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URBAN LIVING & MULTICULTURAN CITIES IN ASIA:
FROM COLONIAL PAST TO GLOBAL FUTURE

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Jakarta, November 2017

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Greetings From the Dean

Welcome to the first International Conference on Psychology and Multiculturalism,

In 2017, Faculty of Psychology, Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia celebrates its 25th anniversary. On the 8th of June 1992, the faculty was opened with a bachelor degree program and started the academic activities with only about 70 students. Twenty five years passing by, currently we have four study programs at bachelor, master (professional and science), and doctoral level serving about 1500 students. It is a great achievement that this year we finally have a complete level of study program!

As a commemoration of our gratitude and celebration for this achievement, we are convening academicians, students, and practitioners to discuss and learn from each other in an international conference, namely “Urban Living and Multicultural Cities in Asia: From Colonial Past to Global Future”. This is our first international conference and it is a reflection of our academic themes, namely to understand and develop urban dwellers, multicultural, and disadvantaged people. It is relevant with Jakarta, where our campus is located, that the conference covers behaviors and psychological aspects of people within the history of the city, its economic and industrial growth, health, education, and information technology innovations.

Our keynote speaker and panelists are experts in their field. I hope we can learn a lot from them. For presenters and guests, welcome and thank you for joining our conference, I hope you can have wonderful discussions in this conference.

Dr. Angela Oktavia Suryani, M. Si

Dean of Faculty of Psychology, Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia

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Woman Resistance against Poverty:
Case of Women's Lubuk Raya Group Tebing Tinggi

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ABSTRACT

This paper departs from the field work from the authors during interaction and accompanying the Lubuk Raya Women Group in Lubuk Raya Village, Padang Hulu Subdistrict, Tebing Tinggi City. This paper aims to describe the forms of women's resistance to poverty. What and how they do it, and what containers, they use to fight the poverty. Using this feminist ethnographic method, this paper will look at women's problems and poverty as they experience it. This paper a described the forms of gender relations that occur within the household. Women always experience a double burden, especially natural Toba Batak family that adopts patriarchy. On the one hand, they have to take care of the household well, on the other hand. They also have to work to help the family income. This double burden causes his whole life to be centered on family and others. Likewise, for some women in Lubuk Raya Village, did not make them as women who resign and accept the situation. On the contrary, this double burden pushes them to fight and get out of their poverty. Through the women's organization Lubuk Raya Women they are trying to open access so that women can be involved in the existing development process. Consciously they have gathered and tried to get out of poverty. Increased access and participation is done by building the capacity of women through training and monthly discussions, then involving women in every development activity ranging from discussion at urban village level to city level.

Keywords: feminist ethnography, poor women, women's organizations, resistance strategies

Based on the data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2013), the population of poor people in Tebing Tinggi reached the number of 17,200. This figure is lower than that of 2011 by the Integrated Data Basis (IDB) which was 38,339. The high figure of the poor people naturally causes many problems in the community leading to a lower quality of life. The problems include scarcity and low quality of food, low quality of health services, low quality of nutrition for children, low quality of educational participation, and construction of dirty settlements, increasing rates of crime accompanied by social unrest which in the end will erode the cultural values and create a culture of poverty [1].

The impact of poverty is much felt by women and children. When a family experiences poverty, it is the women who will become its victims. They are impelled to tackle the problem by fulfilling the needs of the family. Women have to allocate enough time to manage their families as well as increase the family incomes. For the purposes, they are willing to work hard as laborers, hired peasants, small-scale vendors, house servants, garbage collectors, nannies and even woman labor force of Indonesia (ILO, 2004).

The excessive burden leads women to a complex position or situation. On one hand, they had to do the house chores well and on the other they had to do the jobs to earn the family income. Consequently, women's daily life is centered around their families and other people.

Even so, for most of the women at the village of Lubuk Raya, the excessive burden did not make them hopeless to deal with the reality of life. On the other hand, the burden motivated them to fight for and resist against poverty. They established a women's group called Woman Group of Lubuk Raya. Through this organized group they tried to hold an access to their involvement in the existing development process. They had gathered conscientiously to try to escape from the poverty. This was the background of this research to be conducted namely to find out how the women fought to resist the poverty.

