

THE DYNAMICS OF DISTRICT GOVERNANCE

Forums, Budgetary Planning and Transparency in the Districts of Bangkalan and Poso

LUTHFI ASHARI



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INDONESIAN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PAPERS

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The papers in the series are works in progress. The emphasis is on generating discussion amongst different stakeholders—including government, civil society, and international institutions—rather than offering absolute conclusions. It is hoped that they will stimulate further discussions of the questions they seek to answer, the hypotheses they test, and the recommendations they prescribe.

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Table of Contents

THE DYNAMICS OF DISTRICT GOVERNANCE.....	1
Table of Contents.....	4
Acknowledgements.....	5
Glossary.....	6
Table of Tables.....	9
Table of Boxes.....	10
Annexes.....	11
Executive Summary.....	12
1. The Study of the Dynamics of District Governance.....	15
1.1. Purpose and Aims of the Study.....	15
1.2. Methodology.....	15
2. Research Findings.....	17
2.1. Stakeholder Forums at the District Level.....	17
1. Representation of Multi-stakeholder Forums.....	17
2. Linkages between Multi-stakeholder Forums and other Organizations	29
3. Legal Status and Multi Stakeholder Forums Legislation Regulations.....	30
4. Transparency and Receptivity of Multi-stakeholder Forums towards Public Input...	32
5. Location and Accessibility of Multi-stakeholder	33
6. The Mandates of Multi-stakeholder Forums and NGOs.....	34
7. Multi-stakeholder Forum Funding	37
8. Duplication between Multi-stakeholder Forums and NGOs.....	38
2.2. Dynamics of the District Government Budget Formulation Process.....	39
2.3. Transparency and Receptivity of the District Government to Input from the Public...	45
3. Conclusion and Recommendations.....	47
3.1. Conclusions	47
3.2. Recommendations.....	50
References.....	53

Annexes

Annex 1: Kabupaten Bangkalan Case Study

Annex 2: Kabupaten Poso Case Study

Annex 3: Paper on Kabupaten Poso's Regional Regulation Policies by LPSK-KR

Annex: 4: Chart of Implementation of Inter-Development Stakeholder Dialog

Annex 5: Diagram of Synergies between Development Stakeholders

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Glossary

AJI	: Alliance of Independent Journalists
AKU	: General Policy Directions
Bappeda	: Regional Development Planning Board
Bawasda	: District Monitoring Board
BEDUP	: Life Support
BPD	: Village Representative Board
BPK	: Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan
BPKP	: Badan Pengawas Keuangan Pembangunan
CERD	: Community Empowerment and Regional Development
CWS	: Church World Service
DAU/ DAK	: Block Grant/ Specific Grant
DKB	: Bangkalan Arts Council
DPRD	: District House of Representatives
FKAUB	: Inter-Faith Communication Forum
FKSPP	: Development Planning Coordination and Synchronization Forum
FLP	: Multi-stakeholder Forum
FOKAL Rekonsiliasi	: the Reconciliation Communication and Alliance Forum
FOKER PP	: Poso Women's Cooperation Forum
FOKUS	: the Stakeholder Communication Forum
FORMAD	: the Madura Forum
FORPES	: the Social Safety Net Forum
FPM	: the Madura Education Forum
GAPENSI	: the National Entrepreneurs' Union
GS	: Government Stakeholder
HMI	: the Muslim Students Association
IDPs	: Internally Displaced People
JADUP	: Life Insurance
Jaring Aspirasi	: Aspiration Net
JPS	: Social Safety Net Program
Kabupaten	: District
KDP	: Kecamatan Development Program
Kecamatan	: Sub-district
Kejar Paket B	: A funding package for adults to complete Junior High School
KKN	: Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism
KPU	: General Elections Commission
Musbangdes	: Village Development Meeting
MUSPIDA	: District Executives Council
MUSPIKA	: Sub-district Executives Council
NGO	: Non Government Organization
NGS	: Non Government Stakeholder
NU	: Nahdlatul Ulama

