

**ISLAMIC WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN INDONESIA:  
CHARACTERISTICS, ACTIVITIES, AND GOVERNMENT FUNDING\***

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**Abstract:** Using survey data of 59 Islamic women's organizations, the paper presents information on the characteristics and activities of Islamic women's organizations in Indonesia. The study focuses on organizations which are affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, and Persis. The study further analyzes the characteristics of the organizations which are correlated with the receipt of government funding. Surprisingly, organizations that report that they have activities related to women's empowerment are less likely to receive government funding compared to those that do not have activities related to women's empowerment.

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## 1. Introduction

Women's empowerment is recognized as crucial to development, leading to improved health and educational outcomes of household members.<sup>1</sup> In many Muslim countries, Islamic organizations are involved in many areas of development and the women's wings of these organizations often provide activities targeted towards women. An understanding of how Islamic women's organizations function is therefore important for policy makers and international donors aiming to foster women's empowerment through effective policies and cooperation with Islamic women's organizations.

Indonesia is the world's largest Muslim country and is home to many active Islamic organizations. The two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia are the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, each of which has approximately 30 million members. Both organizations and other smaller organizations play an important role in community development in areas such as health care, education, and community mobilization. Women's wings of these organizations play a key role in their development activities. In particular, they aim to empower women. The activities range from the involvement in the national family planning program to assisting women who experienced domestic violence to supporting women's participation in politics (Arnez, 2010).

Several case studies have documented the roles of Islamic women's organizations in Indonesia. For example, Arnez (2010) discusses how Fatayat NU (the young women's organization of NU) has evolved over time and how the organization contributes to the empowerment of women. Candland and Nurjanah (2004) discuss the involvement of NU in supporting the national family planning program. Syamsiyatun (2007) documents the development and growth of Nasyiatul Aisyiyah (the young women's organization of Muhammadiyah).

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<sup>1</sup> Duflo (2005) discusses the relationship between women's empowerment and economic development. Several researchers have studied issues relating to women's empowerment, such as the determinants of women's empowerment and the effects of gender equality on economic growth. For example, see Anderson and Eswaran (2009), Pitt et al. (2003), Gallaway and Bernasek (2004), and Lagerlof (2003).

However, so far, to our knowledge there has been no quantitative study of Islamic women's organizations in Indonesia. The paper aims to fill this gap by providing a quantitative analysis of 59 Islamic women's organizations in Indonesia. The paper provides descriptive statistics of the characteristics and activities of the organizations, and analyses the characteristics of the organizations which are correlated with the receipt of government funding.

Using survey data containing 59 Islamic women's organizations located in 10 provinces in Indonesia collected in 2009, the study focuses on organizations which are affiliated with NU, Muhammadiyah, and Persis. Compared to NU and Muhammadiyah, Persis is a smaller Islamic organization which can be considered an Islamic modernist movement. The paper provides descriptive statistics of the characteristics and activities of Islamic women's organizations by affiliation. The paper also presents a biplot analysis showing the characteristics which are closely related to each of the three organizations. The paper then analyses the characteristics which are correlated with the receipt of government funding. Among other factors, the age of the leader and the number of members are correlated with the receipt of government funding. Surprisingly, the study finds that organizations that report that they have activities related to women's empowerment are less likely to receive government funding compared to those that do not have activities related to women's empowerment.

The paper is organized as follows. The next section provides background information on Muhammadiyah, NU, and Persis. Section Three discusses the data, while Section Four contains the analysis. Section Five concludes.

## **2. Background**

### **Muhammadiyah**

Muhammadiyah was established on November 18, 1912, by Muhammad Darwis who came to be known later as Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan (or KHA Dahlan). At the time, the main purpose of Muhammadiyah was to spread the religious teaching of the great prophet Muhammad to the indigenous citizen within the residence of Yogyakarta, and to enhance religious matters towards its members. Over time, the purpose of the

establishment has gone through a number of changes reflecting the development of society. In 1985, the purpose was “To uphold and praise the religion of Islam, thus a prominent, fair, and prosperous society which is blessed by Allah SWT can be realized”.

Besides religious activities, the main activities of Muhammadiyah are related to education, health, and economic activities. For example, Muhammadiyah has built thousands of Islamic schools, both traditional pesantren and modern schools. The organization also owns several hundred medical clinics and hospitals in Indonesia. The development and empowerment of women has been a concern of the organization since the beginning of the establishment. Currently, there are two Islamic women’s organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah, namely Aisyiah and Naswiatul Aisyiah.

Aisyiyah was established on 19 May 1917 in Yogyakarta by KHA Dahlan. Stemming from girls’ groups in regular Quran reading in 1914, Aisyiyah, whose leadership eventually expanded to include housewives, was involved in solving the community problems, especially those of improvement on woman positions/rights. Like Muhammadiyah, the establishment of Aisyiyah was prompted by a deep concern of the condition of Indonesian people, especially the women.

For several decades, Aisyiyah has paid attention to the health sector. There are Aisyiyah Hospitals, Health Centers for Mothers and Children, and other health centers. Aisyiyah also has other programs, such as the establishment of school and university health centers, the handling of reproductive health, the handling of drug abuse, tree planting activities, etc.

In the area of economic activities, Aisyiyah has activities including the development of business centers, cooperatives, and micro finance institutions. Other activities include strengthening the rights of women labourers and protecting consumers’ rights.<sup>2</sup>

Naswiatul Aisyiyah was established by Muhammadiyah in 1919 under the name of ‘Siswa Praja association’. The aim of the association was to embed the sense of

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.aisyiyah.or.id/>

unity, improve morality, and extend religious comprehension. The members of Siswa Praja association were teenage students of Standard School Muhammadiyah. The activities included Quranic recital, speech lesson, dawn-prayer congregation, the organization of the celebration of Islamic holidays and women's affair activities.

### **Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)**

Nahdlatul Ulama (meaning the revival of Ulama, or the scholar-preachers of Islam), often referred to as NU, was formed in Surabaya on January 31, 1926. A group of ulama, including Hasyim Asy'ari, Wahab Chasbullah, and Bisri Syamsuri, together established the organization, with Hasyim Asy'ari being the first chairman of NU. Currently NU is considered the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, with approximately 30 million members.

At the time of establishment, the aim of NU was to represent the interests of traditional Islam, especially the pesantren (Islamic boarding school) system (Arnez, 2010). NU attracted the more conservative, traditionalist Muslims in rural and small town Java, with strongholds in Central and Eastern Java.

The activities of NU cover several areas including education, health, and community mobilization. For example, Candland and Nurjanah (2004) document the role of NU in supporting the government's family planning program. NU funds schools, hospitals, and provides support for the community in order to help reduce poverty.

There are two main Islamic women's organizations within NU: Muslimat NU and Fatayat NU. Muslimat NU was founded on March 29, 1946. The impetus for Muslimat NU was the desire of NU women to improve the well-being and status of Muslim women (Candland and Nurjanah, 2004). Muslimat NU represents NU women over the age of 40. The organization is structured at national, provincial, district, sub-district and local levels, and has local leaders in more than 14,000 villages (Candland and Nurjanah, 2004).

Fatayat NU (Young Women of NU) was founded on April 24, 1950, for NU women between the ages of 20 and 40 (Arnez, 2010). Fatayat NU is structured in the same way as Muslimat NU, with five levels - national, provincial, district, sub-district, and

local (or village) levels. Fatayat NU focuses on leadership training, Islamic principles of organizational management, and the principles of the Nahdlatul Ulama (Candland and Nurjanah, 2004).

### **Persis**

Persis was established in Bandung on September 12, 1923. The organization was initiated by the Quran reading group (i.e. religious studies on Islam), which was chaired by H. Zamzam and H. Muhammad Yunus. The values promoted by Persis are values of community, leadership, and conduct in promulgating Islam. Persis can be considered Islamic modernist movement.