By applying the method of feminism ethnography, this research was intended to discover the relationship between women and poverty as perceived by the local people under investigation. This is what was called by Chambers [2] "starting from the rear side", that is, making the poor women as teachers. As poor women are always left behind, there should be an approach to reach them. There are six approaches suggested by Chambers. First, the researcher just sat, asked questions and listened to them. Second, the researcher learned something from the poorest women. Third, the researcher learned about the technical knowledge of the community like a glossary and local games. Fourth, the researcher conducted a survey and collaborative development. Fifth, the researcher learned as well as worked with them. Sixth, the researcher conducted simulated games.

The informants were those women who joined the women's group at Lubuk Raya. The group consisted of 18 petty vendors, 11 farm laborers, 6 garbage collectors, 8 house servants and 2 retired individuals. Following Chamber's method, the research began by looking for the group members who were most susceptible and helpless.

Woman and Poverty

Women and poverty are like the two different sides of the same coin; one cannot be separated from another. Poverty is even illustrated like a feeble woman who carries a heavy load on her shoulders. The close relationship between women and poverty has been noticeable from the inside of a family which is even a determining factor of discrimination and subordination over women [3]. This is evident in cases of ownership, access and control of women over their own human resources.

In connection with the case, Noerdin further mentions nine aspects that cause woman poverty (femalization of poverty) such as (1) woman access to political affairs, (2) woman access to jobs, (3) woman access to equal wages, (4) woman access to land property (production assets), (5) working woman access to legal protection, (6) woman access to production health services, (7) woman access to education, (8) minimum budget allocation for empowerment and improvement of woman welfare, and (9) heavy load of work by women. The aforementioned aspects by Noerdin indicate that by denying their access and control over their resources, they will become poor. In the end, poverty leaves women no choice except accepting the double burden in the areas of production, reproduction and social responsibilities. In the area of production, the women had to work hard to support the families, but in the real performance they experienced inequality. The same was true in reproduction. The aspect looked like the only domain for women untouched by men. After working outside, the women still had to deal with their house chores at home. As a result, the time for the women was all spent to take care of their families and other people. There was almost no time available for themselves. On the contrary, the women should get involved in social activities and community services, however, due to the heavy load of work, they would be trapped in their jobs. The absence of the women in the social domain was even worsened by a system of representation. A woman was just represented by her husband in expressing her opinions or suggestions for development. It was undeniable that many products of policy and development brought disadvantages to the woman.

Concept of Poverty

As in understanding the nature of women, poverty must also be understood with a holistic and multidimensional view. Poverty is no longer perceived as the amount of income, or food consumption per se. Poverty also includes dimensions of economy, politics and social welfare which include aspects of self-determination, choices, assets, capabilities, inclusion, equality, human rights, susceptibility, empowerment and subjective welfare [4]. Even so, the development of the concept of poverty has not been matched with a change of poverty measurements. Poverty is still measured by using the economic-centered concept of poverty line and poverty indicators.

Based on the above concept, poverty is defined as a condition in which the basic needs to survive and develop a decent life of an individual or a group of people, both men and women, are not fulfilled (Board of National Development Plan, 2005). Similarly, Suparlan [1] stated that poverty is:

A low level of living standard is the existence of material scarcity experienced by a group or a community of people in comparison with the living standard of the community in general. The direct effect of the low living standard is evident in the level of health conditions, morality, self-esteem of those who are categorized as the poor.

There are many theories that explain why a community becomes poor. One of them is the theory of *deprivation trap* as suggested by Chambers [2]. According to Chambers, the core of poverty problem is in the *deprivation trap* which consists of (1) the poverty per se, (2) physical weakness, (3) alienation, (4) susceptibility, and (5) powerlessness. The five components are overlapped and cause a devastating deprivation trap that kills a chance of survival for a poor family.

