerment: representation of rights awareness, self-reflection, and capacity building.
  - b. Moralization: the use of normative or religious language to shape behavior.
  - c. Responsibility: shifting responsibility from the "mother" to the family or community.
- 3) Comparing discourse categories across NGOs to find common patterns and context variations.

Therefore, in qualitative analysis, Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014, 8) state that patterns and concepts become clear when the data speaks for itself. Therefore, this study employed a thematic and inductive approach, where themes and meanings were not predetermined but derived from the data.

### **3.4 Researcher Positionality**

This research applies reflexivity, and the researcher's position and identity are crucial because they can influence the research process and its results (Berger, 2015, 220). Personal background, values, and assumptions will influence the discourse analysis, so the researcher acts as an external observer interpreting the qualitative data.

The researcher also engaged in self-reflection through a research journal, recorded analytical decisions, and discussed findings and interpretations with her supervisor. This was done to avoid interpretive biases, such as being more sympathetic to women's and NGO perspectives due to her background as an NGO worker advocating for gender and children's issues. However, it also fostered sensitivity to issues of childcare and gender equality, which are at the core of this research.

The researchers triangulated documents, online interviews, and contextual literature on gender, migration, and social policy in Indonesia, given their geographic and social distance from the research sites. Direct observation of organizational dynamics and community interactions was limited, but it also provided analytical flexibility by observing phenomena from outside the system.

The background as an NGO worker and having a personal perspective on NGO initiatives and interventions makes the researcher also conduct critical analysis of texts and carry out NGO practices and maintain a methodological distance from the research subjects to avoid emotional interaction with the NGOs being studied.

The framing process and rationale for selecting NGO interventions are also crucial, ensuring they are not merely descriptive interpretations. Therefore, the researcher's position is reflective and self-aware. Personal identity, experience, and values are used without bias.

### **3.5 Research Ethics**

This study adheres to the ethical principles of qualitative research, as stated by Orb, Eisenhauer, and Wynaden (2001, 93), who state that the three main ethical principles are informed consent, confidentiality, and avoidance of harm. The purpose of the study and their rights were explained by the researcher, in addition, the researcher asked for written consent so that the interviews were voluntary. To protect confidentiality, the researcher kept the informant's identity confidential upon request, while the researcher will keep the interview recordings and transcripts. The NGO documents analysed were open publications or documents authorized by the institution. Meanwhile, the principle of non-maleficence is the obligation to prevent and eliminate the risk of harm to those involved, the principle of non-maleficence is applied in this study by Childress (2001, 115).

### **3.6 Research Limitations and Challenges**

This research faces several limitations and challenges. First, the primary data source was NGO documents, accessing only official discourse published by NGOs. Therefore, the researcher was unable to capture the perspectives of children, migrant communities, or field staff. Second, triangulation was very limited because the researcher only conducted limited interviews. These interviews served as confirmation or additional evidence. Third, this research was limited to three small NGOs in Indonesia, with the focus of the research being to capture patterns and variations specific to the cases studied rather than to produce findings that could be generalized or encompass broader variations among local NGOs in Indonesia.

Difficulties in obtaining all relevant documents due to limited access and unpublished documents constitute a practical challenge faced in this research. Furthermore, a critical approach is necessary because NGO documents tend to highlight program successes rather than weaknesses. Discourse analysis can also lead to subjective interpretations, failing to read meanings beyond the immediate context. Local contexts can influence framing and interventions, so case comparisons must be approached with caution.

The aim of this research is to gain insight into how small NGOs in Indonesia frame the issue of caregiving and selected interventions in the context of migration and gender. However, specific interpretations are specific to specific cases and contexts and do not constitute "absolute truth."

## **Chapter 4: Small NGOs in Indonesia: Institutional Conditions, Donor Relations, and Implications for Childcare Governance**

### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter will discuss the role of local NGOs in Indonesia and their relationships with the state, donors, and communities.

### **4.1 Characteristics of Small NGOs in Indonesia and Their Survival Strategies**

Historically, the post-New Order period and the third wave of democratization marked the beginning of the emergence of small NGOs in Indonesia. After 1998, communities had greater participation and the opportunity to establish civil society organizations focused on local community empowerment and socio-political advocacy. The fall of the Soeharto regime gave rise to new discourses on good governance, accountability, and transparency of public institutions. NGOs have become crucial actors, not only providing social services but also filling the space for democratization and decentralization by voicing opinions, promoting press freedom, and negotiating the balance of power between the state and its citizens (Uhlin, 1997, pp. 9, 14-15; Antlov, 2005, pp. 3-5).

During the reform era, the number of NGOs in Indonesia reached over 300,000. With Indonesia's status as a middle-income country and its accession to the G-20 presidency, development assistance and funding from international donors declined, leaving only around 8,000 active NGOs today. NGOs in Indonesia are highly dependent on foreign donor funding, which can reach 85%-90% of total revenue (UGM, 2025; NGO Council and Bappenas, 2022). The INFID Funding and Resources Report (2025, 4-5) states that challenges faced by NGOs in Indonesia include limited human resources, weak governance and documentation, language barriers, and intense competition in submitting proposals. The difficulty in obtaining funding support is also due to NGOs' priority issues no longer being aligned with the global agenda.

Most NGOs in Indonesia are small, with flat hierarchies but centralized leadership, typically led by the organization's founder. Although many NGOs claim to implement participatory principles, decision-making often occurs at the top, while staff simply wait for direction from their leaders (Antlov et al., 2010, 425).

The capacity constraints faced by small NGOs in Indonesia are limited internal capacity, specifically managerial skills and administrative systems such as budgeting, accounting, reporting, proposal writing, and planning. Institutional capacity often rests on the founder (Antlov, 2010, 426).

The most crucial challenge for small NGOs is limited financial resources, coupled with a high dependence on foreign funding. Individual and corporate philanthropy is available, but funding is insufficient. This funding from external donors is often obtained by urban NGOs with strong capacity and extensive experience, while small NGOs in rural areas struggle to access direct donor funding (USAID, 2019, 5).

In many cases, this donor flow is described as a "waterfall" effect in the funding chain, with donor funds flowing through several intermediaries (umbrella institutions or intermediaries). Funds that start large at the donor level dwindle with each intermediary layer, ultimately leaving minimal resources at the grassroots level (fundsforNGOs, 2025).

The financial stability of small NGOs is also vulnerable; research shows that 75% of NGOs in Indonesia lack access to adequate funding sources for their basic needs. Short-term funding patterns make it difficult for small NGOs to cover routine operational costs; many donors only fund program activities, not core organizational costs. This situation limits small NGOs' independent program planning and fosters dependency on donors. The centralization of NGOs in Java also leaves NGOs in remote areas experiencing a lack of support and funding distribution. Donor networks are still focused on large cities and increasingly show the gap between large NGOs and small NGOs (fundsforNGOs, 2025).

Given these limitations, small NGOs in Indonesia are diversifying their funding, seeking alternative sources of funding, and avoiding reliance on foreign donors. Members of the International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID) are engaging in efforts such as crowdfunding or online fundraising, establishing social enterprises, or accessing CSR programs through private sector partnerships (INFID, 2025, 5). Cooperatives and social enterprises are among the ways to strengthen NGOs' financial independence without abandoning their social mission. Individual donations, membership fees, and government funding are other domestic funding sources used by NGOs (UGM, 2025).

Small NGOs are reducing their dependence on donors through various measures, such as establishing internal reserve funds that can last for several months to a year. In addition to diversifying their funding, Antlov (2010, 428) states that some NGOs are changing their form from foundations to associations to engage members, increase accountability, reduce centralization of the founder, and encourage democratic and transparent governance.

Other efforts include increasing networking and collaboration. INFID (2025, 5) emphasizes that the key to maintaining the sustainability and independence of NGOs is the ability to network effectively with fellow NGOs, grassroots communities, and stakeholders. Mutual assistance during a funding crisis through inter-institutional networks is a strategic agenda for NGOs (UGM, 2025). The success of INFID members in securing funding is determined not only by the quality of their proposals, but also by the integrity and credibility of the institution, with transparent governance, effective communication strategies, and extensive networks (INFID, 2025, 5-6).