The main focus of Persis is on the Holy Quran and Sunnah. This is implemented in various activities, some of which include public meetings, gatherings, preaches, study clubs, reading groups, establishment of schools (boarding schools), publications of magazines and books, and other various religious activities. The main objective is the implementation of Islam teaching in community in all facets of life.

Persis conducts various activities, which include education by establishing the boarding school of Persis on March 4th, 1936. This boarding school has then developed into various levels of education, starting from Raudlatul Athfal (kindergarten) to university. It has also published books, and magazines. Other routine activities include Quran reading and discussions, which are often carried out in rural areas.

### **3. Data**

This paper uses part of the data collected under the project “Islamic Organizations and Women’s Empowerment in Indonesia”. The project is funded by AusAID, and collects data from 50 villages in 10 provinces in Indonesia. Overall, the data contain information on 1750 respondents from 1300 households, and 59 Islamic women’s

organizations. The survey was carried out between March and April 2009, and between July and August 2009.<sup>3</sup>

There are 5 types of questionnaires

- (1) Household questionnaire for women
- (2) Household questionnaire for men
- (3) Religious organization questionnaire
- (4) Non-religious organization questionnaire
- (5) Community questionnaire

This paper focuses on the analysis of the data on Islamic women's organizations, based on questionnaire (3).

As the project aims to study how Islamic organizations contribute to the empowerment of women in Indonesia, the study focuses on the areas which have at least one Islamic organization. The sampling method employed is purposive random sampling, to ensure the existence of at least one Islamic organization in each village chosen.

The study focuses on three main Islamic organizations, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, and Persis. Table 1 shows the number of Islamic women's organizations under the survey by affiliation and by province.

First, ten provinces were chosen based on whether there exist different types of Islamic organizations in the provinces. The researchers take into account information obtained from the Islamic organizations' headquarters in Jakarta. The selection of the provinces is based on the existence of the Islamic organizations, the number of members of each organization in the province, as well as the level of activities of the organizations. The researchers aim to cover the areas where the three Islamic

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<sup>3</sup> The first period was before the parliament election, while the second period was after the parliament election. The survey was not conducted during election time to avoid being mistaken as part of political activities.

organizations are active and have many members. The ten provinces chosen and the main Islamic organizations in each province are listed in Table 1.

Table 1:  
The number of Islamic Women's Organizations under the survey  
(by affiliation and province)

Province	Muhammadiyah	NU	Persis	Total
Banten	3	3	1	7
Central Jawa	1	6	0	7
East Jawa	2	3	0	5
Jakarta	2	2	1	5
Lampung	3	3	0	6
NTB	2	3	0	5
South Kalimantan	2	3	0	5
West Jawa	1	1	4	6
West Sumatera	4	4	0	8
Yogyakarta	4	1	0	5
Total	24	29	6	59

For each province, first the researchers would ask the headquarters of the Islamic organizations in the province for permission to conduct the survey. The researchers would then make a list of all the districts which have at least one office of an Islamic organization.<sup>4</sup> This is to ensure that at least one Islamic organization is formally operating in the district.<sup>5</sup> From this list, one district is chosen randomly from the group of urban districts and one is chosen randomly from the group of rural districts (except for Jakarta where both districts chosen are urban areas). In some cases one or two additional districts are also selected. This is because for each province the researchers need to locate 5 villages which have an office of an Islamic organization. In the case where this is not possible given the two selected districts, one or two additional districts would be selected based on information from the Islamic organizations' leaders.

For each district, a list of all sub-districts with at least one Islamic organization with an office is made. For each district, 1-2 sub-districts are chosen randomly from the list. For each sub-district, a list of all villages (or towns in the case of urban areas)

<sup>4</sup> As Persis is only active in Jakarta and West Java, in all other provinces the researchers would make a list of the districts which have offices of either NU or Muhammadiyah.

<sup>5</sup> Sometimes an Islamic organization may have an office at the province level, but not at the district (or sub-district/village) level.

with at least one Islamic organization with an office is made. For each sub-district, 1-2 villages (towns) are chosen randomly from the list. This results in 50 villages/towns chosen from 10 provinces, with all the villages/towns having at least one Islamic organization.

For each village/town, the researchers first surveyed the village/town leader, asking for information regarding the dominant Islamic organization and non-Islamic organizations in the village/town. The researchers then interviewed the leader of the women's group of the dominant Islamic organization in the village/town and asked for the list of registered members. From this list, 9 married female members are randomly chosen for interview. The husbands of the members are also interviewed. A list of village residents who are non-members is also made, and from this list 9 married women and 8 married men are randomly chosen for interview. This results in the survey of 35 respondents (from 26 households) in each village.

#### **4. Analysis**

##### **4.1 Characteristics of Islamic Women's Organizations**

###### **4.1.1 The purpose of the organization's establishment (besides Islamic teaching):**

As Figure 1 shows, for all organizations, education is the category most often mentioned as the main purpose of the organization (besides Islamic teaching). Health is the category most often mentioned as the second main purpose. Economic is the category most often mentioned as the third main purpose. Social work is also another category often mentioned under the category "Others". Only a few (4) organizations mentioned politics as one of the top three purposes, however, several (16) mentioned politics as ranking 4th or 5th as the purpose of the organization's establishment.

As Figures 2, 3, and 4 show, for each of the three groups of organizations (based on affiliation), education is the category most often mentioned as the main purpose of the organization (besides Islamic teaching). These are generally followed by health and economic. Social work is also occasionally mentioned under the category of "Others".

Figure 1:  
The purpose of all organizations' establishment

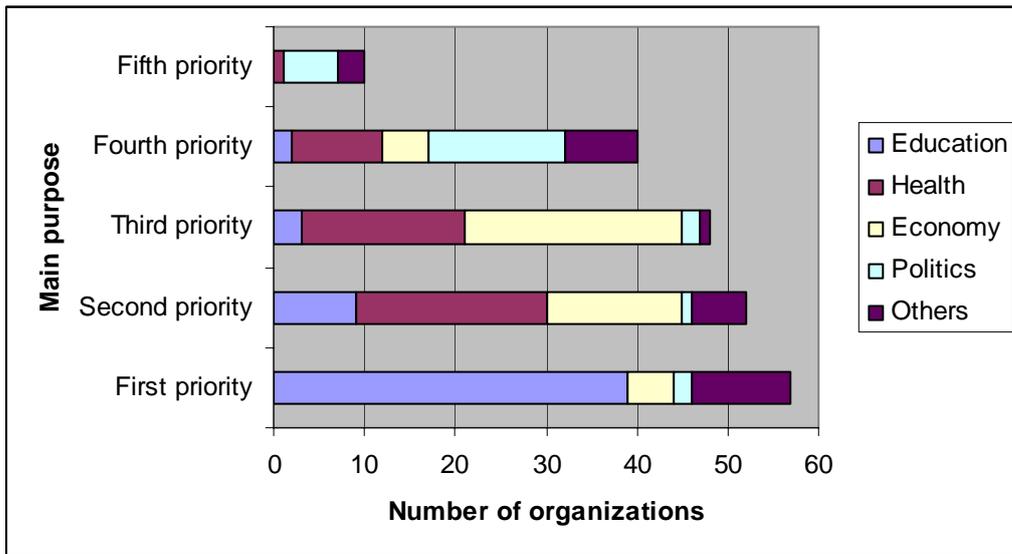


Figure 2:  
The purpose of the establishment of organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah

