The Pathfinder Fund

Working Papers

No. 1  May, 1984

A Retrospective Review of the South Sulawesi Community Development and Family Planning Program
A Retrospective Review of the South Sulawesi Community Development and Family Planning Program

Vera Lucia Ferraz-Tabor, Ph.D.
Consultant Jakarta, Indonesia

Freya Olafson, M.P.H.
The Pathfinder Fund Boston
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT..................................................................................................................11
INTRODUCTION...........................................................................................................1
PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION......................................................................................5
THE EVALUATION.........................................................................................................8
FINDINGS.....................................................................................................................10
   Characteristics of the Skilled Women.................................................................10
   Poultry Activities.................................................................................................11
   Family Planning.....................................................................................................14
   The Interviews.......................................................................................................17
ANALYSIS OF RESULTS............................................................................................26
GROUP PROCESS AND DIFFUSION OF INNOVATION THEORY.............................30
CONCLUSION.............................................................................................................33
BIBLIOGRAPHY..........................................................................................................36
ABSTRACT

The project under study integrated family planning education and contraceptive distribution with various income-generating activities, most successful of which was raising chickens for eggs. The evaluation looked at achievements in both the family planning and poultry-raising, as well as community attitudes. Family planning use increased dramatically in the province, with use in the project area expanding more rapidly. The development activities have generally become self-sufficient. The project has received strong community support, and the project participants largely attribute success in their family planning work to their increased status that resulted from the highly visible development activities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank Dr. Does Sampoerno of the Pathfinder/Jakarta office, Dr. Adnan Mahmoud and Ibu Yulia Ambara from the South Sulawesi Branch of the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association, and the skilled women who took time from their busy schedules to be interviewed. Special thanks goes to Ibu Naimah Amir, the head of the Wanita Trampil Cooperative who spent many hours helping us to understand key aspects of the project.
INTRODUCTION

The South Sulawesi Community Development and Family Planning Project was conducted in four districts of the Maros Regency in the Indonesian province of South Sulawesi. Supported by The Pathfinder Fund from August 1980 through October 1983, it integrated income-generating activities with family planning education and services, in order to expand interest in family planning practice in the area.

The Maros Regency, located 30 kilometers from the provincial capital, is a predominantly rural area with a population of 202,000 people and a density of 186 people per square kilometer. Rice fields dominate the landscape. Water buffalos, goats and chickens roam freely. The majority of the economically active population (about 80%) are farmers who primarily grow rice. Other workers are employed by the government or in small-scale trade. The average monthly family income is between Rp.40,000 and 60,000 (US$40-$60). About 60% of the homes have electricity, although only 20% have pump water supply. The majority of the families are Muslim (95%), and they have an average of five children.

In 1978 the provincial family planning association, headed by Dr. Adnan Mahmoed, recognized that the family planning program had
stagnated in Maros Regency. In an effort to kindle broader interest in family planning, the association requested support from The Pathfinder Fund for an integrated project involving 120 women leaders from four districts in Maros Regency. Each district formed a cooperative. Two initiated poultry activities—raising either chickens or ducks for egg production, and two were involved in horticulture—raising cabbage or peanuts. All of the women were involved in family planning motivation in their communities and all were expected to pass on their income-generating skills to other women.

The South Sulawesi project was the first project supported by Pathfinder which integrated family planning and income-generating activities. Two hypotheses were considered at that time. The first one suggested that when women met in small groups to conduct an activity which would bring them satisfaction, they would provide each other with encouragement to adopt and continue family planning. This hypothesis is based on Everett Rogers' diffusion of innovations theory, which describes how innovations are communicated from source to receiver through certain channels within a social system. The intent of all communication is to affect changes in attitudes and/or behavior. In the case of family planning communication, the desired change includes adoption of contraception and a decrease in fertility. Rogers' model suggests optimum behavior change results when the source and receiver of communication are similar. He calls such communication patterns homophilous and suggests that homophilous sources and receivers generally make communications easier, but a certain degree of
heterophily may be advantageous, particularly in the area of technical competence.*

Conceptually, the South Sulawesi project was similar to the idea behind the development of Korean Mothers' Clubs. Lawrence Kincaid's study of Mothers' Clubs in rural Korea suggests that clubs provide a forum for family planning presentations and both club leaders and members may serve as "auxiliary promoters" by reinforcing the family planning message to other women. The original plan which created the impetus for Korean Mothers' Clubs was "to accelerate interpersonal communication about family planning at the village level and to legitimize family planning practice among village women."**

In the South Sulawesi project it was expected that cooperative members who were not already family planning users would initiate use, that all participants would mutually reinforce the value of family planning during their group activities, and that they would spread their enthusiasm for family planning as they transferred their skills to other women outside the cooperative.