## **4.2 Donor Relations**

When NGOs rely heavily on donors, their accountability tends to shift upward, toward the donor, rather than toward the community. Project targets and outputs that are easily measured and reported to donors take priority over listening to community needs. As a result, NGOs focus more on defining problems and determining performance indicators than on the actual needs of local communities. Donor power has transformed long-term social aspects into short-

term donor demands. Foreign aid depoliticizes and professionalizes NGO work. Ultimately, the structure between NGOs and donors encourages vertical accountability and the adjustment of performance metrics to suit donor standards, rather than stemming from grassroots aspirations.

Kamstra and Schulpen (2015, 335-336) corroborate this with research conducted on democracy-promoting NGOs in Ghana and Indonesia. Although these two countries have different contexts, donor-driven policies have created homogenization, or similarities in organizational characteristics. These similarities include missions aligned with global agendas, highly educated elite staff, non-confrontational advocacy strategies, and hierarchical, non-membership organizational structures. Kamstra and Schulpen then explain this homogenization through the concept of institutional isomorphism, which is based on coercive, mimetic, and normative pressures.

Coercive isomorphism stems from the theory of unequal power, from formal-informal organizational pressures, and becomes a source of dependency, including on donors. In practice, the emphasis on accountability is more on donors, NGOs are forced to follow the rules and mainstream donors to avoid loss of income and sanctions, this pressure is due to the lack of other funding sources. This dependence on donors causes accountability to the community or constituents to be relatively left behind because NGOs focus on predetermined outputs and targets (Kamstra and Schulpen, 2015, 337; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, 67; Ebrahim, 2003, 813; Edwards and Hulme, 1996, 710).

Mimetic isomorphism arises from uncertain situations such as ambiguous goals, uncertain environments, poorly understood organizational technologies, and difficult-to-measure performance metrics, leading NGOs to imitate the practices of other NGOs deemed successful by donors. Fierce competition for proposals and donors, coupled with unclear indicators of success, encourages NGOs to imitate one another rather than innovate (Kamstra and Schulpen, 2015, 338; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, 69).

Normative isomorphism is related to professionalism, such as work standards, formal education, and professional networks. This homogenization occurs when NGO staff come from similar educational backgrounds and professional networks. Most NGO personnel come from academic elites (graduates of European or American universities, donor-source countries) who bring similar paradigms and terminology, and share norms, jargon, and best practices. Empirically, managerial professionals and foundation officials or donors bring uniformity by deploying similar managerial language and evaluative practices, so that they are in the same 'orbit' (Kamstra and Schulpen, 2015, 339, DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 71-73, 2014, Hwang and Powell 2009, 287-288)

Many NGOs adopt donor language not only in funding proposals, but also in programs, missions, and public documents. This adoption of donor language serves to increase legitimacy in the eyes of donors and as a strategy to open up funding opportunities. NGOs adopt donor buzzwords such as "good governance," "empowerment," "sustainability," and even "gender

equality." Terms like "empowerment" and "participation" are used because they are "warmly persuasive and fulsomely positive." Effective instruments that align with global development discourse and terminology are important in accessing funding by building moral and political legitimacy in development policies (Kamtra and Schulpen, 2015, 341-342; Cornwall and Brock, 2005, 1043-1044; Mosse, 2005, 14).

Some NGOs also practice decoupling, distinguishing between external rhetoric and on-the-ground practice. Adopting donor vocabulary (democracy, accountability, transparency, and participation) is used on paper to align with funding trends, while maintaining the core of the program's relevance to community needs. This strategy is known as a buffering strategy, used to protect the organization's substantive mission from donor interference (Kamstra & Schulpen, 2015, 346-347, Meyer dan Rowan, 1977, 357; Oliver, 1991, 154-155).

In addition to language, donors often influence program focus through issue-specific or earmarking. International donors focus funding only on specific issues (earmarked funding). Aligning with donor priorities forces NGOs to adjust their agendas. In Indonesia, donors only provide funding for specific topics, such as poverty and pluralism (Kamstra & Schulpen, 2015, 343-344; Mosse, 2005, 17). Foreign donors marginalize sensitive issues, such as military or political reform, from their programs (Crawford, 2003, 148-149).

The financial viability of Indonesian NGOs is also fragile, as evidenced by the 2021 CSOSI Asia Index, which scored 4.5 (on a scale of 7 representing poor and 1 representing good). This score declined compared to the previous year due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and reduced international and domestic funding. Funding diversification to support the independence of existing NGOs in Indonesia is inadequate, with funding coming from a variety of sources, including foreign donors, government projects, corporate social responsibility (CSR) funds, public outreach, and internal efforts (USAID, 2021, 31). Domestic funding is also still limited, with government grants covering only a small portion of project costs, forcing NGOs to seek other funding sources for the remainder. This financial vulnerability has led to increased dependence on external donor's post-pandemic, while donor support has been declining (USAID, 2021, 39).

At the same time, Indonesia's civic space is shrinking. CIVICUS Monitor assesses Indonesia's civic space as "Obstructed," meaning that Indonesia's civil liberties to assemble, express themselves, and organize are hampered by state regulations or actions (CIVICUS, 2024). In this situation, NGOs opt for safer, less politically costly advocacy. Rather than risky confrontation, NGOs in Indonesia choose strategies such as public education, workshops, policy dialogue, policy research, online campaigns, or collaboration with the government, which are considered "safer." This is also a consequence of the legacy of the relationship between the state and NGOs in Indonesia, which was often marked by mutual suspicion after the New Order (Kamstra & Schulpen, 2015, 344-345).

In addition to the reasons, the choice of non-confrontational methods is also based on another reason: many foreign donors require a collaborative approach. In maintaining good relations with donors and countries, many NGOs choose to form strategic alliances with governments

as an 'alternative route to confrontation'. NGOs receiving foreign donors avoid activities that would put the donor in a difficult position vis-à-vis the government. Most bilateral/multilateral donors partnering with the government would not approve advocacy that is overly confrontational towards the government. Furthermore, professional staff with academic backgrounds are more adept at writing reports and negotiating in formal forums but may lack experience in grassroots organizing. Therefore, the preferred approach is research and seminars (Kamstra and Schulpen, 2015, 345-346; Banks et al., 2015, 710).

In NGO interactions with the state and donors, compromising tactics are considered the most practical and long-term impactful. Structural issues are avoided and replaced with issues more acceptable to donors and the state. As a result, indicators of success are more measurable and preferred by donors, such as the number of policy papers and policy recommendations produced or training conducted, rather than innovative efforts and deeper social transformation (Kamstra & Schulpen, 2015, 345-347, Banks et al., 2015, 713).

Strict proposal procedures and reporting standards to donors divert NGOs' attention from community empowerment to donor administrative demands such as routine activity and financial reports. This also increases the risk of disconnection from the community. All NGOs in Kamstra and Schulpen's study have non-membership hierarchical structures, not based on community members but rather run by a handful of professionals. This structure is favorable for accountability to donors because proposals can be developed quickly without consideration from members or the community. Horizontal accountability to the community is weakened. This is based on membership and downward accountability, which are no longer prerequisites for funding or legitimacy in the eyes of donors, very limited indications regarding the quality of work and accountability to the community (Kamstra & Schulpen, 2015, 347-348; Ebrahim, 2003, 816,824). As a result, excessive accountability to donors has isolated NGOs from the domestic political system (Sabatini, 2002, 26).

### **4.3 Three NGOs in Focus of the Research**

This research focuses on the analysis of the framing and interventions carried out by three small NGOs in Indonesia: Tanoker (Jember, East Java), Damar (Lampung), and Rifka Annisa (Yogyakarta) in understanding how the three NGOs frame the issue of childcare and the reasons for choosing interventions.

