

Show Me the Money :

Budget Advocacy in Indonesia

Budget Advocacy Stories

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Show Me the Money:
Budget Advocacy in Indonesia

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Preface

Budget advocacy in Indonesia grew out of the anti-corruption movement, starting in about in 2000. This is also the year in which Local Autonomy, which saw a strong and rapid move towards decentralization, was first implemented. Before then, corruption was concentrated at central government level. As local governments were given more authority, the corruption behavior also infected the 33 provinces and many districts and cities of the country. Local government executives and legislatures become nests of corruption. Civil society reacted through the anti-corruption movement. Corruption was also the initial focus of budget advocates. However, as fiscal decentralization was implemented, budget advocacy shifted to analyzing budget allocations from the perspective of basic rights fulfillment, as well as promotion of participatory, transparent and accountable planning and budgeting processes.

This book seeks to document the experience of budget advocacy organisations in tackling corruption and poor local budget management. It covers many areas of experience. For instance, the chapter by the National Secretary of Fitra, entitled **Is it never enough? Advocacy on government regulation on extra income for local legislative members**, shows that budget advocacy cannot ignore the legal aspects.

In another chapter of this book, PATTIRO shares their experience in promoting budgeting and implementation of local government budgets that aim at fulfillment of citizens' basic rights, particularly the right to education. Their advocacy experience is presented in the chapter entitled **Fulfilling Education Rights through Local Budget Operational Aid for School**.

Health rights also became a target of the budget advocacy movement. This issue has attracted concentrated attention from a range of civil society organizations, including Inisiatif Association, Bandung. Their effort in encouraging a budget policy that ensures access to affordable health service is presented in **Health is Affordable And Accessible, Experience Of Health Rights Advocacy for the Poor In Bandung District**. The local regulation on health insurance that they have already succeeded in winning is expected to be a starting point for accessible and affordable health services for the poor.

Of the many health problems in Indonesia, women's reproductive health and children's health have become prominent problems. The high rate of maternal mortality, malnutrition in children under five year of age, and underweight newborns, are among the problems that have motivated women to engage in advocacy around the health budget. Women's involvement in the primary and preventive care-focused joint health services post (known as *Posyandu*) inspired PATTIRO Surakarta to take up the advocacy challenge in this sector. Their experience is recorded in the chapter entitled **Combining the Role of Communities with the Contribution from the APBD [local government budget] in the Posyandu in Surakarta City**.

Promoting the role of marginal groups through budget advocacy on basic rights fulfillment is a concern of those who work with people with disabilities. SAPDA writes about about their experience in Yogyakarta Province in the chapter entitled **The Rising up of People with Disabilities to Fight for Their Rights**.

The same spirit is also found among members of farmer associations organized by **KSPPM in North Tapanuli District**. As an agrarian country, the majority of whose population works as farmers, Indonesia should pay more attention to farmers' welfare, and allocate adequate budget to encourage improvement of agricultural products. In **Understanding Budget, Harvesting Welfare**, KSPPM tells the story of farmers' struggles around the agricultural budget allocation.

In Indonesia, budget advocacy that seeks fulfillment of economic and social rights, as part of basic human rights, is accompanied by advocacy around the planning and budgeting process. In the budgeting cycle, citizens' civil and political rights should be exercised from the initial phase, namely the planning phase. In Indonesia, the fact that for decades the planning process has made provision for *musrenbang*, a forum for village and subdistrict-level development planning, has been used as a building block by many different budget advocacy organisations. The hope is that a stronger bargaining position of civil society and marginal groups would assist them in influencing the direction of budget policy. Participation, transparency and accountability are three key aspects in which civil society can seek improvement of the budgeting process.

Institutionalization of Participatory, Transparent and Accountable Process tells the story of the efforts of **P3ML in Sumedang District** in this area of work. By encouraging a local regulation on local planning and budgeting, P3ML sought to establish a legal basis for a regional indicative ceiling (so as to make participatory planning more realistic and thus help ensure that the chosen priorities are funded) and a *musrenbang* delegation forum in the local planning process. This local regulation has become a reference point for many other regions in Indonesia.

In addition to institutionalization of the budgeting process through legal regulation, strengthening the budgeting process also involves consolidation of all elements of civil society at local level. The civil society networks established in this way are then in a stronger position to influence

the local government budget. FITRA Riau tells of their experience in such an effort in the chapter entitled **Civil Society Movement to Oppose Local Budget Plan 2007 of Riau Province for not being Pro-Poor**.

Encouraging and building the capacity of pressure groups to engage in budget allocation advocacy is an effective method. Lakpesdam proves this, as we see it in **When People and Ulema Unite: Experience in Opposition against Simpemdes Program in Cilacap District, Central Java Province**. Using *Bahtsul Masail*, an *ulema* forum for decision-making on specific problems, a budget problem in Cilacap District was discussed and partially solved. This experience can be an effective model for other regions in strengthening advocacy efforts.

In addition to encouraging involvement of religious groups in the planning and budgeting process, some civil society organizations that focus on gender budget issue have encouraged women groups to participate in the planning and budgeting processes. They have aimed to achieve a women participation quota of 30% or more in political participation. One way in which this has been done is through a mechanism called Women's Musrenbang. IDEA's experience, presented in **Promoting Women Participation in Sub-District Development Planning in Bantul District, Yogyakarta Province**, reflects this participation model.

The chapters described above come together in this book entitled **Show Me the Money: Budget Advocacy in Indonesia**. This bilingual book portrays some of the diverse experiences of budget advocacy organisations. We hope that the success stories, challenges, and changes achieved, may inspire readers both inside Indonesia and in other countries to understand budget advocacy in Indonesia and to learn from and build on our experience.

Five budget advocacy organisations – national secretariat of FITRA, PATTIRO, IDEA, INISIATIF, and LAKPESDAM – are the joint authors of this book. These five organizations engaged in a joint process supported by the

Partnership Initiative of the International Budget Partnership to provide examples of the varied work undertaken in the field of budget advocacy in Indonesia. The stories purposefully include some describing advocacy by these five organisations as well as others describing advocacy by smaller local organisations.

Each of the chapters has a similar format. Each starts with a short summary of the advocacy described. This is followed by a brief profile of the organisation that led the advocacy, a situation analysis of the problem that encouraged the organisation to engage in advocacy, a description of the methodology employed, achievements of the advocacy, challenges encountered, and lessons learnt.

Enthusiastic budget advocates often find it difficult to write down their experience because this work sometimes seems less important than doing the advocacy itself. The hard work of the writers in compiling and describing their memories therefore deserves some words of appreciation.

We really thank the core team of five organization for their collaboration, and the writers, editor and translators who worked together to develop and publish this book. A special thanks for Debbie Budlender, who – as part of the Partnership Initiative’s support – has patiently and carefully guided us with sharp recommendations and questions on the writing process. Last but not least, International Budget Partnership also deserves our very big thanks.

We hope that this book may contribute significantly to budget advocacy in Indonesia, as well –perhaps – to advocacy in other countries.

Yogyakarta, May 20, 2011

the National Secretary of FITRA – PATTIRO –
IDEA – Inisiatif – LAKPESDAM NU

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Is It Never Enough?

Advocacy on Government Regulation of Extra income for Local Legislative Members

by
Yuna Farhan

SUMMARY

During the period 2004-2009, a total of IDR 1.4 trillion of the regional budget was to be disbursed for the benefit of the DPRD members, who were supposed to fight for budget allocations benefiting ordinary people. The issuance of Government Regulation (*PP*) Number 37 / 2006, which provided for additional retroactive income for the DPRD members, increased public resentment. A National Coalition consisting of a number of non-government organizations (NGOs) in Indonesia engaged in advocacy activities opposing the government regulation. This led to the revision of the regulation by the government and the requirement that DPRD members return the pension fund money they had received.

ORGANIZATION PROFILE

The reform process in Indonesia has been characterised by demands for good governance and the development of state budgets that promote the welfare of the people. During the early stage of reform, budget issues were still regarded as a state secret or the domain of the bureaucracy. The state did not feel that ordinary people had the right to know about budgeting. Against that background, the Indonesian Forum for Budget Transparency (FITRA) was established in September 1999 as the pioneer movement in budget advocacy in Indonesia.

With a vision to create people's sovereignty over the budget, FITRA's mission is to promote transparency on and to monitor state budgeting and to ensure that the state budget is based on and oriented towards the needs of the people. Originally consisting of 7 member organisations, FITRA members are now spread across 13 regions. FITRA has also established a network for the budget advocacy movement that spans 45 regions. The ongoing development of the network for budget advocacy has made FITRA the point of reference in budgeting issues. A number of instances of FITRA's advocacy work have received recognition through wide coverage by the mass media.

Following FITRA's Fifth National Assembly in Medan, North Sumatra in April 2008, FITRA saw more clearly that budgeting was not yet an instrument of advocacy in the social movement on a number of issues. To address the challenge, FITRA took on the responsibility of making budgeting a social movement issue by establishing a resource centre on budgeting that serves as a centre of analysis, data and information, and of budget advocacy and capacity building.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

After regional autonomy came into effect, Government Regulation (PP) No. 110 / 2000 was issued as the first legislation governing the financial powers of the DPRD. At the end of their terms, many DPRD members became involved in corruption in violation of the said government regulation. Most of the cases involved inappropriate provision of pension benefits to DPRD members. The Regulation was, however, resented by some DPRD members. As a result, the Supreme Court opposed the demand for a judicial review of the Government Regulation and later revoked the regulation.

Following the revocation of the regulation, almost every year the Government issued regulations governing DPRD members' income. In 2004, the Government issued Regulation Number 24 on Finance Protocol and Position of the DPRD Chair and Members. This was subsequently amended three times by further regulations in 2005, 2006 and 2007 respectively. The amendments were issued in response to civil society's advocacy against the original government regulation. It is this advocacy which is the main story told in this chapter.

What happened that resulted in so many government regulations being enacted to govern financial issues of the DPRD members? Government Regulation Number 110 / 2000 prohibited the provision of end-of-term (pension) payments and housing allowances to DPRD members while Government Regulation Number 24 of 2004 governed the provision of end-of-term payment. The provisions on housing allowances for DPRD members in the latter regulation were exposed by the state Supreme Audit Institution (BPK) when members of DPRD were required to submit physical evidence of rented houses to the agency. Eventually government responded to this case by means of Government Regulation Number 37 / 2005, which stipulated that housing allowances should be provided as part of members' salaries and therefore would not require evidence of rented house. This amendment clearly only addressed the demands of the DPRD.

In 2006, the public was again astounded when the amending regulation provided for additional income components to all DPRD members in Indonesia. The additional components consisted of communication allowance incentive (TKI) and Chairperson's Operational Support Expenditure (BPOP), amounting to three and six times respectively of the representation allowance. The public was also amazed because the regulation took effect retroactively as of January 2006 although it was enacted on 14 November 2006, just one month before the end of the 2006 fiscal year. FITRA's analysis showed that the regulation would put a burden on regional finance and violate superior legislation. These concerns triggered the establishment of the National Coalition against Government Regulation Number 37 of 2006. The Coalition consisted of a number of NGOs from different parts of Indonesia.

METHODOLOGY

The media and a number of local NGOs who had participated in the budget deliberations belatedly became aware of Government Regulation Number 37 / 2006, as it was issued with no publicity. It became an issue when DPR members requested that additional benefits be paid retroactively effective from the previous year. The following sections describe the steps that FITRA took in the advocacy against this regulation.

Formulation of a Comprehensive Analysis for Advocacy Ammunition

FITRA National Secretariat believed that successful advocacy required a valid situation analysis and data. It therefore carried out a situation analysis to be used as the basis for advocacy. The following sections summarise the results of analysis from three different viewpoints: policy implication, compliance and conflicting laws.

Analysis on the Implication of the Government Regulation Number 37/2006 on Regional Finance

FITRA National Secretariat carried out a simulation analysis on the application of the regulation and its impact on regional budgets. The analysis indicated that if each of the 434 districts and cities in Indonesia had 35 DPRD members, the total expenditure for communication allowance incentive and operational cost would amount to a total of IDR 1.4 trillion per year, excluding the expenditure for the DPRD Secretariat. In early 2007, DPRD members would be entitled to back-pay of the communication allowance for 2006 amounting to IDR 75.6 million per District/City DPRD member and IDR 108 million per Provincial DPRD member. Meanwhile, the Chairperson and Vice-Chairperson of the District/City DPRD would be entitled to an additional operational allowance amounting to IDR 226 million and IDR 156.24 million, respectively. Similarly, the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the Provincial DPRD would be entitled to back-pay of IDR 324 million and IDR 223.2 million respectively.

Table 1.1. Estimation of Provincial DPRD members' Take Home Pay According to Regulation Number 37 / 2005 and Regulation Number 37 / 2006 (in IDR)

Type of Income	Number 37 Year 2005			Number 37 Year 2006		
	Chairperson	Deputy chairperson	Member	Chairperson	Deputy chairperson	Member
Representation allowance	3,000,000	2,400,000	2,250,000	3,000,000	2,400,000	2,250,000
Package Allowance	300,000	240,000	225,000	300,000	240,000	225,000
Rice allowance	95,200	95,200	95,200	95,200	95,200	95,200
Spouse Allowance	300,000	240,000	225,000	300,000	240,000	225,000
Child Allowance	120,000	96,000	45,000	120,000	96,000	45,000
Commission Member Allowance	-	-	130,500	-	-	130,500
Member of Consultation Committee Allowance	326,250	217,500	130,500	326,250	217,500	130,500

Budget Committee	326,250	217,500	130,500	326,250	217,500	130,500
Honorary Council	-	-	130,500	-	-	130,500
Functional Allowance	4,350,000	3,480,000	3,262,500	4,350,000	3,480,000	3,262,500
Communication Allowance	-	-	-	9,000,000	9,000,000	9,000,000
Operational Fund	-	-	-	18,000,000	9,600,000	-
Total	8,817,700	6,986,200	6,624,700	35,817,700	25,586,200	15,624,700
Amount of Increase				27,000,000	18,600,000	9,000,000
Percentage of Increase				306	266	136

Source: FITRA National Secretary, 2007

- * It is assumed that each provincial DPRD member is also a member of a Commission, Consultation Committee, Budgeting Committee and Honorary Council.

Table 1.2. Additional Income of DPRD Members According to Regulation Number 37 / 2006 (in IDR)

Additional income	Chairperson	Deputy Chairperson	Member
A. For DPRD in 434 districts/cities			
Communication Allowance	6,300,000	6,300,000	6,300,000
Operational Fund	12,600,000	6,720,000	0
Total per month	18,900,000	13,020,000	6,300,000
Total back payment 2006 (Jan-Dec)	226,800,000	156,240,000	75,600,000
Total back payment per district/city	IDR 2,958,480,000		
Total back payment 2006 for DPRD Chairpersons, Vice Chairpersons, and Members in 434 districts/cities	98,431,200,000	135,616,320,000	1,049,932,800,000
Total amount of overall back payment for 434 districts/cities in 2006kota	IDR1,283,980,320,000		

Advocacy on Government Regulation of Extra income for Local Legislative Members

B. For DPRD in 33 provinces			
Communication Allowance	9,000,000	9,000,000	9,000,000
Operational Fund	18,000,000	9,600,000	0
Total per month	27,000,000	18,600,000	9,000,000
Total back payment 2006 (Jan-Dec)	324,000,000	223,200,000	108,000,000
Total back payment for 33 provinces			
Total amount of back payment disbursement for 2006 for Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, and Member	10,692,000,000	22,096,800,000	146,124,000,000
Total amount of overall back payment for 2006	IDR 178,912,800,000.00		
TOTAL A + B	IDR 1,462,893,120,000 (<i>one trillion four hundred sixty two billion eight hundred ninety three million and one hundred and twenty thousand rupiah</i>)		

Source: FITRA National Secretary, 2007

Analysis of the Implication of Government Regulation Number 37/2006 on Allocation of Public Service Expenditures

FITRA National Secretariat also carried out an analysis of the imposition of the government regulation on the regions with limited Regional Income (PAD) and fiscal capacity, and its implications for allocation of public service expenditures such as education and health. It was clear that the provision of communication allowance, amounting to three times the representation allowance, and operational fund, amounting to six times the representation allowance, as additional income for DPRD members to be paid from January 2006 would impose a burden on the Regional Budget (APBD). Regions with limited income would be forced to allocate the budget for DPRD members' income and overlook the need to provide services to their people.

Dairi district of North Sumatra, for instance, had to spend IDR 6 billion of its regional budget on DPRD members' salaries, excluding payment of the DPRD Secretariat. Regional income of poor areas such as East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) might not have been able to cover this expenditure. As a result, expenditures to meet basic rights such as education and health were ignored or became low priority. In the five districts analysed, expenditure for DPRD accounted for 30% of the Regional Income.

Table 1.3. Percentage of the Disbursement of Additional Income for DPRD against Direct Expenditure Allocation for Basic Services in the Regional Budget (APDB) for 2006 in 6 districts/cities (in IDR).

No	Region	Regional Income (PAD)	DPRD (PP 37/2006)	% of PAD	% of Direct Expenditure for Basic Services			
					Education	% DPRD	Health	% DPRD
1	Malang District	51,650,690,000	2,958,480,000	6,0	19,080,196,000	16,0	16,712,533,000	18,0
2	Gresik District	85,069,890,031	2,958,480,000	4,0	21,211,643,100	14,0	25,333,460,140	12,0
3	Lamongan District	32,744,377,250	2,958,480,000	9,0	20,911,312,500	14,0	15,072,217,500	20,0
4	Bima District	19,467,971,714	2,958,480,000	15,0	19,544,763,190	15,0	16,156,882,825	18,0
5	Sumbawa District	21,056,994,000	2,958,480,000	14,0	23,798,351,069	12,0	18,405,529,114	16,0
6	Polmas District	9,824,194,400	2,958,480,000	30,0	17,138,371,500	17,0	26,830,702,210	11,0

Source: FITRA National Secretary

Analysis of Conflicting Legislations

FITRA argued that enforcement of the government regulation of 2006 would violate legislation on budget management in a number of regions. Provision of the incentive communication allowance and operational fund dating back to January 2006 could not be justified because it was in violation of Article 183 paragraph (3) of Law Number 32/2004 on Regional Government and Article 80 paragraph (1) of Law Number 33 of 2004 on Central-Regional Government Fiscal Balance. These articles stipulated that revision of the APBD should be effected at the latest three months before the end of the current fiscal year i.e. by 31 September. Government Regulation Number 37/2006 was issued on 14 November 2006. In addition, the 2007 Regional Budget could not allocate expenditure to be paid as of January 2006 because this would violate article 4 of Law Number 17/2003, article 179 of the Law on Regional Government, article 68 of the Law on Central-Regional Government Fiscal Balance, and article 11 of the Law Number 1/2004. These laws stipulated that the APBD covers a single fiscal year from 1 January to 31 December of every year. This meant that the 2007 Regional Budget could not allocate payment of communication allowance and operational fund for 2006.

Following the issuance of the government regulation of 2006, the Minister of Home Affairs stated that the communication allowance and operational fund could still be paid even if regions that had made revisions in their APBD had not allocated such expenditure as long as the regional budget capacity allowed this. This was in violation of Article 192 paragraph (3) and (4) of the Law on Regional Government that stipulated that:

Spending cannot be charged to the regional budget of expenditure if no fund or no adequate fund in APBD is available to the spendings.

The regional head, deputy regional head, DPRD chair, and other regional officials are prohibited from making expenditures from the regional budget of expenditure for purposes other than those specified in APBD.

Establishing Coalition

Using the results of the analysis, FITRA invited other NGOs concerned with budgeting and anti-corruption issues to discuss Government Regulation Number 37 of 2006. Based on the results of the discussion, the Coalition Against Government Regulation Number 37/2006 agreed to hold a joint press conference and promoted a wider NGO coalition. The coalition agreed to appoint FITRA National Secretary as the secretariat responsible for organizing the advocacy. FITRA National Secretary disseminated the results of analysis through a mailing list and invited other NGOs to join the coalition.

In addition to FITRA members in the regions, positive responses were received through the mailing list from many NGOs who expressed their intention to join the coalition. Some NGOs that were not directly working on these issues also expressed their intention to join the coalition. These included NGOs working in environmental issues and NGOs working on women's issues. At least 45 NGOs from all over Indonesia joined the Coalition to undertake joint action.

Joint Action

Pressure to reject the enforcement of the Government Regulation Number 37 was exerted by the NGO Coalition at both national and local levels. The actions elicited positive responses from the media.

Press Conference

To gather opinions and support from the public, press conferences were held not only in the early stages of advocacy but also when the Coalition responded to the response by policy makers, especially the President and the Ministry of Home Affairs as well as DPRD Association. Press conferences were also held for every demonstration and support action. The mass and electronic media responded positively to the press conferences. Members of the Coalition, including FITRA National Secretary, were often invited by

the mass media to offer comments and became resource persons on the issues in the talk shows on television.

Article Development

Articles were written to disseminate the viewpoint of the National Coalition. Published articles included *Menggali Kuburan Parlemen Daerah* (Digging Regional Parliament's Grave) in *Kompas* daily and *Menanti Ke(Tidak)tegasan SBY* (Awaiting Susilo Bambang Yudoyono's (In) Decisiveness) in *Seputar Indonesia* daily.

To Establish Support from Interfaith Figures

The National Coalition also attempted to gain support from interfaith figures. Those contacted included the General Chairperson of the Central Board of Nahdathul Ulama, representing Islamic mass organisations, and a leading Catholic cleric. The Coalition's meetings with the interfaith figures were also accompanied by a press conference, which resulted in coverage by the media.

Sympathetic Action to Gather Signatures

To get extensive support from the public on the issue, the National Coalition held a campaign to gather signatures from the public at large. The signature gathering was held on Sunday, 7 January 2007 in Senayan area, where many people of Jakarta usually exercise. The signatures gathered during the campaign were displayed on a 50-metre-long banner and used in every demonstration action.

Demonstration Action

Demonstration actions were held not only in Jakarta, the capital city, but also in a number of regions. The actions all made the same demand: rejection of the enforcement of Government Regulation Number 37 / 2006. In Jakarta, the demonstration's final destination was the State Palace, the Home Affairs Ministry and the Supreme Court. Elements of the National Coalition as well as students joined the demonstration.

Demand to the President

As the person who enacted Government Regulation Number 37 / 2006, the President of Indonesia became the target of advocacy. On 12 January 2007, the National Coalition sent a letter to the President demanding the annulment or revocation of the Government Regulation. The demand stated that prior to signing the Regulation, the President should have been aware of the implications of the enforcement of the Regulation. The National Coalition's letter received a positive response from the President, who immediately held a Cabinet meeting involving the Minister for Law and Human Rights, Minister for Home Affairs, and Finance Affairs Minister to establish a team to review the Government Regulation in question.