* Homophily and heterophily may be described as, respectively, the similarity or dissimilarity between two or more people engaged in communication. A greater degree of homophily exists between people who are like one another in their beliefs, education, and social status. They are able to communicate easily and well, because they share the same meanings and perspective. A greater degree of heterophily exists between people who are different from one another, who are not alike in their beliefs, education, and social status. It is difficult for them to communicate well, because they do not share the same meanings or perspective.

The second hypothesis was that the women leaders would be more likely to accept and continue using family planning methods as a result of their improved technological skills and increased incomes. Improvements in marketable skills, in turn, would lead to increased status and decision-making power within the family and the community, resulting in a desire for decreased fertility. This hypothesis is based on extensive works by several authors which describe the psychosocial correlates of fertility. In her book, *Rural Women at Work*, Ruth Dixon presents a model sequence of events which can influence reproductive behavior. Women's employment increases their income, skills and social contacts, which exposes them to alternative social and economic roles and improves their self esteem. As their ideals regarding marriage and fertility change, and decision-making power increases, women are likely to delay marriage, with subsequent spacing and limitation of births. The causal mechanism linking women's employment with changes in reproductive behavior is not clear. Immediate effects are generally not apparent but long-term effects are likely to become evident as the availability of genuine alternatives for women increases. The opportunity for "employment outside the home in non-exploitative conditions could strengthen the motivation for taking more control over sexual and reproductive behavior, if not in the first generation, then at least in the long run."

A corollary of this second hypothesis considered at the beginning of the South Sulawesi project was that if the women did achieve greater

status through their participation in the project, they would be effective motivators of family planning among other villagers. Rogers' diffusion of innovations theory as applied to family planning programs supports this assumption. The women leaders would serve as change agents. Their increased status in the community would improve the credibility of the message they imparted to their neighbors about family planning. Villagers would see them as reliable sources of information.

PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

Project activities were preceded by four months of preparation. During this stage of the project, Dr. Adnan Mahmoed and his staff worked in consultation with the regency's family planning office and with various governmental offices responsible for agriculture, cooperatives, poultry, health and family planning. Heads of these offices and other staff members were recruited to become consultants to the project and work as supervisors and trainers in their fields of expertise. Thus technical assistance was available to the project participants in all areas of project activities, and Dr. Mahmoed closely supervised the project through regular site visits.

A total of 120 women leaders in the community, all of whom were family planning acceptors, were selected to participate in the project by village heads in consultation with the staff of the family planning branch. The women attended a five-day training program designed to
enable them to perform the following activities in their communities: income generation—poultry or ducks for eggs and horticulture; family planning motivation and distribution; and record-keeping and report writing.

The women who participated in the project became known throughout their communities as wanita trampil, or skilled women, and the project came to be known as the Wanita Trampil Project. The women rotated responsibility for the income-generating activities. Each group met at least once a week to learn about some aspect of the project from local consultants; topics usually covered were aspects of their development activity, cooperative formation and family planning. At times problems arising in the project were also discussed and decisions were made concerning resource allocation and other housekeeping matters.

During the first two years of the project the raising of chickens for egg production proved to be the most successful of the income-generating activities. The horticulture activities suffered from drought, and the duck eggs produced less income than chicken eggs. By the end of the third year all the groups were raising chickens, and the ducks were completely phased out. In the final year of the project, the size of the flocks was increased (from 30 to 100 chickens) in order to test whether flocks of this size can be economically self-sustaining. Funding was continued for 8 groups with 5 women each; the evaluation study reported here looked at these 8 continuing groups of women, whose 40 total members comprised a single continuing cooperative.
The cooperative is administered by three managers from the local governmental cooperative office. Their responsibilities include assisting the treasurer in keeping the books; collecting money for the cooperative's bank account; distributing income and loans; purchasing the chickens, their feed and medications; and collecting and selling the eggs. The cooperative is headed by one of the *wanita trampil*, who was selected by cooperative members through the traditional Indonesian process of consensus through group deliberation.

The full cooperative membership meets once a month to make decisions about resource allocation. Financial records are available from the group treasurer to any member who wishes to see them. The traditional Indonesian *arisan* takes place at the beginning of each meeting. The *arisan* is a social club popular among women and some men from all socioeconomic levels. The club has social and educational functions, which may range from child care to health. Often the meetings feature an invited lecturer or someone who teaches the group a skill, such as handicraft or sewing. The *arisan*'s economic function is a monthly lottery drawing—a form of voluntary credit union. Each member contributes a certain amount of money and at the end of the meeting one or more names are drawn. The winner takes all the money collected at the meeting but cannot win again until everyone has had a turn at winning. This traditional Indonesian method for capital formation has enabled some groups to purchase sewing materials to learn a new skill.
The *wanita trampil* are all actively engaged in family planning activities. They provide family planning education through home visits and sometimes during village meetings, *arisans*, and other group activities. They serve as distributors of pills and condoms, and they make referrals for women choosing clinical methods and in cases of side-effects. They also keep records on the family planning users for the national family planning program. As volunteers in the program, the women spend between one and two hours weekly making home visits, in addition to answering inquiries about family planning from visitors to their own homes.