Like a domino effect, poverty is the determining factor for someone to become poor. The undesirable poverty makes someone physically weak because of the lack of food which later leads to disease susceptibility. As the person is physically weak, he will find it difficult to interact with his community and in the end he will be isolated from the daily affairs. When he is isolated, he becomes susceptible to life difficulties. Therefore, the poor community has no power to settle the poverty and falls into an exploitation.

Resistance

According to Hollander and Einwohner [5], there are four components of resistance namely (1) self-action for vested interests, (2) active efforts to oppose, protest and resist against cooperation, (3) involvement in behavioral opposition, (4) arguing and objecting.

An act of resistance is normally performed in the daily activities as described by Scott about peasants' resistance in Kedah, Malaysia. According to Scott [5], marginal people rarely possess resources or opportunities to oppose openly against their superiors. Therefore, they stage a resistance silently through their daily activities such as pulling their feet on the road, cheating, false obedience, stealing, pretending, ignoring, slandering, arson, sabotage, and so on.

Women in Dangs, India staged a different resistance. Varghese [6] saw the women staging the resistance in the form of open daily opposition against the local Service of Forestry. The daily resistance was performed by calling the rangers "bird hunters" or uttering a sarcastic call for the forest rangers.

One day the women openly staged a fight by confronting the officials of forestry service. Each of them got ready by carrying a sharp-bladed tool like a sickle. The women then threatened the officials by asking them to leave the village immediately or they would

take the risk of having a punishment. The women were not afraid of a shooting warning. They were ready for a confrontation. The forestry officials in the end gave up and left the village on foot.

Although the resistance was staged by women, Varghese thought that it was a patriarchal act. This act gave advantages to the local people because in terms of patriarchal culture, men would feel embarrassed and guilty when they had to fight against women.

The same case happened in Central Java as perceived by Peluso [7] in which the community who lived at a forest borderline staged resistance against the Indonesian Forestry Company in the following ways: (1) seizing the forest land and clearing it to be farmland, (2) cutting off the old trees and damaging the new plants, (3) staging a strike or prolonging their work and migration, (4) inculcating continuously and imparting a culture of resistance. However, the resistance in Central Java was politically very weak, that is, what the local people did was not responded to by the forestry officials.

There are two discriminating factors in the two regions that may be the cause of the success or failure of the resistance. First, the women were involved in the act. Second, there was an organization that worked and supported the community. In Dangs, India, the resistance was motivated by the women who had been enlightened by the community organization that stated that a forest belonged to them and not the state especially the forest ministry. When the forest was not available for production and the people who cultivated the land were considered criminals, then, the community should fight for it.

The question is why women can play an important role in staging resistance. To give the answer, Varghese uses a moral concept of peasants' economy as applied by Scott. The women's involvement in forestry is that a forest is not only a place to raise cattle or look for firewood but also a place for life resources, for daily activities such as looking for food, fishing and collecting firewood. As a result, they should interact with the forest without any choice and deal with the forest rangers sooner or later. Such an interaction led to an accumulation of anger which could burst any time.

In conclusion, woman resistance can occur when the problems the women face have touched on their survival and when there is a medium that unites the women in a social movement. This is not just a matter of different functions and roles between women and men in the society or the unequal relations between men and women in which women are subordinated.

Women and Poverty at Lubuk Raya

The population of Lubuk Raya village consists of 4,237 people (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015). Out of this number, 2,881 people (68%) are poor (according to the census by social solidarity workers of the district in 2004). The data on the population here cannot be completed on the basis of types of job. The lack of data makes it difficult to precisely determine what types of job are done by some of the people in this village as shown in the following table.

Village	Agriculture	Industry	Civil Servants and Armed/Police Force	Trade	Others	Total
Pabatu	-	27	72	67	354	520
Lubuk Baru	47	117	49	99	326	638
Persiakan	-	32	267	20	977	1296

Bandar Sono	10	43	152	302	963	1470
Tualang	-	13	107	53	2158	2331
Lubuk Raya	-	17	128	152	2070	2367
Padang Merbau	-	16	26	30	862	932

The table lists only four types of job namely agriculture, industry, civil servants and trade. The rest are not described in details such as the jobs as a driver, a pedicab puller, factory worker, construction worker, farmland worker, garbage collector, and others. The unlisted jobs reach the fantastic number of 2070 out of 2367 people who worked.