ACHIEVEMENTS

The National NGO Coalition against Government Regulation Number 37/2006 initiative contributed to the establishment of public awareness of accountable budget use. Internally, the Coalition successfully joined the forces of a number of movements who contributed money and other resources for the joint advocacy without external funding.

Government Regulation Number 37 / 2006 was finally amended for the fourth time by means of Government Regulation Number 21 / 2007. The President responded to the demands and actions by the National Coalition by holding a limited Cabinet Meeting Session involving the Home Affairs Minister, Law and Human Rights Minister, and Minister of Finance. The meeting initially only resulted in an appeal to the DPRD not to accept the additional income. In a later development, the President finally established a team to review the government regulation.

On 16 March 2007, the President amended the Government Regulation on DPRD Finance Position and Protocol. The amended Government Regulation annulled the retroactive provision of communication

allowances and operational fund and established different categories for provision of allowances based on regional fiscal capacity. Furthermore, DPRD members were required to return the incentive communication allowance and operational fund that they had received through deductions from their monthly income or by instalment payments ending one month before the end of their terms.

The movement achieved a saving of state money amounting to IDR 1.4 trillion following the revocation of PP 37/2006. In addition, within the Home Affairs Ministry there was a change of officials responsible for the management of regional finance and the issuance of Government Regulation Number 37 of 2006. The table below compares key provisions of the regulations of 2006 and 2007.

Table 1.4. Government Regulation Number 37 / 2006 vs. Government Regulation Number 21 / 2007

Government Regulation Number 37 / 2006	Government Regulation Number 21 / 2007
Communication allowance amounting to 3 times representation money (basic salary)	Provision of communication allowance is based on regional fiscal capacity: High capacity: 3 times representation money Medium : 2 times representation money Low : equal to representation money
Chairperson's operational support amounting to 6 times of the representation money	Adjusted to regional fiscal capacity: high, medium and low
Applicable retroactively from January 2006	Not applicable retroactively and DPRD members are required to return allowance they have received before the end of their terms

CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS

While there was large-scale support, the National Coalition Movement against the Government Regulation Number 37 / 2006 also faced opposition from a number of stakeholders. The Home Affairs Ministry and the DPRD Association were the most resistant. The latter went as far as inviting all DPRD members in Indonesia to a hearing with the Chair of the People's House of Representative (DPR). However, the DPR did not provide any meaningful response to the invitation since the DPR and political parties in Jakarta were concerned that the public would consider them as part of DPRD's alliance if they responded.

The National Coalition also faced some internal problems caused by certain members who were always too keen to appear in the media. The coalition had agreed that it would not appoint a coordinator or spokesperson. Instead, every member of the Coalition was welcome to speak in the media as long as it was in line with the Coalition's advocacy line.

The National Coalition was not entirely successful in their advocacy against Government Regulation Number 37 / 2006. The Regulation was not revoked; instead, the government only made four amendments to the regulation. Incentive communication allowances and the chairperson's operational fund were retained as additional income for DPRD members in line with regional fiscal capacity and were applicable non-retroactively. The amended Regulation did not require the immediate repayment of the allowances that members had received. If this had happened, the money would have been able to be used for public expenditure.

Judicial review was the last resort of the Coalition. From the very beginning, the Coalition preferred non-litigation advocacy work and avoided litigation because it believed that litigation took time and was not open to the public during the judicial review stage in the Supreme Court. However, on 18 June 2007 litigation advocacy to request a judicial review of Government Regulation Number 21 / 2007, which was the fourth

revision of Government Regulation Number 37 / 2006, was registered at the Supreme Court. Litigation advocacy was intended to increase the pressure that had been exerted through non-litigation advocacy to demand the return of DPRD members' communication allowance payments by the regional government. To register the case, members of the coalition collected money among themselves to pay for the registration.

LESSONS LEARNED

The issuance of Government Regulation number 37 / 2006 reflects one of the impacts of regional autonomy, particularly in terms of lack of comprehensive design of DPRD finance arrangement as evidenced in the repeated amendments of government regulations on DPRD finance issues. The government has yet to learn that it is impossible to treat different 434 districts/cities with diverse capacities and gaps in the same way.

Internally, the coalition learnt the important lesson that a strong coalition needs a good division of roles to prevent certain members from dominating certain roles and claiming the coalition's achievement as their own. Nevertheless, even without a coordinator, the Coalition has run well and gathered substantial support from its members.

Another lesson learnt is that advocacy work needs good stamina and appropriate rhythm to establish opinions and the right time for action. The establishment of the National Coalition against the Government Regulation Number 37 / 2006 was an indispensable initiative concerning an obvious ongoing issue that concerns the interests of the public. However, despite the public support of the coalition movement on corruption issues, issues concerning the policy for budget allocation for education and health have not gained equal support.

Fulfilling Education Rights through Local Budget Operational Aid for School

Experience of budget advocacy in Malang City,
East Java Province

by

Fitria Muslih and Asiswanto Darsono

SUMMARY

Up until 2009, the operational needs of schools in the city of Malang were provided for only by budget allocations from the central government. The budget of the city of Malang, on account of limited availability of funds, did not allocate money for the Local Budget Operational Aid for Schools (BOSDA). The Centre for Information and Regional Studies (Pattiro) Malang, together with the BOSDA Alliance, successfully advocated for the allocation of BOSDA in the Regional Annual Budget Draft (APBD) 2010 in the amount of IDR 9,944,700,000 for elementary and middle schools. In addition to BOSDA, Pattiro Malang and the BOSDA Alliance successfully advocated for an increase in public spending on the Department of Education in the APBD. In 2010 the latter amounted to approximately 10% of the total budget draft, which is in accordance with the Regional Regulation of the city of Malang number 13 / 2009. Public expenditure on the Department of Education, which was IDR. 51 billion in 2009, rose to approximately IDR 79 billion because of the advocacy. In turn, starting

in 2010 the Malang Department of Education allocated supporting funds for assistance to school committees and development of the Council for Education in the city of Malang (DPKM). Those two most important elements for delivering education were each allocated IDR 100 million.

ORGANIZATION PROFILE

Pattiro Malang was established in 2000 with the support of Pattiro Jakarta through a program of research and advocacy that built capacity for community participation. Pattiro Malang is an independent institution that pushes for good governance structure by shaping a community that is critical and participatory.

Pattiro Malang's vision is that community members will be aware of their rights and obligations as citizens through a sense of justice. With that vision, Pattiro Malang's mission is to: 1) Conduct education on critical thinking, to empower and assist communities, 2) Provide software materials and information for community empowerment, 3) Conduct research that is relevant to public policy and basic services for communities in Malang, 4) Conduct analysis and development models of governance structure in Malang that are participative and accountable, 5) Push for a national policy that establishes a climate for active participation of community members in the Malang city governance structure.

With the support of Pattiro Jakarta and other institutions, Pattiro Malang has succeeded in conducting several programs. These include 1) Empowerment of Participation of Communities in Policy Making Processes of the Region; 2) Increasing the Participation of Women in Malang to achieve Gender-friendly Public Policy; 3) Research on the Initiation of a Complaints Mechanism that is Gender-friendly; 4) Research on Participative Regional Legislation Models; 5) Measuring the Views of People on Candidate Heads of Regions; 6) Program to Empower the Initiative in Composing the Draft of the School Budget and Expenditure

Plan (RAPBS) in the Spirit of Increasing the Quality of Basic Education for the Poor; 7) Workshops on the Drafting of the Design for Regional Regulations (Ranperda) on Public Services in Malang; 8) Development of a Complaints Mechanism on Public Services based on Regional Public Participation; 9) Advocacy Programs to the APBD on the Sectors of the Local Economy in the Malang District; 10) Program for City/Region Budgeting Council in the City of Blitar, and 11) Assistance Program on the Establishment of a One-Stop Service Centre.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

Like in other regions, the government of the city of Malang prioritizes physical and entertainment development, such as malls, sport centers, and football facilities. Improvement of educational quality does not receive similar attention in the budget as physical and entertainment development. Public expenditure in the Draft for Regional Income-Expenditure Budget (APBD) 2010 is not in accordance with the Regional Regulation (Perda) 13 / 2009 that states that the state should allocate a minimum of 10% of the APBD for educational sectors.

This issue emerged when the Pattiro Malang team conducted a needs assessment of schools (especially middle schools). The assessment started in February 2009. All the schools that were visited stated that BOS from the Central Government is simply not enough to meet the needs of school operational needs based on existing standards, while at the same time the Government campaigns for free education. The lack of operational funds can obstruct the establishment of a school management that is accountable, transparent, participatory, and *pro-poor*.

The needs analysis and discussion with informants representing specific interests (School principals, School Committee, Students' parents, Department of Education, NGOs, and academics) resulted in demands for an allocation from the APBD of Malang towards the operational costs

of education. This allocation, which is called BOSDA, would have the objective of compensating for the insufficiencies of BOS from the Central Government.

The amount of BOS funds from the Central Government is calculated based on the number of students in the respective district/city. This information is extracted from data submitted by each school at the primary and middle levels. In 2010, the amount of BOS funds per student in elementary level was about IDR 33,300 per month, and BOS funds per student in the secondary level was about IDR 47,900 per month. The table below, based on calculations done by the BOSDA Alliance Team with assistance from experts from Decentralization-Based Education /USAID shows the amount required for Operational Cost of Education Units (BOSP) and compares this with the BOS:

Table 2.1. Calculation of BOSDA Malang
Malang (in IDR)

	Number of Students	BOSP / month	Central Government BOS / month	Insufficiency	Bosda / month	Bosda/year
SD/ MI	85,638	52,548.96	33,333.33	19,215.63	1,645,588,121.94	19,747,057,463.28
SMP/ MTs	39,547	136,197.97	47,916.67	88,281.30	3,491,260,571.10	41,895,126,853.20
TOTAL					5,136,848,693.04	61,642,184,316.48

(Source : analysis result of the BOSDA Alliance)

The table shows that BOSP of IDR 52,500 per month per student is needed at elementary level and IDR 136,200 per month per student at secondary level. However, the BOS budget allocated from the Central Government was only IDR 33,300 per month per student at the elementary level and IDR 47,900 per student at the secondary level. This resulted in a IDR 19,200 deficit per elementary school student and IDR 88,300 per secondary school student. When multiplied by the total number of elementary level students in Malang, which was 85,638, and students

an the secondary level, which was 39,547, the deficit left for the APBD amounted to approximately IDR 61,642,184,316 per year.

BOSDA ADVOCACY

The Pattiro Malang team started its work on the needs assessment of schools (secondary level) by sharing and looking for information on practices of accountability in schools. The issue of school funding emerged when nearly all schools visited stated that the BOS funds from the Central Government were insufficient to cover standard school operational needs, despite the government's heavy campaigning for free education. The insufficiency of operational funds was recognized as a potential barrier to management of schools that is accountable, transparent, participatory and pro-poor.

The demands in respect of BOSDA were strengthened in every discussion event that Pattiro Malang held, including focus group discussions with the school committee, with principals, and with representatives of students' parents. A fourth focus group, held in May 2009, involved multiple stakeholders (principals, school committee, students' parents, Department of Education, NGO, and academics) and confirmed the mutual agreement to push for BOSDA.

After the fourth focus group discussion, the team began to establish communication with the media, so as to increase attention to BOSDA. In addition, the team approached the different role-players in education. These included the Malang Department of Education, the Malang Council for Education (DPKM), the School Committee Communication Forum (FKKS), the Principals' Working Meeting (MKKS), public figures in education, and NGOs.

The team embarked on a road-show to reach these other roleplayers. Among these stakeholders Pattiro Malang found a similar perception

that BOSDA is a fundamental need that must be met by the Regional Government. However, given the existing situation, some stakeholders felt pessimistic that the Regional Government would do as hoped.

This pessimism led the team to look for alternative ways of working outside the executive branch. The decision to do this regenerated excitement in the team to keep pushing for BOSDA in the City of Malang. Through simple analysis, the team concluded then that there were good opportunities to push for BOSDA through the branches of the legislature, where half of the members were newly appointed. The team hoped that the fresh idealism of the new members could be translated into energy to push and advocate for programs that benefit the people.

Over the period May to October 2009 Pattirol Malang continually highlighted the issue of BOSDA in the media. Over the same period, Pattirol Malang approached members of the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) who were appointed in the 2009-2014 term in their residences and in their offices. It approached, in particular, those expected to sit as the Chairs of the House (DPRD). After the members were inaugurated, but before the DPRD operational structure had been finalized, Pattirol Malang approached representatives of all parties.

In addition, Pattirol Malang tried to facilitate the formation of an organizational network to advocate for BOSDA. Those approached included the DPKM, FKKS, MKKS, NGO, Educational Institute of Ma'arif NU, the Council for Primary-Tertiary Education of Muhammadiyah, academics, and community figures. This network became known as the BOSDA Alliance.

The above were not the only actions. The team worked with the media to create an "open discussion" on BOSDA in which different actors could comment on the issue. In addition to providing news items, the team wrote articles about BOSDA to strengthen public support. In the first period, the executive did not show any will or commitment on the urgency

of BOSDA. The team therefore had to work harder and take strategic steps to strengthen the BOSDA advocacy. They lobbied policy makers in the executive branch and organized more hearings with the legislative branch. They began to get positive responses from members of the legislature, who started to speak about the urgency of BOSDA in some formal and non-formal forums.

Over time, through a long and winding journey, the advocacy efforts succeeded in having BOSDA inserted in the APBD of 2010 in the amount of IDR 9,944,700,000. This budget covered all elementary and middle schools in the city of Malang. In addition to BOSDA, Pattiro Malang along with the BOSDA alliance succeeded in achieving an increase in state spending on the Malang Department of Education, which increased to 10% of the total value of the APBD. As a result of these changes in policy, the total amount of state expenditure for the Department of Education increased from IDR 51 billion to IDR 79 billion. In addition, in the 2010 fiscal year the Malang Department of Education allocated funds for capacity building of school committees and development of DPKM. These two elements in education will each get IDR 100 millions.

These achievements were far from satisfactory compared to what Pattiro Malang and BOSDA Alliance wanted. Nevertheless, the attention given by the executive and legislative branches to the issue of BOSDA was a step forward towards quality and affordable education for the community, along with establishing the concept of good governance.

METHODOLOGY

Effective advocacy requires identification of a precise target and a strategy that will address each of the existing problems. The first step in Pattiro Malang's advocacy campaign was identifying the target correctly. Every action that followed built on the progress achieved to date.

In conducting the BOSDA budget advocacy, Pattiwo Malang undertook several steps and used a range of advocacy strategies.

a. Identification of Issues

Identification of issues is an initial step in the process of advocacy. This step attempts to extract emerging issues and identify the issues that are most strategic and relate to the primary needs of the community. The issue identification was done through gathering data, analyzing the gathered data, conducting interviews with relevant parties, focus group discussions, and dissemination of the data in order to invite their inputs on the data. After a long process, finally the parties agreed that the most pressing issue in the educational sector was the funding of the operational needs of schools, and especially BOSDA.

Some challenges were encountered while identifying the issues. These included limited access to data in the department of education and unwillingness of policy makers to provide information.

b. Community Organizing

Community organizing is a further important initial step in every process of advocacy. It is important to ensure that the issues taken up are issues that are widely experienced, and to strengthen the willingness to work on the issues together. Organizing aims to strengthen the bonds of the network, and to clarify the distribution of the advocacy workload so that it can be done in a more directed and effective way.

To strengthen the bonds and commitment, community organizing is done parallel to the activity of issue identification. The hoped-for result is that critical awareness among different stakeholders crystallizes into a mutual issue on which people will work effectively together.

However, in every process there is always a weak link. One common challenge is that the different experiences of different stakeholders can

mean that they have different perceptions on the issue. Although this often becomes a challenge, differences of perception can be overcome by effective and intensive communication that brings people back to the main and shared issues.

c. Capacity Building of the Network

Pattiro Malang tried to build the capacity of the network, including through analyzing the education budget for members of the network. Members of the team with expertise in regional budgeting helped others to read and analyze budgets through facilitating explanations, elaborations, discussions, and simulations. This was done to develop the capacity of the members of the alliance to understand the process of drafting budgets, budget flows, technical structure of budgets, and budget policy in development work. To ensure that the discussion was focused, Pattiro Malang calculated the BOSP for the city of Malang for elementary and secondary levels by involving principals and school committees. The BOSP calculations were done in several places. For example, the first calculation was in Pattiro Malang's office, the next one was in the joint secretariat of DPKM-FKKS-MKKS, or in a school, and so on.

The varying background of members of the network and their lack of familiarity with regional budget analysis meant that often a long period of time were spent on analysis. However, in general the process of capacity building of the network, which was done primarily through developing materials on budgeting, went well.

d. Analyzing BOSP Budgets

Budget analysis was done in order to strengthen the arguments and broaden the range of solutions in the process of advocacy. The main focus of analysis became the calculation of needs of school operational funds or the Operational Funds for Education Unit (BOSP). To ensure that the calculation of BOSP for the city of Malang at primary and secondary level were regarded as valid, representatives of principals and school committees were actively involved in the activity.

e. Lobbies and Hearings

Conducting lobbying and holding hearings with policy makers was an important part of the advocacy strategy, because it provided a chance for the team to discuss in person the urgency of BOSDA. Lobbying was done through both personal and institutional approaches and both formally and informally. In addition, team members took advantage of strategic moments, such as discussion forums and workshops, to engage in lobbying.

f. Public Discussion/Workshop

To gain broad support and strengthen public opinion, Pattiro Malang and the advocacy network conducted workshops. The workshops were held after the calculation on BOSP for elementary-secondary school level in the city of Malang had been done. The parties that attended the workshop were: 1 Chair and 12 members of the DPRD (Regional House of Representatives) from every party (from a total of 45 members), DPKM, Department of Education, Primary-Tertiary Council for Muhammadiyah education, NGO, NU Ma'arif Educational Institution, and educational public figures.

In the introductory session of the workshop, there were presentations by the manager for BOS/Head of Primary Education division, Department of Education Malang and a member of the Educational Council of East Java. The status and capacity of these presenters in explaining the materials for BOS contributed directly to building the mindset and commitment of members of the House and other participants in the workshop.

g. Media Campaign

It is sometimes argued that whoever wants to change the world should conquer communication. This theory was well understood by the team, that to undertake successful policy advocacy one must involve

the media. The media was engaged both as partners in discussing substance (content) and the strategy of advocacy and as “ammunition” in socializing and campaigning on the urgency of BOSDA in education in the city of Malang.

After the multiple stakeholder focus group discussions, the team started to communicate with the media, so that the BOSDA issue could grow in importance both in the forms of news and opinions. The team was fully aware that to support this work, communication and building effective cooperation with the media was an essential factor to make BOSDA an “open discussion” issue. Exchanges and comments in the media from different sources helped to show many roleplayers that BOSDA was a strategic and urgent issue that needed to be addressed in Malang. A challenge in relation to the media campaign was that it is not possible to control the news that is published, so that not all news and opinions are in accordance with the strategy. However, this challenge did not seriously affect the process of advocacy.

h. Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation was done throughout the whole process of advocacy, starting from assessment of the internal situation in Pattiro Malang, the advocacy team (BOSDA Alliance) and the media as well as a situation map of the executive and legislature. In addition to monitoring and evaluating the situation of the actors, the team also looked at the substance of the advocacy, including both the process of advocacy and the policies that emerged in response to the advocacy. The result of monitoring and evaluation of the actors and substance during the advocacy was used to support the success of the process of advocacy. Meanwhile monitoring and evaluation after the advocacy will be used for planning the next policy making, especially in relation to allocation and implementation in the APBD for the next year.

BARRIERS IN ADVOCACY

In general, the barriers that were faced in budget advocacy for BOSDA in Malang were as follows:

a. Barriers in Human Resources

The members of the Pattiro Malang team and the BOSDA Alliance team had uneven capacity and understanding of the technicalities of both the substantive issues and advocacy. This necessitated capacity building to make sure that everyone was on the same page relating to issues taken up and the techniques that would be used to achieve those issues. Education is a general issue that always sparks interest and is close to the community. However, when it comes to specific things like the operational funds for schools, the knowledge of people may vary. Further, team members sometimes had different perceptions on how to start voicing out and calling for change.

b. Methodology Barriers

In the process of advocacy one of the prerequisites that must be fulfilled is the methodology. The nature of the methodology to be used depends on who will use it, what the issues are, and changes in social and political situation, as well as people or stakeholders targeted. In the advocacy on BOSDA, from the start the Pattiro Malang team discussed with the BOSDA Alliance the plans, steps, and methodology that would be used. While there was good progress on other issues, when it came to methodology, the opinions of team members sometimes differed. There were then debates around the differences of opinion among team members on the issues, resources, ease of implementation, and the success rate.

d. Institutional Barriers

The decision to form the BOSDA Alliance added to the strength of the advocacy process. However the decision was not without its challenges. Bringing organizations and individuals together in an umbrella alliance resulted in 1) time pressures and conflicts in respect of organizational activity with the work of the alliance; 2) Lack of commitment of some members of the Alliance in conducting tasks that had been agreed to; and 3) a time-consuming advocacy process often caused fatigue for some alliance members.

SOLUTION TO BARRIERS

To address the above challenges, Pattiro Malang and the BOSDA Alliance used the following strategies.

a. Discussion and analysis;

To address challenges relating to human resource of the alliance members and issues of methodology, Pattiro Malang and the BOSDA Alliance tried to organize discussions and analysis related to techniques of advocacy and the substance of the education budget. Discussion and analysis was done in a participatory manner, as in deciding the time, place and person to facilitate the discussion. This was done to ensure that the discussion and analysis went well and produced the wished-for understanding and agreement.

B. Coordination and Consolidation

To maintain unity and eliminate the institutional challenges, Pattiro Malang and the BOSDA Alliance agreed to routine coordination mechanisms which included planned meetings alongside informal coordination.

ACHIEVEMENTS

The activities to advocate for increased budget spending on BOSDA by Pattiwo Malang had some clear achievements:

Budgeting policies. The team succeeded in advocating for a BOSDA budget for APBD 2010. The total BOSDA allocation in Malang in the 2010 fiscal year was IDR 9,944,700,000, with IDR 5,140,980 for elementary schools and IDR 4,803,720 for secondary schools, to be distributed manually through to the schools' bank accounts. The amount was much smaller than the amount suggested by Pattiwo Malang and the BOSDA Alliance, namely 21 billion rupiah. However compared to the previous APBD which did not allocate any BOSDA funds, it was an important step towards further policies aimed at BOSDA in Malang, and the amount must thus be appreciated.