The selection of these three NGOs was based on the differences in entry points into childcare interventions in Indonesia: Tanoker's origins stem from the migrant women's community, while Damar and Rifka Annisa's stem from issues of gender inequality and gender-based violence. Although these three NGOs have different geographic contexts, funding sources, and institutional systems, they all chose the same path and share the same challenges as local NGOs: limited resources, donor pressure, and the need for negotiation between the community, the state, donors, and global development discourse.

#### **Tanoker Community**

Established in 2009, the Tanoker Community was a learning community for children, particularly children of migrant workers, established in a village in East Java, one of the

migrant worker-sending villages. This community was established in Ledokombo Village, Ledokombo District, Jember Regency, East Java, Indonesia.

The Tanoker Community's initial approach to the children of migrant workers was through stilt dancing and percussion music, as well as other activities such as studying, dancing, singing, theater, and establishing a reading center. The impact was that the children gained confidence, engaged in many positive activities, won numerous competitions, and became a place of inspiration, featured on national television and becoming a tourist and learning destination in Indonesia. Over time, Tanoker's intervention expanded to the family sphere through mother schools, father schools, and grandparent schools, as intergenerational childcare learning spaces that instill local values of “gotong royong” and peace (Tanoker, 2015).

At the Mothers' School, mothers not only learn parenting but also empower themselves economically. This school began as a village religious study group, consisting of 11 groups with 200 participants, aged 18-55. Meanwhile, the Fathers' School, in addition to parenting and gender equality, also teaches organic farming and animal husbandry. The Fathers' School consists of four groups, aged 28-80. The Grandparents' School, where grandparents often serve as substitute caregivers for the children of migrant workers, aims to help grandparents live happily in old age, live healthy lives, and provide care for their grandchildren in today's modern world, especially regarding the negative impacts of gadgets. The Grandparents' School has 55 students, aged 52-89.

Tanoker's funding source is a hybrid, starting from community and local government self-help, then a partnership with Women Without Borders Australia on the "mother school parenting for peace" program in August 2014, the collaboration was to implement Trainer of Trainers (TOT) for mothers' schools. After the TOT process, Tanoker created a mother school module with the support of the Asia Foundation Care Program, published the book "Ragam Pengasuhan Gotong Royong = Variety of collaborative parenting” with the support of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection. After the TOT process, Tanoker created a mother's school module with the support of the Asia Foundation Care Program, published the book on Gotong Royong Parenting with the support of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, and a Children's Forum Module with the support of the Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition, Ashoka, Hivos, and the Jember Regency Government. Tanoker continues to emphasize the adaptation of local values and strengthening the economy in the village. This approach not only builds parenting skills but also community independence (Jumiati, et.al, 2018, i-iii; Ciciek et al., 2024, xx).

### **Damar Lampung and Rifka Annisa Yogyakarta**

In Lampung and Yogyakarta, interventions were carried out by Damar Lampung and Rifka Annisa Yogyakarta as gender advocacy-based NGOs through the Prevention+ program (2015-2020) with support from Rutgers WPF Indonesia. This program aims to prevent gender-based violence by involving men as agents of change through interventions such as fathers' classes, mothers' classes, teenage girls' and boys' classes, counseling for perpetrators of violence,

economic empowerment, and policy advocacy (Rutgers, Prevention+ End Term Review, 2020, 10-12).

The Damar Association is a membership-based organization with 6 members. These members are individuals who care about human rights and agree to the Articles of Association, Bylaws, and other regulations of Damar. Members pay an initial fee and monthly membership dues. Established in 1998 and declared in 2000, the organization arose from concerns and concerns about injustice, discrimination, exploitation, and violence, particularly against women. The Damar Association's programs include studies and public education programs aimed at mapping women's basic rights issues (health, education, political, social, and legal rights) in six districts/cities (Bandar Lampung, Tanggamus, Central Lampung, East Lampung, North Lampung, and South Lampung). The results of these studies and baseline data serve as a basis for advocacy for the fulfillment of women's basic rights in Lampung and network strengthening (Articles of Association and Bylaws Damar, n.d).

Meanwhile, Rifka Annisa Yogyakarta, meaning "Friend of Women," is a non-governmental organization founded on August 26, 1993. The idea for the organization arose from a deep concern for patriarchal cultural tendencies that, on the one hand, strengthen men's positions while weakening women's positions. As a result, women are vulnerable to violence. Rifka Annisa serves as a resource center for eliminating violence against women through various research and documentation of lessons learned from mentoring women victims of violence, mentoring men, community mentoring, and advocacy, including the innovative programs it develops (Rifka-Annisa.org).

The Prevention+ program focuses on preventing gender-based violence by encouraging men's involvement as prevention agents and by encouraging men to share domestic roles within the household, including childcare. The program ran from 2015 to 2020. It was implemented through community dialogue through fathers' classes, teenage boys' classes, mothers' classes, and teenage girls' classes, using pre-developed modules. In addition to community discussions, other strategies implemented include counseling for male perpetrators of gender-based violence, economic empowerment, advocacy, and strategic campaigns involving religious leaders, government agencies, and law enforcement officials (Rutgers, n.d.).

These three NGOs were selected based on the consideration that they are local NGOs operating in the same area, namely childcare, but have different geographic locations, survival strategies, and collaboration models. The following is a comparison of the three NGOs selected as the focus of this research.

**Table 2. Comparison Table of Three NGOs in the Research**

<b>Comparative Aspects</b>	<b>Tanoker</b>	<b>Damar</b>	<b>Rifka Annisa</b>
Based	Jember Jawa Timur	Lampung	Yogyakarta
Year of Establishment	2009	2000	1993
Main Issue	Children of migrant workers and gotong royong parenting	Gender inequality and women's empowerment	Gender-based violence and positive masculinity
Main Approach	Community based on 'gotong royong' and local culture	Village Government Advocacy	Advocacy Counseling and Religious Institutions
Funding Sources	Local self-reliance, Local Government, Women Without Borders Austria, Asia Foundation	International Donor (Rutgers)	International Donor (Rutgers)
Political Orientation	Economic independence and promotion of local culture	Collaborative gender reform	Professionalization of feminist NGOs
Organizational Model	Participatory community	Advocacy and Program-based professional NGO	Professional NGO based on research and advocacy

Source: (Ciciek, et al, 2024; Rutgers, n.d; Articles of Association and Bylaws Damar, n.d; Tanoker.org. Rifka-annisa.org)

## **Chapter 5: Framing and Governing Care: NGO Rationalities, Technologies, and Subject Formation**

### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter analyses how the Tanoker, Damar, and Rifka Annisa communities construct and respond to the childcare crisis in the context of women's migration and the realization of gender equality.

### **5.1 NGO Problem Framing**

#### **5.1.1 Tanoker Community: Framing Childcare as a Shared Responsibility**

The Tanoker community was established in response to the childcare crisis caused by women's migration and the vulnerability of social reproduction within households in Ledokombo, Jember Regency, East Java. When mothers migrate, this can impact children in the village, who experience loneliness and even risk dropping out of school (Tanoker.org). This is as published by Tanoker in its document:

"Policy advocacy efforts must address the root of this problem: discriminatory migration policies that prohibit migrant workers from bringing their families" (Book on Various Gotong Royong Parenting Methods, 2024)

"In the Ledokombo area of Jember Regency, the majority of migration is forced. This leaves behind problems in the villages, one of which is child neglect, due to the lack of a process for transferring care and social support for their development. Most migrant workers' children are entrusted to and cared for by extended family members, such as grandparents, uncles, and aunts. Some are also cared for by neighbours, and quite a few are sent to Islamic boarding schools" (Book on Various Gotong Royong Parenting Methods, 2024, xvi)

"This mostly forced migration leaves its own challenges for village life. One issue that has emerged is the emergence of children who become social orphans, because of the lack of preparedness for the transfer of care from parents to substitute caregivers" (Book on Various Gotong Royong Parenting Methods Royong, 2024, 6)