Less than 90% of the jobs by the people at Lubuk Raya are categorized as incidental occupations. Generally, they became street vendors moving to another area. However, they didn't work as vendors every day depending on the purchase power situation of the community. When they had no occupations for the day, they would gather in a coffee canteen to get information about the location for trading or supplies to sell or to be bought by people. Many worked as construction workers. This job was not permanent either because the job depended on who had the construction project. As construction workers they often had to go to another area. When there was no job, they would gather in a coffee shop. Some of them chose to become pedicab pullers, drivers and loaders. Even when they had no jobs to do, they always gathered in a coffee shop.

In all those jobs there was no certainty about the time and income. This was the beginning of woman poverty. To fulfill the needs of the family everyday, they would do the side jobs (moonlighting). The common jobs which the women at Lubuk Raya could do were to become house servants, petty vendors, farmland workers, craftswomen and garbage collectors.

The woman jobs initially were meant to "help their husbands". In a later development, they began to work to support their families. The example was the case of *Mak Fit* (mother of Fit) and *Mak Sur* (mother of Sur) who had woken up at dawn at 4 a.m and began their activities. They prepared the "lontong" (cooked rice with vegetables) by first cooking the vegetables, mincing the lontong and arranging it in a special bowl. This was done alone. At 6 a.m they began to open their lontong stands in front of their houses. Fitri, the old daughter woke up and helped her mother to run the stand. Mak Fit later continued the preparation by frying bananas and taroes. She then prepared other things for her daughter to go to school.

Meanwhile, Mak. Fit didn't care about what was going on. He just got busy with his plans. After taking a bath, he sat at the *lontong* stand and asked for his breakfast. The wife had to give him a plate of lontong with eggs and (a kind of cracker), a cup of sweet coffee and a pack of cigarettes, nothing more, nothing less. When the request was less, he would be angry and ridiculed her. Later he would ask for money to buy gasoline for his motorcycle.

Even in such conditions, Mak Fit didn't respond to the emergency: he just kept silent although when he put down the plate, he just ignored the sounds of plates clinging the table or when he gave some money, he just put it on the table. Many times her children asked her to fight against him or even divorce him, however, Mak. Fit just said, "*don't teach new tricks to an old dog. Mother is just thinking about you. One day when you grow up and get free from me, then, I will think about it....*" But then deep in her heart she was crying and would go to see her catfish to share her sufferings. "*..catfish..our destiny is the same. I am raised by someone but don't get any food but you are better because you still have food from the remnants of lontong...*"

It is a different case with Mak. Sur. She got busy with the preparation of the breakfast. Unlike other families, her family still uses firewood to cook the food. By using the firewood, she indeed had saves some money as the spending. However, the negative impact of burning the firewood was unavoidable. Smoke from the kitchen blew into the rooms of their rented house as big as four times eight meters wide. Surya, her 14-year old daughter got up immediately to help her mother in the kitchen. She helped her mother prepare the tools for the farming. After her daughter had gone to school, Mak. Fit would bring a gunny sack. Besides the container for her supplies at the farm, the gunny sack was used as a container for boxes or drinking bottles collected along her trip to the farm . As she was going to the farm, her husband went out to work as a construction worker or collect used materials after he had dropped in the coffee inn.

Mak Sur was not a peasant who owned farmland. She rented a rice field as big as 8 acres (3,200 m²). She preferred to do the farming alone. On the farm she could do anything without anyone's control. The freedom of expression was never enjoyed when her husband was around. Pak Sur would act crazily when he joined her to the farm. There was always something wrong with her. Even the land owner who was also the chairman of the Group of Collective Peasants felt offended by Pak Sur's actions.