An alliance across organizations and the community. The BOSDA Alliance is a network of individuals and community organizations that care about education. This alliance is a close and flexible forum that can advocate for BOSDA in the city APBD. After successfully advocating for a BOSDA allocation, the alliance will now monitor BOSDA during implementation. In addition to achieving a BOSDA policy in the City of Malang, the alliance also managed to develop the capacity of their members, especially on education

Participation of education stakeholders. The education community started to take part in the planning process, as well as in supervising the cash/fund transferred to schools. The educational stakeholders have also committed themselves to monitoring the process of BOSDA during school implementation.

Awareness of legislative members. The BOSDA fund allocation in the the 2010 APBD cannot be separated from the establishment of sympathy among members of the House who were willing to listen to community aspiration on educational funding.

Executive policy change. The process of advocacy was long and involved many people. It convinced the officials of the City of Malang that allocation of funds for BOSDA for the community was really needed.

LESSONS LEARNED

Below are some of the lessons learned during the processes of BOSDA advocacy on the Malang APBD:

Coalition. To achieve successful advocacy there needs to be proper management. The way advocacy is organized depends on the difficulty of the case that will be advocated for. The members of the network who are joining the advocacy team must have a similar vision and orientation to the agenda of advocacy.

Capacity Building. In advocacy, capacity building of the members is a need that must be met. To answer this need, Pattiro Malang conducted technical trainings on calculation of BOSDA and more general analysis of the APBD budgeting. Meanwhile capacity building on advocacy techniques was done through the “learning by doing” method where members learned from each other during the process of doing advocacy.

Involvement of Beneficiaries. The involvement of beneficiaries of a budgeting policy that is being advocated for is important, because it is the beneficiary community that feels the impact when the educational budget does not favor them. To find a solution in which the budget policy can favor the people, it must be formulated with assistance of competent individuals. The other benefit of involving beneficiaries relates to the speed of advocacy. The existence of effective communication between the beneficiaries, advocacy team and policy makers assists in building similar perceptions on the content of the advocacy of BOSDA.

Health is Affordable and Accessible

Experience of Health Right Advocacy for the Poor in Bandung District, West Java Province

by

Ari Nurman

SUMMARY

The fulfillment of the right of access to basic health services is not easy to accomplish. The advocacy for health service security in Bandung Municipality began with intellectual work, such as research, budget analysis and development of an academic paper (an Indonesian term for policy analysis developed in preparation for particular legislation). The next step was to mobilize massive support. Here political work was needed. Blending all of these in a larger design of advocacy was not easy; it required persistence and determination. The advocacy stage in Bandung Municipality began when the academic paper and the overall agenda of realization of health service security was submitted to the municipal government. This was immediately challenged by the municipal government and the service provider. What was needed here was the support of knowledge and capacity to deal with the power game.

After working on various research studies, lobbying and support for mobilization, finally the first objective of the advocacy was achieved: the health service charge (in Indonesia: health retribution) in the community health centers (*Puskesmas*) was abolished. Hence, the poor no longer face a barrier to access to basic health services. After several months, almost a year, the advocacy objective of the second stage was achieved: the enactment of a local ordinance concerning health service security in Bandung Municipality.

ORGANIZATION PROFILE

The Inisiatif Association was formally established on 19th June 2005. However, the association began its activities in July 2000. The Inisiatif Association was founded to promote improvement in local governance by focusing on the improvement of the lives of the marginalized groups, while at the same time providing an arena for other individuals who share the same concerns and vision. Our objective is to become an institution that is able to improve the lives of the marginalized groups particularly through their participation in local governance. To achieve this, we try (1) to promote public policy reform that can improve the lives of the marginalized groups, (2) to promote strengthening of the marginalized groups so as to enable them to improve their own lives, and (3) to find synergies between the policy reform processes and the strengthening of the marginalized groups.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

Analysis and a survey conducted by Inisiatif in 2007 revealed the picture on the demand side of the health service, as well as the condition of its supply. From the demand side, some important information on the characteristics of users was obtained. As for the supply side, we obtained information

on the infrastructure, medical and non-medical staff in terms of number, distribution, infrastructure condition, adequacy etc. Important in making our argument stronger when conducting advocacy was a projection of the supply and demand in the future if there was no intervention.

Meanwhile, the results of the survey conducted by Inisiatif and Indonesian Computer University in 2007 showed that the majority of the inhabitants of Bandung Municipality were vulnerable to poverty and vulnerable to illness, while access to public health services was often inhibited by lack of affordability and low economic capacity.

Chronology of Advocacy

The advocacy process began towards the end of 2006 when Inisiatif presented on the region's pro-poor policy before the Regional Planning Agency of Bandung Municipality. In the discussion, there was an elaboration on the biggest challenges in eradicating poverty in Bandung Municipality. At the end of the discussion, the Inisiatif Association challenged Bandung Municipal Government to provide "free health services" so that the vulnerable in the society could be protected from falling into poverty due to illness. In other words, the government was asked to provide universal health service security. The term "free" was used, instead of provision of universal health care security by local government, for the reason of simplicity, so as to allow ordinary people to understand the ideas behind the advocacy.

This challenge was responded to by a counter challenge from the Planning Agency, which requested Inisiatif to present a proposal for this reform through submission of an academic paper.

Inisiatif responded to the challenge with submission of the requested academic paper to the Head of Municipality (the "*Bupati*"), the Municipal Planning Agency, the Health Agency and the Municipal Council in July 2007. Since then the advocacy wheel has been rolling.

Design of Advocacy for Free Health in Bandung Municipality

- Advocacy planning for a Free Health Service
- Development of Terms of Reference of the Free Health Service Concept
- Collection of arguments concerning Free Health Service
The process was carried out by the Inisiatif Association in cooperation with Indonesian Computer University. The activities included a literature review, health policy and budget analysis, and a user-based survey conducted in the *Puskesmas (Community Health Center)* in 30 sub-districts and 2 regional hospitals in the jurisdiction of Bandung Municipality. The survey aimed to measure the level of satisfaction of the recipients of services provided by *Puskesmas* and Regional Hospitals.
- Formulation of the Free Health Service Concept
The stages taken in the formulation of the concept were the calculation of the prevalence of each disease/service, calculating the monetary value of the services, estimation of risk and its possible impact, analysis of the budget and alternative schemes (need and capacity), determining the stakeholders of health financing, and selection of a scheme and alternative budget. This stage was an initial step before conducting advocacy and took the form of developing the Academic Paper on Free Health Service.
- Mobilization of public support for a Free Health Service
The mobilization of support was done in collaboration with community groups. One of the concrete forms of support was collection of signatures and photocopies of ID cards by the residents of Bandung Municipality. Other activities included a seminar on Advocacy for Free Health Service Security, publication in mass media (buying media space to build public opinion), dissemination of pocket books and display of street banners to communicate the advocacy for this free health service security to all residents of Bandung Municipality.
- Advocacy for Free Health Service directed towards the Municipal Government
This stage consisted of two activities, i.e.:

- Preparation of advocacy materials and work plan: Here we developed plans for a hearing with the regional government and the council, stakeholder mapping of those who supported the idea of a Free Health Service, the dynamics of the advocacy itself, and others.
- Submission of an Academic Paper to the Municipal Government and the Council: the drafting of the academic paper was done during July 2007.
- Monitoring of Free Health Service Legislation
 - Hearing with the Municipal Council and the Health Agency: the submission of academic paper was followed by the hearing with the Municipal Council and the Health Agency. The hearing aimed to communicate the concept and garner support from the Municipal Government and Council, call for the Municipal Council to propose that this concept of free health service be incorporated into a local ordinance, and urge the Municipal Government to implement the policy.
 - Monitoring of the legislation in the Council and monitoring of the budgeting process (alternative budget): These two processes began after the concept of Free Health Service Security was included in the Municipal Legislation Program (*Prolegda*). The monitoring aimed to ensure that there was no change in the substance of the policy proposal. The process aimed to have Free Health Service Security accommodated in a local ordinance.
- Free Health Campaign

The campaign aimed to communicate the local ordinance on free health service security to the public as the beneficiaries and other stakeholders.

 - Preparation of publication materials (community radio, poster, and newspaper)
 - Publication on and promotion of free health service; the activity was carried out through the broadcasting of public service advertising through community radio stations and buying space in newspapers.

Drafting of academic paper. The academic paper was drafted following the stages described below:

- *Problem analysis.* At this stage, the scope, availability and possible types of services to be provided for free were identified. Based on the survey result, the characteristics of Bandung municipality residents, who were prone and vulnerable to diseases, were identified. This finding was supported by the data of the Health Agency, which stated that only 8% of the residents engaged in clean and healthy behavior. The data showed that during 2006 there were around 120 diseases, severe and mild, that were dealt with by public health service providers (*Puskesmas* and Municipal Public Hospital).

Following the analysis, the Advocacy Team undertook an in-depth study on the cases of diseases occurring in Bandung Municipality. A study was conducted on the number of incidents or the number of patients per year; the health services that needed to be provided for the patients to recover, how long it took to recover, etcetera.

The following step of analysis was calculation of the monetary value of the costs incurred due to the illness. The calculation identified: (1) the impact of the disease on the economic situation of the sufferers and their families; and (2) the impact of the disease on the government budget in the context of health security financing.

After the calculations were completed, it was obvious that the most vulnerable groups in terms of suffering from the impact of diseases were poor, high-risk workers with low income, elderly persons, unemployed people and children. By studying demographic data, we were able to find out the number of people in a vulnerable position in terms of high disease risk.

From the aforementioned study, it was concluded that the risks for the incidents of disease was quite significant, in term of both the number of patients as well as the monetary value of direct loss. Other losses such as the productivity loss were not calculated although the amount would be large. Therefore, the actual amount of loss was definitely much higher.

The next step was to review the economic vulnerability of the residents to the various diseases. The data analysis showed that the poor and vulnerable residents of Bandung Municipality consisted of 102,000 *pre-prosperous families* (360,000 people) and *category 1 of prosperous families* of 192,000 families (687,000 people). This number constituted 40.5% of all families in Bandung Municipality.

- *Identification of financial capacity.* The financial capacity of the Municipal Government was calculated on the basis of the municipal budget. From the budget analysis, the amount of contribution required by other stakeholders was estimated. In addition, the study look at which sources of financing could be used. The calculation was based on the assumption that if sufficient budget was allocated, the quality of health services for the public should be good. In light of that, if the quality of health services remained poor, there were two possible causes: (1) the budget was not spent efficiently or (2) the available budget was not sufficient. For the former, budget efficiency could be the solution.

Analysis on the Potential Budget-Efficiency of the Health Agency of Bandung Municipality

By looking at the potential for cost-efficiency, the available amount of budget to realize the free health service policy was estimated. From the

calculation, we concluded that the potential budget efficiency of the Bandung Municipal Health Agency in 2007 based on types of inefficiency amounted to 37.6 billion rupiah.

The table shows items identified as questionable in the existing budget and the related allocations.

NO	ITEM	AMOUNT (IDR)	NO	ITEM	AMOUNT (IDR)
1	Allowable anticipation for price increase exceeding the standard	820,508,262	11	Unnecessary expenses	953,980,000
2	Expense and quantity too high	9,900,000	12	Price mark-up on book expenses	1,040,000
3	Over-priced spending items	1,781,500	13	Budget details and activity target not clear	10,000,000
4	Item not clear	6,305,160,500	14	Unnecessary items	51,400,000
5	Irrelevant spending items within budgeted programs	13,053,793,500	15	Description not clear	14,100,000
6	Volume mark up	1,050,000	16	Volume and price too high	12,313,300
7	Duplication of activities	14,636,948,185	17	Volume and price not clear	931,970,000
8	Irrelevant budgeted activities	168,000,000	18	Volume too high	43,741,100
9	Activities incompatible with program	354,009,990	19	Time of implementation not clear	246,015,000
10	Out-dated	226,200		Total Potential Efficiency	37,615,937,537

- *Developing a strategy and action plan.* This stage began with a study of health service provision and important possible funding sources to provide an early perspective from which to conduct advocacy. At this stage, several health service financing models were reviewed to study the following elements: (1) municipal government commitment; (2) trust among stakeholder in health service provision; (3) availability of funds; (4) the readiness of the health service provider institutions; (5) availability of infrastructure and human resources; and (6) level of public vulnerability.

An analysis of the six aspects demonstrated the urgency and capacity to choose a universal approach. On this basis Inisiatif went further, including: (1) developing several alternatives for a financing scheme (along with their financial consequences) for the provision of universal health service security; (2) launching advocacy for the reallocation of the existing inefficient budget to the selected scheme; (3) negotiating with and seeking support from the Municipal Council, as well as collecting written support in the form of signatures from the public; (4) publishing articles in the mass media that discussed the issue of public health services and highlight cases of failure of the poor to access health services; (5) monitoring the planning and budgeting process of the following year, with a focus on the health sector budget, particularly in relation to provision of means, human resources and medicines; (6) promoting discussion about reducing the role of the Health Agency and promoting independent management of *Puskesmas*, considering that the intervention of the Health Agency was often not appropriate for the situation on the ground.

Following those efforts, Inisiatif developed various alternative models for health service security financing. The table below illustrates the financing calculation of those models.

Alternative	Budget (IDR)	Description
MODEL 1A	4.43 trillion	For 44 diseases, for all cases in Central Bandung and West Bandung for a year (2006)
MODEL 1B	1.8 trillion	For 44 diseases, for all cases in Central Bandung and West Bandung for a year, with poor residents estimated at 40,7% (2006)
MODEL 2A	431 billion	For the population of 2,879,231 with insurance premium of IDR 12,500/month, as in Jembrana Municipality. For larger number of participants, the premiums can be much lower.
MODEL 2B	176 billion	For the 40% poor residents with insurance premium of IDR 12,500/month as in Jembrana Municipality. For larger number of participants, the premiums can be much lower.
MODEL 3A	22 billion (2007)	The potential amount of reduction caused by exemption of health retribution.
MODEL 3B	Less than 9 billion (2007)	Abolition of health service retribution from patients who are not referred.

From the six alternatives, the one considered the most realistic for the context of Bandung Municipality (also the most recommended alternative by the advocacy actors) were the fifth (model 3A) and the sixth (model 3B) options. However, the selected scheme to be fought for and developed further was left fully to the results of negotiation between the advocacy actors and the Municipal Council and Government.

- *Institutionalization of the process and provision of assistance.* The climax of advocacy in reforming services was in the process of institutionalization and provision of assistance. We were aware that advocacy is a process of persuasion. While the policy maker is trying to identify solutions and innovation for a social problem, the advocacy actors try to influence the policy makers to choose what they consider the best alternative.

ACHIEVEMENTS

There were a number of important 'small victories'. Regardless the health service security model that will be formulated by the government team, the study process itself has resulted in the inclusion of an unprecedented agenda in the government's work plan. Thus a government study of the issue was included in the Activity and Budget Plan (RKA) of the Health Agency in the fiscal year of 2008.

The inclusion of that activity in the agency work plan signifies that the policy advocacy process has entered the formal policy formulation stage. A policy proposal discussed in public space finally has to be formulated in the formal setting by being adopted as the government's agenda in order to be implemented. The enactment of the Letter of *Bupati* on the Establishment of a Study Team on Public Health Service Security (JPKM) of Bandung Municipality marked the beginning of formal policy formulation.

Another small victory obtained was the support mobilized from various stakeholders, such as the municipal council, local mass media (radio and daily), national media (Kompas), and various local NGOs. The support increasingly encourages Inisiatif and the Budget Discussion Forum to become more and more active in conducting small research studies, lobbying and various activities to get even further support. There was also increasingly strong political pressure placed on the *Bupati* of Bandung Municipality at that time, Obar Sobarna, SIP. This had a positive impact seen in the increasingly committed work by the Health Agency in preparing the draft local ordinance and JPKM design.

The next victory was significant allocation of funds in the municipal budget of 2009, which had been prepared in 2008, to abolish the health service retribution in all *Puskesmas* in Bandung Municipality. That means, as from 2009, the residents of Bandung Municipality have been able to access the health services in *Puskesmas* for free. For us, this is the first big victory, which is that starting in 2009 there is no longer a barrier to access for the poor to basic health services.

And last but not least, was the enactment of Local Ordinance number 10 of 2009, on 9th July 2009, concerning health security in Bandung Municipality. This is a big victory, but still not the biggest. At least, with this local ordinance, the health service security system in Bandung Municipality has gained a strong foundation. The next work to be done is implementation of the local ordinance. We realize that this is only the beginning of the next phase of work.

CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS

The first challenge and obstacle came from the side of the municipal government, particularly the Health Agency, and the service provider. The Municipal Government objected to the abolition of health retribution. Abolition would mean that they would lose a source of part of their financing, without a guarantee that the loss would be compensated for by a larger budget allocation from the municipal budget. This concern proved unfounded as the municipal council approved the increase of budget allocation for *Puskemas* and the Health Agency as a substitute for the abolition of retribution.

The most difficult challenge was to change the way of thinking of the Municipal Government and the service provider, who were of the opinion that health services should not be provided for free. Among the most ridiculous reasons were that (1) the costs to obtain medical education were very high, (2) the Municipal Budget would not afford it, (3) it would not be fair if rich people enjoyed free health services, and (4) poor people would abuse the free services by not taking care of themselves and not taking care of their health, as there was security that if they got sick they would be treated for free.

Then there were the challenges that we generally face in working in a team that includes civil servants: these relate to legitimacy, rank, honorarium, and absence of concrete results of work. Related to rank, we can never

expect any agreement of commitment from civil servants when those with whom we meet are officials of echelon III or echelon IV, who do not have the authority to make decisions.

The other big challenge was the internal capacity of the advocacy actors. Conceptual and technical knowledge on the subject of advocacy play an important role, particularly in developing arguments. In addition, knowledge of both advocacy and the topic is very beneficial when facing advocacy opponents who are knowledgeable. This is a critical issue in the sustainability of the advocacy agenda and attainment of success. We cannot always find people with this knowledge, and if they exist, they do not always take our side.

LESSONS LEARNED

The most important lessons that we learned were that advocacy must be supported with sufficient knowledge and intellectual capacity, massive political support from various stakeholders, and the capability to take advantage of all opportunities. Without all of those, advocacy work will be very challenging and probably fail. Even for those who have all the advantages, as is our fortunate position, the advocacy process took years to show results. Endurance and consistency in the advocacy are thus required.

Finally, it is understood that advocacy is a power game, *the winner doesn't take all*. To date, the only concrete achievement is abolition of the *Puskesmas* service charge for the people. The first phase is over, but the next has just begun. A big effort is still needed before the local ordinance on JPKM is implemented.

Combining the Role of Communities with the Contribution from the APBD in the *Posyandu*

Experience of women forums in budget advocacy
in Surakarta City

by

Mimin Rukmini and Setyo Dwi Herwanto

SUMMARY

Up until 2003 the Joint Services Post (*Posyandu*) in the city of Surakarta relied on donations coming from individual people and a contribution from the local community treasury. In 2004, the Centre for Analysis and Information (PATTIRO) in Surakarta together with the Women Forum for Budget Monitoring for the City of Surakarta (FPPAKS) successfully advocated for shifting of funds from the budget for the organizational activities of the Empowerment and Welfare of Families (PKK) in the revision of the running Local Budget (APBD) of the city of Surakarta. The budget that was planned to finance the PKK to go to Bali was diverted to the activity of Provision of Additional Food Items (PMT) for toddlers in the *Posyandu* in the amount of IDR 100,000,000. Subsequently, in 2004, the *Posyandu* received funding from the APBD of Surakarta in the amount of IDR 400,000 per *Posyandu*. PATTIRO Surakarta continues to build capacity of *Posyandu*, including facilitation of the formation of the Forum for Communication Among *Posyandu* Volunteers (FKKP) in 2008. The current

fund grant from the APBD of 2010 for every Posyandu in Surakarta is IDR 1,800,000 and the total amount of *Posyandu* for Toddler is 578 *posyandus*.

ORGANIZATION PROFILE

PATTIRO Surakarta was established in 2000 by students of the Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren) of Al-Muayyad, Windan. It brought together a mix of student activists, journalists, social researchers, and social observers who wanted to provide citizen education for the community. At the time the Surakarta activists were assisted by PATTIRO Jakarta, which had been established a year before, to conduct research and advocacy around community participation. It was therefore no surprise that the activists in Surakarta then established a locally-based NGO named PATTIRO Surakarta to pursue the mission of citizen education.

PATTIRO Surakarta envisions a community whose members are aware of their rights and obligations towards living in a just order. PATTIRO Surakarta's mission is to: 1) Conduct research on public policy and its impacts on social life; 2) Conduct citizen education to build awareness of rights and obligations related to public policy; 3) Encourage the development of public policies that are responsive to the needs of vulnerable groups in communities; 4) Advocate for innovation in policy making to bring about good governance; 5) Conduct critical and constructive monitoring of state and private performance; 6) Advocate for public access to government-held information; 7) Develop a communication network between community groups and stakeholders of promotion of participatory public policy-making; 8) Advocate for integration of a gender perspective in public policy and; 9) Empower PATTIRO's system of institutional management that is independent and sustainable.

Working along with PATTIRO Jakarta, PATTIRO Surakarta advocated for a Regional Law on Peddy-Cab/Traffic in the period 2001-2003. The two organizations also collaborated on other programs, including : 1) Women

participation in public policy (2002-present), 2) Community participation for public budget monitoring (2003-present), 3) Advocacy for budgeting that is gender-responsive (2003-present), 4) Capacity building of vulnerable groups to monitor the performance of the executive and legislative chambers (2005), 5) Research on policy, training on advocacy for regional public policy, and production of media to influence policies that favor communities (2007-present).

SITUATION ANALYSIS

Posyandu in the city of Surakarta has become part of a strategic effort to provide health services using community resources. One of the important roles of *Posyandu* is to monitor the health and weight of children under 5 years old (toddlers) on a monthly basis. The monitoring results are recorded by the *Posyandu* volunteers in the Road to Health Card (KMS) that the parents of each of the toddlers has. After weighing the toddlers, the *Posyandu* then provides them with food through the Providing Additional Food (PMT) program so as to improve their nutritional status. The food items given to the toddlers include milk, green bean porridge, and biscuits.

The *Posyandus* in Surakarta were established at sub-village level. The management of the *Posyandu* utilizes women volunteers from the surrounding sub-village. These women work voluntarily in the *Posyandu*. Each *Posyandu* treats 23 toddlers. In Surakarta there are currently 578 *Posyandus* for Toddlers.