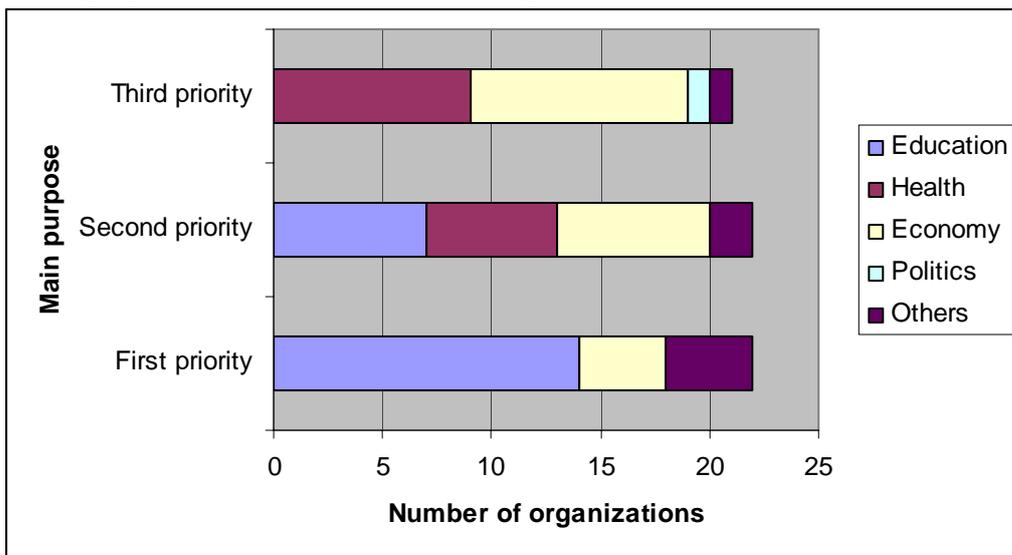


Figure 3:  
The purpose of the establishment of organizations affiliated with NU

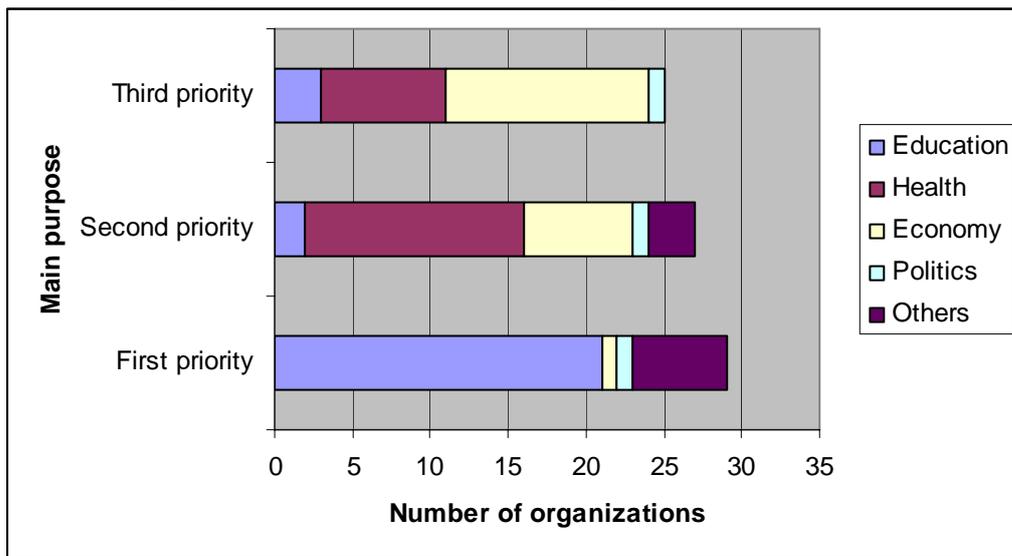
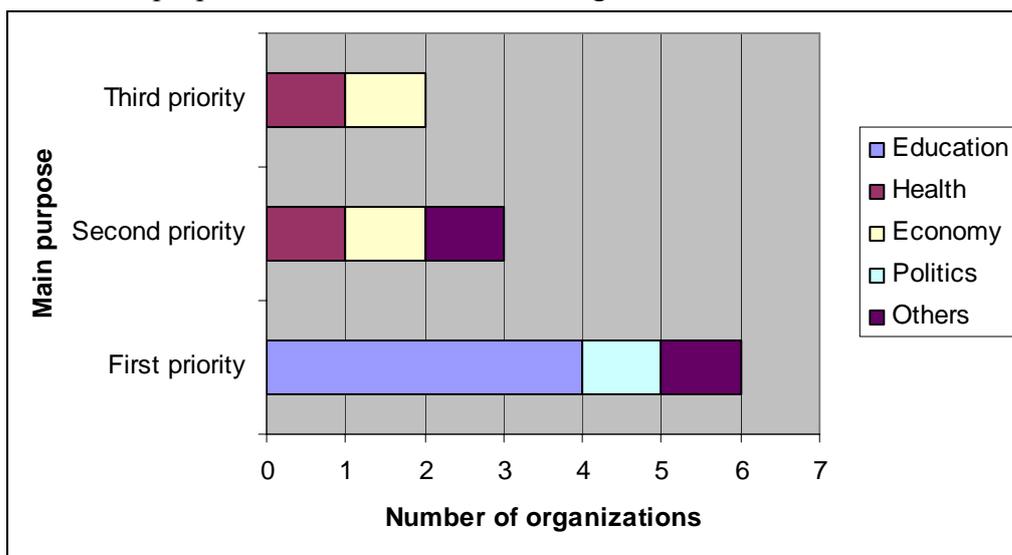


Figure 4:  
The purpose of the establishment of organizations affiliated with Persis



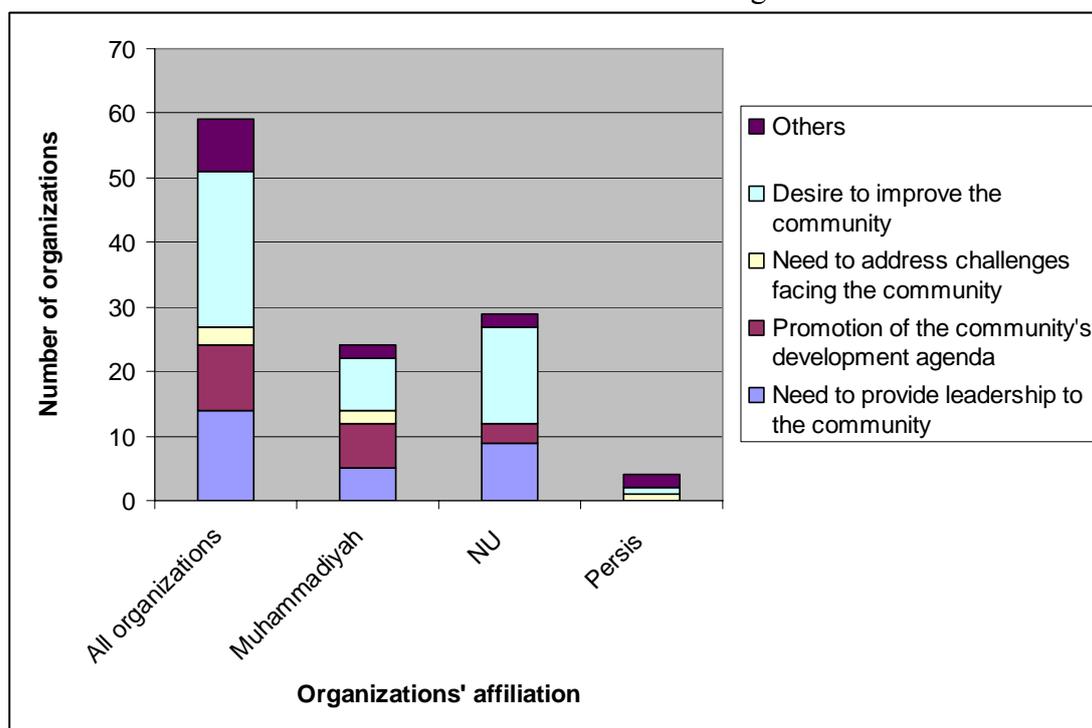
#### 4.1.2 The motivation of the formation of the organizations:

For all organizations, the desire to improve the community is most often mentioned as the motivation of the formation of the organization, followed by the need to provide leadership to the community.