"...this man is crazy...last season this man rented our farmland in the front side but he acted crazily...every time a farming trainer came over, he would make some trouble because he thought that he was being disturbed. Also, he felt that he was the cleverest person and wouldn't listen to any suggestions of other people. Now we let him rent the land behind so that he is far from other people. If Mak Sur wants to cultivate the land at the front side, she can but she should do it alone without her husband..."

The income from the farming was used by Mak Sur to pay for the rest and keep it as the savings. The productive work, though it looks quite simple, can bring much benefit to the family economy. Even in many families like those of Mak Fit and Mak Sur, the work was the source of main income. But then the work done by the women was considered a common job to earn extra income. It was not the main occupation. As a result, they suffered from poverty in which the heavy load work was not matched by equal appreciation.

Factors of Woman Poverty

Referring to the concept of deprivation trap, there are several factors that cause poverty with women at the village of Lubuk Raya. First, the women didn't have permanent jobs. They found it difficult to seek a job which gave them adequate pay. The reason was that they didn't have the required skills. Actually, there were many government programs of training them to be independent, but they had no access to the information because their time was limited due to the productive and reproductive occupations. Second, the level of women's education was low without expertise. Normally, the women's education was rated a secondary skill. Since childhood they had been conditioned to deal with reproductive work and when they grew up, they got married and learned how to do productive work. Their time for work ran out and so they had no time for social activities. Consequently, they had little access for useful information and development of knowledge and expertise. Third, the women had little access for the assistance from the government. All the information for the development programs was difficult to obtain and access to.

It is a fact that inadequacy for information makes women weak. Their productivity is very low with the assumption that their performance is not as good as that of men. In the end they are isolated from the government programs. This condition makes them susceptible to difficulties of life. They don't know to whom they should go for help. When they are

powerless, they will take a short cut to solve their problems and become exposed to exploitation. The forms of exploitation can be seen from the low rate of wage they earn, sexual harassment, money-lender's trap and heavy load of work.

Based on the observation above, the women at Lubuk Raya were poor when they had no access to information or knowledge related to their existence and that made them powerless.

Woman Resistance at Lubuk Raya

The occurrence of poverty at the village of Lubuk Raya motivated Mak Grace to resist it by summoning up her neighbors who were mostly her relatives. They formed "arisan" (fund-raising by collecting money to share). At first, they started with ten thousands rupiahs per week which later increased to one hundred thousand rupiahs per month. However, this arisan couldn't spread out to another area. The community saw it as a family "arisan".

In 2013 Mak Grace formed a group called Woman Solidarity Forum of Tebing Tinggi. It had a political purpose. She hoped that through the forum the women could get involved in development projects in Tebing Tinggi. According to Mak Grace, "...the women are sexy...many government projects are offered on behalf of the women and for the women, however, many of them have no access to the programs..." As the forum was not solidly organized, it went on beyond expectations.

Mak Grace in her daily activities also managed the farmland belonging to her family. As an agriculturalist, she concentrated on how to improve the peasants' income. She made many breakthroughs but they were counterproductive because of the policy of the committee members of Union of Peasant Groups (UPG). The policy of the UPG committee was dominated by men who happened to be civil servants. They seldom took sides of petty peasants who were the farmland renters and also woman peasants. The petty peasants often did not receive subsidized fertilizer and hold access to government loans. The committee of the UPG who should have protected the rights of the peasants turned to become the enemies of the peasants.

Mak Grace later coordinated the petty peasants so that they could express their aspirations in a staff meeting. In the meeting, under the pressure of the petty peasants, the committee of the UPG resigned and through acclamations the peasants appointed her as the new chairwoman.

Encounter of Two Ideas

By the end of April, 2015, Mak Grace, Mak Sur and Mak Jos went to meet the village chief to discuss the status of the UPG committee which had been taken over. The heat of the sun provoked their emotion as they didn't see the Village Chief there. With disappointment they later went to the village hall which was crowded with the local people. In the hall, a socialization for the importance of woman organization was held. Looking at the situation, they became even more provoked. They didn't recognize the people who were present. Even those who were familiar to them were the people who never struggled for the cause. These people always attended the village events.