Prior to 2004, PATTIRO Surakarta staff assisted the cadres of the *Posyandu* to learn to read budgets. They taught them how to read the 2004 Local Budget and Expenditure (APBD) of the city of Surakarta. From this process of reading budgets, the *Posyandu* cadres found that there were some expenditure lines that they felt were inappropriate. One of these was the allocation of funds for organizational activities of the Empowerment and

Welfare of Families (PKK) of Surakarta in the draft revision of the APBD in 2004. This allocation, in the amount of IDR 100,000,000, was to be spent to pay for PKK Surakarta going to Bali. PKK itself is an organization consisting of wives of government officials, civil servant women, and women citizens. National-level PKK is led by the wife of the Home Affairs Minister, while provincial-level PKK is led by the governor's wife, and so on.

PKK is a community organization that is a direct partner of government in empowering and improving people welfare through families. In 1972, the Minister of Home Affairs instructed all governors of Indonesia to implement and improve PKK in all parts of Indonesia. A PKK Mobilization Team is formed in all levels of the administration: central, provincial, district and subdistrict level. Every PKK Mobilization Team is led by the wife of local administration head. Central-level and local-level PKK build consultative and coordinative relationship, as well as maintaining hierarchical relationship.

PKK is developed by generating community participation. One of PKK's programs is *Posyandu*, which is derived from 2 main programs of PKK, namely Health and Health Planning. At every level, PKK has a Donation Board. This includes the Minister of Home Affairs at central-level PKK and Regional Head for the local-level PKK. PKK activities are mainly funded by the government budget. The head of the PKK Mobilization Team can be local government's partner in distribution of budget and family health and education-related programs, such as early childhood education.

PATTIRO Surakarta then collaborated with members of the Women Forum for Budget Monitoring in the city of Surakarta (FPPAKS), a forum made up of women's organizations in Surakarta, to advocate for the budget allocated for PKK's visit to Bali to be used for other purposes. The new activity that they proposed was provision of additional food items for

toddlers in *Posyandus*. Their advocacy convinced the government and House of Representatives (DPRD) of Surakarta to reallocate the travel funds for PKK to Bali to the PMT for toddler fund. This money allowed the *Posyandus* to start getting funding support from the APBD in 2004. Every *Posyandu* at the time received IDR 400,000 per year.

Through focus group discussions with *Posyandu* and PKK activists, PATTIRO Surakarta and FPPAKS found that too little money was allocated for the PMT for toddlers in *Posyandus*. PATTIRO Surakarta and FPPAKS did calculations that showed that IDR 3,000 per month or IDR 36,000 per year was needed. If every *Posyandu* served at least 20 toddlers, then the minimum funds needed for PMT in *Posyandus* per year was IDR 720,000.

The table below shows the activities and budget projection for *Posyandu* for toddlers per year that was derived on the basis of the focus group discussions:

Table 4.1. Projection of Budget Needs for *Posyandu* Management for 1 year

Activities of <i>Posyandu</i> for 1 year	Budget projection (IDR)
PMT	720.000
Fumigation of mosquito-infested places	240.000
Transport funds for coordination of <i>Posyandu</i> volunteers	480.000
Office stationary	100.000
APE (educative toys), purchased once	300.000
Procurement of infrastructure	500.000
Grand total	2.340.000

Source: PATTIRO Surakarta

Equipped with the results of budget projections for PMT for Toddlers in 2004, PATTIRO Surakarta together with other stakeholders in Surakarta advocated for a budget increase in the PMT for toddlers in the *Posyandus* every year. The success of the advocacy is shown by the fact that the

budget for PMT for toddlers increased each year (see table 4.2.) as a result of the advocacy, which included trainings on reading budgets, discussion to map out the problem and solution, public hearings and monitoring. In addition, in 2008 PATTIRO Surakarta facilitated the formation of the Forum for *Posyandu* Recruits (FKKP) as a means for *Posyandu* volunteers to network. This forum aims to build on the power and enthusiasm of the *Posyandu* volunteers and help improve nutritional conditions of toddlers in Surakarta. This forum also manages responsibly the budget for PMT for toddlers and keeps advocating about the need for *Posyandu* to access funding from APBD.

Table 4.2. Fund allocation for PMT in *Posyandu*
in the APBD of Surakarta, 2004-2008

Year	Allocated APBD funds (IDR)
2004	400.000
2005	600.000
2006	900.000
2007	1.200.000
2008	1.200.000 (APBD) added by 600.000 (APBD revision)
2009	1.800.000
2010	1.800.000

Source: PATTIRO Surakarta

METHODOLOGY

In conducting budget advocacy on *Posyandu*, PATTIRO Surakarta engaged in various advocacy steps. These included:

Community organizing. PATTIRO Surakarta facilitated the formation of a network of women organizations from the groupings that already existed in Surakarta, such as women's social organizations, government-linked organizations (such as PKK), NGOs that focus on women's issues and academics. In addition, as noted above, PATTIRO Surakarta facilitated the formation of the FKPP.

Capacity Building of the Network. To complement its community organizing efforts, PATTIRO Surakarta equipped activists from member organizations of the advocacy network with the ability to read and analyze budgets. After FPPAKS was established, PATTIRO conducted 12 trainings on reading and analyzing budgets for network members. Between 15 and 20 participants attended each training. Participants come from various Islamic women social organizations in Surakarta, *Posyandu*, academics, the media, and DPRD members.

Mapping of problem and solution. To preserve the bond in the network and a sense of ownership of the advocacy process, the problems and solutions were mapped through a collective process. Discussions on the policy issues and related advocacy were held with members of the FPPAKS network. These discussions were held as a follow-up to the training on reading and analyzing budgets that network members had already participated in. Each member of the network took its turn in hosting the discussions and PATTIRO Surakarta served as discussion facilitator. The problems to be addressed through advocacy emerged from this discussion process. Participants in the discussion noted that issues of mothers' and children health and nutrition were related to the *Posyandu's* failure to address these issues. This failure, in turn, was a result of lack of supporting funds for *Posyandus*.

Budget analysis. PATTIRO Surakarta, together with network members, analyzed the APBD, RAPBD (Draft of Annual Income-Expenditure Regional Budget) for the current year, and RAPBD for the upcoming year. The findings of the analysis were used to develop the arguments and to select solutions for the advocacy. The steps that were taken in analyzing the budgets were; 1) Mapping issues relating to the *Posyandu*, 2) Agreeing on the advocacy issue, namely the PMT for toddler funds, 3) Tracking budget documents to see what the available budgets were and what the funds were used for, 4) Drafting a list of needs and the related budget per *Posyandu* per month, 5) Based on the list, calculating what percentage of that budget came from

community participation (contribution) for the *Posyandu*, and then the community deciding the ideal percentage. (The community participation in *Posyandu* budget occurs because during its monthly activity *Posyandu* collects donation from community members who access its service. *Posyandu* also obtains donation from local community treasury.) Based on this calculation, PATTIRO Surakarta calculated the amount that was needed from APBD and the size of the related increase needed from APBD.

Lobbying and hearings in centres of power. Equipped with a problem map, arguments and the alternatives, PATTIRO Surakarta and the members of the advocacy network talked to the DPRD, Heads of Regions/ Mayor and State Apparatus Regional Unit (SKPD). Lobbying was done through hearings attended by the members of the network during the drafting process of the APBD. Parties that were visited included the Health Department and political party factions in the DPRD along with Commission IV/Social Culture in the DPRD. Before conducting a hearing, PATTIRO Surakarta sent a letter asking for a hearing. This activity was done to ensure that the policy makers and formal holders of power had a good understanding of the need for an increase in funding for improved toddlers' nutrition in the city of Surakarta through provision of additional food items to toddlers in the *Posyandu*.

Public discussion. To gain broader support and influence public opinion, PATTIRO Surakarta and the advocacy network held an open discussion. In the discussion, the findings of the budget analysis of the APBD and RAPBD were disseminated. PATTIRO Surakarta invited participants from DPRD, SKPD, the media, civil society, and academics to the discussion and nearly all those invited attended.

Media Coverage. PATTIRO Surakarta worked to obtain media coverage to complement the advocacy for an increase in the budget for PMT for toddlers' in *Posyandu*. The campaign included dissemination of the findings of the budget analysis. PATTIRO Surakarta obtained media coverage by inviting both print and electronic journalists such as news

agencies, radios, and television to cover the public discussion. In addition, PATTIRO Surakarta also involved journalists and other media people in reading and analyzing the budget and related discussions. As a result of these activities, about 5 local journalists participated actively in activities related to the advocacy.

Monitoring. Monitoring and evaluation were done throughout the advocacy process, starting from the inputs on budgeting policies to implementation in the *Posyandu*. Monitoring was done by overseeing the inputs during discussions on the increase in funding for PMT for toddlers' in the RAPBD, informally asking DPRD and SKPD members for information on the development of the discussions on the budgeting, and monitoring the end result, namely the size of the increase, the funding mechanism, and the process of distributing the funds from local government to *Posyandu*.

Obstacles

The obstacles encountered in the advocacy for the increase in budget allocation for PMT, were: 1) The limited budget allocation for the health sector (1-4% of the APBD total per year) combined with SKPD's understanding that the *Posyandu* is purely community organized, so that the budget for *Posyandu* should be provided primarily by the community, 2) The limited ability of the *Posyandu* volunteers to develop a proposal and budget (LPJ) on the PMT program, 3) Turnover among volunteers due to lack of legal clarity and resultant reduced community interest in becoming active in the *Posyandu*. All three challenges relate to the fact that the work of recruits is seen simply as voluntary work.

Other general obstacles which remain in the advocacy for the PMT budget allocation for *Posyandu* in Surakarta are:

Structural Hierarchy. Structurally, *Posyandu* falls under PKK. This creates difficulties when it comes to decision making because *Posyandu* has to go through the mechanism of a PKK organizational meeting. In *Posyandu* meetings at subdistrict and city level, *Posyandus* are often represented by

the Head of the Subdistrict PKK and/or other PKK heads at sub-regional levels. This creates inconsistency, as the actual problems at *Posyandu* level are not accommodated by the district-level PKK. Consequently, the actual problems are not addressed correctly in these meetings.

Recruitment. Difficulties are experienced in recruiting and retaining volunteers. However, long-serving volunteers are needed if the *Posyandu* is to achieve its mission of improving toddlers' nutrition. This difficulty results from the fact that some volunteers no longer have time to do this work. Further, the importance attached by society to work in the *Posyandu* has significantly reduced.

Bureaucratic Perspective. The SKPD outside of the Health Department has minimal interest in involving *Posyandu* in programs of the Surakarta city government. This has created the impression that *Posyandu* is simply a branch of the city's Health Department.

Volunteers' Capacity. The administrative and educational quality of the recruits is uneven because there are differences of educational background and age disparities.

Participation of Men. Men, in particular, accord less importance to the essential role of *Posyandu* in communities than previously. This is reflected in some subdistrict level policy-making where most of the participants are men. In these processes, the issues of *Posyandu* are often minimized or overlooked.

Administrative Skills. The Health Department and the Community Health Centre (*Puskesmas*) have provided minimal training in administration to the *Posyandu*. This is often a barrier for *Posyandu* in making financial statements in respect of money sourced from the APBD of the city of Surakarta.

Cross-service Coordination. There is no coordination between *Posyandu* and other health services in the same area, such as nursing practices,

doctor practices, and private hospitals. One of the causes of limited coordination is the law against doctors taking care of patients outside their area of practice.

Budget allocation. There is no quota that states that the allocation for PMT must be proportional to the number of toddlers served. Instead, the amount is the same for all *Posyandu*, regardless of the actual number of toddlers served. This results in some *Posyandus* being in surplus, while others are in deficit, because the allocated funds do not match the number of toddlers a *Posyandu* is taking care of.

LESSONS LEARNED

Below are some of the lessons that can be learned from the advocacy for the increase of budget allocation for the PMT for toddlers' in *Posyandu* in the APBD of the city of Surakarta:

Coalition. In advocacy work, it is very important to establish a coalition and/or share issues that are being advocated with other stakeholders, such as civil society networks, NGOs, the press, and academics so as to strength community bargaining positions. Creation of a coalition will provide support for the advocacy with multiple points of views, and with many more actors. In general, the more people working for a goal, the stronger the cause becomes. However, in 2009 PATTIRO Surakarta and FKKP advocated for the increase in budget allocation for PMT for toddlers without a coalition. Even in the absence of a coalition, those who engage in advocacy need to win support from many parties, such as academics and the media.

Capacity Building. Involvement of stakeholders in the budget advocacy movement must be accompanied by capacity building for them in reading and analyzing budgets. This allows them to understand the substance of the advocacy and the budget, provide strong support for the budget

advocacy work.

Involvement of Beneficiaries Involvement of the beneficiaries of the budgeting policy that is being advocated for is essential in order to provide an opportunity for the community to come face-to-face with their leaders (city government) and their representatives in parliament (DPRD).

ACHIEVEMENTS

The advocacy to the budget of PMT for toddlers' in *Posyandu* by PATTIRO Surakarta succeeded on two levels:

Community level. A Forum for *Posyandu* Recruits (FKKP) was formed and allows for meetings between volunteers in *Posyandu*. FKKP has become a forum where volunteers can share information and issues on *Posyandu* management outside the formal and rigid decision-making structure.

Meanwhile the improvement of the ability of the press, community organizations, students and academics to read and analyze budgets provides additional support for the advocacy work. The training for these other actors had unexpected spin-off. For example, the training allowed journalists to write better and stronger articles on what was being advocated for.

Budget Policy Level. In 2004, success was achieved when there was a budget allocation for PMT in the Surakarta APBD. In that year 569 *Posyandus* received a yearly subsidy for the PMT in the amount of IDR 400,000 each. As shown above, the allocation increased in each subsequent year.

The Rising up of People with Disabilities to Fight for Their Rights

Organizing groups of people with disabilities to have their health rights fulfilled in Yogyakarta Province

by

Nurul Sa'adah Andriani and Wasingatu Zakiyah

SUMMARY

It is not easy for people with disabilities in Indonesia to live a normal life. They often receive discriminatory and inappropriate treatment, particularly when accessing public facilities provided by the state. It remains difficult for people with disabilities in Indonesia to gain access to health service security. Among other causes are the lack of accurate information on people with disabilities, the poor health security scheme for the poor that excludes people with disabilities, and the absence of technical regulations on the implementation of health security at local level.

Through organizing and capacity building efforts, SAPDA succeeded in encouraging people with disabilities to establish their own organization and gain access to regional public funds. This document records the efforts and strategy that SAPDA has utilised since 2005.

ORGANIZATION PROFILE

SAPDA (Advocacy Centre for Women, People with Disabilities and Children) was established in 2005 with a vision to realize inclusiveness and equality in all aspects of social life - including education, health and employment - that constitute the basic rights of women, people with disabilities and children.

SAPDA has been organizing and strengthening communities to engage in advocacy on the fulfillment of citizens' basic rights. One such right is the right to health security that consists of health financing and health services. In December 2006, SAPDA was entrusted to act on behalf of 1,573 people with disabilities from five municipalities/cities in the Province of Yogyakarta Special Territory (DIY) to administer the health security from the provincial government.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

According to data issued by the Ministry of Social Affairs (2008), there are at least 40,290 people with disabilities in the Province of DIY. The data do not include all people with disabilities. In particular, those living in remote areas are concealed by their own families so that they are not properly recorded. They also do not belong to an organization that works specifically to address the interests of people with disabilities.

Their exclusion from the statistics and the government database often causes a problem in the provision of and access to basic services such as health security for citizens. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that the government still considers people with disabilities as "bearers of social problems", instead of citizens with special needs who are entitled to basic services provided by the state regardless of their differences when compared to the majority of citizens.

Because of the limitations of their condition, people with disabilities are more prone to illness and injury than other groups in the society. For example, a person disabled by polio and using a crutch may slip more easily and this may result in a fracture, bruises or even head injury and total paralysis. A person with mental challenges is more prone to accidents inside and outside their home in their daily activities. A person with total blindness or limited vision is prone to accidents on the street and at home. Those suffering from severe disability such as paraplegia (damage of the spinal cord that causes total paralysis of the lower half of the body) could easily fall ill as certain parts of their body do not function.

From a socio-economic point of view, there are many people with disabilities who fall into the category of poor or near poor. Most of them do not have sufficient income due to low education. Those who belong to families in a good economic situation normally do not have their own work, while those who do ordinary work usually do not work permanently and are not protected with insurance. All those conditions make them likely to face difficulties when extreme situations, such as illness and loss of employment, happen.

In this context, health security for people with disabilities becomes a major need, as provided for by the 2007 Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Article 25 on health and the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Article 12, on rights to physical and mental health. The Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights asserts that the State must fulfil the rights to health of people with disabilities alongside fulfilling the special needs related to their health. Health security must cover an affordable special needs component with good accessibility.

Affordability of health financing means that those who cannot afford to pay for services and medication specific to their disability should be exempt from fees and other payments or have these covered by insurance. Unfortunately, service components relating to special needs such as

high-dose vitamin A, certain aids such as corset/hearing aid and routine therapy for paraplegia and cerebral palsy are normally not included in health security schemes.

Meanwhile, the accessibility of health services includes the physical condition of buildings in terms of infrastructure and the scope of medical staff (i.e. health service providers, including receptionist, nurse, physicians, and other staff who provide health services). Examples in respect of the physical conditions are accessible entrance, signs and information, booth, waiting room and toilet with easy access for people with different types of disability. Another example is medical staff that are capable of assisting and communicating with people with disabilities and who understand their special needs related to their particular disability.

Unfortunately, while there is evidence of insufficient medical services for people with disabilities, the government does not have yet a regulation which provides a legal basis for health security provision for them. Most basic health service providers (the *Puskesmas*), physician's clinic and advanced health service centres (hospitals) in Indonesia do not provide sufficient access for people with disabilities either physically or through their services. The health financing schemes of the national and local governments still exclude them. The government's health security fails to reach the people with disabilities as the scheme targets only the poor without including people with disabilities in the category.

METHODOLOGY

Organizing people with disabilities

An early step of the advocacy process for the rights on health security was organizing people with disabilities. Strengthening of the organization of people with disabilities in the regions was done by improving the quality of their management and capacity. In addition, their skills in public policy

advocacy were also developed so that they could negotiate with the government in advocating for the fulfillment of their basic rights.

The capacity building of the disabled community and strengthening of the organizations for people with disabilities at local (municipality) level in the Provinces of DIY and Central Java were conducted on a massive scale in the years between 2005 and 2010. Through this process *Paguyuban Penyandang Cacat Sleman* (Association of Persons with Disabilities of Sleman, PPCS) and *Persatuan Penyandang Cacat Kulonprogo* (United Persons with Disabilities of Kulonprogo, PPCKP) were established. In 2006 and 2007 the two organizations (PPCKP and PPCS) obtained funding from the municipal annual budget (APBD) for the organization and empowerment of people with disabilities. Meanwhile, in Central Java the Association of the Disabled in Klaten (HDK) was established in 2006 and changed into PPPCK (United Persons with Disabilities of Klaten) to unite the disability organizations in Klaten (physical, visual, hearing and speech) in advocacy and empowerment.

Issue Mapping of Persons with Disabilities

The limited efforts of people with disabilities to improve their ability to access health services were, among others, associated with the lack of their understanding of the public issues related to their rights. To address this, a big advocacy effort on the right to health services for people with disabilities was initiated, alongside assistance for them in looking carefully at the problem. As part of this, SAPDA facilitated a process of problem analysis and identification of key issues.

From the mapping, the organizations identified three key and urgent problems to address, namely: 1) low income of people with disabilities related to their right to employment; 2) lower average educational level of people with disabilities in comparison to other citizens; 3) poor health service status and situation of people with disabilities.

The mapping revealed that the government at both national and local level had not prioritised services targeting the rights of people with disabilities through allocations in the local government budget.

Capacity Building

SAPDA utilised two capacity building strategies for people with disabilities. The first strategy was enhancement of technical capacity, which addressed the capacity of people with disabilities to be self-reliant. The second strategy was strategic capacity building, namely enhancement of the capacity of people with disabilities to undertake advocacy for the fulfillment of their fundamental rights.

In the capacity building on advocacy, SAPDA collaborated with IDEA in organizing budget training for the disabled communities in Klaten, Sleman and Yogyakarta City on the fulfillment of their basic rights towards the end of 2005. Upon completion of the budget training, SAPDA and the communities/organizations of people with disabilities at the municipal/city level moved forward to engage in advocacy for fulfillment of their rights in the form of health security and budget allocation for people with disabilities in the annual budgets of the municipality/city and the province of DIY.

Engagement with the Health Security Implementing Agency

Strategic network development was also undertaken to ensure successful advocacy. The network was intended to increase support for the fulfillment of rights of people with disabilities. The government, the regional council, and the agencies responsible for health security were continuously approached to increase their understanding on the needs of people with disabilities, including the needs for health security, i.e. health financing and services.

A lobbying approach was taken towards the Health Security Implementing Agency of the Province of DIY (*Bapeljamkesos*), as the implementing agency of the Health Agency of the Province of DIY. Since 2006, the Province of DIY through *Bapeljamkesos* had been providing financing security to groups with social welfare problems, including street children, sex workers and the people living in institutions for the disabled.

To date the special needs of people with disabilities have not been covered in the financing security list. Until today, advocacy for provision of special medication continues through case-by-case assistance for people with disabilities. The next steps are to convince the *Bapeljamkesos* and the health service provider (the hospital) that people with disabilities have special needs that should be provided for by the state, in the form of medical treatment and medication. In addition, a lobbying approach was used with the Health Agency of Yogyakarta City Government, which has an Integrated Service Unit of Regional Health Security Financing (UPTPJKD), in respect of health financing for disabled residents.

Advocacy on health financing security was carried out in 2008 in Central Java Province. It started with a meeting between the disabled stakeholders in six areas i.e. the municipalities of Magelang, Kebumen, Semarang, Klaten, Sukoharjo and the City of Semarang, with government agencies at provincial and municipal/city level, i.e. Office of Social Affairs and Health Agency. The process was facilitated by the Regional Government Secretariat of the Central Java Province and enjoyed informal support from the Vice Governor of Central Java Province.

The advocacy at municipal level was conducted through meetings with stakeholders in the municipalities of Magelang and Purbalingga. In 2007-08 the advocacy in Purbalingga Municipality was taken further with research supported by Handicap International.

Facilitating groupings of the disabled to acquire health security

With regards to health security for people with disabilities in DIY, Yogyakarta Special province government gave SAPDA the responsibility for the care of people with disabilities who are not living in institutions. The government supports people with disabilities by listing them as health insurance beneficiaries, and SAPDA is responsible for managing the health insurance cards for them. However, SAPDA must itself finance outreach, provision of assistance, training and other expenses to support people with disabilities in accessing health services.