OCHA	: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PAN	: National Mandate Party
PAU	: Muslim Members Coalition
PDI-P	: Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle
PDPP	: Basic Urban Development Program
PKB	: National Awakening Party
PMKRI	: the Christian Students Association of Indonesia
PMII	: the Indonesian Muslim Students Movement
Poldas	: Basic Directions
Pokja Deklama	: the Malino Declaration Working Group
Pokja RKP	: Poso Conflict Resolution Working Group
Propeda	: Regional Development Program
Rakorbang	: Development Coordination Meeting
Renstrada	: District Strategic Plan
Repetada	: Annual District Development Plan
Satkorlak	: Organizers' Coordination Unit
Satlak	: Organizers' Unit
Sekber Pokja	: Working Group Joint Secretariat
SPADA	: Support for Poor and Disadvantaged Area
TNC	: The Nature Conservancy
UDKP	: Inter-village Forum
UNDP	: United Nations Development Program
USAID	: United States Agency for International Development
WALHI	: Forum for the Environment

Table of Tables

Table 1: Multi-stakeholder forums in Kabupaten Bangkalan.....	218
Table 2: Multi-stakeholder Forums in Kabupaten Poso.....	22

Table of Boxes

Box 1: FKSP Decision-making Mechanisms	56
Box 2: Accusations of NGOs regarding the Development Proposals of FKSP.....	73
Box 3: Issues Raised during the Plenary Meeting by the DPRD, Kabupaten Bangkalan.....	77
Box 4: Examples that Highlight the Need for Coordination between NGOs in Poso	84
Box 5: Decision-making Mechanisms of the CERD Rakorbang	87
Box 6: Accusations of NGOs towards the Kabupaten Poso DPRD's Budgetary Planning.....	108

Table of Figure:

Table of Figure: Cycle of Budget Formulation at District and Provincial Level.....	37
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Executive Summary

This study on the dynamics of district (*kabupaten*) governance is primarily an exploration of two main indicators, namely, the existence of stakeholder forums; and budgetary planning. Consideration of multi-stakeholder forums is important due to their strategic role in bringing together the varied interests of stakeholders. Likewise, budgetary planning is critical as it represents an entry point for examining the standards of receptivity and community participation in district government structures.

This study, which was carried out in the districts of Bangkalan and Poso, examined multi-stakeholder forums through observation of basic aspects of these forums, from representation to duplication. In examining the budgetary planning processes, particular attention has been paid to the relationship between the executive and the legislative bodies and how the public has played a part in budgetary planning. Inclusiveness is an important indicator of how representative a multi-stakeholder forum is. However, fair recruitment practices are a sign of a forum's performance and effectiveness. The quality of member participation is testimony to the existence or lack of transparency. Lack of participation may cause forum elitism, allowing a forum to be controlled by a small group of individuals. Furthermore, the frequency of management reorganization is often low in multi-stakeholder forums as it is usually only carried out in the first year.

Bappeda (the Regional Development Board) and the DPRD (District House of Representatives) are the two bodies that work closest with the multi-stakeholder forums. These forums coordinate with Bappeda in its capacity as the district level development coordinator. In conflict regions such as Kabupaten Poso, multi-stakeholder forum coordination is more often carried out by the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection. Such coordination is often in relation to forum funding. In addition, the DPRD has strategic meaning for multi-stakeholder forums by enabling policy change.

With regard to their legal status, there are three types of stakeholders. First, forums that have arisen from a Central Government stipulation or that are in the region's interest. This kind of forum is legalized by a District Head's Decree and so receives a funding allocation from the District Budget (APBD). Second, forums that are based on a Notarial Document. Such forums are similar to non government organizations (NGOs) or network organizations with a larger project orientation as their funding is independent or reliant on donor organizations. Third, forums without legal basis have a coordinating function. The independence of a forum is influenced by the strength of its relationship with bureaucrats and the goodwill of the bureaucracy. An autonomous secretariat bolsters the independence of a forum. Furthermore, a central location in the district capital supports a forum's effectiveness and increases stakeholder access.