They later met the organizing committee of the event who obviously were members of an NGO (Non-Government Organization). The committee persuaded the women in Tebing Tinggi to get involved in an organization. After the event was over, Mak Grace asked questions about the background of the activity such as who was invited and why they were not invited at all. The event organizers promised Mak Grace to let her join them in the next event.

In the next month precisely in the end of May, 2015, Mak Grace and her friends were invited to attend a training of woman organization in four villages in Tebing Tinggi. At the

end of the training, it was suggested that they form four women groups based on each village and the groups would be facilitated by the institution. In June a special meeting for women at Lubuk Raya was held. In the meeting they discussed what the group would do. They agreed to establish a Credit Union (CU).

In June meeting they talked about the CU. What is it? How do we run it? What are the advantages? Many questions about the CU appeared especially those about working capital because in their mind the participatory institution which was the channel to unite the women in a social movement would provide them with the capital in form of money. On the other hand, the institution just facilitated the group in motivating and training them, not giving them money. At the end of the discussion, the CU of women at Lubuk Raya was established. It was managed by one chairman, one secretary and one treasurer plus two committee members for credit.

Woman CU of Lubuk Raya

The Woman CU of Lubuk Raya held its first meeting in August, 2015 and was attended by 24 members. In line with the minutes of the meeting it was agreed that each member should submit one hundred and thirty-five thousand rupiahs which was divided into the premium as much as ten thousand rupiahs, main savings for one hundred thousand rupiahs, and obligatory savings for twenty-five thousand rupiahs. The premium and main savings were submitted by the members when they registered their names in the group whereas the obligatory savings was given every month.

In the first CU meeting they could collect funds as much as five million five hundred eight thousand rupiahs. In the first day the credit committee had selected eleven members worthy of receiving loans and distributed the collected money as much as five million two hundred fifty thousand back to the members. Each member who borrowed money was charged one per cent for the service and two percent decreasing for the duration of ten months.

Every month the collected money would be distributed to the members who needed it and so there was nothing left in the cash. With the circulation of money among the members, it was expected that they could improve their welfare and the CU would develop.

In August 2016 the first member meeting was held and the money collected from the members for one year reached thirty million eight hundred thirty thousand rupiahs. The funds distributed to the members reached fifty-four million eight hundred three thousand rupiahs. The balance of transaction was four million three hundred eighty thousand rupiahs. From the transaction balance each member received some share according to the transaction at the CU. The biggest share was six hundred sixty five thousand rupiahs and the lowest was thirty thousand rupiahs.

Gender Relation in Family

It is not a surprise why most of the members of the woman group at Lubuk Raya were Batak people. It is easier to understand the gender relations in family as described by Errington. Based on Errington's classification, Batak tribe is categorized into the group of *Exchange Archipelago* [8]. Hence, a relation among individuals is regulated on the basis of exchange in marriage. The relation then forms a social structure in Batak society which is called *dalihan na tolu* (tripod system) which consists of brothers or cousins of the same family name (*dongan sabutuha*), wife-giving party (*hula-hula*) and wife-taking party (*anak boru*) [9].

In his relations with the three parties, an individual has his different rights, obligations and responsibilities. When dealing with his *dongan sabutuha* he should be careful and wise to

interact with them. When dealing with *hula-hula* he should show his respect and loyalty to them. On the other hand, when he deals with *anak boru* he should be persuasive with them.

In reality, the relation is only applicable for men whereas women, according to the social structure, are in a confusing or liminal position [10]. The existence of a woman depends on a man. Before getting married, she uses her father's family name but after getting married she will automatically exit from her father's family name and join her husband's family. The existence of the woman is unclear and confusing because in reality she is neither in both groups. This is evident of the fact that a woman has no access to traditional ceremonies, legacy distribution, land property and pattern of residence either in from her father's family name or her husband's family name.

Based on the given relations between women and men is very dichotomous. The man is head of the family who earns a living and controls all the wealth. The man takes care of public affairs and makes political decisions. Meanwhile, the woman just deals with family affairs. In fact, they work as a peasant and a The job she does is considered only an activity that helps her husband. Her main job is to take care of her family.