"The social orphan situation resulting from migration above triggers and triggers various intertwined child and social problems. Children lose their power, leading them to drop out of school; they are reluctant to learn; child marriage occurs; unwanted pregnancies occur; stunting occurs; they are victims of physical, psychological, and sexual violence; they steal; they are stigmatized as delinquents; they consume and become addicted to cigarettes, alcohol, and drugs; they consume unhealthy food; they engage in unpaid labor and domestic work (including caring for younger siblings), and they have short concentration skills. Furthermore, these children generally do not have

legal documentation, especially birth certificates." (Gotong Royong Parenting Program Book, 2024, 6)

Tanoker frames this problem as a “shared responsibility” that requires the values of “gotong royong” from the community as an alternative for caring for migrant workers’ children, as stated in the statement below:

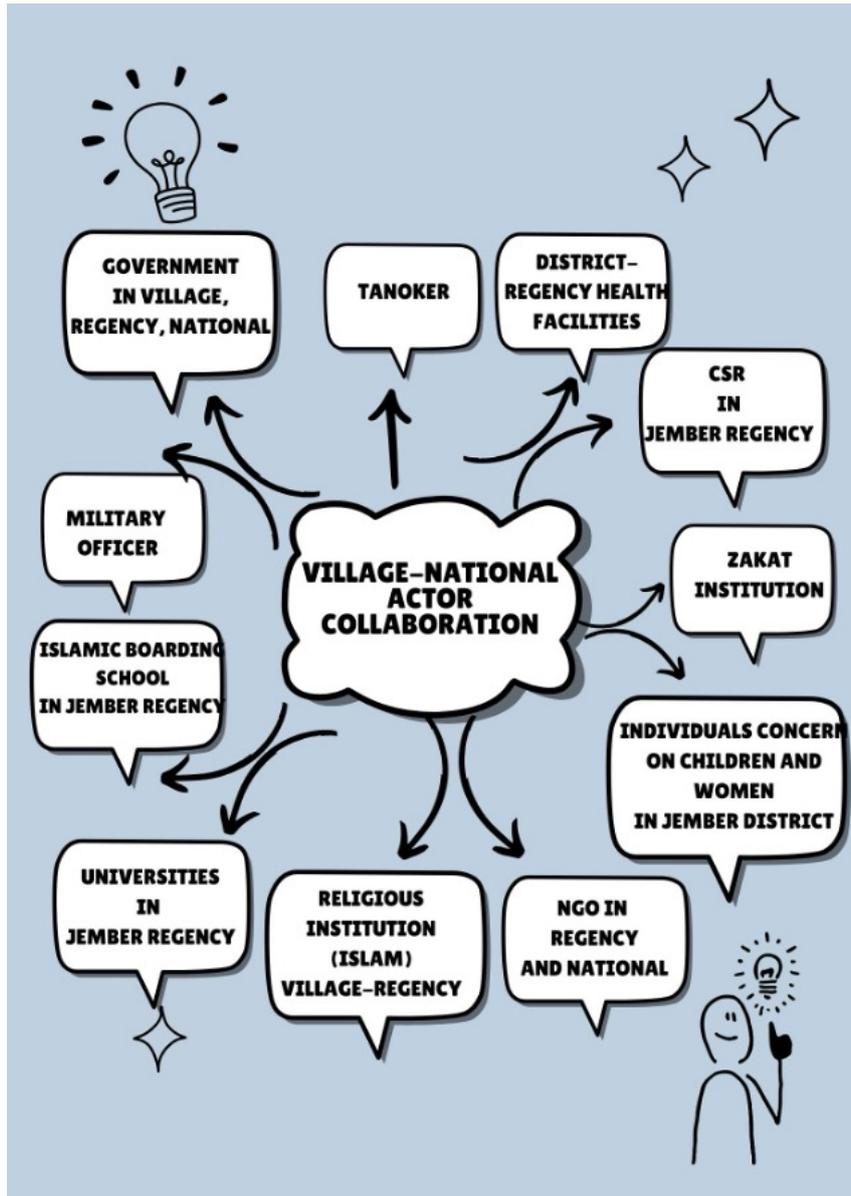
"The children of migrant workers receive care as sovereign human beings and responsible citizens through intergenerational community collaboration." (Book: Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024)

"Together with the community and grandparents there, they care for the children of parents who have to struggle abroad as Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI). Collaborative parenting is a breakthrough, a highly inspiring innovation, enabling children to grow and develop well. The social system is reintroduced as "parents" to care for children in an integrated manner, encompassing various aspects, to address their care needs and support their future." (Book: Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024)

"Growing from a unique social environment, this movement provides an overview of alternative forms of shared parenting that can be explored and adapted by other migrant communities." (Book: Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024)

"We care for our children together through mutual cooperation and raise them with tolerance... These principles appear to be implemented in the collaborative parenting methods implemented by communities in villages.... In this book, we can learn how communities at the village and Islamic boarding school levels are fostering mutual cooperation parenting methods that consciously increase their collective strategies of care and empathy for the children of migrant workers in their respective communities" (Book: Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, p.xxx).

This collaborative parenting approach seeks to involve other actors, not just the nuclear family but also schools, Quranic education centres, religious organizations, and even village institutions. These actors are shown in the image below:



**Figure 2. Map of Collaborative Parenting actors based on hamlets from the village to the national level (Ciciek, et al, 2024). Edited by author.**

The image above shows that childcare is not only a private family domain, but also a social-communal one. As stated in the Tanoker document:

"This work is made possible through the participation of various actors, including hamlet and village activists, parents, children, grandparents, educators at schools and Islamic boarding schools, and officials from various sectors." (Book: Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024)

"Starting in 2015, representatives from Mother's School, Father's School, and children actively participated in village deliberations to ratify Summersalak Village Regulation Number 05 of 2015 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers and Their Family Members from Summersalak Village. The mandate of the village

regulation is accommodated in the village budget, providing funds for child support facilities in the hamlet and developing economic activities for women. The village government also allocates funds from village funds for an integrated information service centre managed by a team of village youth called the Summersalak Editorial Team (TIRES). TIRES also carries out village journalism activities, through photo, video, and written documentation. They play a role in publicizing the activities of Mother's School, Father's School and the collaborative parenting program." (Book:Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, 82)

"The Village Government collaborated with the Ledokombo District Government, the Jember Regency Population and Civil Registration Office (Dispendukcapil), Tanoker, Migrant Aid Indonesia, and students participating in the Community Service Program." (Book:Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, 83)

"Jember Islamic University provided on-site population administration and civil registration services. Most population documents issued through this service belonged to migrant worker families, consisting of 421 birth certificates, 237 family cards, and 81 identity cards." (Book:Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, 84)

"The next strategy is to collaborate with the Department of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection and Family Planning (DP3AKB) to respond to sexual violence that results in unwanted pregnancies. This advocacy is carried out in collaboration with Tanoker, the police, other civil society organizations, including legal aid institutions, health facilities, zakat institutions, and child and women's advocates." (Book:Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, 86)

"Collaboration with district and national governments in other areas, related to the protection of migrant worker families, especially their children, when parents encounter problems abroad" (Book:Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, 87)

From the document excerpt, language such as "shared care" and "community responsibility" demonstrates the shift of reproductive labor from the private sphere to the public-communal sphere, or to the community. Tanoker attempts to frame the childcare crisis as a result of migration and the need for solutions involving community involvement and shared responsibility.

### **5.1.2 Damar and Rifka Annisa: Framing Childcare Requires Father Involvement**

Meanwhile, Damar and Rifka Annisa, who come from the same donor framework, define the issue of childcare as closely related to gender equality within the family and gender-based violence. Gender-equal parenting patterns would prevent gender-based violence from occurring in future generations. The root of the childcare problem lies in the absence of parents in childcare, especially fathers. Traditional parenting roles emphasize "motherhood," while fathers are considered the primary breadwinners. This leaves women with a "double burden," as they carry out domestic duties alone, including childcare, and contribute to the economic

sector by working outside the home. Damar and Rifka Annisa recognize that patriarchal norms and relationships within the family result in suboptimal childcare, leaving women and children vulnerable to violence.