Many efforts were taken by SAPDA to reach out to the disabled in the Province of DIY with the support of PPCKP, Association of Persons of Disabilities of Sleman, communities/organizations of the disabled in Gunung Kidul, Bantul and Yogyakarta City. The outreach aimed to maximize the understanding of people affected on the health security available for people with disabilities in the Province of DIY.

Following the outreach, data collection and case assistance became the strategies to work towards people with disabilities being able to get health security. In line with this, volunteers provide assistance with the database and cases to strengthen the advocacy effort.

Volunteers also assist disabled patients who face difficulties in accessing health financing or services. The volunteers have become the frontliners in dealing with cases of the 1,573 disabled members of groups and organisations from five municipalities/cities. These volunteers play an important role at this early stage of the advocacy but there are also continuous efforts to engage the family members of the people with disabilities for the sustainability of the process.

ACHIEVEMENTS

- As of December 2010, SAPDA had succeeded in organizing more than 1,573 people with disabilities to get health security financed by an allocation from the provincial government of DIY. This organizing initiative raised the bargaining position of the people with disabilities, who previously never received sufficient health security.
- There has been an increase in the government budget allocation for health security so that more people with disabilities should be able to be provided with services. In 2007 the provincial government allocated IDR 16 billion for health security. This figure rose to IDR 25 billion in 2009 and to IDR 30 billion in 2010. Meanwhile, in Sleman Municipality, the budget allocation for empowerment of people with disabilities rose from IDR 25 million in 2006 to IDR 500 million in 2009. This money can be used to finance health, education, economic and other special needs of people with disabilities, such as mobility devices and hearing aids. In 2010 the Municipal Council (DPRD) of Sleman allocated IDR 3 billion for health and education of people with disabilities. This included mobility devices, communication aids and health services for people with disabilities.
- Especially important is that SAPDA succeeded in convincing the Health Social Security Financing (a division of the Health Department of Yogyakarta Special Province) to give it the authority to assist people with disabilities in the province of DIY in accessing health services funded by the provincial government.
- Equally important it that SAPDA succeeded in advocating for the inclusion of special health needs of people with disabilities in the form of medical treatment and medication that were not previously on the health service scheme list. Both items are important for people with disabilities and are not included in general coverage of health insurance.

- SAPDA succeeded in advocating for the inclusion of special needs of people with disabilities in the draft Regional Regulation on Universal Health Security of Yogyakarta City that is being elaborated in the DPRD.
- On 3 December 2006, as a tribute to the international day of persons with disabilities by the provincial government of DIY, SAPDA gained recognition as a group of people with disabilities that is covered by the public financing scheme. Each of the disabled community members who are members of SAPDA can now get access to health security in DIY.

LESSONS LEARNED

- Advocacy for the rights of people with disabilities must start with building a basis for self-reliance and critical capacity to feel equal with fellow citizens.
- Often the needs of people with disabilities cannot be understood by others. Approaches, discussions and contestation of ideas related to these needs should be targeted at more actors, particularly policy makers.
- Special medication for specific disabilities is often not covered by the government financing scheme. Therefore, we need to ensure that the health financing scheme also covers these particular needs.
- The success of advocacy is determined by the support and active participation of the disabled community.
- Advocacy needs support from other stakeholders both in the budget advocacy movement and among progressive policy makers and implementers who take the side of people with disabilities.

Understanding Budget, Harvesting Welfare

Experience of Organizing Farmers in Budget Advocacy
in North Tapanuli, North Sumatera Province

by

Delima Silalahi and MS. Wa'i

SUMMARY

North Tapanuli District has vast and fertile farming land, which contributes greatly to the local economy. However, each year local government allocates only a small budget for the agriculture sector.

In 1983, some people who had concerns about agricultural development established KSPH (Legal Awareness-Raising Study Group), which later changed its name to KSPPM (Community Initiative Development Study Group). Since 2001 this organization has been encouraging farmers to improve their wellbeing through budget advocacy.

After 10 years of assistance, KSPPM's groups are able to see development issues more clearly and to formulate solutions to be suggested to government. At the same time, they can influence budget allocation and program formulation in the agriculture sector, such as procurement of farming tools, training for farmers and revolving loans for farmer groups. Their life situation has improved. However, there are still many challenges they have to face in the future.

ORGANIZATION PROFILE

KSPPM is a non-governmental organization working in advocacy, study and development of community initiatives. The regions in which it works include all of North Sumatera Province. The organization actively assists farmer groups and communities in six districts: North Tapanuli, Samosir, Toba Samosir, Humbang Hasundutan, Simalungun, and Dairi.

KSPPM was established on February 23, 1983, under the name KSPH. This organization was born after South Tapanuli was listed as one of the poor regions in Indonesia. People from various backgrounds, such as scholars, activists, farmers and religious scholars, contributed to the birth of this organization.

In the beginning, the organization worked on promotion of legal awareness, rights of indigenous people, and access of the poor to natural resources that are threatened by industrial expansion. This is clear if we examine KSPH's critiques on environmental issues, such as deforestation, eucalyptus plants that harm riverside areas and irrigation, and pollution caused by industrial waste.

Later, KSPH realized that legal awareness is not the only problem that hinders farmers from achieving wellbeing. Their capacity to be independent, sovereign and develop their own initiatives for problem solution is the real challenge that must be addressed. This realization made KSPH changed its name to KSSPM in 1985. With this new name, the organization changed its focus to advocacy, critical study, organizing of farmers and people's economic development. KSSPM's target groups include marginalized farmers and indigenous people who are negatively affected by government policies.

Today KSPPM continues to work with marginalized communities, particularly farmers, in policy advocacy, including policy advocacy on the local budget.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

North Tapanuli is in North Sumatera Province. It has 79,159 hectares of farming land, and accounts for 21% of the total district area of 379,371 hectares. In the last five years, the agricultural sector has contributed more than 50% to the gross revenue of North Tapanuli district. This fact has resulted in local government choosing an agriculture-based development strategy.

However, this strategy is not accompanied by adequate budget allocation. The local budget in 2010 had an agriculture sector allocation of only IDR 23 billion, or 5% of total expenditure of government, which stood at IDR 499 billion. After deduction of employee salaries of IDR 11 billion, the budget for the agriculture sector was only IDR 12 billion. Budget allocations in previous years did not differ much from the amount for 2010.

In addition to low budget allocations for the agriculture sector, government does not support farmers when they are threatened by industrial expansion. When a pulp factory began operating in North Tapanuli, farmers suffered. The factory took over their land by force, cut down trees and thus accelerated deforestation, did widespread planting of eucalyptus that endangered riversides and irrigation, and polluted the environment with industrial waste. Yet, government did not react and defend farmers.

It comes as no surprise that this situation prevents North Tapanulian farmers from breaking free from poverty and dependence on high-interest loans from creditors. Farmer wellbeing remains poor from one year to the next. Improvement is slow and hardly noticeable. This is evident from the ratio of farmers' income to their expenses, at least for 2005 to 2008.

For three years in a row, although farmers experienced some increase, the breakeven value of North Tapanuli was under 100%. In 2005, the ratio was 93.3%. It improved in 2006 to 98.0% and to 98.6% in 2007. These numbers show that farmers' income is less than their costs. In 2008, the

ratio was slightly above 100%, at 101.9%. (Data for 2009 and 2010 were not available in the Statistics Bureau of North Tapanuli.)

The fact of farmer poverty moved scholars, religious scholars, activists and farmers in KSPPM to respond to the development challenge in the agriculture sector by conducting budget advocacy.

Agriculture Budget Advocacy

Study of the local government budget often reveals that the budget is not equitable and pro-poor. This is the case when studying the local government budget of North Tapanuli. In 2007, the agriculture sector received only 3% of the total budget, which amounted to more than IDR 424 billion. This is contradictory to the vision of North Tapanuli, "Creating Agriculture-based Community Welfare".

Another finding relates to program prioritization and changes in allocations. Implementation of the local government budget often goes in a different direction from farmers' proposals. The allocation for their proposed program is often diverted to another program. The farmer association monitors implementation of the budget by asking the executive about this issue. Government usually responds with many excuses that the farmer association find difficult to accept.

Farmers have found cases of abuse of budget allocation in procurement of farming tools. One example is the compost maker machine case in 2008. It was budgeted at IDR 36 million per machine. However, the goods that arrived were of inferior quality and the price was IDR 25 million per machine.

Another type of abuse is inconsistent distribution of budget, where actual distribution is different from what was planned. The actual distribution

is not based on equality principles as budget implementation prioritizes certain villages, such as those whose village heads have a close relationship with the regional head or certain local legislative members. Nepotism overcomes equality principles.

KSPPM responds to these findings with advocacy. It usually starts each year with routine study of the budget. KSPPM and farmer associations in North Tapanuli do the study and advocacy together. The study identifies opportunities for advocacy on the farmers' economic and social rights.

In 2008, such a study found that the most important need of farmers of Sigumbang Village was irrigation. Although this need had been expressed since 2005, there was no program, budget or any response to it. The 2008 study found that farmers needed to work harder in advocating around this need. KSPPM and farmers immediately arranged a dialogue with the Agriculture Service of North Tapanuli. They demanded a budget allocation for construction of an irrigation system in Sigumbang Village. The dialogue was successful and local government agreed to accommodate construction of an irrigation system in Sigumbang Village, although this was not realized until the local government budget for 2009 was released.

METHODOLOGY

Since it was established, KSPP and farmers have been advocating for farmers' rights. These efforts mainly focus on improvement of farmers' awareness and independence, as well as engagement in solving farmers' problems. Advocacy efforts, although small, have been targeted at the budget domain since 2001. For more than ten years, KSPPM and farmer associations in Tapanuli have been doing advocacy on many issues. The following provides brief descriptions of strategies and methods that have been utilized and continuously improved.

Farmer Organizing

Organizing seeks to build farmers' awareness of their rights as citizens. Farmer groups are formed and encouraged to discuss law, politics, people's economic development, and – of course – agriculture. The topics discussed within agriculture include government policies in this sector.

Budget information and issues are also brought into these discussion forums. Farmers are asked to discuss the low budget allocation for farmers, despite the fact that farmers are the majority in the region. They are always reminded that the local government budget comes from people, and that it is people's rights, including farmers' rights, to be involved and monitor Local Budget management. Although it has taken time, their awareness on citizenship rights has begun to increase.

Beside routine meetings, KSPPM activists also make periodic visits to farmer groups in various villages and help them to practise organic agriculture.

Direct Involvement in Musrenbang

Farmers' access to and involvement in *Musrenbang* (local development planning forum) is minimal. Farmers never receive invitations to and information on the forum and planning process. The citizens who are involved in *Musrenbang* are usually the elites or those who have a close connection with the village head or officials.

KSPPM encourages farmers to enter and actively participate in village and sub-district-level *Musrenbang*. The organization provides farmers with information on the place and time of musrenbang forum, and also discusses the problems that can be taken to the forum. KSPPM explains citizens' rights to be involved in *Musrenbang* forum, and equips farmer groups with arguments that support their proposals in the forum. As a result, in some villages, some farmers have been participating in village-level *Musrenbang* forums.

Encouraging farmer cadre to hold administrative position

If a farmer becomes the village head, there should be increased opportunity to include the farmer agenda into the development plan at the village level and opportunity for farmers to participate and play an active role in development.

When the opportunity has arisen, KSPPM has encouraged cadres from farmer groups to register themselves as village head candidates. In 2009, one of the farmer group members in Siabal-abal Village of Sipahutar Subdistrict was encouraged to become a village head candidate. Hard work and support from all members of the farmer group eventually got this candidate elected as village head.

In another village, the achievement was a little different. No-one in the farmer groups was ready to be a village head candidate. However, they managed to enter into a political contract with one of the village head candidates. The contract says that if the candidate is elected, he will prioritize farmers' interests. With substantial support from farmer groups, the candidate was eventually elected.

Although at a limited and low level, making cadres of farmer groups elected officials brings significant impact to farmers' advocacy work. The experience of the above-mentioned villages proves this. At the least, having a fellow farmer as village head or making contract with a village head helps to open the door to information and the development processes at village level.

Budget Analysis and Study

Budget analysis and study seek to identify the amount allocated by government to a specific sector, such as agriculture. Budget analysis and study provide a strong argument and evidence basis for advocacy and, further, allow relevant and realistic recommendations to be made.

KSPPM and farmer groups routinely study and analyze the local government budget of North Tapanuli district each year. KSPPM staff study and analyze the local government budget documents, and then discuss their findings with the Farmer Union in North Tapanuli. The study focuses on issues that are related to farmers' lives, namely opportunities for promoting fulfillment of farmers' economic and social rights. The discussion seeks to critique government policy initiatives. It also seeks to identify activities through which to influence, scrutinize and monitor certain policies. The activities may be collective action, dialogue or lobbying. The activities are their means of expressing or submitting their critique and proposals to the executive. Where the executive agrees to their proposals, the Farmer Union of North Tapanuli monitors the implementation of the agreed initiatives.

Making Direct Contact with Policy Makers

To influence local-level policy, KSPPM and farmer groups make direct contact with district-level government officials. They build communication with the district head, local legislative members and sectoral officials through various events, such as visits, hearings and even mass street rallies. Their proposals are submitted directly to government by KSPPM activists and farmer groups.

These communication methods are not always used together. Sometimes one method substitutes for another. For example, when dialogue and visits are ineffective or do not work at all, KSPPM and the farmer groups with which it works will try a street rally. Communication between community and government, particularly with the executives and the Agriculture Service, has recently improved. They have begun to trust KSPPM and the farmer groups. They have begun to be open to inputs and even criticism. Dialogue between these parties is starting to be built. However, this situation has not yet been achieved in community communication with political parties.

Information dissemination and public opinion shaping

It is widely known that mass media has a strategic position and role in influencing policy. Therefore, KSPPM and farmer groups do not ignore the importance of mass media in their advocacy effort. They build communication and a relationship with mass media.

However, the local media in North Tapanuli are not yet able to be a helpful partner in advocacy efforts. This is because of their weak bargaining position against government. It makes them reports the news from the government's point of view. Media with broader coverage, such as regional and national media, may express non-government interests. However, they usually choose only larger issues, such as human right issues.

Besides using commercially-managed public media, KSPPM and farmer groups publish a bi-monthly bulletin named "Prakarsa", which means initiative. This community media can effectively disseminate information to farmer groups and local government on advocated issues. The distribution is, of course, not as broad as that of big capital-supported media.

ACHIEVEMENTS

After ten years of struggling with farmers in budget advocacy, KSPPM has achieved some results. Although the achievements are very small when compared to the unresolved problems, they are important.

Farmers have begun to be aware of their citizenship rights. This is seen in the growing intensity of their involvement in advocacy processes to fight for their rights. Farmers are more eager to engage in initiatives, including promoting cadres in elections of public officers although it is only at village head level. They also fight for their cadres to be elected as local legislative members, although they have been unsuccessful to date.

Farmer groups have also become confident in facing policy makers, whether in articulating their proposals, complaints, or even criticism on abuse or corrupt practices. Their confidence and bravery is an important result, as previously they took every policy and decision of government for granted. They could not say whether they agreed or not.

In terms of farmers' skill, there are two important improvements. Farmers' skill and capacity in advocacy have improved. This includes their capacity to do budget analysis, organize themselves, articulate ideas and express proposals or initiatives. These capacities were previously absent.

Organizing and strengthening of farmers has also brought another improvement. Their farming skill has improved, as they have become more aware of the importance of respecting Mother Nature. They have begun to minimize pesticide usage, and to build and maintain a healthy environment.

On the budget side, the important result is accessibility. Since 2006, the farmer groups have been able to access information on the agriculture budget allocation. They can access information on procurement of farming tools, irrigation and procurement of road construction, revolving loans, and farmer training provided by government. Prior to farmer group involvement in the local government budget of 2007, distribution of farming tools was managed by the same persons who did the distribution in previous years, and the opportunity was not accessible for farmers.

KSPPM activities have also improved the economic level of farmers. The activities have allowed them to receive revolving loans. The loan program was designed in the local government budget of 2008. Until today, various farmer groups have been using the revolving fund.

These achievements, however, are not the final ones for KSPPM. Ongoing increases in the agriculture budget every year is not the only demand. Instead, KSPPM demands fulfillment of justice principles in equal distribution of local government budget implementation.

CHALLENGES

KSPPM advocacy efforts emerged from their concern about the situation of farmers, who are trapped in poverty and always marginalized in government policies, including when they are confronted with the powerful business owners. Their efforts often faced challenges and limitations. The first challenge was farmer awareness about the problem. Most of them did not understand the relevance of the government budget for their poverty problems. They did not understand that the taxes and fees they pay are one of the revenue sources of the government budget. They also did not understand that government expenditures must bring improvement to farmers' lives and more generally, citizens' lives. They thought that government expenditures for people's welfare represented charity and benevolence of government, instead of their right as citizens.

Citizens' ignorance was used by government, as public access to budget information and budgeting processes was restricted. When farmers started to realize this problem, they began to demand access to information and participation in planning and budgeting processes. Government officials meanwhile concealed budget information giving reasons such as limited publication, data and documents and the difficulty in keeping updated documentation on the ongoing processes of policy-making. They used these reasons to refuse citizens' access to public information.

Difficulty in accessing documents results in limited information arriving in farmers' hands. Without these documents, they do not know how much money is allocated to the agriculture sector. They cannot do budget analysis, monitor budget implementation and, further, do budget advocacy. However, such difficulties have solutions. Budget advocacy activists often use another way to find the documents, such as building a personal relationship with government officials or legislative members, or, when necessary, "stealing" the documents from them.

Difficulty in accessing documents is closely related to another problem, namely non-participatory local government budget planning and formulation processes. Formulation of the local government budget is always preceded by a planning phase that includes *musrenbang* forums that are held from the lowest village level to the highest one, namely district level.

Community involvement should exist in every level of *musrenbang*. The fact is, however, that community involvement, moreover farmer involvement, in *musrenbang* is very low. Almost every year, the *musrenbang* runs without villagers' knowing. Instead, the *musrenbang* involves only the village head, village officials and representatives of village institutions. Villagers who attend the forum are usually people who are close to the village head. The results are predictable: they do not represent the interests of marginal groups, including farmers.

An equally tough challenge to lack of awareness and inaccessibility of documents is farmers' capacity and availability of human resources in the long term. Budget advocacy is not a short-term work. It is not work for a passer-by. All phases of the budgeting process, from planning to accountability reporting, need three years. This lengthy process needs full energy and adequate capacity of human resources who monitor and conduct advocacy on budgeting.

Of the 67 farmer groups assisted by KSPPM, only a few have capacity in monitoring budget implementation. Their capacity, however, does not cover monitoring budget audit results. Farmers' capability is still limited to formulating and submitting groups' proposals to be accommodated in the local government budget. They cannot yet monitor the whole process of budget implementation, because of the length of time required and their limited technical skill.

Another interesting point in advocacy is support from other community elements, such as the media. The media has a strategic position to bring

the voice of farmers to the public. However, in the close social relationships of a district it is not easy to maintain media independence. Government control of the media, at least psychological control, is strong. This makes local media prone to becoming media for government interests. Of course, this is disadvantageous for advocacy efforts. However, the opportunity to gain media support exists, particularly when the media feels secure from any control.

Various advocacy strategies have been tried, including encouraging farmers to run in elections for policy-maker positions, such as village head or local legislative member. Sadly, success in respect of a local legislative position has not yet been achieved by farmers.

In 2007, two years before the local legislative election, the farmer union of Toba Samosir chose Sunggul Sitorus to represent them as local legislative member candidate. His fellow farmers undertook various activities, namely intensive education and discussions, to make him a successful candidate. Sunggul was nominated by a political party. He was registered as candidate number 2. During the campaign, KSPPM and farmer union managers disseminated information on his nomination to other farmer union members. Farmer union managers monitored the process until election time.

Sadly, these efforts did not work. The power of money and nepotism made Sunggul lose votes. Farmers' expectation of being represented in the local legislative body by their fellow farmer perished, at least for the moment. The evaluation that followed the failure concluded that more intensive political education for citizens, particularly farmers, is needed. What has been done to date is not adequate to stimulate or create change, even a small change like having representation in local legislative body.

LESSONS LEARNED

Reflection on more than 10 years of advocacy experiences of KSPPM provides many valuable lessons for future work, as well as for work in other places. The following are just a few of these lessons:

1. Awareness of the importance of budget advocacy and monitoring budget implementation should be in the mind of people, including farmers, because the local government budget funds come from people's contributions and its utilization by government should be accountable to the people.
2. The local government budget documents tend to be treated as classified documents and kept far from the public's reach, although it is the public's rights to access the information. Such rights are ensured by law.
3. The local government budget formulation processes tends to be closed to public access. For instance, there is no invitation to participate in the local-level development planning forum, nor information about the forum. Invitations are only sent to those who are close to government officials. In some regions, this forum is merely a formality.
4. Budgeting is a political instrument for the executive and legislative to maintain their constituents. This often makes them ignore principles of public interest, justice, transparency, accountability and prioritizing those who are most in need.

Institutionalization of Participation and Transparency in Local Budget

Experience of Local Regulation Advocacy on Local Planning and Budgeting in Sumedang District, West Java Province

by

Saeful Muluk and Nandang Suherman

SUMMARY

This chapter narrates the experience of P3ML during 2001 and 2009 in promoting participation, transparency, and accountability in Regional Planning and Budgeting. Key to this effort is the innovation concerning the Regional Indicative Ceiling (PIK) and Development Planning Meeting Delegation Forum (FDM) as stipulated by the Regional Regulation (*Perda*) No. 1 year 2007 on the Procedures for Regional Planning and Budgeting. Since 2007, this innovative policy has been changing the process of local planning and budgeting into a more participatory, transparent and accountable one. Proposals from the community have been accommodated in allocations, and they tend to increase. Community influence in budget allocation has begun to count. Although previously community members were skeptical, they have become more optimistic and enthusiastic regarding the planning and budgeting process. They can now engage directly in budget discussion with government and local legislatives. Before this, this was never the case in any region of Indonesia.

ORGANIZATION PROFILE

P3ML was established in 2001 to provide a strong and legal forum for individual members of Jatinangor Forum Working Group (Forjat). Forjat itself was established in 2000 and worked on public participation in Jatinangor city planning that was facilitated by the Planning Department of Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB).

Initially, P3ML focused on local problems that needed addressing, especially in relation to budgeting. Some of its efforts to achieve the vision included:

- preparing creative, innovative and patriotic development cadres who have far-reaching vision and respect values of morality
- establishing a conducive environmental climate to ensure clean governance.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

Regional planning and budgeting starts with the development planning consultations (*Musrenbang*) stage as laid out in Law No. 25 of 2004 on the National Development Planning System (SPPN).