For NU, the motivation most often mentioned is the desire to improve the community, followed by the promotion of the community's development agenda, and the need to

provide leadership to the community. For Muhammadiyah, the motivation ranks from the desire to improve the community, followed by the need to provide leadership to the community. For Persis, there are only 5 organizations interviewed, and each one gives a different answer for the motivation. These are: (1) need to address challenges facing the community, (2) desire to improve the community, (3) restore the teachings of Islam, (4) the application of AL-Quran and Al-Hadith, (5) strengthen the relationship between branches and the members of the Islamic organization.

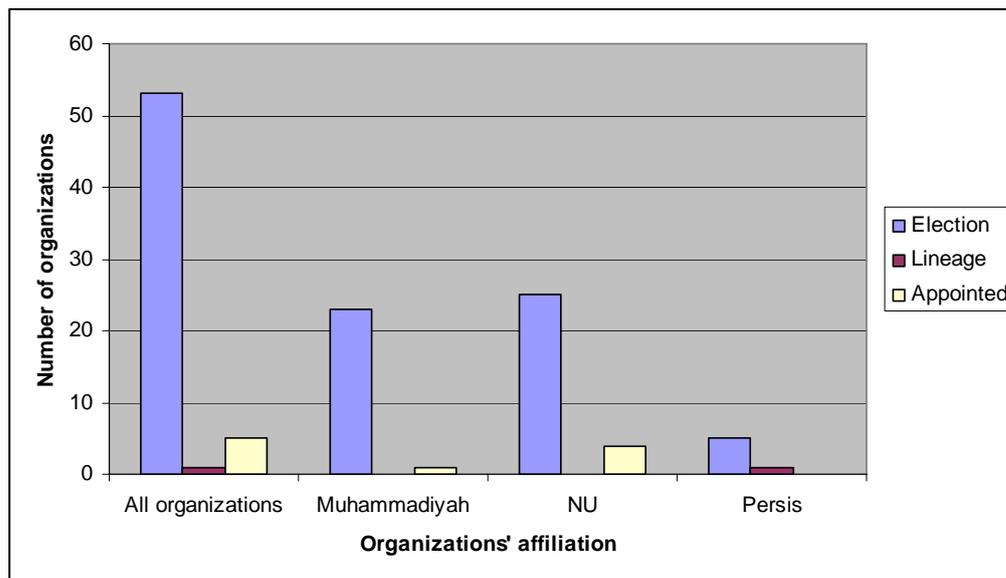
Figure 5:  
The motivation of the formation of the organizations



#### 4.1.3 How the leaders are selected:

As Figure 6 shows, in most cases, the current leaders were elected. Around 10% were appointed, and 2% became the leader through lineage. For NU and Muhammadiyah, the leaders were either elected or appointed. For Persis, the leaders were either elected or became the leader through lineage.

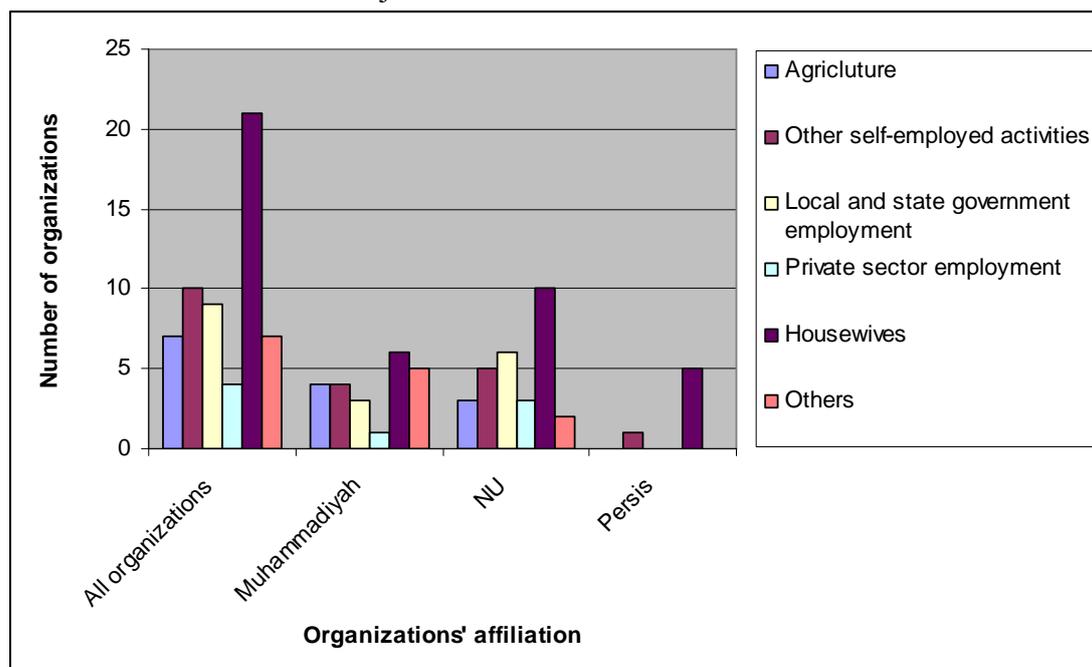
Figure 6:  
How the leaders are selected



#### 4.1.4 The major sources of income for members:

For all organizations, when asked what the major sources of incomes of the members are, the majority of organizations say that most of their members are housewives. This is true for all groups of organizations. For the rest of the organizations, the major sources of incomes are from agriculture, other self-employed activities, and local and state government employment.

Figure 7:  
The major sources of income for members



#### 4.1.5 Whether the organization has a permanent benefactor:

As Figure 8 shows, the majority of organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah and Persis have permanent benefactors. However, for organizations affiliated with NU, 80% of the organizations do not have a permanent benefactor. In most cases, the benefactors are individuals. Please refer to Figure 9.

Figure 8:  
Does the organization have a permanent benefactor?

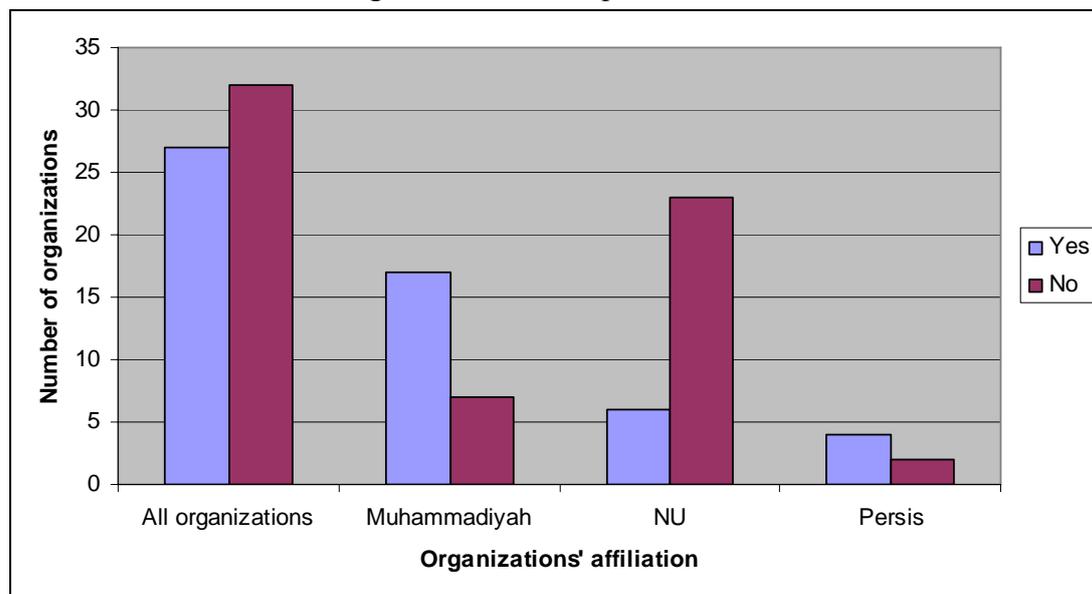
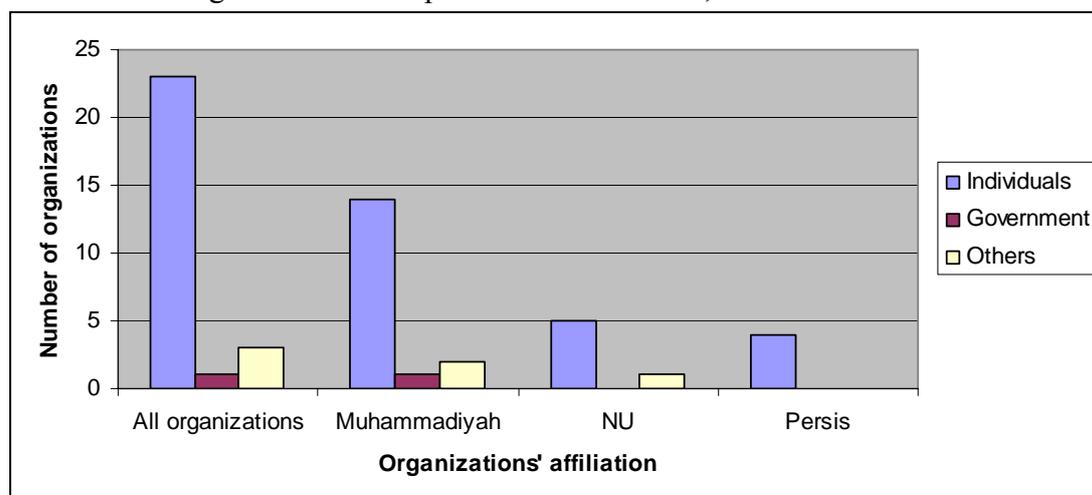