"This program is designed, among other things, with the aim of involving men in parenting. Typically, the role of caregiving is often assigned to mothers, while the role of primary breadwinner is assigned to fathers. This leaves women continually left behind in the economic sector, rendered powerless and vulnerable to becoming victims of violence." (Sely Fitriani- Executive Director of Damar 2012-2022)

"The parenting situation in the two intervention districts is characterized by a patriarchal culture that generally places the mother in charge, considering it a woman's natural duty to care for children. Another factor is the fact that many fathers work away from home, returning home only once a week, so the father figure's presence is minimal. Furthermore, religious interpretations hold that mothers are madrasahs (schools) for children. Some children are also entrusted to "grandmothers," so the parents' role in parenting is minimal. The areas we chose are semi-urban, and there are other vulnerabilities among teenagers and busy working parents. In Gunung Kidul, the majority migrate or work in Jakarta or other areas, so wives are often left behind to raise their children alone, making them vulnerable to divorce, infidelity, economic neglect, the absence of fathers in parenting, and even domestic violence," (Nurmawati- Prevention+ Program Manager 2015-2020, Knowledge Management and Media Division).

The patriarchal norms and culture inherent in society, coupled with misinterpretations of religion, further contribute to gender inequality within families. Therefore, Damar and Rifka Annisa, partners at Rutgers, are implementing the Prevention+ program, which, through the Gender Transformative Approach (GTA), seeks to transform gender into positive masculine values.

"This program aims to promote the idea that men are not violent, but possess positive masculine values, create equal relationships between men and women, and eliminate violence. Not all men are perpetrators of violence, and they want to embody the values of equality." (Sely Fitriani)

"We position men not as competitors but as partners. They are also disadvantaged by this culture. Women are vulnerable to becoming victims of violence. Therefore, gender issues are not only women's issues but also men's. Therefore, it is important for us to involve men. Not only involvement, but also collaboration with men to prevent violence and build more equal and gender-just relationships without violence, especially within the household," (Nurmawati).

Rifka Annisa and Damar frame childcare as a problem of the unequal division of domestic labor within families, emphasizing gender transformation as a prerequisite for equal care. This transformation is then integrated into local legal systems and policies.

## 5.2 NGO Interventions

### 5.2.1 Tanoker Intervention

The main interventions carried out by the Tanoker Community are through mother schools, father schools, and grandparent schools, which are then complemented by a Children's Forum and creative economic activities as cross-generational interactions, namely the Mud Market and the Stilt Festival.

Each of these schools has its own focus and objectives. The Mothers' School focuses on reflecting on women's roles in childcare, providing family nutrition, and promoting child well-being (Mothers' School Modules, 2018, iv-v).

"Mothers attend school and simultaneously inspire fathers to attend school together on equal parenting" (Book:Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, xxiii)

"Mothers also want to continue learning. Public (read: formal) schooling may stop, but learning must not stop." (Book:Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, 46)

"New mothers' have been born with various knowledge gained... they understand the importance of gender equality and justice for both women and men." (Book:Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, 51)

While father schools focus on encouraging father involvement in childcare.

"Many fathers also want a school like mothers do." (Book:Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, 58)

"Pattern: Kind, affectionate to our children. Fathers love their wives and children, even to the death. A few words from fathers to express their appreciation and commitment to their wives and children, in the hope of creating a peaceful family full of love." (Book:Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, 59)

"Besides being a space to absorb various knowledge, the Pak-Bapak School also serves as a place to build awareness and new perspectives on gender justice and equality. Furthermore, the school affirms and strengthens commitments to loyalty through "simple" means, such as clapping. Drama also serves as a space for fathers to recover from destructive loneliness. "In addition, the Pak-Bapak School is also an effort to build demasculinization among the husbands of female migrant workers, who in other places often practice polygamy and have extramarital affairs while their wives struggle to work abroad" (Book:Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, 62)

Grandparents' school focuses on providing emotional support to grandchildren whose parents work as migrant workers.

"As substitute caregivers, grandparents need knowledge about caring for "today's grandchildren," along with knowledge and examples to equip them for life as healthy and happy seniors. The burden of caregiving for grandparents may be lighter. Grandparents support each other and help each other." (Book: Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, 109-110)

"Grandparents realize that to strengthen others, including their grandchildren, the elderly themselves must first be strong: physically, intellectually, and skilfully." (Book: Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2024, 111)

Meanwhile, in the children's forum, children are also taught to be productive, as expressed in the children's forum module which contains:

"Regarding critical thinking, understanding children's rights, taking responsibility for their bodies, enjoying healthy food, being smart and wise when using the internet, tolerance, and planning for the future" (Children's Forum Module, 2020, x-xiii)

"We must be able to embrace all groups, especially those who can be invited to build and empower the community, including children, through activities in the Children's Forum. The Children's Forum was established as a platform to support children's development in a more positive direction. It is hoped that this module can play a role in shaping children's mindsets and behaviours so they can rise to express their true selves according to their developmental stages, such as becoming individuals who are faithful, moral, intelligent, open-minded, and ready to collaborate with anyone regardless of religious background, gender, social status, or other factors." (Children's Forum Module, 2020, viii)

"The existence of children's forums at the village level also allows children to practice leadership, starting from their homes and smallest environments, their villages. It goes beyond that" (Children's Forum Module, 2020, xiv)

The interventions carried out show a form of governmentality technology, namely forming subjectivity, such as mothers who continue to learn, fathers who love their children and wives, grandparents who are healthy and supportive, and children who are intelligent and moral.

### **5.2.2 Intervention of Damar and Rifka Annisa**

Meanwhile, Rifka Annisa and Damar implemented the Prevention+ program with a Gender Transformative Approach through community discussions (classes for mothers, fathers, teenage girls, and boys), counselling, campaigns, and policy advocacy. First, the community discussions (classes for mothers and fathers) were aimed at married couples who had been married for 10 years or who still had young children.

Second, this counseling was primarily aimed at perpetrators of violence. It was hoped that this counseling would have a positive impact on both perpetrators and victims. This counseling was conducted for couples, with modules provided, and counselors required prior training before carrying out their roles. The focus of the counseling was to facilitate ways to improve relationships, communication, and mutual respect.

Third, strategic advocacy and campaigns were also conducted, involving religious leaders, as marital relationships are heavily influenced by religious teachings in Indonesia. The involvement of religious leaders is crucial; they need to adopt the gender-equitable approach of Islam, namely “mubadalah”. Religious leaders are strategic because their voices are heard by the community and can balance religious conservatism in society (Rutgers, End Term Review Indonesia, 2020).

Community discussions and counseling conducted through classes, meetings, and modules provide a space to promote values of equality and positive masculinity. This is expressed in the following statement:

"From the intervention, behavioral changes began to be seen in some of the fathers who attended the class. Previously, this was considered taboo, with fathers feeling ashamed and afraid of their wives. After the intervention, changes gradually occurred, though not immediately, such as fathers being willing to take on domestic tasks like feeding their children, sweeping the yard, or doing the laundry." (Indah Lestari- Chairperson of (Perempuan Timur: Women Grassroot))

This is evident in the meetings and discussions that occur in schools or classrooms, through a process of habituation that occurs over time to shape individual and community character.

"The method used is actually a reflective study and sharing, uncovering their perspectives on men and women in a patriarchal culture that gives rise to injustice, then examining the relationships between fathers, mothers, and their children. Couples face many issues, but ultimately, they become more open with their partners because one of the topics is about effective communication." (Sely Fitriani).

"Previously, fathers didn't want to take care of their children, but now they are willing. Women are also involved in family decision-making and are allowed to participate in organizations." (Indah Lestari).