The dichotomous gender relations are not obviously a deadend forever and can be applicable everywhere. As explained by Baiduri [10], this happened in the cases of *inang-inang* (working mothers) at the central market in Medan. The *inang-inang* changed their roles to become the ones who earned their living while their husbands acted as family heads (feministic men). The change of roles was consciously done as their strategy for adaptation or even a resistance against the conditions they faced.

As happened to the family of Mak Grace *boru* Purba and her husband Pak Grace Damanik, they lived with Mak Grace's mother (uxorial local). Their only daughter Grace studied in the first year of Junior High School. In daily life they worked together. After taking Grace to her school, Mak Grace and her husband Mr. Damanik went to a market for shopping of the supplies of their canteen. Afterwards, Pak Grace would bring out a pail of washed clothes but he didn't hang them ; he only put them outside the house. The clothes were hung out by Mak Grace while Pak Grace would take care of seeds of plants and wrap up the guavas. As an agriculturalist, Pak Grace was active in cultivating rare and valuable plants. Besides selling the plants, he would also grow the plants on his farm in Simalungun. Meanwhile, Mak Grace just took care of her shop.

Unfortunately, when there was nothing to do, Mak Grace would follow Pak Grace to go to a charcoal factory and see its production and distribute it to their customers. In handling the charcoal factory they helped each other. For the purpose of looking for raw materials and customers, it was Pak Grace who was the expert but for the finance, it was Mak Grace who handled it. With pride, Mak Grace described her husband's qualities:

...It looks as though Pak Grace webyre a reticent person but in fact he is easily welcomed by our community. We ever went to a field to search for wood. On the way, we made a bet who would get the wood first. As we arrived at the kampong, he waited on the car and I got off. I asked the wood seller how much she would charge me for the wood on sale. The seller said that it was already ordered by another person. When it was the turn for Pak Grace, he just said to the seller that he wanted to buy half of the stock. "The price is just the same, right?. The woman answered "yes". "where is your friend? Why are you alone?..Just the same when she put the charcoal, he just said" how much more do we give you'? thirty or fifty?. The woman just put down the charcoal. When I asked if there was any more charcoal, he would say a different thing to the seller..."

Unfortunately, the organizational ability of Pak Grace was not practiced in dealing with social activities like Mak Grace in the Union of Peasants Group and woman groups.

According to Pak Grace, he was now more interested in building up his business because it is more lucrative. Nevertheless, Pak Grace didn't forbid Mak Grace doing social activities. He even supported her by giving insights and of course support to take and fetch Grace from her school and handle the charcoal factory when Mak Grace had something else to do.

Unlike the family of Mak Sur, a Batak Toba who is *boru* (family name) Simanjutak and Pak Sur Simanungkalit, Mak Sur comes from Batangkuis and so she has to live with her husband's family (virilocal). Before getting married, Mak Sur worked in a factory and joined a labor union. Through the labor union she became very vocal with her aspirations and often did anarchic actions. Her unstable temperament is still prevalent. In the early years of her marriage, they often had quarrels. When Surya, their son, was still a baby, she ever ran away to Batangkuis. In her runaway she got pregnant with a second child. When she was fetched and found out to be pregnant, Pak Sur was suspicious. Ever since that time, their relations had been like a time bomb.

Mak Sur in woman groups was very excited. In group meetings she was very vocal, dominant and ambitious to be the centre of attention. Similarly, when she met government officials, without hesitation, she would express her concern. Her courage, enthusiasm and unpredictable temperament were just a camouflage. In the woman group she acted like a tiger who was not afraid of anything but when she was at home, she was just like a "sitting duck" sitting gently, listening to and obeying her husband. When Pak Sur forbade her to go out, she would stay home. She tried not to argue with him because she might be afraid of quarrelling. Only when she worked or attended a group meeting did she look energetic.