THE EVALUATION

The evaluation was conducted for two purposes: first as a summative evaluation to determine the accomplishments, failings, and lessons of the project; and second as feedback into the process of developing and refining theory concerning the relationships between increasing women's skills leading to increased status and family planning. The evaluation looked at three aspects of the project: the family planning achievements; the income-generating and skill development achievements; and the attitudes of participants and their perceptions of the attitudes of their husbands and local leaders about the project.
Qualitative techniques were used. These included in-depth interviews, informal conversations, and observation of a cooperative meeting. Data were collected during three days in the field. Interviews started with open-ended questions, followed by more specific questions. Topics included the women's backgrounds, project activities, attitudes toward the project, perceptions of the attitudes of others toward the project, the relationship between family planning and the income-generating activity in terms of changes in attitudes and behavior. After interviews there was always the opportunity for informal conversation with the interviewee and other wanita trampil, as well as tours of the chicken coops. The first two days of interviews were scheduled by the local project consultants, and on the third day the interviewer made unannounced visits. Interviews were recorded and notes were taken of key points during the interviews.

Women were interviewed individually and in their own groups, and a cooperative meeting was observed. The head of the cooperative was interviewed twice in depth, the second time during an unannounced visit. At the cooperative meeting, attended by 23 of the 40 members, a young woman who was six months pregnant and another young, non-pregnant woman were selected for interview. These interviews were an attempt to elicit the project's impact on family planning use by women in their reproductive years.
Characteristics of the Skilled Women

The 40 skilled women who were participating in the final year of the project were all considered to be community leaders, meaning that they were able to influence others and provide advice. All of these women were literate and a large number of them were married to community leaders, such as government workers, teachers and farmers with a higher than average income. Most of the women were over 30 years of age, and many of the oldest women had between five and seven children. They had all started practicing family planning before the project began in 1979, and all were continuing use of family planning at the end of the project in 1983. Many of these women were associated with family planning work at the local level in some capacity prior to the project. A few of the women were teachers in the primary or religious schools, and one was a public servant. The majority of the women had no child younger than nine years of age. Thus they did not find that housework in any way prevented them from taking part in the project activities. The few women who had children under six had relatives living in the household who helped with child care. None of these women had domestic servants. Most of them had enough income to provide their families with three meals of rice with vegetables and some kind of protein once a day.

The households of the project participants were always crowded with people. Some were relatives who live with the family; others were recently married children with spouses and their children; neighbors and friends also seemed to come into the women's homes informally and often.
As a result it was not possible to be alone with the interviewee during interviews. The interviewees seemed to feel more support and a sense of security in this situation.

Poultry Activities

During the final year the project supported family planning and poultry activities among 40 women. The women were divided into eight groups of five, each group from the same neighborhood. At the time of the interview each group had approximately 100 chickens between four and six months of age. Members of each group took turns caring for the flock, which involved cleaning the coop, feeding the chickens three times a day, keeping the water bowl full, boiling the drinking water for the chickens until they reached three months of age, giving medications as needed, collecting eggs, and storing eggs to be collected by the local government cooperative. All of these tasks had to be conducted daily. According to the women interviewed, this activity took each person between one and a half and two hours a week. Other family members often participated in the project activities; for example, children often helped with feeding the chickens, and husbands helped by making repairs to the coops.

Income from poultry activities was divided three ways: one-third for capital for project continuation; one-third for savings from which women could borrow at two percent; and one-third for individual income. This averaged about Rp.2,500 (US$2.50) per person per month, a 4-6% increase in the monthly income. Actually, most women interviewed had left their profit with the cooperative to make future additions to their
flocks. The few women who had withdrawn their income had used it for school fees or traditional religious feasts. The women expressed a sense of pride and achievement in earning their own money and being in control of the income.

It appears that the poultry raising activities will become self-sufficient now that external funding has ended, at least among the groups that have 100 chickens. Self-sufficiency appears likely because of the commitment of the women to this activity and because the women have demonstrated the knowledge and skills needed to successfully raise chickens. The critical time for the project will probably be when a new flock is purchased and women have to wait between 5 and 6 months to gain financial returns to cover costs. During that time they will have to feed and medicate the new flocks with funds from their share in the cooperative. All the groups, including one that has only 70 chickens left (this will be described later), have made extensive inquiries about purchasing a new flock and have details on the cost and procedures to be followed.