"We ask one question, but it often makes the fathers cry and realize how their parenting experience has had a negative or positive impact on them. One key question is, 'What was your most memorable childhood experience with your father? What was your most unpleasant or memorable experience with your father?'" "What unpleasant experiences do you want to change from yourself to your child?" These questions made them reflect, regret, cry, and make them realize that it was what made their child distant. Then, at the end, we made a joint commitment to what could be done to change the situation and what kind of father we wanted to be?" (Nurmawati).

In the Prevention+ report, this program succeeded in creating behavioral changes in the group of fathers related to gender health and healthy relationships, these changes also occurred from the materials in the father class module.

There are strong indications that the program has successfully created behavioral changes among men regarding gender equality and healthy relationships at the individual level. After the training, male participants expressed enthusiasm for participating in childcare, as well as washing dishes and clothes. Their partners also testified about how husbands were able to better manage their emotions and communicate. These changes also promoted healthier relationships within the family. Activities in the village community also received positive support from the village head. They demonstrated their support by providing space for community discussions in the village meeting room and participating in discussions” (Rutgers, End-Term Review Indonesia, 2020, 13).

“Although fathers still control power relations, especially in household decision-making, changes are beginning to emerge, such as the acceptance of positive masculinity through the division of roles in caregiving and household chores.” (Rutgers, End-Term Review Indonesia, 2020, 5).

“Acceptance of positive masculinity (including fairness, non-violence, and caring)” (Rutgers, End-Term Review Indonesia, 2020, 5).

“Pre- and post-tests conducted on father class participants showed an 18.9% increase in communication skills scores. Positive changes in male participants were more influenced by emotional management than communication skills” (Rutgers, End-Term Review Indonesia, 2020, 5)

“He gave the example of a father who used to be indifferent to his child's well-being but is now very attentive. Furthermore, husbands are no longer reluctant to share household chores with their wives, including bathing the children.” (Rutgers, End-Term Review Indonesia, 2020, 24)

“Sudarmadi and his wife, Rina, were particularly impressed with the mother and father class. The biggest change occurred in the couple's parenting style. In the past, the couple often scolded their children when they misbehaved. Sudarmadi was known as a fearsome father to his children, while Rina was considered a nag.” (Rutgers, End-Term Review Indonesia, 2020, 25)

“The father class module contains material on fatherhood and parenting, parenting experiences, the positive and negative impacts of parenting styles, and lessons learned from parenting styles. Children's needs and rights that include positive care, as well as childcare according to age level (0-5 years, 6-12 years, 13-18 years. (Father Class Module, 2017, 19-29)

## 5.3 Comparative Discussion

### 5.3.1 Framing Patterns of the Social Reproduction Crisis: The Role of NGOs in the Politics of Care

Tanoker, Rifka Annisa, and Damar frame the childcare crisis because of migration and emphasize community solidarity as a solution to fill the state's absence. Damar and Rifka Annisa frame the childcare problem as a form of gender inequality within families and the need for father involvement in childcare.

Within the framework of social reproduction, the solution implemented by these three NGOs is a form of redistribution of childcare roles, which have traditionally been a private domain and the responsibility of mothers or women. This domain of production and maintenance of labor in everyday life, such as childcare, education, and healthcare, is often not recognized monetarily in a capitalist economy (Lambardozzi and Pitts, 2019, 580; Rao, 2021, 39).

Care is then shifted to families and communities (often women and the elderly) or they take advantage of "free rides" without paying for or recognizing its value, making them vulnerable to a social reproductive crisis (Bakker, 2007; Lao, 2021, 40; Fraser in Cantillon et al., 2023, 56). This occurs due to economic pressures and waged work that does not cover reproductive costs (Nguyen et al., 2024, 151), especially during crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic (Mezzadri, 2022, 380).

Therefore, the framing employed by the three NGOs demonstrates a specific pattern appropriate to the local context. Tanoker's response to the childcare crisis shifts it from the private sphere to a public-communal matter, where social reproductive work, including childcare, is integrated into the community. Damar and Rifka Annisa's framing within the Prevention+ framework redistributes the role of childcare, which has traditionally been emphasized solely on mothers, to fathers.

Meanwhile, a general pattern or homogenization is evident in the values of "mutual cooperation," "shared responsibility," or "cooperation," which are not merely local values but demonstrate the rationality of government, reflecting a way of thinking about how society should be governed (Rose et al., 2006, 88). In addition to determining development subjects, the Tanoker, Rifka Annisa, and Damar communities act as agents of social change, adapting local values to align with the agenda of global development discourse, such as the moral language of participation and empowerment (Hilhorst, 2003, 7, 12, 14).

However, these practices or interventions demonstrate social outsourcing, where the state's social responsibility is transferred to NGOs. This practice persists because it is the ideal of various parties, while the work carried out by NGOs is vulnerable to maintaining existing social structures (McCarthy, 2003, 201).

These NGO interventions and achievements can, in practice, weaken state authority. This creates a dilemma, where when NGOs become strategic partners for donors and the state,

“welfare capitalism” occurs, the state continues to monopolize political legitimacy, on the other hand, it causes dependence on NGO work because social services are handed over to non-state actors, which can weaken the responsibility and role of the state (McCarthy, 2023, 61; Lewis and Kanji, 2009, 18).

### **5.3.2 Patterns of Governmentality and Isomorphism: Homogenization of Forms of Intervention**

Interventions through classroom or school learning practices, modules, and counseling conducted by Damar, Rifka Annisa, and the Tanoker Community demonstrate the practice of governmentality, where modern governments aim to manage populations and optimize their productivity and compliance (McKee, 2006, 466).

The practice of governmentality that occurs is part of the technology of government (Rose et al., 2006, 88; Donzelot, 1979, 77; Rudnyckyj, 2004, 413) through concrete practices such as education, training, and curricula to condition citizens to behave in accordance with ideal childcare practices, such as values of equality and positive masculinity, or to instill self-responsibility within the community's moral framework as caring citizens. These interventions also target not only the individual level but also the collective (community) level through discourse practices or narratives (Rose et al., 2006, 101; Ware et al., 2016, 506).

These three interventions, carried out by NGOs as non-state actors, play a role in strengthening government work by demonstrating the technical practices of government in producing subjectivity, so that citizens see themselves as ideal subject types (Wells, 2014, 339; Rudnyckyj, 2004, 408).

The forms of intervention carried out by these three NGOs demonstrate a common pattern of intervention or homogenization, namely through classes or schools and the provision of modules, despite their origins and local contexts. The actions of these NGOs constitute a mimetic and normative isomorphism due to the difficulty of measuring advocacy performance and the NGO networks' shared paradigms or terminology, which ultimately leads to the homogenization of NGO work (Kamstra and Schulpen, 2015, 338-339).

Coercive isomorphism (Kamstra and Schulpen, 2015, 337) is also seen when NGOs become dependent on donors, forcing them to follow the donor's rules and mainstream practices. This pressure arises when other funding sources are limited, forcing NGOs to adapt to donors.

Another effort undertaken by small NGOs in Indonesia to maintain sustainability and independence is networking and collaboration, both within NGOs and with other interest groups (INFID, 2025, 5-6).

Tanoker collaborated with the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (PPPA) and Women Without Borders to develop modules, develop regulations for child-friendly villages, and advocate for budgets for the Village Children's Forum. These include craft and culinary training in collaboration with the Ministry of Manpower in 2012, and a

national seminar on positive parenting for family and community education in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Culture in 2017 (Tanoker Bulletin, 2018).

"Donors prefer collaborative and consortium programs. They want collaborative work so that a single program has a broad impact across multiple institutions and regions. Furthermore, donors' administrative requirements are quite stringent, requiring a minimum of three years of financial reports from public accountants. Reports are available only when a program is established. This can be difficult for new institutions to meet, so collaboration or consortiums can be a solution." (Eka TC).

Apart from that, the partnerships that Damar also carries out with village and regional governments are:

"We are trying to advocate for the formation of a Task Force for Handling Violence Cases in villages, then there is a Decree, there is a budget, this is to encourage commitment from the government" (Eka TC).