Before 2007, the Regional Government (*Pemda*) of Sumedang held Musrenbang based on the Circular Letter of *Bupati* (head of district), which substantially adopted P5D (Guideline of Participatory Village Development Planning). Musrenbang (development planning forum at community level) are community meetings where stakeholders participate in the formulation of development activity proposals. Musrenbang are organised at different levels, from the lowest level at the village/*kelurahan* (urban village), up to *kecamatan* (sub-district), Regional Government Work Unit (SKPD) forum and district/city levels. Musrenbang run from

January to April every year, involving community members (represented by their delegations), government officials, and DPRD members by election area and commission. The Musrenbang series generates the Regional Government Workplan (RKPD) document, which will be used as the reference in the formulation of the General Budgeting Policy (KUA) of the Regional Budget (APBD).

Following the Musrenbang stage is the budgeting stage. The results of agreements in the Musrenbang are compiled by Bappeda and the Regional Government Agency for Finance Management (BPKD) in the Regional Government Workplan. This will then serve as the basis for the formulation of the draft General Regional Budget Policy (KUA), which will in turn be discussed by the DPRD and the Regional government. The discussion of KUA in the DPRD is the initial stage of the regional budgeting process. The budgeting discussion processes run between the Regional Government Budget Team (TAPD) and the DPRD Special Budgeting Committee. The processes start with the presentation of General Policy Budgeting notes by the *Bupati* to the DPRD at a DPRD Plenary Session. DPRD will later discuss the notes internally among its members. Upon agreement among its members, a Memorandum of Understanding is developed between DPRD and the Executive Body, to be deliberated further during the discussion of Temporary Budget Priority and Ceiling (PPAS).

Development planning consultations in Sumedang were held before the enactment of the Regional Regulation Number 1 of 2007 and continued until one year after the Regulation was enacted. These consultations suffered from inadequate implementation in terms of, among others, venue, participants, resource persons, material, information on budget availability, and availability of facilitators. The inadequate implementation significantly affected the quality of proposals generated in the Musrenbang, leading to many proposed activities with irrational amounts and proposals oriented more to infrastructure development. This was possible because programme priorities did not come from proposals that were based on data-based problem analysis as Musrenbang

was seen more as accommodating a list of needs only. An example of this was the proposed budget of Ujangjaya sub-district, which amounted to IDR 14.699.000.000. As illustrated in tabel 1, of the total amount, 87% was allocated for infrastructure activities while the rest was divided between the economic, health and education sectors. The result of this musrenbang was also problematic as there are too many activities, which means there was no prioritization. Without information on the available budget allocation for this region, the proposed budget was very large, exceeding the amount of budget ever available for this region. Details of the allocations are presented in the table below.

Table 7.1. Recapitulation of Proposals of Activities from the Musrenbang of Ujungjaya Sub-district in 2006

Sector/Affairs	Number of Program/Activity	Budget (IDR)
Economy	25	1.110.500.000,00
Health	15	238.000.000,00
Education	13	599.000.000,00
Public Work/ Infrastructure	63	12.751.500.000,00
Total	116	14.699.000.000,00

Portrayal of Community Participation

Participation of community in Musrenbang at the village and sub-district levels was relatively limited during this period. Musrenbang were dominated by village officials and the Village Consultation Board (BPD) while poor community groups and other marginalised groups were not involved at all. In contrast, Musrenbang at the district level had more diverse composition of participants although district level Musrenbang was also not able to accommodate the participation of marginalised groups. As a result, Musrenbang in Sumedang were then not yet reflecting a spirit of participatory, two-way dialogue and friendly consultations for community members, especially for the marginalised groups and women groups to voice their aspirations and needs.

Budgeting, a determining phase for accommodation of community proposals by the DPRD, was almost untouchable in terms of community participation. There was a general lack of community participation in all of the stages of budget deliberation at the DPRD. However, the DPRD provided a room for community members to participate in the budgeting process during the hearing activity at the DPRD. Despite this opportunity, the hearing often turned out to be more ceremonial in nature and did not open the room for substantive discussions. In addition, the hearing was more elitist in nature because DPRD only invited leaders and special groups known to DPRD. Yet legally there is meant to be community involvement in budgeting process.

Community participation in planning and budgeting was very important to ensure that the results of Musrenbang were accommodated in the KUA-PPAS. Limited opportunity for participation in the budgeting process meant that community members might lose the opportunity to ensure that their proposals were accommodated in the process. Consequently, only few community proposals would usually be accommodated in the APBD. An example of this was Ujungjaya sub-district; from a total of 116 proposed activities in 2007, only 7 activities or 6% were accommodated and realised, amounting to only IDR 100 million of the total amount of IDR 14 billion.

This situation eventually led to a lack of trust among community members toward Musrenbang as the mechanism for identifying their needs to be accommodated in the regional budget. For the community, Musrenbang was not considered a useful process because it did not generate programmes that could accommodate community proposals and was seen to be organized by the regional government merely to show compliance with the law. The resentment about the results of musrenbang was expressed as following:

“Ah taun hareupmah, musrenbang teh teu kudu aya, da geuning ti taun kataun euweuh hasilna ker masyarakat. Siganamah Musrenbang dilaksanakeun teh ngan saukur puraga tanpa kadenda”. (There’s no need for Musrenbang to exist next year, because over the years Musrenbang has not resulted in anything. It seems that Musrenbang is held merely to meet obligations and to prevent from being sanctioned.)

Transparency

There was adequate transparency in the publication of the budget of Sumedang district, which was a positive thing. Since 2005, the DPRD of Sumedang district made budget information posters on APBD that were accessible to all. The posters showed budget-related general information while details on allocations of regional finance resources such as financial information contained in the Workplan and Budget (RKA) and Budget Implementation Document (DPA) were still not accessible to community members. Such documents were only accessible to limited circles such as NGOs and individuals who could manage to get the documents.

The publication of posters on APBD originated from the intention of the DPRD members to improve the image of the legislative institution. At that time, there was a lot of criticism of the institution regarding its performance and the morality of its members. To address this, the chair of DPRD sought advice from the NGO circle, especially P3ML, on the steps should take to improve its image, to which P3ML suggested two alternatives: to publish a poster to show the performance of the DPRD members in the deliberations of budget policies and to conduct visits to the villages to familiarize the members of the legislative body with its constituents.

METHODOLOGY

Planning for advocacy focused on three problems related to the disjointed nature of planning and budgeting. The problems included, *first*, the lack of certainty on funds/resources available at the beginning of planning year. *Secondly*, there was not any guarantee concerning the participation of community during the various stages of planning and budgeting. *Thirdly*, there was not any guarantee that the results of the Musrenbang would become the priority in the budgeting. Some efforts to address these concerns included the promotion of the idea of a Regional Regulation to address the problems, which led to the issuance of the Regional Regulation No. 1 / 2007 on the Procedures for Regional Planning and Budgeting. The Regulation attempted to address the problems by, *first*, stipulating the Regional Indicative Ceiling (PIK) for the sub-district to use during the planning at the sub-district level to ensure that sub-district level Musrenbang resulted in prioritised activities in line with the available funds; *secondly*, stipulating the requirement to accommodate community members in the process of budget enactment through the forum called Musrenbang Delegation Forum.

The Process in the Issuance of Regional Regulation (*Perda*)

The Regional Regulation was issued after a long and exhausting process. P3ML initiated the process by organising informal discussions among civil society organisations (CSOs) concerned with planning and budgeting. These were followed by discussions and networking with CSOs from outside of Sumedang district to persuade them to become partners in the discussion with DPRD and Regional Government (*Pemda*). Afterwards informal discussions were held with a number of DPRD members on the importance of providing a guarantee for the accommodation of proposals resulting from the Musrenbang, the importance of monitoring the results of Musrenbang by involving community members in the budgeting process, and the need to calculate available resources at the beginning of planning year. The above issues became the main focus to address the critical weaknesses in planning and budgeting.

Unrelenting advocacy directed towards a number of DPRD members and networking with CSOs in establishing public opinion resulted in the Chair of DPRD including discussion of the draft Regional Regulation on Regional Planning and Budgeting in the agenda of a DPRD session. Following the discussion of the draft regional regulation in the DPRD session, P3ML carried out a study and formulated the draft academic text and the draft regional regulation. P3ML collaborated with *Perkumpulan Inisiatif Bandung* in doing this.

It took almost a full busy year to discuss the Regional Regulation. The most exhausting part was to convince DPRD of the importance of involving the community in the budgeting deliberation process at the DPRD. Several arguments were used. Firstly, the participation of the community in the budgeting deliberation process at the DPRD would minimise allegations against DPRD that the institution was only good at delisting results of Musrenbang. In addition, by involving community members, they could become partners for DPRD to help ensure that the activities proposed by SKPD were well targeted and in line with community's needs. Above all else, community participation would provide political incentive for the DPRD that the institution was in fact carrying out pro-people budget politic works.

Changing DPRD's way of thinking on community participation in the budgeting process was not easy. Opening up the opportunity for community participation in the budgeting process meant the DPRD would hand over some of its authority to the community. Many DPRD members opposed the idea because they considered budgeting as the inherent political responsibility of the DPRD. However, through endless lobbying and discussions with a number of key members of the DPRD, in collaboration with the national NGO network and university, P3ML was successful in convincing and changing the frame of mind of the DPRD members on the importance of public participation in the budgeting process.

The advocacy was very time consuming process, with much foot dragging, especially on how the involvement process would work, who was to be involved and to what extent, whether those involved were to participate in decision making, how to finance the participation and so on. After a common understanding was reached, an internal agreement within the DPRD to establish a team specially tasked with proposing the draft regional regulation followed.

The proposer team at the DPRD of Sumedang managed to convince other DPRD members of the importance of the Regional Regulation on Regional Budget Planning in addressing the typical problems facing planning and budgeting. CSO representatives facilitated the deliberations on the draft regional regulation at the DPRD. They also participated in the support team of the Special Committee (*Pansus*) of the DPRD so as to ensure that the draft complied with the principles of participation and transparency.

The enactment of the Regional Regulation on Regional Planning and Budgeting Procedures opened up a new stage in the planning and budgeting process through the formal acknowledgement of community participation in the budgeting process at the DPRD, the establishment of Regional and Sectoral Indicative Ceilings, and the guarantee that community proposals resulting from Musrenbang would become the main reference points in the formulation of regional budgeting document.

There was an obvious change following the issuance of Regional Regulation No. 1 / 2007 in that the selection process of budget proposals started at the sub-district level and was carried out by the community members themselves. This differed from the previous selection process of the Bappeda and DPRD, who were both viewed by community members as “butchers” of community proposals. The next process at the SOPD Forum and District Musrenbang levels was mainly for clarification the process was already almost complete at the sub-district level. Key in this process was the accuracy in predicting revenues and expenditures of the planning

year because any noticeable difference in the result of prediction would lead to problems when communicating with the community in the later stage.

The Implementation of the Regional Regulation

Arising from the Regional Regulation Number 1 / 2007,, there were two important areas of follow up: formulation of the Regional/Sub-district Indicative Ceiling (PIK) and the establishment of Musrenbang Delegation Forum.

Regional Indicative Ceiling

In line with the Regional Regulation of Sumedang District Number 1/2007, an indicative ceiling is: "Some maximum limit of the local budget for each sub-district in Sumedang, whose allocation is dependent on the participatory mechanism through the sub-district level Musrenbang based on the priority of programmes proposed by each village in the sub-district." Such a regional indicative budget ceiling provides certainty to musrenbang participants that priority activities resulted from the sub-district level Musrenbang can be accommodated in the budgeting process and cannot be interfered with by any political interest in the DPRD.

The regional indicative ceiling is sub-district based, with a sub-district defined as a geographic and administrative unit within a district area consisting of a number of villages. The regional indicative ceiling varied between sub-districts, ranging from IDR 700 million to more than IDR 1 billion in the 2007 Musrenbang. There were 12 variables used to calculate the amount of the indicative ceiling in each sub-district, including poverty level, infant and maternal mortality rate, dropout rate, amount of land and property tax, the condition of public infrastructure and so on. Calculation of the regional and sectoral indicative ceiling is governed by a Head of District (*Bupati*) Regulation.

Aside from Regional Indicative Budget, there is also a Regional Government Work Unit Indicative Ceiling (PI-SKPD). The allocation for each SKPD is

determined through a technocratic SKPD mechanism and participatory SKPD Forum mechanism, based on the program priorities contained in the strategic plan document of the SKPD. Proposed village and sub-district expenditures that fit within the indicative ceilings will be accommodated in the Work Plan and Budget of the Regional Government Work Unit. PIK and PI-SKPD are then combined in the Strategic Plan of SKPD, which is proposed to the district level Musrenbang together with other Strategic Plans to form the Regional Government Work Plan.

During the first year of PIK implementation, the budget allocated to finance community programs proposed in the Musrenbang was not disbursed optimally. From the budget of around IDR 25 billion, only 20% or IDR 5 billion was disbursed. This happened because the amount proposed by community members was not in line with the standards of programme/activity expenditure by SKPD. The amount was based on the costs of activities usually carried out by the community, because they assumed that the PIK financing scheme would be managed by citizens. This was not in line with the provision by the regional government that required the management of PIK to be carried out by the district level SKPD, which consequently required the inclusion of staff expenditure in the planned expenditure of activities and the consideration of third party profit for any tendered activity. For the 2008 and 2008 planning, there was relatively better implementation of the PIK. The community's increased understanding of the concept of PIK and knowledge of planning and budgeting was key in better implementation of the Sub-district Indicative Ceiling. Capacity building of the Musrenbang Delegation Forum members and facilitation of the musrenbang by facilitators also increased the community's understanding of the PIK.

Musrenbang Delegation Forum

The Musrenbang Delegation Forum represents institutionalisation of community participation in the regional budgeting process. Before the establishment of the Forum, community participation was limited to responding to an "invitation" to a hearing at the DPRD. At the hearing,

participants were limited to commenting on the draft local budget (RAPBD) and the hearing was often misused by hearing participants as a forum for speech contests. Meanwhile, the DPRD remained a forum only to solicit proposals, listen to comments and clarify things during the hearing. The institutionalisation of community participation in regional budgeting process through the Musrenbang Delegation Forum established by Bappeda is expected ensure community participation is not only limited to hearings, but also occurs in all discussions in the DPRD.

Members of the Musrenbang Delegation Forum are selected from sub-district Musrenbang delegations and sectoral (SKPD) delegations. The assignment of members is done in a democratic manner during the District Musrenbang Forum, in which each sub-district is represented by one participant for one year with possible re-election for one round only for the next one year. The sub-district and sectoral delegations in the Musrenbang who are appointed to become the members of the district Musrenbang Delegation Forum hold a coordination meeting which is facilitated by BAPPEDA.

The Musrenbang Delegation Forum provides the opportunity for community members to “practise and sharpen oneself” in the regional policy arena. In the Forum, community members can practise negotiation, lobbying and advocacy as well as network with other stakeholders. The process will build social capital for community activists intending to build their career in local politics. With the establishment of the Forum, the community’s enthusiasm to be involved intensively in the planning and budgeting process has re-emerged.

ACHIEVEMENTS

P3ML finally bore the fruits of its untiring advocacy, some of which are described in the following sections.

Power Relations between the Community, Regional Government and DPRD

Weak community participation, especially during the regional budgeting stage, was the biggest problem encountered at that time. This stage was the most critical because community proposals resulting from the Musrenbang depended on this stage to be accommodated in the budget. For the most part, the absence of community participation at this stage resulted in exclusion of their proposals from the local budget. After the issuance of the Regional Regulation Number 1 of 2007, community participation in the regional budgeting process was ensured through the Musrenbang Delegation Forum.

There was a shift of awareness concerning the community's participation in the budgeting political processes in the region. The community was finally recognized as having the sovereignty to be involved actively to ensure the accommodation of the results of musrenbang in the budget, to provide comments and corrections in all the planning and budgeting stages and even in the implementation of the local budget. Such recognition and the formal institutionalisation of community participation in the Regional Planning and Budgeting can be seen as a shift of power relations between the community, the legislative body and the regional government.

Change of Budget Allocations to Accommodate Community Proposal

The budget allocation for community proposals in 2008 (for 2007 planning year) was set at around IDR 25 billion, of which only IDR 5 billion was absorbed. The remaining IDR 20 billion was not absorbed due to technical problems, including the fact that the budget proposed by the community to finance their proposed activities was not in line with the standard prices used by government local offices. This was not the case in 2009,

during which allocation of regional indicative ceiling was fully absorbed. The allocation for PIK has increased annually to correspond with changes in the data corresponding to the variables used to calculate the ceiling.

Other indications of change within the planning and budgeting process in Sumedang included the accommodation of almost 100% of community proposals in the budget. In 2008, in Buahdua sub-district, all 14 proposed activities were accommodated and realised in the 2009 local budget. The table below presents examples of community proposals contained in the APBD of 2009 snf funded through the PIK.

Table 7.2. Community proposals accommodated in the 2009 APBD

Activity	Village	Sub-district	Budget allocation (IDR)
Rehabilitation/Maintenance of Ciawitali-Sanca Road	Ciawitali	Buahdua	149.811.000
Rehabilitation of infrastructure and headrace	Cilangkap	Buahdua	50.000.000
Rehabilitation of infrastructure and headrace	Sekarwangi	Buahdua	50.000.000
Rehabilitation of infrastructure and headrace	Ciawitali	Buahdua	50.000.000
Procurement of piping for clean water	2 village	Buahdua	165.000.000
Development and Improvement of Street Vendors at Buahdua Market	Buahdua	Buahdua	150.000.000
Garut sheep cattle breeding programme for poor households	7 Village	Buahdua	175.000.000
Dumbo Catfish rearing programme for poor households	Karangbungur	Buahdua	20.000.000
Local sheep breeding programme for poor households	2 Village	Buahdua	35.000.000
Local cow breeding programme for poor households	4 Village	Buahdua	95.000.000

Supplementary feeding for malnourished people	14 Village	Buahdua	25.000.000
Revitalisation of the Integrated Health Post (<i>Posyandu</i>)	47 Posyandu	Buahdua	5.000.000
Establishment and Development of Prepared Village	10 Village	Buahdua	85.000.000
Training for Journalism Cadres	14 Village	Buahdua	5.000.000

Increased Level of Community Participation

Following the issuance of the Regional Regulation Number 1 of 2007, and especially after 2008, the level of community participation in planning and budgeting in Sumedang has increased. Quantitatively speaking, there has been a relatively significant change in the number of community members participating in Musrenbang in comparison to the years preceding 2007. Musrenbang has now become a lively and dynamic forum. Community members are keen to identify development problems in their respective areas and to later jointly formulate programmes to address the problems. Increased participation of the community has to some extent been caused by the guarantee of budget allocations to finance community proposals.

Community participation was also massively obvious during the discussion of the local budget at the DPRD. Community members, who were represented in the Musrenbang Delegation Forum, met with the budget committee a number of times to give their input and corrections as well as reject the processes and contents of discussions that they felt were detrimental to the community. Discussion of the budget at the executive body, which had never before involved community members, now includes them. In a number of SKPD, community members were actively involved during the workplan and budget development processes, survey of activity locations and examination of goods and services in the procurement process of the SKPD.

CHALLENGES

The advocacy done in improving the planning and budgeting processes in Sumedang took a long time. The advocacy included efforts to change the paradigm of planning and budgeting, technical procedures of implementation and favouritism in regional budgeting policy, which had not been based on the pillars of participation, accountability and transparency. Since the advocacy touched on sensitive issues within the planning and budgeting process in the region, some challenges and constraints were encountered that almost became stumbling block for the advocacy.

There were at least two significant challenges facing the advocacy effort. *First*, the DPRD and regional government objected to some of the contents of the Regional Regulation in terms of providing an opportunity for the community to be involved in the budgeting discussion processes at the DPRD. Some were of the opinion that opening up the opportunity for community participation could undermine the political right of DPRD members that was protected by the law. Involvement of community was seen to be threatening to DPRD members, who felt that their freedom to submit activity proposals in response to their constituents might be reduced. This attitude was strengthened when the idea of institutionalizing community participation was launched. Those questioning these proposals questioned what the name of the forum would be, what the mechanisms would be for involvement, which category of community would be involved and to what extent, and how the process would be financed. In response of this, P3ML increased the intensity of its lobbying and discussion activities with the DPRD and regional government by inviting university experts in planning and budgeting to support them.

Secondly, there was an inappropriate understanding of the Regional Indicative Ceiling (PIK). PIK refers to the maximum threshold of local budget expenditure for each sub-district in Sumedang and is determined by a participatory mechanism through a sub-district Musrenbang, based

on programme priorities proposed by villages in the sub-districts. The community understood this as the right of the sub-district to be allocated a block grant in the budget, which would be managed by the community themselves, in contrast to the provisions in the Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2007, which stipulated that the right of the community was limited to programme development, oversight of the discussion on program proposals at the DPRD as well as monitoring of activities implementation. Programme implementation, management and accountability reporting remained the responsibility of the SKPD at the District level.

Certainty concerning budget allocations through the PIK scheme had initially created new energy among the community. This turned into disappointment when they understood that programme management was in the hands of the district SKPD, which to them only indicated government's distrust of sub-district community capabilities in managing activities. The community believed that management of the PIK by the community would ensure better implementation and optimal output because all of the funds would be disbursed without any deduction for administrative cost. Further, the funds would be supplemented by community self funding. Finally, through awareness raising activities by the regional government and CSOs through radio talk show and FDM meetings, the misunderstanding was clarified.

LESSONS LEARNED

The above story of the experience in advocacy to promote transparency and accountability in the planning and budgeting process through a participatory approach highlights a number of important lessons, among which are the following.

Capacity strengthening. To make the best of the opportunity for involvement in regional planning and budgeting processes, community must equip themselves and enhance their capacities with useful knowledge on

budgeting processes at the DPRD. In that way, there will be balanced interactions between the community, executive and legislative bodies that will lead to optimal results.

Constructive collaboration. Changes will only occur when there is constructive collaboration among the actors involved. Among the actors that have a significant role in driving changes are the local government and DPRD member. Therefore, efforts in promoting institutionalization of participation in the public budget cannot ignore their roles. It must be acknowledged that collective action in the context of public institutions can only be established if the above two actors are involved in the institution. To achieve this, the capacity to convince the government and DPRD members to change their beliefs is necessary.

Levels of changes. Real changes can occur at the legal framework and actor levels. At the legal framework level, a legal framework needs to be developed to ensure transparency of public information, ensure community access to participation from the earliest stage in decision making, implementation and monitoring, recognition of community organizations, and the mechanisms to monitor decision making in formal institutions. At the actor level, active community- and function-based community organizations and social movement are prerequisites for constructive dialogue in public forums.