Another objective of the project was for the wanita trampil to pass on their poultry-raising skills to other women within the community, thus becoming "multipliers" for community development. The wanita trampil kept records of those women who learned from them, the wanita ikutan, or women followers. In their enthusiasm for the poultry activities, they reported providing training in poultry raising to 3,050 women in the first two years of the project. However, when open-ended questions were asked about the project activities, no one volunteered an
answer which indicated "skill transfer." When asked specifically about the skill transfer, each woman interviewed said she had at least one wanita ikutan. No one was specific about the time spent with the follower or their activities. Some said that they had taught their women followers how to sew and others volunteered that some of these women helped them with the care of chickens, which may be considered a form of skill transfer. One group leader said that she had taught her wanita ikutan about raising poultry, and this women follower was interviewed. She lived in the biggest of the houses visited during the interviews. This wanita ikutan said that she had 250 chickens and that she had become interested in raising chickens because of the group leader who taught her about it. Later it was learned that the woman's husband works for the local cooperative, where chickens, feed, medications, and supplies can be purchased. Thus it is likely that while this wanita ikutan had the idea from the group leader and learned about poultry from her, the success of her venture may also be attributed to her cooperative connections. She stated that she admires the wanita trampil's skills and that she adopted family planning because of her.

The transfer of skills to other women apparently did not go beyond informal interactions. There was no specific plan for approaching this part of the project, and each woman seems to have been left on her own to transfer her skills. On the other hand, there is evidence that the skilled women have had a positive impact on other women in the community. Neighbors who dropped in during the group interviews expressed a wish to become skilled, like the wanita trampil. They have
joined the cooperative arisan and other arisan groups initiated by the skilled women, where many have learned to sew and some have helped with the poultry activity.

**Family Planning**

Family planning was the core of this project. The wanita trampil carried out several activities related to family planning. First, they educated and supplied new family planning acceptors with contraceptives. This activity was accomplished mostly through home visits and sometimes during village meetings, arisans, and other group activities. They referred IUD clients to the clinic and often took the women there personally. They also delivered contraceptives to continuing family planning users. In addition, the skilled women referred clients with serious side-effects to clinics and explained possible side-effects to other women who inquired about them. They kept records on their family planning activities and turned in a monthly report to the national family planning association, the BKKBN. Although family planning activities are carried out individually, rather than by the group acting together, there seems to be cooperation among the wanita trampil and between wanita trampil and community leaders. For instance, the groups that have less experience in family planning discuss problems with more experienced groups.

The number of family planning users served by the women leaders increased approximately three-fold after they received training and became wanita trampil, according to the interviewees' recollection.
They all attributed this increase to the project. Reasons why they thought this happened included the fact that they participated in the training program, that as *wanita trampil*, they had higher status and therefore were perceived as role models to be followed, and that the poultry activity provided recognition and reinforcement to good family planners and successful family planning workers. Data from the national program support the finding that women in this project have increased the contraceptive prevalence level in their area.

BKKBN data reveal that between December 1979 and November 1983 family planning users increased 11 times in Maros Regency compared with 7 times in South Sulawesi Province as a whole. The table shows the number of current users and the percentage increases each year. The annual performances are very similar except for 1981, the first full year of the project, when family planning users increased by 290% in Maros Regency, compared with 161% province-wide.

Comparison of increase in family planning users in Maros Regency and South Sulawesi Province from 1979 to 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1979</td>
<td>2,135</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>68,074</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1980</td>
<td>4,768</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>172,968</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1981</td>
<td>13,827</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>279,325</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1982</td>
<td>21,122</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>425,984</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1983**</td>
<td>23,365</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>495,268</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Contraceptive Prevalence
** November 1983 was the last month for which data were available at the time of this writing.
The differences in contraceptive prevalence are more striking. Due to migration the population was decreasing. Maros Regency had 35,000 women of reproductive age in November 1979 and 29,500 in November 1983, compared with 916,000 and 890,000 for the province. Thus, in December 1972 Maros had a contraceptive prevalence level of 6.1%, slightly below the provincial figure of 7.4%. In November 1983 the level was 79.2% in Maros, compared with 55.6% province-wide.

The family planning data were taken from the BKKBN files in Jakarta. The increase in contraceptive prevalence in the province and Maros Regency are both striking. The decrease in the women of reproductive age accounts for some of the dramatic increase and for half the difference between the figures. Had the female population of reproductive age remained at the 1979 figures of 35,000 and 916,000, contraceptive prevalence would have been 66.8% in Maros and 54.1% province-wide.