Meanwhile, Rifka Annisa is collaborating at the central, district and village levels:

"We are collaborating with the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection and the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) for research. At the district level, Rifka Annisa has also signed an MoU with the Yogyakarta Religious Court for counselling for perpetrators, collaborating with the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency (PPPA) to strengthen the Police's UPPA (Regional Police Unit) to be more gender-sensitive, and with the Religious Affairs Office (KUA) for marriage counselling to prevent gender-based violence. Furthermore, at the village level, we are promoting the Women Victims of Violence Protection Forum program, which is established by a Village Head Decree and supported by a budget," (Nurmawati)

The "obstructed" civic space landscape encourages non-confrontational strategies (public education, policy research, workshops, campaigns) that are politically low-risk for NGOs and donors, eliminate negative issues, facilitate collaboration with the government, and provide more measurable indicators of success, such as the number of policy recommendations generated and training conducted (CIVICUS, 2024; Kamstra & Schulpen, 2015, 345-347; Crawford, 2003, 148-149).

### **5.3.3 Power Relations: Negotiations with Donors and the State**

Dependence on donors can lead to accountability to donors, known as upward accountability. However, to maintain legitimacy, NGOs also practice downward accountability.

The positions of Tanoker, Damar, and Rifka Annisa as NGOs are not fixed entities, but are shaped by the socio-political context in which they operate, where development discourse is continuously negotiated between local actors, donors, and communities (Hilhorst, 2003, 7).

Tanoker's "upward accountability," for example, in the development of the Module received support from The Asia Foundation, while other activities received support from partners Migrant Care, MAMPU (USAID), Hivos, Partner Asia, and programmatic partnerships with the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, and Ashoka (Bulletin VII and the Mother's School Module).

In practice, Tanoker implements "downward accountability" through schools (mothers, fathers, grandparents) and the Children's Forum. Meanwhile, according to data from August 2018, the Tanoker community supported 249 children, 52 of whom were left behind by their mothers who were migrant workers (Tanoker.org).

Rifka Annisa and Damar stated that in implementing downward accountability:

"Regardless of the program, Rifka Annisa consistently provides services to victims, as the government is not yet strong and present in providing services. When funding decreased, divisions changed due to efficiency, but the counseling staff remained because Rifka provides counseling services to victims on a daily basis." (Nurmawati)

"The core of the Damar institution is case management. So sometimes, when there isn't enough funding from the program to cover case management, we try to apply to donors, make referrals to the government, or use the institution's own funds." (Eka TC)

Downward accountability, implemented by Tanoker, Rifka Annisa, and Damar, is not only part of the organization's vision and mission, but also maintains its legitimacy in the eyes of donor partners and the government, as is typical of small NGOs operating in Indonesia's civil society (ICNL Civic Freedom Monitor and CSO Sustainability Index).

The interventions carried out by Rifka Annisa and Damar demonstrate that NGO interventions are not fully autonomous. This is evident in Damar's semi-annual documents, which require alignment between the annual plan report and the output sheet as a form of accountability to donors.

"There are various types of donors. Some have high achievement targets, others don't. Some have predetermined targets, and others are set jointly or can be discussed further. Typically, multi-year programs have milestones to be achieved over a certain number of years. However, each year there's a review or design scoping, essentially redesigning whether this year's target has been achieved. If not, it's moved to the next year. Donors set milestone targets, and there's a baseline. I think the target achievement remains relevant; it's just how the institution manages it that's at stake. Many people say that NGOs are project workers for donors, but we do this to maintain the credibility of the institution's reputation with donors, to carry out our work professionally, with measurable donor achievements. Some structures are also made flexible between the institutional structure and the program, as part of an efficiency and sustainability strategy." (Eka TC).

"From the beginning, partners and Rutgers created a plan, a log frame, outlining what they wanted to do, the indicators, outputs, and outcomes, using the Theory of Change. Partners created the design first, then we explained it, and Rutgers critiqued and provided input on several points. Rutgers itself had its own targets and figures. In the process, sometimes the targets were unrealistic, too high, or there were local needs, or there were contextual additions. We discussed this with Rutgers, including monitoring and evaluation," (Nurmawati).

This relationship demonstrates the ambivalent nature of NGOs in their relationships with the state and donor agencies. While NGOs fulfil state responsibilities, this phenomenon can also demonstrate the "industrialization of aid," where NGOs are used by donors and governments as implementers of development projects, guided by a system of professionalism, efficiency, financial accountability, and contracts and donor control mechanisms (Deh Haan, 2009, xi).

In this relation, NGO carry out Buffering Strategy involves adopting donor language but embedding it in local practices, measured by changes in village habits, relationships, and policies.

Many NGOs adopt donor language in their programs to align with global discourse. However, NGOs also employ decoupling or buffering strategies to ensure that the language remains aligned with the community and aligns with the organization's mission (Kamstra & Schulpen, 2015, 346-347).

Tanoker adopts donor language explicitly expressed in its public documents, such as "empowerment" and "participation," but maintains the core of its program's focus on local values, such as "gotong royong" (Book: Variety of Collaborative Parenting, 2020, 14-15).

Meanwhile, Damar and Rifka Annisa state the following:

"We must be flexible and adapt to the community. This isn't just about language, but also about dress and approach. The government and the community would differ. We need to be close, open the air, and encourage them to be open. We must live like them, so that our advocacy can resonate. We can't use high-stakes donor language; we need to use the everyday language they use." (Eka TC)

"A gender transformative approach is when we recognize that violence is caused by cultural factors, values that normalize violence and patriarchy. The approach is to transform these values into new ones. This doesn't mean that all culture is bad, but we need to reexamine our local values, consider what we consider good and what we consider bad. We reinterpret these values so that no one is harmed by that culture. We then transform the values of gender equality into the community through their everyday values. This includes religious values, so we also involve religious leaders." (Nurmawati)

In addition, NGOs such as Damar and Rifka Annisa need to negotiate global agendas such as the Gender Transformative Approach, Masculinity+, and Gender Equality with local needs.

"The initial module was designed by Rifka Annisa and Rutgers, but it served only as a guideline. Village facilitators adapted to the local context, such as cultural and religious values. Therefore, it was important to involve community and religious leaders in community discussions." (Nurmawati)

"The meeting model used a variety of acceptable methods. The classes were first introduced through the Yasinan (recitation) group. If we had gathered the community directly for socialization, they wouldn't have attended. After the initial socialization in the Yasinan group, they finally understood, and in the following months, they no longer participated in the Yasinan activities. The facilitator for the fathers' group was a member of the group, such as the religious study group leader, because they have influence and are expected to serve as role models." (Indah Lestari).

Tanoker adopts donor language expressed in its public documents such as "empowerment" and "participation," but maintains the core of its program based on local values such as "collaborative" (Book of Various Childcare Gotong Royong, 2020, 14-15).

## **Chapter 6: Governing Care in Practice: Conclusions and Recommendations**

This chapter summarizes how three NGOs Tanoker, Damar, and Rifka Annisa, frame and respond to the caregiving crisis in the context of women's migration and gender inequality. The research found that Tanoker views caregiving as a communal issue arising from the weak transfer of care resulting from migration. Therefore, Tanoker promotes a collaborative caregiving model involving mothers, fathers, grandparents, schools, religious institutions, and even village governments. In contrast, Damar and Rifka Annisa view caregiving as a manifestation of gender inequality within households, particularly the minimal involvement of fathers and the dominant burden of caregiving on women. Using the Gender Transformative Approach, these two NGOs seek to transform power relations within families through reflective classes, counseling, campaigns, and collaboration with religious leaders and the government.

The analysis shows that all three NGOs implement similar forms of intervention, classes, modules, community dialogues, counseling, despite their diverse backgrounds. These similarities in methods are influenced by funding dynamics and demands for donor accountability, which encourage patterns that are easily measured, replicated, and reported. At the same time, parenting practices shaped by NGOs demonstrate mechanisms of governmentality, namely technologies of community regulation through family education, the formation of moral values, and the creation of ideal subjects such as "learning mothers," "equal fathers," or "child-caring communities." These findings also confirm that state responsibility for childcare services has been shifted to communities and NGOs.