Reallocation for an Effective and Efficient Budget

Civil Society Movement to Oppose Local Budget
Plan 2007 of Riau Province for not being Pro-Poor

by
Fahriza

SUMMARY

The annual budget of Riau Province is around IDR 3 – 4 trillion. It is much larger than the budgets of other provinces. Most of the budget is allocated to personnel and physical infrastructure construction expenditures, as well as other non-urgent expenditures.

In 2007, the Local Budget Plan of Riau Province triggered controversy and opposition from citizens. Their opposition was caused by the provincial government's plan for allocating public funds for supporting mass organizations, organizing the FFI (Indonesian Film Festival) and promotion of special autonomy. The plan was considered unaccountable and unable to provide pro-people results, while being contradictory to the Constitution.

Ironically, expenditures on public services are low. The education sector received less than 20%, while health and the micro- and medium business

sectors received less than 10% and 15%, respectively of the total Local Budget which amounted to IDR 3.7 trillion. These sectors deal with citizens' basic needs and fulfillment of these needs is government's obligation.

The controversy culminated in a wave of opposition against the Local Budget Plan, which became law in the form of the Local Budget in 2007. This movement made government revise its budget plan. Some budget items were reallocated to fund education sector.

ORGANIZATION PROFILE

Fitra Riau (Indonesian Forum for Budget Transparency of Riau) is one of five network nodes of Fitra. It was established in 1999, at the time of the establishment of National Secretariat of Fitra. Goals and missions of Fitra Riau are similar to those of National Secretariat of Fitra: a) Achieving people's sovereignty on the budget, promoting transparency and accountability in planning, implementation and control of the local and state budget; b) advocating for people's needs-based and people's needs-oriented local and national budget, and becoming a barometer of the budget advocacy movement in Indonesia.

Advocacy activities of Fitra Riau are:

- Conducting expenditures analysis on poverty, ignorance and infrastructure (K2I) aspects in the expenditure documents of Riau Province during 2005-2007.
- Conducting analysis and reporting on corruption indications in local expenditures of Bengkalis District of Riau Province, known as Bengkalis Gate case, in 2005.
- Analyzing corruption potential in local expenditures of Bengkalis District in power generator procurement in 2008. Corruption allegations, based on findings of the Local Supervision Agency, are then reported to KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission). KPK brought a corruption case on this issue, which caused State to lose

IDR 58 billions, to the Court of Bengkalis.

- Analyzing corruption indications in nine packages of a road and bridge construction project. The project cost Rp 1.7 trillion from the Riau Province budget during the budget years 2005 – 2009. The analysis result was reported to KPK in 2008 and 2009.
- Analyzing corruption indications in the purchase of an employee dormitory. The government of Bengkalis District spent IDR 4 billion of its budget to buy the dormitory in Jakarta in 2005.
- Monitoring and conducting research on logistic purchase in the General Election of 2009 in Riau. This activity was financially supported by Democratic Reform Support Program (DRSP-Indonesia).
- Analyzing indications of corruption in the forestry sector, in cooperation with two NGOs that work on environmental issues, namely Walhi Riau and Jikalahari. The activity found power abuse in the issuance of permission for use of forest land for an industrial plant and in the development of Annual Work Plan 2009. The abuse was reported to and the case processed by KPK.
- Advocacy on collective abuse of local expenditures in Indragiri Hulu District of Riau Province in 2010. The abuse involved IDR 116 billion of the Local Budget.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

Transparent, efficient and effective local finance management, accompanied by a participatory process, is key to successful development and good governance. Good financial management may ensure accurate distribution of budget, hence it also achieves welfare, reduces poverty, ensures accessible health services and education for all levels of society.

Transparency is interpreted as providing society with open and complete information on public resource management according to existing laws. Accountability involves being responsible for resource management and policy implementation mandated by the people (Government Resulation

no. 24/2005). Effectiveness involves achievement of targeted program results. Efficiency involves achievement of maximum outputs with given inputs, or utilisation of the lowest inputs to achieve a given level of outputs. Participation is community involvement in planning, implementation and monitoring phases in order to ensure that the budget is effective and efficient. (*Permendagri* or Regulation of Minister of Home Affairs no. 13/2006).

Opposition Movement against the Local Budget Plan of Riau Province 2007

Civil society opposed the Local Budget Plan of Riau Province 2007 because of its untransparent and unaccountable process, low effectiveness and efficiency, and low community participation level. To support this movement, Fitra Riau joined with Karam (Coalition of Demanding People)¹, a coalition of civil society and student organizations.

In opposing the Local Budget Plan of Riau Province 2007, Karam chose two methods to encourage policy change, namely street rallies and mobilization of mass support. Street rallies are carried out separately by individual organizations and together by the coalition. In the street rallies, individual organizations raise sectoral issues that are in line with their work fields. These sectoral issues include: women, environment, disaster mitigation, law compliance, etc. These actions culminated on February 1, 2007, in the form of a big street rally. On that day, the plenary legislative session, that was supposed to pass the Local Budget, was held.

At the same time as these street rallies, Karam coalition also contacted some Local Legislative members, members of both the ruling and opposition parties and PAN fractions of the Local Legislature. To avoid alignment with political interests, the Karam coalition invited them to open discussion events. These events often discussed budgeting process themes, such as the internal process of budget planning in Local Legislatures, its

regulations, and those who participate in budget plan making. Results of these discussions were formulated into the arguments of the opposition against the Local Budget Plan.

To support these methods, Karam developed an analysis that contained three parts:

- Education, health and UMKM (micro and small business) budget, that do not comply with the law on education, health and UMKM
- Ineffective and inefficient line items, such as the budget allocation for Indonesian Film Festival, Special Autonomy and mass organizations.
- Timeliness and compliance with regulations of budget-making.

These topics were analyzed using *Permendagri* no. 13/2006 on formulation of Local Budget 2007, Law no. 20/2003 on National Education System, Law no. 23/1992 on National Health System (added by agreement of Minister of Health with Regional Head that the budget for health should amount to 10% of the total Local Budget), and Law no. 25/1992 on Cooperatives. The results of the analysis result were then developed into a demand, which was expressed in the street rally of opposing the local budget.

The results of the discussion were developed and become important points, namely:

- The Local Budget Plan 2007 was not preceded by discussion on the KUA (Budget General Policy) and PPAS (Temporary Budget Ceiling and Priority) among Local Budget Team and Budget Committee. KUA and PPAS are the basis for drawing up the Budget and Work Plan of the local government bureaucracy. This document was then incorporated into Local Budget Plan of Riau Province 2007.
- The amount of Local Budget Plan 2007, which reached Rp. 4.2 trillion, was considered too ambitious as it was based on unrealistic estimation of local revenue. Riau Province government estimated that it would receive oil and gas sharing revenue of

IDR 2.6 trillion. With the oil price declining to US \$ 55-58 per barrel, it would be very difficult to improve the sharing revenue to reach IDR 2.6 trillion. Other revenues should not be estimated to exceed that of previous year. Local investment was also low (IDR 1,214,293,000). The amount did match the Local Budget amount for investment for local government-owned enterprises that stood at IDR 307,568,147,646.

According to *Permendagri* no. 26/2006 on Local Budget Formulation Guide for Budget Year 2007, the ceiling of revenue sharing of budget year 2007 must use the definitive ceiling of budget year 2006. Adjustment of the definitive ceiling of revenue sharing of budget year 2007 is included in amendment of Local Budget 2007. That is why expenditure items need to be adjusted to a realistic estimation of local revenues.

- Budget allocation must be redistributed better and comply with local development priorities. In Local Budget Plan 2007, general administration received 31% of the total budget. The amount exceeded the total allocation for the education sector (16%), health sector (6%), and cooperatives and small businesses (less than 1%).
- Local Budget Plan 2007 document did not reflect actual activities. The presentation of the document was thus contradictory to the principle of transparency. Unlike the previous year's Local Budget document, the Local Budget Plan 2007 was difficult to understand. Government argued that they used the format required by *Permendagri* No. 13/2006. The argument was weak because other provinces were able to develop Local Budget Plans that were easier to understand, although they used the same format and guideline.
- Some big expenditure items were added at the end of the discussion of budget team of local parliament and government. The controversial expenditure items included social aid (IDR 15 billions), Indonesian Film Festival (IDR 10.5 billions), operational fund for *Rice Processing Complex* and Biodiesel (IDR 15 billions),

building a closed theater (IDR 58 billions), youth center (IDR 45 billions), aid for Riau University and State University of Islam (IDR 24 billions and IDR 27.5 billions, respectively), rice subsidy for the poor (IDR 10 billions) and increase of salary (IDR 30 billions). The controversy occurred on the volume and process that resulted in the allocation amounts.

- Services (local government agencies) could not prioritize their activities well because of the policy that required them to set reserve funds for future years' budget. Of the total Local Budget Plan 2007, IDR 795.8 billion could not be utilized because the money was reserved for activities across multiple years. Reserved funds for National Sports Week 2012 amounted to IDR 250 billion and were not supported by a Local Regulation.
- Payment of debt of IDR 39.2 billion was not accompanied by clear information on the creditor and objective of the debt disbursement. Further, a budget item for capital of local government-owned companies amounted to IDR 52.45 billion without clear information on the companies to receive the funds.
- Budget duplication on personnel costs exceeded IDR 1 trillion or 24% of Local Budget Plan 2007. The high amount was caused by payments to employees for their involvement in every project/activity. This is contradictory to Government Regulation no. 58/2005 on Local Financial Management and Accountability. The regulation clearly states that special honorarium for employees can be paid for a maximum of two activities.

These points were presented to the public in press conference and street rallies. Karam Coalition members presented them taking turns. On one occasion Karam Coalition once occupied the state-owned radio station of Riau. It also blocked entry to the Local Parliament of Riau. Following these actions, two fractions of the Local Parliament refused to sign on the passing of Local Budget Plan 2007 of Riau Province. The rest held varied positions. One other fraction abstained, while three other fractions approved the Local Budget Plan. Consequently, the Plan came into law as Local Budget 2007 that bound all local government agencies of Riau Province.

Nevertheless, opposition did not cease. Karam Coalition sent a letter to the Minister of Home Affairs to request the elimination of some budget items that were considered wasteful. Karam Coalition also conducted street rallies outside the Ministry of Home Affairs office in Jakarta and Pekanbaru. On February 24, 2007, the Local Budget, after being evaluated by the Minister of Home Affairs, was sent back to Riau Province Government for revision. Some budget items were reallocated. The budget allocation for Special Autonomy (IDR 10.5 billion) was reallocated to the Education sector. At the same time, the fund for library construction – which previously was allocated to the Education Service - was given back to the Infrastructure Service. Although there was no modification in the total volume, the new structure was more efficient and effective.

METHODOLOGY

Karam Coalition took two advocacy approaches, namely repressive and non-repressive approaches. The repressive approach involved publicly exposed actions, such as street rallies which involved multiple parties, press conference and the submission of an open letter to the Minister of Home Affairs. These publicly exposed actions were conducted separately by Karam Coalition members, in order to show that these actions were motivated by self-awareness, instead of persuasion and interests of others.

Non-repressive advocacy involved lobbying and dissemination of analysis results to the Local Parliament. Karam Coalition approached local legislative individuals and fractions to improve their understanding of the opposition arguments and, ultimately, to obtain their support. Not all fractions that were recognized as rejecters of Local Budget Plan 2007 were willing to discuss the issue with Karam Coalition. One fraction refused the Karam Coalition visit, while two other fractions agreed to reject the Local Budget Plan.

Both methods were supported by analysis of budget plan documents, which used existing legal standards, particularly Permendagri no. 13/2006. The analysis results complemented the study conducted by Budget Team of Local Parliament, poverty data from Statistic Bureau, and budget policy and five-year local development plan documents.

LESSONS LEARNED

Efforts of influencing policy in this case highlighted at least three important points. *First*, advocacy demands high skills of analysis and budget tracking. Good and keen analysis is an important basis of development of an advocacy argument. At the same time, the skill of tracking and finding documents is highly relevant because of low accessibility of public information.

Second, budget advocacy demands creativity in designing action and strategies of policy intervention. Varied actions in advocacy of Local Budget Plan 2007 of Riau Province proved effective in putting pressure on policy makers. When complemented by persuasive skill and support from strategic policy makers, the actions have more opportunity to change the policy.

Three, budget advocacy demands a strong focus on the central issue. Distraction needs to be avoided. The focus on efficiency and effectiveness of Local Budget 2007 helped Karam Coalition to maintain the budget as the *leading issue*. Although there were many related issues, such as gender, environment and poverty issues, budget effectiveness and efficiency never disappeared from public attention. Consistency in maintaining the issue led to successful reallocation of wasteful and ineffective budget items.

Notes :

Karam Coalition consists of Fitra Riau, Yayasan Riau Mandiri, Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (YLBHI)-Pekanbaru, Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (Walhi) Riau, Jaringan Kerja Penyelamat Hutan Riau (Jikalahari), Kantor Bantuan Hukum (KBH) Pekanbaru, Kelompok Diskusi Perempuan (Kudapan), Yayasan Bunga Bangsa, Transparenci Internasional Indonesia (TII)-Riau, Satelit Gempur, Badan Eksekutif Mahasiswa Universitas Riau (BEM Unri), Badan Eksekutif Mahasiswa Universitas Islam Negeri (BEM UIN) Riau, Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI) Cabang Pekanbaru, Gerakan Mahasiswa Kristen Indonesia (GMKI) Riau, Persatuan Mahasiswa Katolik Indonesia (PMKRI) Riau, Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI) Riau and Sentra Gerakan Rakyat (Segera).

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UU no. 21/2001 on Papuan Special Autonomy

PP (Government Regulation) no. 58/2005 on Local Financial Management

PP (Government Regulation) no. 24/2005 on Accounting Standard of Administration

Permendagri (Regulation of Minister of Home Affairs) no. 13/2006 on Local Financial Arrangement

When People and Ulema Unite

Experience in Opposition against the SIMPEMDES Program in Cilacap District, Central Java Province

by

MS. Wa'i

SUMMARY

In 2008, Cilacap district government launched the Sempemdes (Village Administration Information System) program. This program integrates information on the administration of all villages in Cilacap via the internet. Lakpesdam Cilacap regards this program as being inconsistent with development priorities of Cilacap district. Further, the financial source for this program is ADD (Village Fund Allocation), which is supposed to be transferred from the district government account to every village's account. Using the village fund for this top-down program caused a strong negative response from society, such as that from Lakpesdam Cilacap.

Lakpesdam Cilacap's advocacy effort on this issue elicited various responses. Some DPRD (local legislative) members, particularly Commission A, and the village heads supported the Lakpesdam position of opposing Sempemdes. The opposition became stronger when *Bahtsul Masail* (a religious-based forum of decision making upon specific

problems) was organized by *ulemas*. Almost all district government officials, however, tended to take the opposite position.

Advocacy was unsuccessful as *Simpemdes* was implemented, despite the resistance, in 2008. However, the movement was able to raise citizen awareness about advocating for their interests to local government. In *Musrenbang* (development planning forum) in 2009, the community was more involved than previously in determining a development direction that accommodated their interests and rights.

ORGANIZATION PROFILE

Lakpesdam (Human Resources Study and Development Institution) works under its umbrella organization, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). NU is the biggest religious organization in Indonesia with 40 million-plus followers. Like its umbrella organization, Lakpesdam has branches in many provinces and districts of Indonesia, including Cilacap district. Since the 2000s, Lakpesdam has been working on local democratization issues through civil society organizing and education efforts. These efforts have resulted in the establishment of citizen forums that are actively involved in the local-level development planning process.

Since 2006, Lakpesdam Cilacap has been involved in the Civil Society Initiative against Poverty (CSIAP) program that is supported by The Asia Foundation. Through this program, Lakpesdam Cilacap supports citizen forums to initiate changes through budget advocacy efforts. The support includes capacity building on budget analysis for citizens and religious leaders (*kyai*), improvement of people's economic level through cooperatives that provide loans for citizens for their small or medium-sized businesses, and advocacy on planning and budgeting policies.

In terms of development planning, Lakpesdam Cilacap encourages citizens to be actively involved in *Musrenbang* forums from village through sub-district to district level. These efforts are complemented by

regular meetings among citizens in order to improve the quality of their participation and capacity. When the Simpemdes case emerged, citizen forums assisted by Lakpesdam were already active in budget advocacy.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

The legislative background

Law no.10/2004 on Establishment of Legislation provides legal protection for fulfillment of citizen rights in the regulation-making process through oral and written mechanisms. The same protection is also specifically given for development planning by Law no. 25/2004 on the National Development Planning System.

Although this supportive legal base exists, it does not mean that citizen participation can be easily achieved. Weak dissemination of the legislation, societal apathy and ignorance, government officials' negligence, and the generally low impact of policies on people's welfare discourages participation. The quality and intensity of participation remains an issue, despite implementation of the laws.

On the one hand, community participation should involve more than attending development forum events. What is also needed is community capacity to influence policy. On the other hand, community members must be convinced that their involvement will bring positive impact in their lives. However, supporting community initiatives around active involvement in the policy-making process is not an easy task, despite the fact that the door to the process is now open.

Introduction of Simpemdes

In 2008, the government of Cilacap district instructed every village head to purchase a computer. This was an oral instruction delivered through the Chief of the Administration Division. At that time, villages had just finished their Musrenbang activities.

The instruction was related to the Cilacap district government's plan to develop a Village Administration Information System (Simpemdes). The main idea of the plan was to facilitate access to and flow of information among villages via internet connection. The purchase of the computer, according to the instruction, was to be funded through the ADD (allocation for village fund). In 2008, villages of Cilacap district received on average IDR 100 million from the district government for the ADD. This is where controversy started in that the instruction forced every village government to spend Rp 48 million of this money on the purchase of a computer.

Using the ADD in this way to support the Simpemdes program obviously reduced the village's ability to finance its development. The district government instruction thus contradicted the village autonomy principles stated in Government Regulation no.72/2005. The Simpemdes program generated resistance from many people. Citizen forums assisted by Lakpesdam, local legislative members, village head networks, and *ulema* forum, were among those who opposed this program.

The Simpemdes program touched on basic issues of governance, budgeting, participation, etc. The basic issues included:

- This program is an initiative of the Cilacap district government that was not included in the village community initiatives formulated in the village Musrenbang. This is inconsistent with the prescribed development planning and budgeting mechanism.
- Purchase of the computer would cost, on average, almost 50% of the ADD of every village in 2008, and would thus reduce the development fund for each village.
- Using the ADD for computer purchase would cause conflict, because programs agreed to in the Musrenbang would have lower priority and chance of being funded.
- The district government, through this program, had harmed village autonomy and independence.

There were also questions about who would profit from the computer purchases.

METHODOLOGY

Collecting Information

The Simpemdes program became a major topic of discussion in communities and the media. The Lakpesdam Cilacap citizen forums responded to this issue by seeking clarification and further information from relevant parties. They discussed it with the Administration Division. Lakpesdam Cilacap also visited heads of village partners to explore their responses to this issue.

These clarification and exploration efforts revealed that village heads and villagers had responded to the program negatively. They rejected the program that was imposed by the district government after the village Musrenbang had produced results. According to them, the program was inappropriate and should not be prioritized for Cilacap citizens at that time.

Coordinating with citizens

In line with the methodology they had used previously, Lakpesdam Cilacap designed advocacy steps with citizens. The process involved a series of meetings with Lakpesdam activists, citizens, village heads, religious leaders and local legislative members of Cilacap district. Meetings were organized in various places, such as Lakpesdam Cilacap office, citizens' houses and village head offices.

The process also involved visits to religious leaders and community leaders to gain support for this advocacy effort. Lakpesdam Cilacap activists visited their homes to discuss the Simpemdes issue and related advocacy plan.

Local journalists from the newspaper and radio stations were also encouraged to raise the issue in their media. The views and aspirations of citizens on this issue were explained to them. This enabled the

journalists to be more selective in media coverage, and prevented them from publishing information and news that might harm citizens' interests. Cooperation with media proved effective in dissemination of information and shaping public opinion.

Case Study and Analysis

To provide the basis of and strengthen the advocacy effort, Lakpesdam studied and analyzed the Simpemdes case. The study was conducted together with members of KAKC (budget committee of Cilacap district). KAKC itself is an organization formed by Lakpesdam and citizens who focus on local budget advocacy. Its members include people from various religious and professional backgrounds.

KAKC invited people who were more knowledgeable about this issue, such as village heads, to assist with the study. Aspects of the Simpemdes issue, such as the procedure of program enactment, prioritization of citizens' interests, and budget utilization and implications for citizens, were discussed.

The study found that as a program that was to be implemented in the village and use the village fund, the Simpemdes program did not comply with procedure and was top-down. Programs that use village fund should be planned and decided in the village Musrenbang, which is an official forum that decides the village development plan and its budget for each year. This forum is attended by the village head, government officials, and community leaders as well as villagers.

The study also concluded that the Simpemdes program was carelessly planned and should not be prioritized. The program did not take into account that many villages did not yet have an electricity service, let alone internet, and that many village officials were not familiar with computers.

Villagers were upset because their proposals that were discussed and agreed in the official forum were not acknowledged by district government officials. They became pessimistic and saw that the Musrenbang forum had lost its power in channeling their aspirations to the policy-making process at the higher level. Villagers were faced with uncertainty about the policy-making process, although they had followed the appropriate procedure.

A further finding related to indications of mark up. The price of the computer to be used for the Sempemdes program was IDR 25 – 30 million, while the budgeted price was IDR 48 millions. In addition, IDR 2 million was paid to every village head to win their support for this program. As a result, during program implementation, *camats* (sub-district head), as the coordinators of the purchase, pressurised village heads to go ahead with the purchase. All this information, study findings and analysis strengthened citizens to do advocacy.

Bahtsul Masail

Bahtsul masail is a forum for *ulamas* to discuss and solve problems. This forum considers issues from an Islamic perspective. In Indonesia, *bahtsul masail* forum is a routine activity and standard mechanism of decision making of Islamic law (*fiqh*) in the NU organization.

Lakpesdam and managers of the Cilacap branch of NU initiated *bahtsul masail* forum to discuss Sempemdes. On the one hand, this forum sought to see the Sempemdes issue from a religious law perspective, and particularly from the aspect of justice for marginal groups. It highlighted the issue of utilization of ADD for expenditures that were not agreed to in the plan. On the other hand, this forum sought support from *ulamas* for the advocacy effort.