From 1979 through 1983 the expansion of the family planning program was remarkable throughout the province and in most parts of the country. The national program enjoyed strong government support, and the provincial program was effectively administered. The reasons for the rapid popularization of family planning throughout the country are the primary explanation of the increase in Maros. This project accounts for the difference in the programs run in Maros and the other 22 regencies in South Sulawesi Province, and thus much of the difference in family planning measures. Maros rose from the middle of the ranks to being consistently the top-performing regency in the province.
The Interviews

The first two group interviews included four members of one group from the village of Allepolea and two members of a second group from that village. From a group in the village of Marannu two young women, one of whom was pregnant, were selected for interview. Additionally the head of the wanita trampil cooperative was interviewed; she was also the leader of the group in the village of Maccini Baji. She was interviewed twice: first after a cooperative meeting and later during an unannounced visit.

During the meeting at the home of Ibu Djohariah Yusuf*, the leader of one of the Allepolea groups, everyone sat in a circle in the living/dining area of the house. Four of the five members of one Allepolea group were present, as well as two members of another group. Also present were Ibu Djohariah's husband, who is the local family planning supervisor; Dr. Adnan Mahmoed, the project director; and Ibu Yulia Ambare, a staff member of the local family planning association. Initially the conversation was formal and the group members glanced at one of the two men prior to answering questions. After a short while, Dr. Adnan and Ibu Ambare moved to another portion of the house, and the conversation became more relaxed.

All the women present were in their mid to late thirties and early forties. Most had completed high school and the group leader was a

* Ibu literally means "mother." It is often used prior to a person's first name to denote respect. It is used both in informal conversations and in more formal written situations, such as in reference to a professional woman.
primary school teacher. The families of these women are considered middle class by Maros standards with monthly family incomes around Rp.80,000 (US$80). All the women in the group had been practicing family planning for at least nine years; the youngest child was nine years old. In all but one case, the decision to use contraceptives was made with their husbands. They all agreed that family planning must be a decision made with the husband if it is to be successful. Because of this, the most effective means of recruiting new acceptors is home visits, as the husband is often present. The husband's support is key, they believe, to adoption and continuation of family planning activities. The husbands of the wanita trampil are apparently very supportive of both the family planning and poultry activities. Even the one woman who had not made her decision to use contraception with her husband agreed with the above analysis. She had had an IUD inserted after her last child was born and only told her husband about it two years later. She had feared that he would be upset, but he was very happy about it.

Women in this group had been working as volunteers for family planning since 1976 and already had served a number of acceptors when they joined this project. In fact, being a successful family planner was one of the criteria for selection of participants.

Ibu Djohariah has six children between 11 and 23 years of age. She began working with family planning in 1976 and had 26 acceptors between 1976 and 1979. She now provides contraceptives to 72 acceptors. She stated that her involvement in income-generating activities has enhanced
her ability to talk to other members of the community about family planning since she is seen as a skilled woman as well as a successful family planner. She has benefited from family planning and wants others to have the same opportunity she did. The poultry raising does not motivate her to work harder on her family planning activities, but it is important to her success in recruiting new acceptors because it enhances her status in the community.

Ibu Salma is the mother of six children, whose ages range from 9 to 23. She had been working as a volunteer in the family planning program for about 3 years when she joined the project in 1980. At that time she served 16 acceptors. At the time of the interview that number had increased to 69 active users, and she brings 1 or 2 new acceptors into the program each month.

The group members were aware that the end of project funding was drawing near. They stated that they thought the group would continue the poultry activity and they were ready to do it without any outside help. One women, who up until that time had said little, stated that if the project did not continue she would become malu, which means both embarrassed and losing face. To become malu is quite serious and is definitely something to be avoided.

The interviewer spoke with the group leader Ibu Djohariah, alone and asked her to relate the events of the project from the beginning as she remembered them. She said that she had been asked to join the project by the village head. She initially participated in an intensive
five-day training program in the provincial capitol with other women from Maros Regency. They learned about family planning motivation, contraceptives, the cooperative record-keeping, and poultry activities. When she returned to Maros her neighborhood selected her to be a group leader through the process of consensus. The group met to decide where to place the 30 chickens they initially received, and to agree on procedures and a schedule for feeding, medicating, cleaning and other duties related to poultry raising. As Ibu Djoariah talked freely about the project, she became more and more excited about the poultry raising. She explained in detail about the three kinds of food required, and about medications for each specific stage of growth. She cautioned that one must avoid noises when feeding the chickens and that it is best to wear the same color when feeding them. The group has one uniform which is worn by each person who feeds the chickens.

In sum, the members of both of the Allepolea groups were older women who had no small children. Their husbands were supportive of their activities. All the women were volunteers in the family planning program and using contraception prior to the project, a major difference in the project implementation from the theoretical roots of the project. The family planning clientele expanded, and the wanita trampil attributed the growth to their enhanced status. Finally the project appears ready to continue without external assistance.

Mrs. Supiati Akbar of Marannu village was interviewed next. Since Ibu Supiati's command of the Indonesian language was very limited, the interview was conducted largely through translations by Dr. Adnan and
Ibu Yulia from the Family Planning Association. Ibu Supiati was very nervous about the interview initially. She stated that she had not slept the night prior to the interview because she was afraid she would be unable to express herself. About half an hour into the interview, however, she looked more relaxed and smiled often.