In terms of contribution, this study demonstrates that the childcare crisis can be attributed to social structures and gender redistribution. Practically, this study emphasizes the importance of strengthening the institutionalization of childcare support at the village level, expanding the space for collaborative curriculum design with communities, and ensuring long-term monitoring of changes in father and family behavior following interventions. Furthermore, donors are encouraged to provide greater space for local adaptation and core funding support to ensure sustainable change.

For future research, long-term evaluations of changes in father behavior, measuring the caregiving burden on grandparents and female relatives, and the dynamics of village childcare budgets are important areas for development.

Overall, this study concludes that childcare is not simply a household issue, but a political and social issue regulated through the practices of NGOs, the state, donors, and communities.

## References

- Banks, N., Hulme, D., & Edwards, M. (2015). *NGOs, states, and donors revisited: Still too close for comfort?* *World Development*, 66, 707–718. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.09.028>
- Boccagni, Paolo. (2013). Caring about migrant care workers: From private obligations to transnational social welfare? *Critical Social Policy*, 34 (2), 221-240. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018313500867>
- Caarls, K., Haagsman, K., Kraus E.K. & V. Mazzucato. [African transnational families: Cross-country and gendered comparisons](#). *Population Space and Place*. 2018;e2162. doi: 10.1002/psp.2162
- Cantillon, S., O. Mackett and S. Stevano. (2023). Social Reproduction. In *Feminist Political Economy: A Global Perspective* (pp. 45-65).
- Ciciek, etc. (2024). Various Collaborative Parenting : Stories of Change from Village. East Java: TanokerLedokombo.
- Cornwall, A., & Brock, K. (2005). *What do buzzwords do for development policy? A critical look at “participation”, “empowerment” and “poverty reduction”*. *Third World Quarterly*, 26(7), 1043–1060. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590500235603>
- DiMaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). *The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields*. *American Sociological Review*, 48(2), 147–160. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095101>
- Ebrahim, A. (2003). *Accountability in practice: Mechanisms for NGOs*. *World Development*, 31(5), 813–829. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X\(03\)00014-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(03)00014-7)
- Edwards, M., & Hulme, D. (1996). *Too close for comfort? The impact of official aid on nongovernmental organizations*. *World Development*, 24(6), 961–973. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X\(96\)00019-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(96)00019-8)
- Ferguson, J. and A. Gupta (2002). 'Spatializing States: Toward an ethnography of neoliberal governmentality.' *American Ethnologist* 29(4): 981-1002
- Hirschmann, N. J. (2018). Care as a political concept: Now more than ever. *Politics & Gender*, [dalam Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care](#). By Joan Tronto. New York: Routledge, 1993. 242. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X18000417>
- Hoang, L.A. (2016) [Governmentality in Asian Migration Regimes: the Case of Labour Migration from Vietnam to Taiwan](#). *Population, Space and Place*, 23(3): doi: 10.1002/psp/2019.

Hoang, L.A., T. Lam, B.S.A. Yeoh and E. Graham (2015) [Transnational migration, changing carearrangements and left-behind children's responses in Southeast Asia](#). *Children's Geographies*, 13(3): 263-277, doi: 10.1080/14733285.2015.972653. [[Open Access](#)]

Hwang, H., & Powell, W. W. (2009). The rationalization of charity: The influences of professionalism in the nonprofit sector. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 54(2), 268–298

Jordan, L.P., B. Dito, J. Nobles, and E. Graham (2018) [Engaged parenting, gender, and children's time use in transnational families: An assessment spanning three global regions](#). *Population, Space and Place*, 24(7): 1-16, doi: 10.1002/psp.2159. [[Open Access](#)]

Jordan, L.P., Dito, B., Nobles, J. & E. Graham. [Engaged parenting, gender, and children's time use in transnational families: An assessment spanning three global regions](#). *Population, Space and Place*. 2018;e2159. doi: 10.1002/psp.2159.

Jumiati, etc. (2018). Collaborative Parenting Module: “Mothers School, Experiences from Ledokombo. East Java: Tanoker Ledokombo.

Laslett, B., & Brenner, J. (1989). Gender and social reproduction: Historical perspectives. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 15, 381–404. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.15.080189.002121>

Li, T.M. (2007). 'Governmentality.' *Anthropologica* 49(2): 275-281. (A discussion of the governmentality framework from an anthropological perspective)

Lombardozi, L. and F.H. Pitts (2020) ‘Social Form, Social Reproduction and Social Policy: Basic Income, Basic Services, Basic Infrastructure’, *Capital & Class* 44(4): 573–594.

Mazzucato V. & B.B. Dito. [Transnational families: Cross-country comparative perspectives](#). *Population Space and Place*. 2018;e2165. doi: 10.1002/psp.2165

McKee, K. 2009. "Post-Foucauldian Governmentality: What does it offer critical social policy analysis?" *Critical Social Policy* 29(3):465-486. (A discussion of governmentality in relation to social policy)

Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). *Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony*. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83(2), 340–363. <https://doi.org/10.1086/226550>

Mezzadri, A. (2022) 'Social Reproduction and Pandemic Neoliberalism: Planetary Crises and the Reorganisation of Life, Work and Death', *Organization* 29(3): 379-400.

Mosse, D. (2005). *Cultivating Development: An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice*. London: Pluto Press

Nguyen, M.T.N., H. Rydstrom and J. Mao (2024) ‘Reconfiguring Labour and Welfare in the Global South: How the Social Question is Framed as Market Participation’, *Global Social Policy* 24(2): 149–165

Oliver, C. (1991). *Strategic responses to institutional processes*. *Academy of Management Review*, 16(1), 145–179. <https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.1991.4279002>

Parreñas, R. S. (2005). *Children of Global Migration: Transnational Families and Gendered Woes*. Stanford University Press.

Rose, Nikolas, O'Malley, Pat, Valverde, Mariana. 2006. Governmentality. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 2(1), 83-104. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.2.081805.105900>

Seki, Koki. (2015). Capitalizing on Desire: Reconfiguring ‘the social’ and the Government of Poverty in the Philippines. *Development and Change*, 46(^), 1253-1276. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12200>

Somaiah, B.C. and B.S.A. Yeoh, [Grandparenting left-behind children in Javanese Migrant-sending villages: Trigenerational care circuits and the negotiation of care](#). *Geoforum*, 143 (2023), doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2023.103767

Tanoker. (2017, October 3). Solving social problems of migrant workers’ children with “egrang”.<https://tanoker.org/solving-social-problems-of-migrant-workers-children-with-egrang/#:~:text=This%20situation%20has%20generated%20many,documents%20they%20are%20entitled%20to>

Tanoker. (2018, March 15). Warrior for women’s and children’s rights in East Java. <https://tanoker.org/warrior-for-womens-and-childrens-rights-in-east-java/#:~:text=In%202008%2C%20Ciciek%20moved%20to,in%20Malaysia%20and%20Saudi%20Arabia>

Velayati, etc. (2020). Children's Forum Module: “Playing to learn, learning to play”. East Java, Tanoker Ledokombo.

Ware, Felicity, Breheny, Mary, Forster, Margaret. (2016). The politics of government ‘support’ in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Reinforcing and reproducing the poor citizenship of young Maori parents. *Critical Social Policy*, 37(4), 499-519. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018316672111>

Wells, K. (2014). 'Marching to Be Somebody: A governmentality analysis of online cadet recruitment.' *Children's Geographies*12(3): 339-353. (For those interested in childhood and youth studies)

Yeoh, B.S.A., T. Lam, B.C. Somaiah and K.F. Acedera, [The critical temporalities of serial migration and family social reproduction in Southeast Asia](#). *Time & Society*, 32, no. 4 (2023), 411-433, doi: 10.1177/0961463X231164473.