Coordination, mediation and advocacy are the three main functions of multi-stakeholder forums. Coordination is the basic function of multi-stakeholder forums, providing a space for stakeholders to meet and avoid program overlap or duplication. Multi-stakeholder forums mediate through uniting stakeholder interests and approaching executive and legislative bodies. To advocate, multi-stakeholder forums lobby policymakers to express the aspirations of stakeholders. The decision-making ability of multi-stakeholder forums with legal status is more pronounced than forums without legal status.

The potential for duplication has become evident in several multi-stakeholder forums due to parallel functions, roles and decision-making mechanisms. There is potential for duplication between multi-stakeholder forums and the DPRD; multi-stakeholder forums and government authorities, and; between multi-stakeholder forums themselves.

In the two districts studied here, budgetary planning dynamics have been tainted by mutual accusations between the Executive and the Legislature as well as between the government authorities and Bappeda. According to research participants, the processes of budgetary planning are also affected by the practices of: marking-up proposals, money politics, and prioritization of the interests of particular groups. The outcomes of the Rakorbang (Development Coordination Meetings) are not always taken into account when drafting the budget. As a result, many proposals that are covered by the District Budget diverge from strategic development issues and are co-opted by certain individual officials.

The level of district government transparency and receptivity is relatively low. One indication is that the outcomes of the Rakorbang and the District Budget are not made public, even though public knowledge of these documents is a basic requisite of public participation. Although the public and NGOs have been involved in policymaking, such involvement appears to be a mere formality and as such is minimal.

Political alliances also effect district budgetary planning. According to research sources, in Kabupaten Bangkalan, the seats of power are held by one extended family which dominates political processes. Similarly, in Poso, domination by particular groups diminishes opportunities for participation and transparency. Such domination by particular groups' interests has implications for control over strategic budget items and government positions.

This study underscores the importance of strengthening inter-stakeholder relationships at the district level. There must be informed and systematic efforts to increase the inclusiveness and participation of stakeholders in development through a dialectic and synergetic relationship between development officials. Interaction between government stakeholders (GS) and non government

stakeholders (NGS) creates a synergy that can propel the growth of participation, transparency and development accountability.

This study on district dynamics governance —focusing on institutional structure and district budget formulation—is significant for realizing good governance and regional autonomy. Knowledge of multi-stakeholder forum characteristics will be beneficial to decision makers, donor organizations and other stakeholders in terms of positioning themselves in the development process and choosing with which stakeholders strategic alliances can be forged.

1 The Study of the Dynamics of District Governance

1.1 Purpose and Aims of the Study

The Community Driven Development (CDD) platform facilitates community designed, implemented and managed development projects that require community control over decision-making and resources. As a result, supporting organizations and service providers must be responsive to community demands. Unfortunately, the community cannot carry out or deliver policy services entirely by themselves. Consequently, the District Government, as the district level development administrator, at times needs to facilitate, and if necessary, take on this role to ensure that development outcomes are maximized.

The linchpin to the World Bank Support for Poor and Disadvantaged Areas Project (SPADA) is the composition and functioning of a representative forum of district stakeholders. Two factors supporting these forums that need to be highlighted are the internal design and operation of these forums as well as the links between the SPADA forums and other ad hoc organizations for popular participation in development.

The budget is one steering instrument through which district policy is devised. The budget can also encapsulate the political priorities identified by the local community.¹ Consequently, the process of compiling the district's budget can be an important indicator of transparency and community participation. An accountable government will try to involve the public in decision-making processes, including budget formulation. The district's dynamics are therefore reflected by the extent to which the community understands and is involved in formulating the budget.

The goals of this study are: first, to understand the dynamics of district-level development administration; second, to understand and identify the district-level budget formulation process, and; third, to understand district government transparency and receptivity towards community input.