Figure 9:  
If the organization has a permanent benefactor, who is the benefactor?



#### 4.1.6 External support:

Overall, for the organizations' development, the role of Traditional Islamic Schools appears very strong. The government also plays a role in the organizations' development, although the role is not as strong as that of Traditional Islamic Schools. The role of Traditional Islamic Schools appears especially strong for organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah and Persis.

Figure 10:  
How significant was the role of the government in terms of this organization's development?

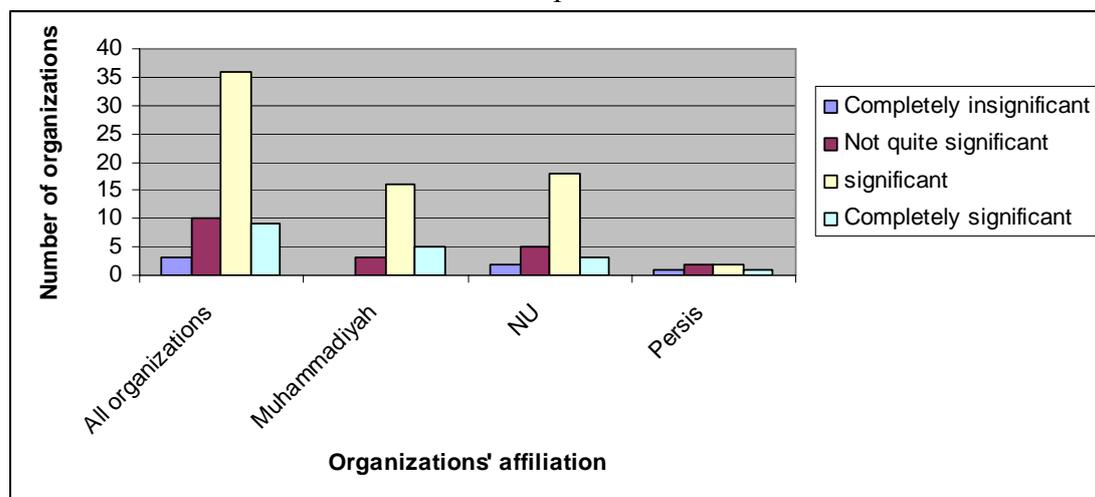
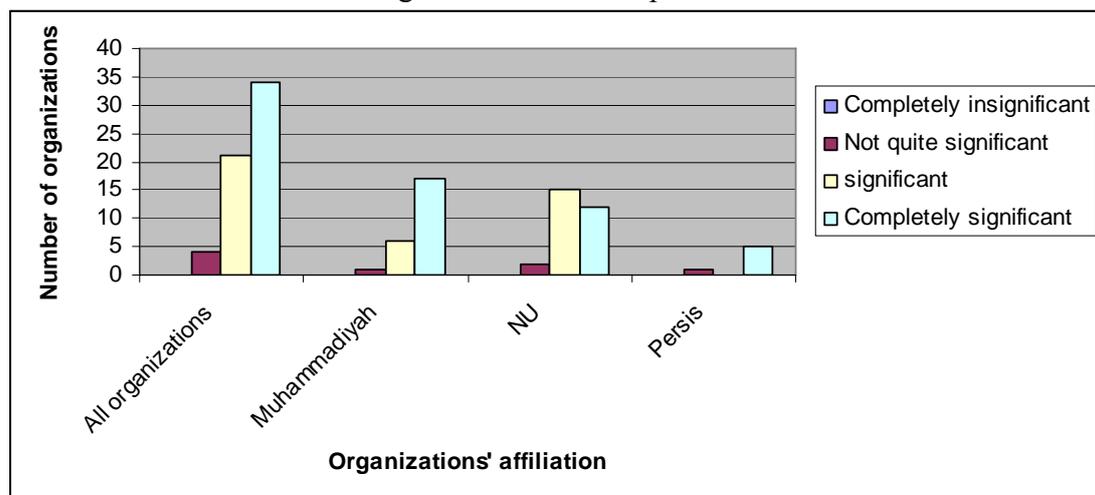


Figure 11:  
How significant was the role of Tradition Islamic/Koranic School in terms of this organization's development?



#### 4.1.7 Whether the organization receives funding support from the government and traditional Islamic school:

As Table 2 shows, 60% of all organizations receive funding support from the government. This ranges from 52% of organizations affiliated with NU, to 67% of organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah, and 67% of organizations affiliated with Persis. Around 50% of all organizations receive funding support from traditional Islamic schools. This ranges from 33% of organizations affiliated with Persis, to 48% of organizations affiliated with NU, to 54% of organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah.

Table 2:  
Whether the organization receives funding support from the government and traditional Islamic school (by affiliation)

Affiliation:	Receives funding from the government		Receives funding from traditional Islamic school	
	No of org.	Percentage	No of org.	Percentage
Muhammadiyah	16	66.7%	13	54%
NU	15	52%	14	48%
Persis	4	66.7%	2	33.3%
All organizations	35	60%	29	49%

## 4.2 Activities of Islamic Women's Organizations

### 4.2.1 Main activities of Islamic Women's Organizations under the survey

For all organizations, the program listed as the most important program that the organizations run for the community is the "literacy program". This is the case for organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah and NU. For Persis, 2 organizations reported literacy, 2 reported entrepreneurial training, and 1 reported skills training as their most important program. For the program listed as the second most important program, "skills training and capacity building" is the most often mentioned for organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah and NU. For Persis, "sex education for teenagers" was reported as second most important by two organizations.