The *Bahtsul masail* forum successfully formulated the ulamas' view on Simpedes case. This forum felt that using ADD for purposes other than what had been agreed by villagers, as the beneficiaries, might imply despotice abuse of the rights of others. The purchase of computers in the Simpedes case was an example of such abuse.

The decision of *Bahtsul masail* forum was disseminated in Qur'an reading and study events. It generated stronger resistance against the implementation of Simpemdes.

Relationship with Policy Makers

Contact with policy makers was one of the most important parts of the Simpemdes advocacy. The relationship with policy makers was built when Lakpesdam asked for clarification from the Administration Division of Cilacap district government on the Simpemdes issue. The relationship with policy makers was also built by Lakpesdam through discusson forums with Commission A of the Local Legislature and Local Secretariat of Cilacap district.

This methodology, however, did not always bring favorable results. The discussions with the Head of Administration Division, as well as with the Local Secretariat of Cilacap district, for instance, did not result in clear official explanations on the Simpemdes program and on the basis they used to decide in which regions to implement the program. Neither did the Head of the Cilacap Legislature take a firm position on the Simpedes issue. Nevertheless, a positive result came from Commission A of Cilacap Legislature. Commission A supported the Lakpesdam advocacy on the Simpemdes program which they found to be of limited relevance for citizens at that time.

Public support and opinion

More support was needed to strengthen the advocacy. To increase public support, information about the Simpemdes case was disseminated. Information about the progress of the case, study results and the position

of Lakpesdam and villagers were published in various mass media. Lakpesdam also issued press releases that reported progress and ensured that this case never left public attention and memory.

Electronic media, such as the radio station, was also used. Radio talk shows on the Simpemdes case reached the broader public and got a good response. However, radio talkshows could not be held frequently as they cost a lot.

More affordable yet effective media was citizen meeting forums, held by Lakpesdam citizen forums as well as by other citizen groups. When ulamas became involved, they also spoke about the Simpemdes case in their regular religious meeting forums.

On-line media was also used. However, it was not effective as most of the target audience in Cilacap consisted of farmers and the poor who do not access on-line media. Another media used was banners. The banners contained the position of Lakpesdam and the villagers on the Simpemdes issue, information on the program, and an invitation to support the advocacy efforts.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Advocacy does not always produce the hoped-for results. This advocacy, for instance, could be called a failure as it could not stop the execution of the poorly-planned program. We tried to stop it using many methods, but government was stubborn and continued with implementation of Simpemdes program. The villages could not avoid allocating Rp 48 millions of the ADD to purchase the computer as the Cilacap district government cut their allocations before sending the money to their bank accounts. Further, although fund disbursement to each village was reduced to Rp 52 millions, each village head had to report that they received Rp 100 millions.

As noted above, as the project manager, each village head received a payment of Rp 2 million. However, subsequently they returned the payment after they found indications of abuse in the project. Police investigation uncovered the abuse and the Local Secretary of Cilacap district was sent to prison. At the time of writing, the Administration Division Head of Cilacap district had been charged with corruption.

The end of the Simpemdes case was not pleasing. The project resulted in each village having a computer, printer and software that contained a data template but these could not be used because of unavailability of internet connection. Nevertheless, some achievements are worth noting.

Although it did not achieve its main objective, the advocacy achieved something, in that it strengthened citizen organisation and capacity in using available opportunities for participation. In 2009, the Simpemdes case became an example that could be used in arguments to ensure that planning procedures are complied with and citizen decisions in Musrenbang are respected.

This case also resulted in citizens demanding a strengthened bargaining position for village heads, which would make village more autonomous and less vulnerable to district government intervention. It also made citizens demand increased budget for villages. Consequently, the ADD in 2009 increased to IDR 150 millions for each village.

This advocacy also had a big impact on citizen awareness and involvement, including involvement of *ulema* forum, in development planning and budgeting processes. Citizens who were actively involved in Lakpesdam coordination meetings gained more understanding of budgeting policy. Some of them are now even able to undertake budget analysis.

CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS

Challenges and obstacles in policy and budget advocacy on Sempemdes case are found in two domains, namely internal (advocacy team and citizens) and external (policy makers) domains.

The biggest internal challenge was coordinating the works of the advocacy team, which included not only Lakpesdam activists and villagers. The program annulment sought by this advocacy did not promise direct and foreseeable benefits in the near future, unlike advocacy on eviction or compensation for flood survivors. That made advocacy on Sempemdes less appealing for citizens, despite strong support from the *ulema* forum. This advocacy was seen as being around a village administration problem, rather than a problem of citizens. Therefore, it was difficult to attract their attention, let alone involvement in this issue.

Another internal obstacle was the lack of advocacy capacity, including in formulating problems, developing a plan, taking action and building and managing communication with various parties. Although the capacity was developed during advocacy (learning by doing), the large amount of energy and time used for advocacy, when added to citizens' daily activities, often made citizens exhausted in the process.

An external factor, namely government officials' response to community aspirations, was also an obstacle to Sempemdes advocacy. Government's position, however, varied. Executives, particularly those who were directly involved in the Sempemdes program implementation, thought that this program should be implemented, and that imposition of implementation was therefore fine. They found it difficult to accept the opposite opinion. Most village heads did not have the courage to refuse the program.

Responses of the legislature varied. Commission A of the Cilacap legislature rejected the program. However, without support from the Chief of Legislature of Cilacap, they could not annul the program. Eventually, Cilacap district government continued to implement the program.

LESSONS LEARNED

Simpemdes advocacy shows that change cannot happen by itself. Despite regime change, the behaviour of the ruling officials remains the same. The Simpemdes program shows how established regulations and mechanisms of planning can be undermined by government officials.

Community participation guaranteed by laws is not an easy thing to implement. There is divergence between rules and implementation practices. Rules in various documents can only have impact if the implementers have the political will to implement them according to the mandate they have as ruler. In reality, the relationship between government and citizens involves trade-offs of each other's interests.

Using this understanding, advocacy is not merely a way to solve one or two cases. In reality, it is an effort to change citizens' bargaining power in relation to government. Successful advocacy will bring about a more balanced relationship between government and citizens. In this situation, public decisions issued by government are likely to reflect the citizens' interests.

No Participation with Zero Allocation

Promoting Women Participation in Sub-District
Development Planning in Bantul District,
Yogyakarta Province

by

Wasingatu Zakiyah and Yemmestri Enita

SUMMARY

The village women communication forum in Wonolelo Village, Pleret Subdistrict, Bantul District, has successfully encouraged an increase in the local budget allocations for the interests of women, children and the elderly. This achievement must be understood together with their previous success in opening up the opportunity for participation by women in the village-level development planning forum (*Musrenbang*).

IDEA has been working with this group since 2007. Both organizations use a strategy of awareness-raising about the rights of citizens and tax payers. The strategy raised women's consciousness and led them to demand their rights in terms of public funding for women's interests. However, this success may not be sustainable because women's involvement in the village-level development planning forum is not yet fully institutionalized.

One way of institutionalizing women's participation is arranging Women's

Musrenbang. Participants in the Women's *Musrenbang* which includes women's groups, such as women farmers, small entrepreneurs, and *Posyandu* activists in Pleret Subdistrict, Bantul District, DIY.

ORGANIZATION PROFILE

IDEA is an association that is dedicated to advocating for the fulfillment of economic and social rights through budget literacy of citizens, particularly women and marginal groups. It was first established as a foundation in 1999. In 2003, IDEA's status was changed into an association.

IDEA uses a variety of strategies to promote democratic political progress that will allow for fulfillment of economic and social rights: (1) encouraging marginal and minority groups to participate actively in development planning, budgeting and monitoring (social audit); (2) advocating for government budget reform so as to improve public services; (3) mainstreaming of risk management and disaster mitigation in planning and budgeting, and (4) development of IDEA as a center of local budget information and data.

FKKP stands for *Posyandu* Cadres Communication Forum in Wonolelo Village, Pleret Subdistrict, Bantul District, Yogyakarta Province. This forum was established on July 5, 2007. It consists of *Posyandu* (integrated health service post) cadres in 8 subvillages of Wonolelo Village. FKPP aims to (1) build a communication network that serves to address the health, education and economic problems of community, (2) improve the knowledge and skills of *Posyandu* cadres, (3) influence public policies, particularly the local government budget, in order to make them pro-women, children and the elderly.

SITUATION ANALYSIS

Women's participation in *Musrenbang* is far from ideal. Participatory planning has been facilitated by the *Musrenbang* (local development planning forum) since 1999. Although these forums have been held for more than 10 years throughout Indonesia, the forum never considered women and other marginal groups. There were no significant initiatives in this forum to encourage women's active involvement. However, in 20017 a new program on poverty alleviation emerged. This program promotes the idea of having 50% of representatives being women in the village planning forum that seeks to alleviate village poverty. This model, among others, inspired us to encourage organization of *Musrenbang* for women.

The Joint Circular Law of the Ministry of Home Affairs and National Development Planning System number 1181/M.PPN/02/2006.050/244/SJ on technical implementation of *Musrenbang* clearly states that women are among those who should participate in *Musrenbang*. Other groupings include neighborhood assembly heads, subvillage heads, LPM (a community empowerment institution), traditional leaders, youth groups, farmer/fisherpeople groups, and school committees. The regulation also states that women representatives must be delegated to the higher levels of *Musrenbang*, such as the subdistrict-level *Musrenbang*.

Despite the clarity of the technical guide, the actual practice is far from ideal. *Musrenbang* is supposed to be a means for local government to show that its planning mechanism involves all components of society, including women.

In Bantul and other districts in Indonesia, *Musrenbang* is a local-level democratic occasion. Citizens expect *Musrenbang*, with all of its strengths and weaknesses, to provide a route for their aspirations. Although it may not be enjoyable as it involves technocratic and bureaucratic processes, the *Musrenbang* process is a place where citizens articulate their needs.

Because women were less well represented than men, FKPP as one of the women groups in Bantul District, set out to improve women's access to, participation in, and control over the *Musrenbang*. FKPP and other women groups in Bantul District realized that the local planning process, from its first and lowest level, is dominated by men. For instance, at the *Musrenbang* 2007 in Wonolelo Village, Pleret Subdistrict, Bantul District, there were only 4 women among the 50 participants. In Gilangharjo Village, Pandak Subdistrict, the forum was attended by 3 women out of 35 participants. There was a similar situation in other villages.

One of the causes of minimal participation by women is the inappropriate timing. *Musrenbang* is usually organized at night, and night time is often perceived as an inappropriate time for women to go outside their homes. In addition, women often experience a psychological barrier as they feel uncomfortable about speaking in a forum dominated by male participants. Consequently, women's voices are not well heard.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that most participants have minimal idea of women's rights. Women's rights and, more generally, women's issues are discussed casually and regarded as of little importance in the forum. When it comes to prioritization, proposals on physical infrastructure always get the highest position. The district's programs and activities simply follow the prioritization. Thus in the name of citizens' aspirations, the District chooses to build physical infrastructure.

METHODOLOGY

Encouraging women to be budget literate is not as easy as encouraging men. Many women have only elementary schooling. Some women are even illiterate. This makes it difficult for them to understand long and 'heavy' text, such as budget information. This is aggravated by the fact that information on and space for women in social, economic and administration positions is minimal.

Budget education. Discussions, trainings and FKKP organizing are the methods IDEA used in building women's awareness on budget issues. It started with mapping the practical and strategic problems of women, identifying the actors involved in problem-solving efforts, identifying taxes and levies paid by citizens, particularly women, reading the local government budget, and building arguments of the poor and marginalized groups.

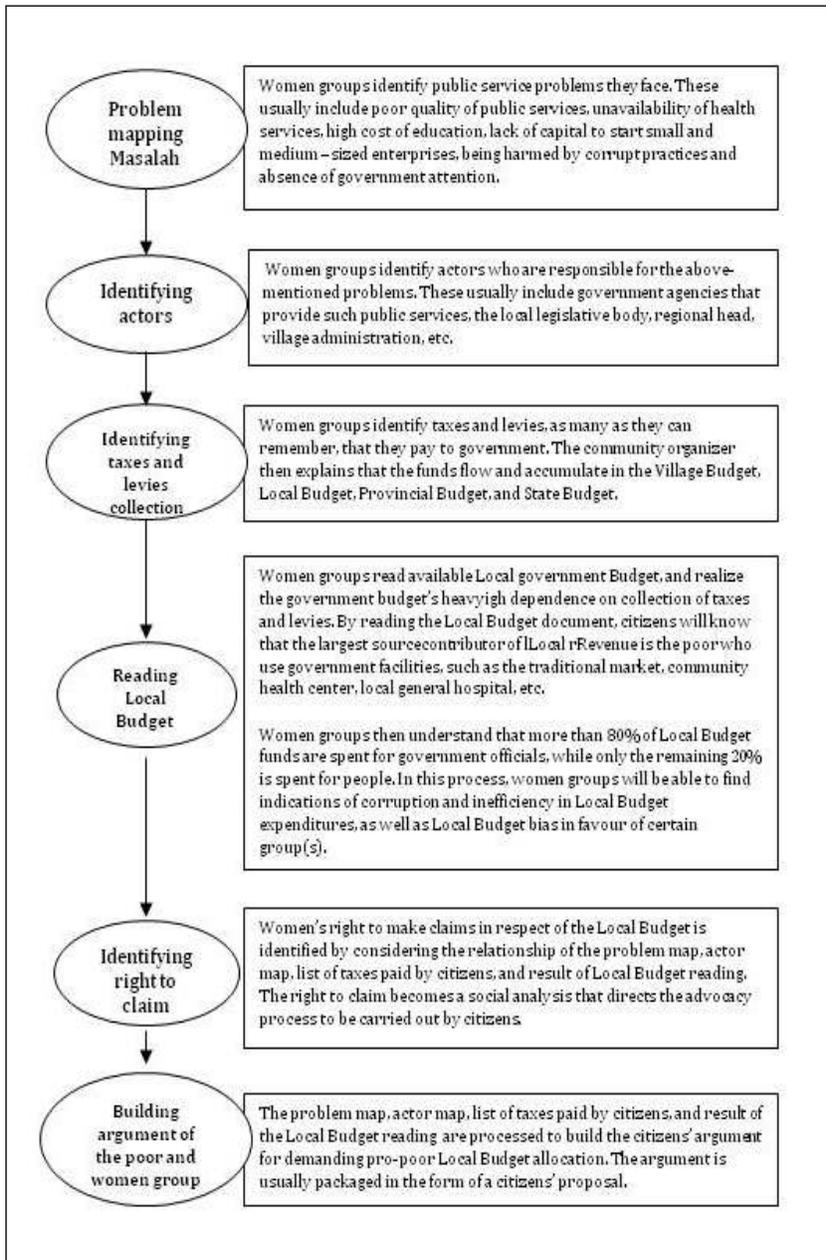
Network and alliance. Building networks with civil society groups at village and subdistrict levels is also important to ensure that the voices and problems of women and vulnerable groups are heard. This strategy successfully places women's problems on the agenda of the planning process in every village.

Another strategy is building a strategic alliance with government at sub-district and district level, as well as with local legislatures. This strategy is important for ensuring that women's problems are prioritized in the agenda of solution.

Organizing. To raise the spirit in the groups which it assists, IDEA encourages them to hold routine meetings where the agenda involves developing a strategic plan and setting annual targets for achievement by the groups. Prior to meeting, each group maps their problems. The meeting then discusses each group's problems and the planned solutions. Solutions are also sought by arranging dialogue with policy makers, such as the Education Service or Health Service.

The following chart shows the detailed steps of women community organizing. These steps have been successful in increasing the budget literacy of women groups. Such literacy allows them to participate in development planning and understand the substance of local planning.

Chart 10.1. Steps of Women Community Organizing



Source: modified from Annual Reports of IDEA 2004-2007

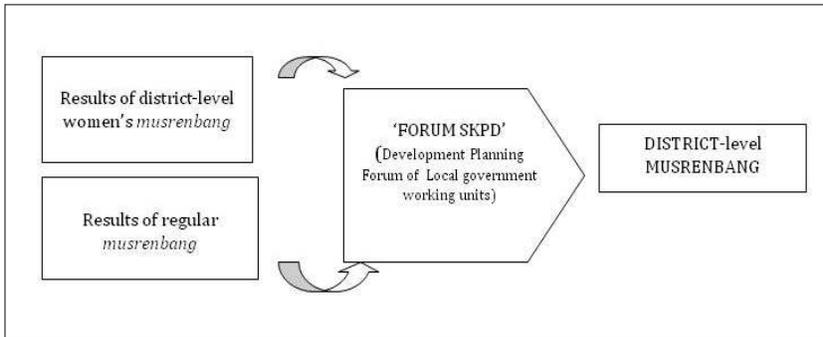
Arranging Musrenbang for Women. The strategy was first implemented when FKPP invited all women groupings (*posyandu*, small and medium-sized enterprises, housewives, women farmer, women organizations, and other NGOs) of Pleret Subdistrict. Invitations were also sent to subdistrict, district and province governments.

In this forum, province and district governments explained government policies in general, not only on women-related development issues, in order to help participants understand technocratic planning. Each of the women groups also presented their village's problem maps.

The forum then discussed priorities based on the problem maps. When priorities had been set, the forum selected people to send as delegates to the district-level *musrenbang*.

Channeling of results of subdistrict-level women's musrenbang. A popular question in the *musrenbang* for women is: "Where do we channel *musrenbang* results?" Do we just leave these results so that they do not result in an allocation? Or should we submit them to the regular *Musrenbang*?

Channeling is an important part of the *musrenbang* process for women. This ensures that the proposals produced by village and subdistrict-level *musrenbang* are discussed at the higher level. To encourage the district-level *musrenbang* to accommodate their proposals, the delegation disseminates the results of subdistrict and women's *musrenbang* to 'FORUM SKPD' (Development Planning Forum of local government working units).

Chart 10.2. Flow of women's Musrenbang Channeling

ACHIEVEMENTS

Women's access to Village Musrenbang has improved with women musrenbang since it is held during the day, instead of at night. Daytime is more convenient for women to undertake activities outside their homes. As access improves, so does women's participation in village and subdistrict-level *musrenbang*. All women groupings at subdistrict level participate in women's *musrenbang*. Improvement in participation is also evident in the regular *musrenbang*, in which 50% of participants are women. Improved participation leads to improved control of women in the subdistrict-level *musrenbang*. Women are selected as delegates for the subdistrict team in district-level *musrenbang*.

Another success is evident in the number of accommodated proposals. Of the total 23 proposals from the women musrenbang, only 1 proposal was not approved and included in the activity plan in 2008. Beneficiaries of the accommodated proposals are not only women. Children and village/subdistrict citizens benefit too. The poor, for instance, in particular benefited from the program of toilet construction for the poor.

FKKP has thus successfully encouraged the Local Government Budget of Bantul District to be pro-poor and pro-women. Other proof is found in the fact that budget was allocated for water and sanitation services for 80 households in Wonolelo Village, there was an increased allocation for supporting *posyandu* operation, and there was an allocation for *posyandu* for the aged in 2009. Since the Women's *Musrenbang* in Wonolelo Village in 2008, the budget allocation for *posyandus* has increased drastically, as seen in the following table.

Table 10.1. Budget Allocation for Posyandus Before and After 2008

Before 2008	After 2008
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Posyandu</i> for children under 5 years: IDR 600,000 • <i>Posyandu</i> for the aged: - • Allocation of Village Fund for <i>Posyandu</i> operation and cadres: IDR 600,000 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Posyandu</i> for children under 5 years: IDR 2,400,000 • <i>Posyandu</i> for the aged: IDR 600,000 • Allocation of Village Fund for <i>Posyandu</i> operation and cadres: IDR 1,200,000

CHALLENGES

The large population of illiterate women requires a special approach to build their understanding on the substance and logic of the public budget. The Local Budget is a written document that requires the skill to at least read text. It is not an easy task for these illiterate women. Thus, IDEA and FKPP convey the information in graphic form. Reading public budget information in picture form is easier for these women.

The idea of organizing women's *Musrenbang* was resisted by subdistrict officials. They thought that they had done their best in organizing *Musrenbang*, but women groups consider their work is not optimal yet. The Joint Circular on *Musrenbang* clearly mandates women's participation and mandates representation of women in the delegation to the higher level of *Musrenbang*. The implementation of the mandate is, however, difficult.

The absence of women's participation is worsened by the inability of the *Musrenbang* facilitator to encourage women, or other participants, to spell out women's problems. *Musrenbang* facilitators often use lectures and free discussion, instead of giving equal opportunities to all participant groups to articulate their issues. This makes it less possible for women to have their proposals accommodated in subsequent levels of *Musrenbang*.

Until now, the Women's *Musrenbang* has not been institutionalized and incorporated in regulations. This makes sustainability of this process vulnerable. Although the women quota in policy making processes in the local legislatures and executives is adequate, it does not guarantee that women's needs, particularly those of the rural poor, are catered for. Budget policy for women is often deprioritized, even when the policy makers are women. Therefore, awareness raising for women policy-makers is very important in ensuring that the budget policies they produce are pro-poor.

LESSONS LEARNED

- Women, most of whom are overburdened by domestic work, should be invited to discussions of public and strategic issues. The women's *Musrenbang* idea will then be supported adequately by women, and their opportunity to articulate their aspirations increased.
- Regulation may guarantee the sustainability of an idea. Without supporting regulation, the idea will only be activities that may not continue into the future. The women's *Musrenbang* in Bantul District is not yet provided for in a regulation that would ensure that this forum is held annually by village, subdistrict and district governments.

- The idea of women's *Musrenbang* can be easily replicated in other regions by assessing the strengths of grassroot women groups. Farmer women, fisherwomen, indigenous women, small entrepreneur women, and other women groups need to improve their capacity. With improved capacity, they will understand the essence of *Musrenbang* and participate in this forum.
- The results of Women's *Musrenbang* must be monitored by women themselves, in order to ensure that their proposals are implemented in government programs in the subsequent year.

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"Ah taun hareupmah, musrenbang teh teu
kudu aya, da geuning ti taun kataun
euweuh hasilna ker masyarakat. Siganamah
Musrenbang dilaksanakeun teh ngan saukur
puraga tanpa kadenda."

There's no need for Musrenbang to exist next year, because over the years Musrenbang has not resulted in anything. It seems that Musrenbang is held merely to meet obligations and to prevent from being sanctioned.

A piece of experience cited above is only one of various problems which are responded by budget advocacy works. Several stories of budget advocacy works come together in this book entitled **Show Me the Money: Budget Advocacy in Indonesia**. This bilingual book portrays some of the diverse experiences of budget advocacy organisations. We hope that the success stories, challenges, and changes achieved, may inspire readers both inside Indonesia and in other countries to understand budget advocacy in Indonesia and to learn from our experience.