Ibu Supiati is in her early twenties. She has a six-year-old daughter and is six months pregnant. The new baby was planned. She and her husband would like to have three children, but she believes that it is best to wait until the youngest is five before having a new child. Ibu Supiati's husband works for the BKKBN and makes about Rp.70,000 monthly (US$70). Despite her young age, Ibu Supiati was a veteran family planner by the time she joined the project in 1980. She began working with family planning in 1978 as a volunteer organizing group meetings, and doing family planning education. She served 10 active family planning users when she joined the project. Now she serves 75 active users. She averages 1-2 new acceptors a month.

In addition to raising chickens, Ibu Supiati learned how to sew and do embroidery with other members of the group. She makes bedsheets and pillowcases with appliques and embroidery which she sells for Rp.30,000; table cloths sell for about Rp.10,000. Every day around 9 or 10 in the morning she goes out for a couple of hours selling and collecting money from previous sales. Maros customers are not able to pay cash at once, so they often pay in 10 or more installments. Since Ibu Supiati walks long distances daily to take care of her business, she combines it with her family planning work. Ibu Supiati plans to breastfeed her new baby.
before leaving it with her grandmother at home while she sells her handiwork and carries out her family planning work.

Another member of this group who was at Ibu Supiati's house was interviewed. Ibu Sabaria is 22 and has a four-year-old son. She and her husband would also like to have three children, but they will wait until the boy is five to have the next one. Ibu Sabaria has been with the project and working in family planning for one year. She serves 17 family planning users.

Ibu Sabaria reported that the Marannu group had sold the initial flock of 30 chickens when they ceased laying eggs and divided the money among themselves. Some of the money was returned to the cooperative and some was spent during a religious feast. They now have 102 chickens between four months and fourteen days. They plan to add 50 new chickens to their flock as soon as the present flock begins laying enough eggs to yield a profit.

The Marannu group also has an adequate flock to continue raising chickens when external aid ends. This group expanded its income-generating activities independently, and did so in a way that complements the family planning activities.

During a visit to a cooperative meeting another woman was selected for interview, Ibu Naimah Amir. She was head of the wanita trampil cooperative and also leader of the group in the village of Maccini Baji. It was clear during the cooperative meeting that people look up to her.
She did not talk very much or very loudly, but she had the attention of the cooperative members whenever she wished.

Ibu Naimah appeared to be about 50 years old, although she was just 38. She looks tired and old and her life seems to have been difficult. Ibu Naimah was married before she finished high school, at age 16 or 17, and had four children one right after the other. Their ages range from 15-20 years. Ibu Naimah began practicing family planning after the birth of her last child. In 1974 her husband, a primary school teacher, died and she became responsible for raising the children alone.

In 1976 Ibu Naimah began working with family planning. Her duties as a volunteer were family planning education, recruitment of acceptors and distribution of contraceptives. When she was selected to join the project in 1980, she served 20 active users. Since then, this number has increased to 111. Ibu Naimah visits arisan groups where she talks to women about family planning, but she recruits most of her acceptors during home visits. Although she is not a BKKBN staff member, she is paid about Rp.2,000. monthly. She participates in all of the family planning activities and helps to run various programs. She hopes to place one of her sons with the BKKBN. Like the group from Marannu, the Maccini group has included sewing as an integral part of their income generating activities. They arranged for free classes in sewing and embroidery, and they raised money to buy supplies through participation in arisan groups. Each of the women earns about Rp.2,000 (US$2) monthly from sewing.
The Maccini group is one of the poorest. Ibu Naimah's house, for instance, is very small and in poor state of repair. There are holes in the wooden walls, large gaps in the ceiling, and the furniture is sparse. Ibu Naimah spends a large part of her income on the education of her two sons, one of whom attends the university while the other is in high school.

The Maccini group's chickens are placed in a coop next to Ibu Naimah's house. During an unannounced visit it was learned that the group had divided 30 of their 100 chickens among themselves before a recent religious festival. This fact was not known to the local family planning branch, and selling the chickens for this purpose is forbidden by project regulations. Ibu Naimah stated that she and her group are determined to continue the chicken-raising activities. For the past two months they have been leaving their profit with the cooperative in hopes of being able to add to their flock.

Evidence of family planning work is all over Ibu Naimah's house. Her home is a local family planning post and the identifying sign is in front of it. There are charts with numbers of acceptors for various areas on her wall. She updates these figures regularly and was able to explain them with ease. A map shows the various locations where she and her group carry out family planning. Books with information and records about family planning clutter her small home. Other women in the village go to her for family planning advice and supplies. She also accompanies women who wish to have an IUD inserted to the family
planning clinic. If she did not go, she said, many women would be too shy to go alone.