Figure 12:  
The main activities of Islamic Women's Organizations under the survey

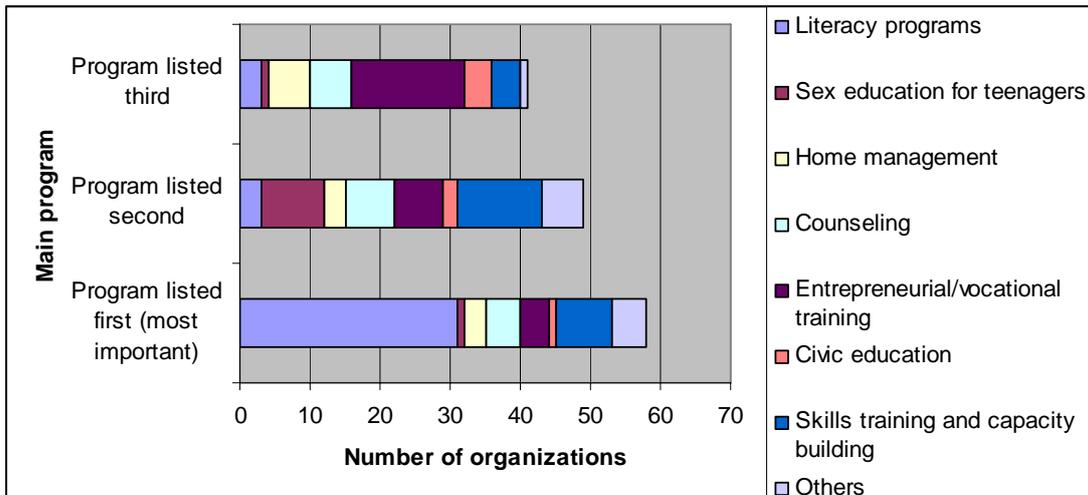


Figure 13:  
The main activities of the organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah

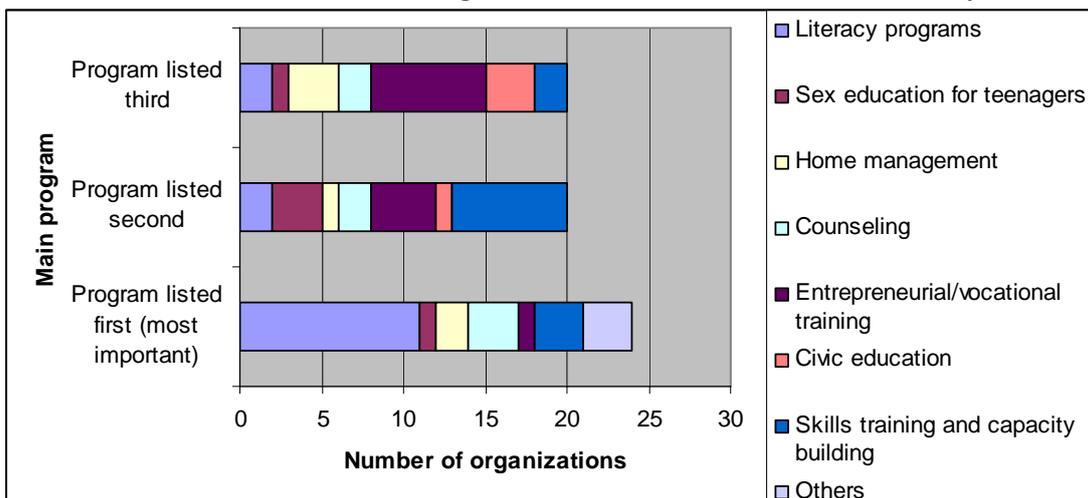


Figure 14:  
The main activities of the organizations affiliated with NU

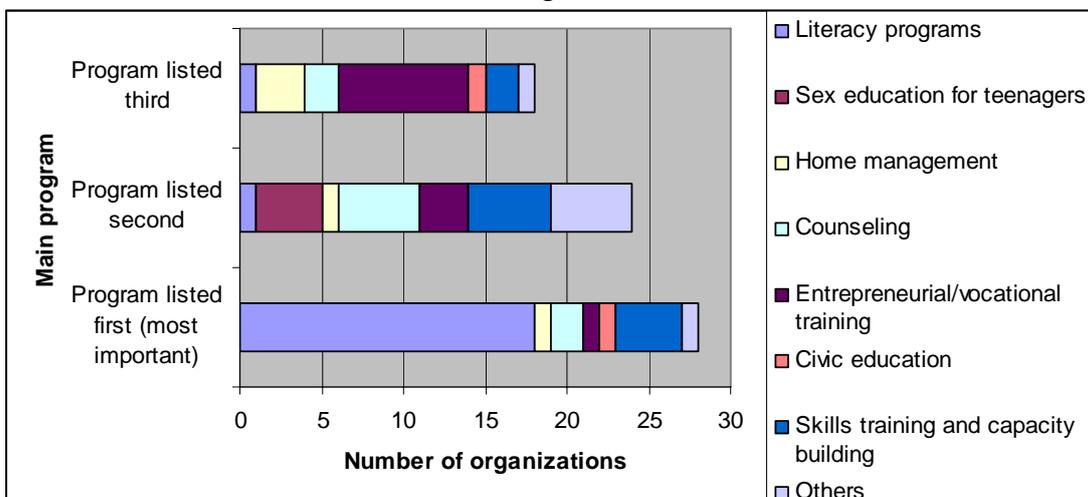
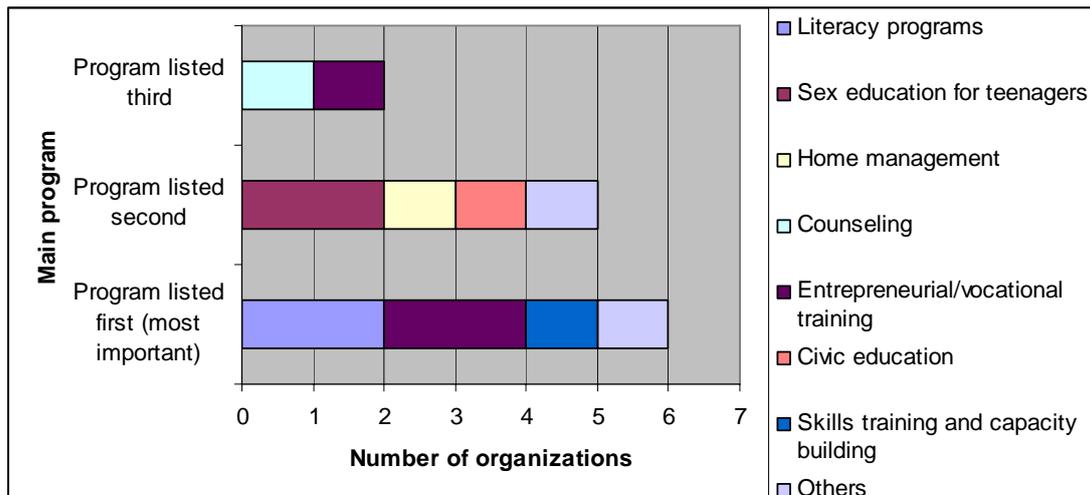


Figure 15:  
The main activities of the organizations affiliated with Persis



#### 4.2.2 Activities relating to women empowerment:

As Figure 16 shows, overall, around 85% of the organizations under the survey reported that they have particular activities in relation with women empowerment. This ranges from 96% of organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah, to 80% of organizations affiliated with NU, to 67% of organizations affiliated with Persis. For all organizations, the majority of activities for women empowerment are in the area of education, follow by economy, and finally health. This is shown in Figure 17. Politic was not listed as a sector where organizations have activities related to women empowerment. For organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah and NU, the majority reported that education is the area where they have activity related to women empowerment. This is followed by economy and health. For organizations affiliated with Persis, 50% reported education and 50% reported economy as the areas where they have women empowerment activities.