It is a different case with Mak Fit who married a Siagian. Pak Fit had no job and entirely depended on his wife's income. His rudeness, anger and selfishness had been the topic of conversations among her relatives. His wife's family had advised him not to be rude although he didn't have a job. He should have helped his wife without becoming a burden for her. He didn't take the advice but on the other hand he felt offended as if he had been attacked. When Mak Fit told his family about it, she didn't even get their attention. She was blamed for being unable to take care of her husband, understand his wants and pay attention to his conditions.

In fact, Mak Fit lived near her family and her husband's family. She could have gotten some help immediately when she faced difficulties. In reality she felt guilty when she complained about her life to his family. The husband's family felt that when she told them about her husband, they accused her of attacking him. Only with her children she could share bad feelings. She, however, didn't do this so that she would look okay in front of her children. To hide her feelings, she would kill the time by working from four in the morning until late in the evening. When she had a group meeting, she could escape from her routine activities and take advantage of the time to share with others. At least there was someone who would respond to her story which was different when she spoke to the catfish behind her house.

Role of Organization to Promote Capacity and Access to Development

After joining the Woman Group at Lubuk Raya, they continuously held meetings every month. The monthly meeting was intended to discuss the savings and loans. The topics of discussion started with the direct affairs related to women, children and family including the government issues concerned.

In terms of institutionalization, this group had been introduced to the Task Unit of Service Instruments (TUSI) in Tebing Tinggi so that it could play an active role in development process. At least there were TUSIs that cooperated with the group. First, the Board of Regional Development Plan (BRDP) which from the beginning had responded positively to the needs of the group. This was due to the fact that there had been no woman

groups existing, Then, whenever there was a “discussion for development plan” at the level of village, district and town, the groups were invited to participate. Similarly, when the Forum Group Discussion (FGD) made a draft of strategies in eliminating the regional poverty, the woman groups were involved in collecting the problems that happened to women and children.

Second, the Welfare Service for Women and Children (WSWC) which had persuaded the groups to get involved in their activities. Even the chairwoman of the woman group of Lubuk Raya was appointed as the chairwoman of a social institution in Tebing Tinggi. Since the chairwoman became a team leader, her activities with other instances concerned like police department, court justice and National Narcotics Agency (NNA) were heightened. The group was motivated to socialize and campaign for actions to defend the oppressed women. The woman group had got involved twice in defending cases of family violence and child pornography.

Third, Cooperative Service (CS) CU of Lubuk Pakam became the only woman cooperative existing in Tebing Tinggi. This was an achievement because the CU originated from the poor women. Although the CU was not a cooperative yet in terms of legal institution such as having permit, legal body, however, the good relations with the UAH made the CU a good example for villages to duplicate.

Fourth, Social Service which had originated from the discussion of FGD in designing the TUSI (tasks) had made the woman groups propose Collective Business Group (CBG) for garbage collectors. The CBG consisted of 10 female members who worked as garbage collectors. They received fresh funds from the Social Service as much as Rp. 20,000,000. As the additional capital. The money was used to buy pedicabs, scales and warehouses. All this time they had looked for the garbage and sold it to an agent, but after the CBG was established, they acted as petty agents. They bought the supply from the members and after collecting much, they sold it to a major agent.

In addition to having cooperation with the TUSI, the woman groups of Lubuk Raya also worked together with other woman groups existing in Tebing Tinggi. And until now there has been a representative non-government woman institution acknowledged by the Tebing Tinggi municipality namely Forum of Woman Solidarity of Tebing Tinggi (FWSTT). As such, the FWSTT was considered minor and it needed more assistance especially from other regions and later this forum had also cooperated with other woman forums in neighboring regencies such as regencies of Sergai and Batubara.

In conclusion, poverty has trapped women into a double burden, that is, the burden or load of work of women is heavier compared with that of men. Therefore, the women have to resist the poverty to escape from deprivation conditions. The forms of resistance can be like the formation of groups, involvement in development programs, proposals for funds from the government and establishment of CU.

The forms of resistance not only influence the position and status of women in the society but also defines a form of gender relation in a family. By staging a resistance, women can show their identity to their community. At the same time, they keep their life and family better. Only one problem remains unsolved that is how to get husbands involved in understanding the women's resistance against poverty as their collective struggle.

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