Ibu Naimah discussed the attitudes of other members of the community toward the wanita trampil. Ibu Naimah believes they are viewed very positively by neighbors and community leaders alike. For instance, she said that the religious leader often refers to the wanita trampil as examples to be followed. The Village Head cooperates with the Maccini Baji group by storing the group's contraceptive supplies in his home.

The Maccini group may not manage to continue raising chickens, since they have depleted their flock. Their dedications to the chickens, however, remains strong, as does their dedication to spreading family planning.

During the interviews with the wanita trampil, the women's excitement about the project was evident. Their faces lit up as they discussed the details of caring for their flocks. They have gained the respect of their families, other village leaders, and their neighbors, which adds to their sense of their own accomplishments and their position in the community. The project does not demand too much of the women's time, and it fits well into their daily lives. They spend about 2 hours weekly on family planning, an hour and a half to two hours each week with their chickens, and 1 hour per month at the cooperative meeting.
ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

The integration of family planning with a development component is a complicated task. Yet the Maros project had remarkable achievements. According to BKKBN data, contraceptive prevalence in the project area increased eleven fold. It appears that 7 of the final 8 groups will achieve self-sufficiency in their development component.

The significance of this project's success is better understood after considering some of the factors that commonly contribute to the failure of many integrated projects:

1. There are too many activities.
2. The project participants do not get sufficient training or technical assistance in the development side of the project or the family planning component.
3. Income-generating activities often fail if the goods produced do not meet market standards, or provide sufficient income to be worth the women's time to produce. Other problems include: a lack of markets for the products; insufficient training for women to learn to work together; and a reluctance to reinvest income.
4. Technical assistance may not be provided over time to ensure that the product is produced in sufficient quantity and of acceptable quality to be profitable.
5. Projects do not have the necessary supports built into them which would enable a woman to participate, such as some form of day care for the participants' small children.
6. The activities of the projects require too much time from women who are already overburdened with their normal reproductive and productive functions.

7. The project isn't truly integrated. Frequently, the family planning component is run by and serves a totally different population than the development component serves. The project is conducted in one location but with different sets of people.

The evaluation revealed that the project had the following results:

- All the women were already family planning acceptors. They were family planning motivators who were proud to continue motivating their friends and neighbors to use family planning, to listen to women talk about side effects, and to accompany women to the clinic if they were having problems with their contraception.

- While the goal of training other women to be skilled in raising chickens does not appear to be achieved, *wanita trampil* did pass on, in an unsystematic manner, some of their agricultural skills. They also passed on other skills that they already possessed but were not part of the project, such as sewing.

- They seemed even more enthusiastic about the skills that they learned in raising chickens. They felt that they were made a part of the modern technological society because they learned to
vacccinate the chickens, give medicines, and provide proper poultry nutrition.

- This project gave the women confidence and pride in their accomplishments in addition to technical skills and a small income. It afforded them a great deal of visibility and honor in the community. They were seen as leaders with skills that others wanted to possess.

- In addition to learning modern agricultural techniques, they also learned some modern money management techniques. They became active members of a cooperative, participated in savings plans and learned about interest and reinvestment.

- The women benefited financially from the project or perceived that they benefited from the project. Although figures are available on the monthly income the women earned, the impact of the increased income on the family was not assessed in this evaluation. Most of the women did not take the money that they were allowed to take for their own use. Instead, they kept it in the cooperative to reinvest for buying materials or to buy the new flock of chickens.

The South Sulawesi project is an example of an integrated project which overcame many, if not all, of the problems common to such projects. Part of the project's success can be attributed to strong
leadership and good project planning on the part of the project director. Other key factors in the project's success were:

- The project was designed to ensure that participants had sufficient time to participate and were given sufficient skills and supervision to be successful in both the family planning and development components. The reason why this particular group of women had time for the project was that all were family planning acceptors and most had older children. If an integrated project includes women with infants, the project design should make allowances for child care services and breastfeeding schedules.

- Another factor contributing to the project's success was the relatively small amount of time that the women had to commit to the project. Only two hours per week for each component—family planning and development—were required, and the cooperative met only once a month.

- The project was built on characteristics found within traditional Indonesian society. The arisan group brings together groups of women to discuss domestic problems and share skill and solutions. The formation of the income generation/family planning groups was therefore a natural phenomenon for the women.

- Training and on-the-spot supervision for the duration of the project helped ensure success. The women were able to turn to experts in family planning and agricultural sciences on a weekly or
biweekly basis as problems arose. Experts in the management of cooperatives also assisted regularly.

It should also be acknowledged that family planning projects are more likely to succeed in nations where the government strongly endorses family planning. Such is the case in Indonesia, where government support for family planning permeates all levels of government down to the village.