Figure 16  
Whether the organization has activities relating to women empowerment

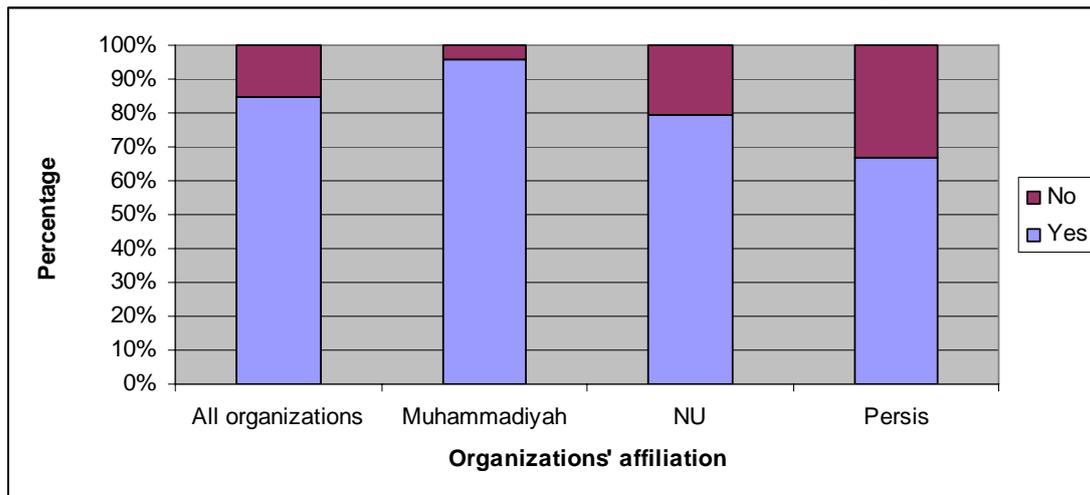
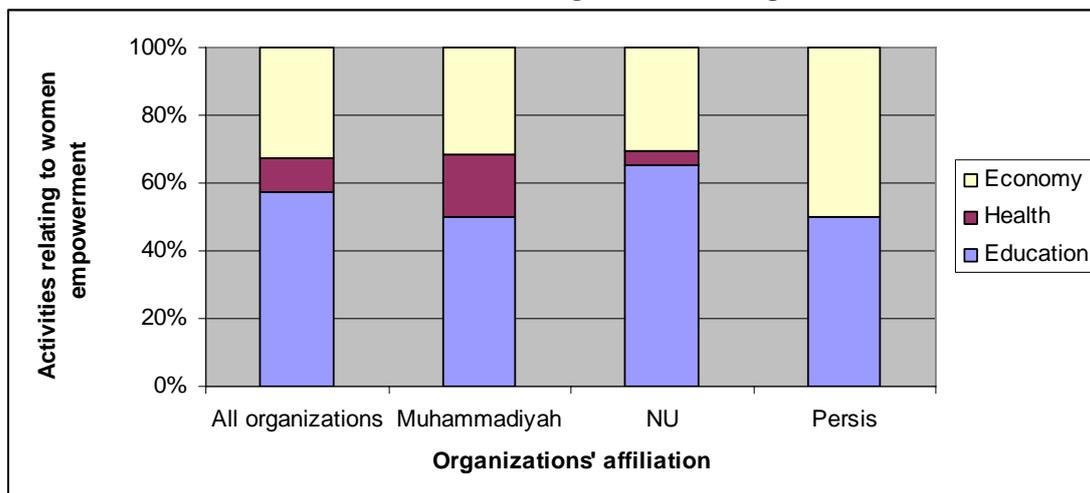


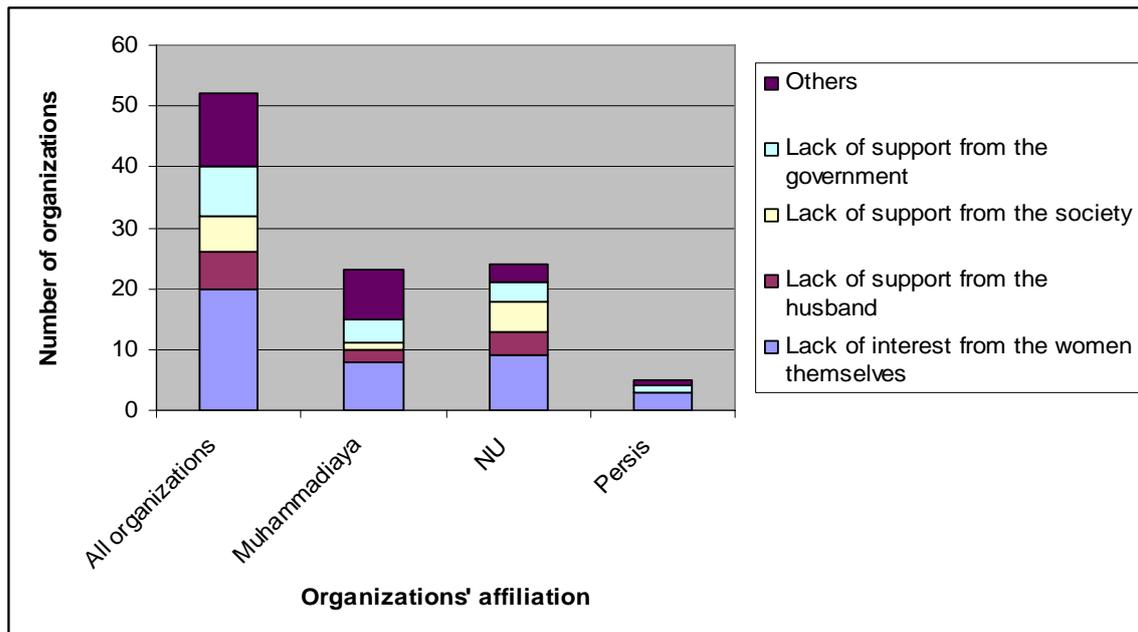
Figure 17  
Areas of the activities relating to women empowerment



#### 4.2.3 Barriers which restrain women's participation in the activities:

As Figure 18 shows, for all organizations, the most common barrier that restrains women empowerment development appears to be lack of interest from the women themselves. This is the case of all three groups of organizations. The second most common barrier is the lack of support from the government, where all three groups of organizations reported the lack of support from the government as the second most common barrier. For the reasons under the category “Others”, the lack of funding is most often mentioned.

Figure 18:  
Barriers which restrain women's participation in the activities



#### 4.3 The Comparison of Islamic Organizations : A Multivariate Analysis –Biplot

This sub-section uses the Biplot analysis to discuss the characteristics of each Islamic women's organization in detail.

This technique is a part of the statistical technique of multiple dimension that can be presented visually by showing simultaneous observations of cluster objects and variables in a graph on a flat surface so that the characteristics of the variables and objects and the relative position between the objects can be observed with the variables analyzed. The characteristics of the variables and the objects of observation and the relative positions between the objects of observations and the variables can be analyzed. The Biplot analysis is based on the singular value decomposition.

Figure 19 shows the results of the Biplot analysis with 3 Islamic women's organization as observations and 14 variables. The 14 variables can be grouped as follows: a) variables representing the purpose of organization's activities; b) variables representing the characteristics of the organization's members, and c) variables representing the social issues which are the focus of the organization as well as the organisation's view of the role of the government.

Figure 19:  
Biplot analysis on different characteristics of Islamic Women's Organizations

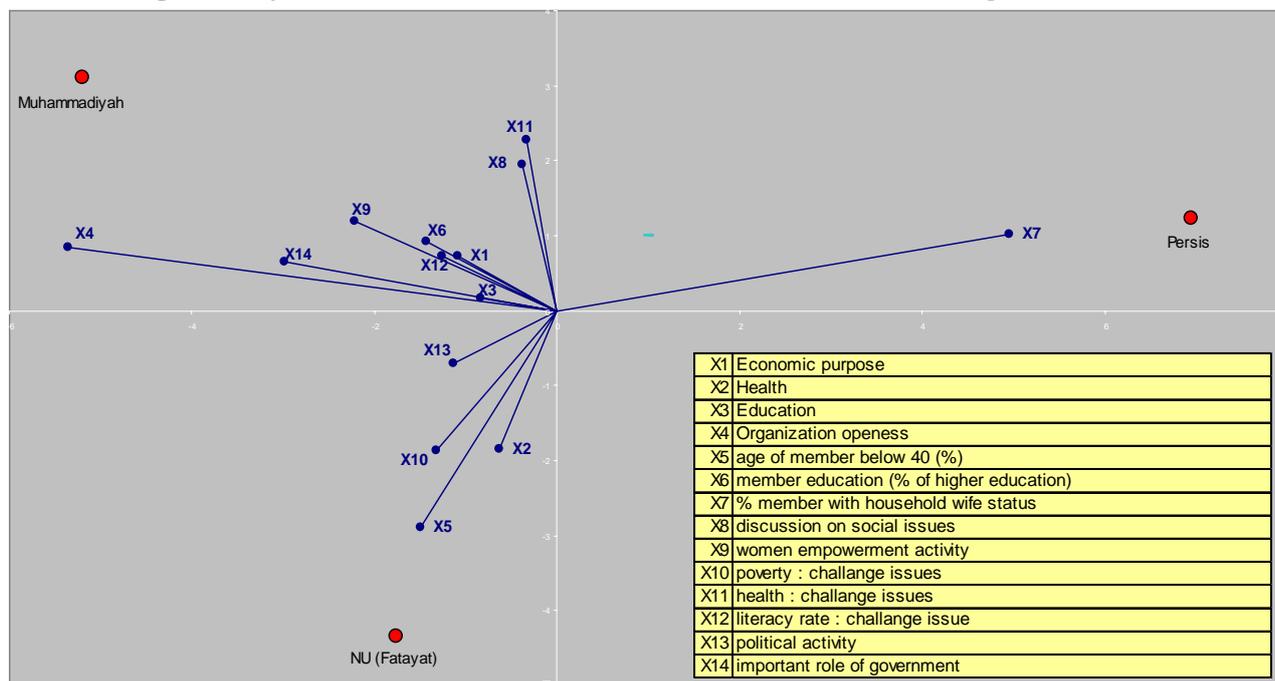


Figure 19 suggests that Islamic women's organizations which are affiliated with NU have strong characteristics such as having many members aged below 40 years old, viewing poverty as an important and challenging issue in society, and seeing health as the main purpose of the organization's establishment. The finding regarding health strengthens the argument that the success of family planning programs in the Suharto regime was because of the active involvement of religious organizations such as NU, especially its Islamic women's organization (Candland and Nurjanah, 2004). Moreover, another characteristic that is closely related to NU is related to political activities. This Islamic women's organization is very active in terms of political issues and activities. Many of its members have become members of parliament and/or hold other important political positions.

Islamic women's organizations that are affiliated with Muhammadiyah have the following characteristics: having a high percentage of members who have formally studied in higher education institutions and having activities relating to women's empowerment. The organizations also view that there is a need for the government to more actively support the activities of the organizations.

Islamic women's organizations that are affiliated with Persis are characterized as having members with the majority being housewives. For the characteristics relating to social activities and the purpose of the organization, none appears to be clearly related to Persis. This indirectly indicates that compared with the other two organizations, Persis should be more active and increase its activities relating to social issues.

#### **4.4 Government funding**

In this subsection we explore the characteristics and activities of Islamic Women's Organizations which are correlated with the receipt of government funding.

We estimate the following equation:

$$Y_{ij} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 X_{ij} + \alpha_2 A_{ij} + \alpha_5 \text{Province}_j + \text{error term} \quad (1)$$

Where  $Y_{ij}$  is whether the Islamic Women's Organization receives funding from the government.  $X_{ij}$  represents the characteristics of the organization. These are the affiliation with one of the three main Islamic organizations, leader's education and age, whether the majority of members are housewives, and the number of members in the organization.  $A_{ij}$  represents the activities of the organization. These include whether the organization has activities relating to women's empowerment, the number of times a week that the organization meets, the number of programs that the organization runs for the community, whether the organization discusses issues of community concern with members, whether the organization helps members set up their own business, and whether the organization helps members access microcredit.

Equation (1) is estimated by maximum likelihood probit. In this specification, and all others that follow, standard errors are clustered at the province level.

Table 3 shows the estimates of equation (1). The affiliation of the organization does not seem to be significantly correlated with whether the organization receives funding from the government or not. Here the baseline comparison is whether the organization is affiliated with Muhammadiyah.

Table 3 shows that several characteristics and activities of the organizations are significantly correlated with the recipient of government funding.

Leader's age is negatively correlated with the recipient of government funding. Medium-sized organizations (i.e. those with the number of members between 100 to 499) are more likely to receive government funding compared to smaller organizations, which are the baseline comparison group (i.e. those with fewer than 100 members). Moreover, organizations that discuss issues of community concern with members are more likely to receive government funding compared to those that don't.

The surprising findings are that organizations that report that they have activities related to women's empowerment are less likely to receive government funding compared to those that do not have activities related to women's empowerment. This is shown in Column (1) of Table 6. The marginal effect of the variable 'Has activities relating to women's empowerment' is negative and statistically significant. Column (2) breaks the activities related to women's empowerment into three groups – education, health, and economic activity. It appears that having activities related to women's empowerment in any one of the three areas is negatively and significantly correlated with the recipient of government funding. Moreover, organizations that meet more often are less likely to receive government funding compared to those that do not meet at all

TABLE 3  
 Characteristics of Islamic Women's Organizations and Government Funding

	Dependent variable: Whether the organization receives funding from the government	
	(1)	(2)
Affiliated with NU	-0.283 (1.51)	-0.228 (1.39)
Affiliated with Persis	-0.315 (0.82)	-0.134 (0.42)
Leader's education	-0.111 (1.07)	-0.095 (0.89)
Leader's age	-0.027 (2.27)**	-0.030 (2.81)***
The majority of members are as housewives	0.077 (0.25)	0.156 (0.53)
The organization has between 100 and 499 members	0.597 (2.27)**	0.688 (3.35)***
The organization has between 500 and 999 members	0.278 (0.60)	0.262 (0.66)
The organization has more than 999 members	0.231 (0.60)	0.264 (0.95)
Has activities relating to women's empowerment	-0.493 (2.78)***	
Has women's empowerment activities in area of Education		-0.874 (2.61)***
Has women's empowerment activities in area of health		-0.706 (1.96)**
Has women's empowerment activities in area of economic activity		-0.966 (3.90)***
Number of times a week that the organization meets	-0.365 (2.12)**	-0.372 (2.18)**
Number of programs that the organization runs for the community	0.014 (0.28)	-0.003 (0.05)
Discusses issues of community concern with members	0.637 (1.82)*	0.773 (2.34)**
Helps members set up their own business	0.402 (0.94)	0.397 (1.08)
Helps members access microcredit	0.101 (0.93)	0.109 (0.91)
Province fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	57	57
Pseudo R2	0.423	0.469

Note: The table reports marginal effects from maximum likelihood probit estimates. Absolute z-statistics are in parentheses. \*, \*\*, and \*\*\* denote significance at the 10%, 5%, and 1% level, respectively. Standard errors are corrected for clustering at the province level.

## 5. Conclusions

This paper shows that Islamic women's organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah, NU, and Persis share certain characteristics while differ in several aspects. Education appears to be the main purpose of most organizations. Besides education, health appears to be a priority for organizations affiliated with NU. Organizations affiliated with Muhammadiyah are the most active in the area of women empowerment activities.

One interesting finding of the paper is that organizations which have women's empowerment activities are less likely to receive government funding, controlling for other factors. The number of weekly meetings is also negatively correlated with the receipt of government funding. It appears that organizations that do not receive government funding are the ones that are more active in the area of women's empowerment. This finding poses new questions regarding how the government funding to Islamic women's organizations is allocated. As Islamic women's organizations play an important role in many areas relating to women's empowerment, the relationship between the organizations and the government is an important issue. Further research is needed to shed light on this area.

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