In this particular project, strong support for the project by village leaders, religious leaders and the husbands probably also contributed to the project's success.

GROUP: PROCESS AND DIFFUSION OF INNOVATION THEORY

The data from the project suggest that this form of integrated project may be more effective than a motivational campaign which does not include a development component. Having a small but highly visible group of local women leaders trained to provide other community members with both family planning services and income-generating skills seems to increase family planning acceptance throughout the community. The wanita trampil are credible and respected sources of family planning information, partly because of their status in the community derived from their new skills, but also because they are satisfied family planning users.
The project addressed the assertion that family planning would be more acceptable to community members if it were integrated into the fabric of Indonesian life, and took into account women's productive roles as well as their reproductive roles. One problem that the Indonesian family planning program has faced in recent years is that their slogan, which encourages family planning for the health and economic well-being of the family, has backfired to some extent. Families practicing family planning have not noticed a marked improvement in their short term economic status, and therefore have not personally perceived the connection between having more children and increased economic hardship.

By linking family planning with the income-generating activity of poultry husbandry, it was hypothesized that:

1. When women leaders meet in small groups to conduct an activity that brings them satisfaction, they will provide each other with encouragement to adopt and continue family planning.

2. The women leaders will be more likely to accept and continue using family planning methods because they will have improved technological knowledge and better income. These will lead to increased status, which will heighten their decision-making power within the family and community, and in turn will lead to a decreased desire for fertility.
A corollary to the above hypothesis is that if the women achieved greater status through their participation in the project, they would be effective motivators of family planning among other villagers.

The way in which the project was implemented prevented thorough testing of the first two hypotheses. Only women who were already family planning acceptors were chosen to become skilled women. Thus it was not possible to validate the hypothesis regarding the adoption of family planning among skilled women. However, the assumption that skilled women would continue to use family planning was borne out. The corollary hypothesis which states that if the skilled women achieved greater status through their participation in the project, they would be effective motivators of family planning among other villagers is supported by the project results. It can be concluded from the data and the interviews described in this paper that the high visibility of the women, the respect that they achieved in the community and their skills and knowledge with regard to family planning and poultry raising made them credible sources of information on family planning.

A new hypothesis, that women who participate in income-generating activities while working as family planning volunteers are likely to develop other income-generating activities for their groups, and these activities will also tend to be supportive of their family planning work, was generated by this project. Results indicate that the addition of sewing and embroidery to some of the arisan activities and concomitant, although informal, skill transfer to other community women
further enhanced the success of the women's groups. These self-initiated and implemented activities demonstrate that integrated projects can go beyond their intended purposes through women's resourcefulness and ability to transfer new knowledge and skills to other areas. The project's contributions to these spill-over benefits were the nature of the skills taught--planning, organizing, record keeping, basic budgeting--and the provision of a focus around which to practice and develop these skills. Also, the degree of decision-making and control exerted by the skilled women during the project probably increased their self-confidence and willingness to take risks in other arenas. Such attitudinal and behavioral changes, reflected by the skilled women's ability to adopt, adapt and transfer skills to new situations is likely to be of greater importance in the long run than the specific project objectives which were accomplished.

The skilled women also combined the best possible balance of homophily and heterophily; they share culture, language and community with their clients. But unlike their neighbors whom they are motivating, they possessed new skills: knowledge of family planning and animal husbandry skills.

CONCLUSION

The success of the project in terms of family planning objectives can be attributed to the increased status of the women leaders, which helped to motivate other women in the community to accept family
planning. The status of all cooperative members rose, despite minimal increases in their disposable incomes since most chose to reinvest profits in the cooperative. This improvement in status due to an increase in knowledge and skills, gave more credibility to the wanita trampil's family planning message. The community may also have perceived an economic benefit that the project participants have not yet actually achieved.

The project suggests an area for further study. A study might be designed for the women in the community who accepted family planning through the encouragement of the wanita trampil to find out from them precisely why they did so and how they perceived the wanita trampil. A sample of the acceptors could be studied over time to see if they continue using family planning even if they are not asked to join in an income-generating or skills training program. This would help answer questions about whether or not integrated projects must provide development activities for all family planning acceptors, or whether it is sufficient to work with a small but highly visible group. If the demonstration effect is sufficient to show to a community that family planning can assist women in improving their lives, it is an important piece of information for policy makers and program planners.

In an ideal world, of course, all women would be given the opportunity to increase their income-generating potential. Unfortunately, since family planning money is limited, the ideal will probably not be met for many years. Therefore, the usefulness of a demonstration effect is worth further study.
This model, which seems to have had considerable impact on increasing family planning acceptance in Maros, can be replicated in other locations, since the experience and records from this project are available and could be utilized. It is important to learn if these results can be duplicated elsewhere. Further exploration of this model, through the practical medium of true action projects, can lead to more effective and sensitive family planning programming.