1.2 Methodology

This qualitative study of district dynamics was carried out in two districts in which SPADA preparation is in operation, namely Kabupaten Bangkalan (in Madura) and Kabupaten Poso (in Central Sulawesi). Kabupaten Bangkalan was chosen as a study location as it represents a district which has not had direct experience, yet has felt the ramifications of conflict. In comparison, Kabupaten Poso is a region that has had direct experience of conflict. In 2000, ethnic conflict between Madurese and

¹ Rinusu & Mastuti. (2003). *Panduan Praktis Mengontrol APBD*. Jakarta: Frederich Ebert Stiftung.

Dayaknese erupted in Sampit (Central Kalimantan) forcing Madurese to flee. More than ten thousand of Madurese fled to Bangkalan and surrounding areas to become internally displaced people (IDPs). The wave of these uninvited guests put burden on the local government and the host community. Meanwhile, with a population of 275.974 people², Poso is a multi-ethnic area where in December 1998, a violent communal conflict broke out between Muslims and Christians. This conflict was not purely a religious conflict (many political factors also contributed to the violence), but it developed into a horizontal conflict between religious groups.³ After three years of episodic fighting, death toll estimates range from 1000 to 2500, with thousand more injured. Nearly 100,000 were forced to flee their burning homes.⁴ The conflict also led to geographic polarization between Muslims and Christians, with Muslims remaining in Poso City and Christians occupying Tentena and the Bukit Lore area. In these districts, NGOs has growth and developed very well, particularly in Poso after the conflict erupted. These regions were chosen in the hope that identifying the administrative dynamics of each region would be possible.

This study was carried out from 13–31 November 2003 in Kabupaten Bangkalan and from 5–24 December 2003 in Kabupaten Poso. It utilized two main research methods namely, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.⁵



² *Kabupaten Poso in Number 2003*, published by BPS

³ Purwasita, Andrik, 2003. *Komunikasi Multikultural*, Muhammadiyah University Press, Surakarta.

⁴ Aragon, Lorraine V, 2002. *Waiting for Peace in Poso*, in <http://www.insideindonesia.org>

⁵ Research participants from Kabupaten Bangkalan included: the Director of the Regional Development Board (Bappeda), Secretary of Bappeda, Section Heads of Bappeda, Head of the Health Authority, Head of the Authority for Education and Learning, heads of various local-level Authorities, Local and International NGOs, Kecamatan Development Program (KDP) Consultants, Basic Urban Development Program (PDPP) Consultants, Chairpersons of Stakeholder Forums, Head of the DPRD, Heads of the DPRD Commissions, and local community figures. Meanwhile, research participants from Kabupaten Poso included: the Director of Bappeda, Secretary of Bappeda, Section Heads of Bappeda, Head of the DPRD, Members of Commission C (Budgets), Members of the Commission for Development, Head of the Development Division, Head of the Finance Division, Head of the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection, Head of the District Community



As well as relying on primary source interview transcripts, this study of district dynamics has also made use of secondary sources including: official minutes from DPRD sessions, budgets and budget drafts, organizational profiles, government decrees, project documents, minutes from multi-stakeholder forum meetings, and newspaper clippings. The study has used data obtained from focus group discussions and field observations. The snowballing sampling technique was very useful for finding research participants and accurate information.

The study is organized as follows:

1. Identification of multi-stakeholder forums in development administration (planning and control) at the district level. Questions addressed the name and type of forum, who it represents, relationship with government organizations (especially Bappeda and the DPRD), the status of the forum, its location and accessibility, its ability to make decisions, funding, forum transparency and receptivity);
2. Identification of the budget formulation process in the district (the formulation process at executive and legislative levels, dynamics of the budget formulation forum), and;
3. Identification of the transparency and receptivity of the district government towards input from the community (transparency of the budget formulation process, community participation, whether or not there are changes to the size or priority of the budget).

The research findings are presented first. The annexes contains more details on the specific case studies for interested readers.

Empowerment Authority, Head of the Local Education and Teaching Authority, Head of the Education Council (DP), NGOs, Chairpersons of the Stakeholder Forums, and contractors.

2 Research Findings

The information available in this section is closely linked to the data and information in the annexes, particularly to the cases studies from Kabupaten Bangkalan and Poso. Throughout the paragraphs you will find acronyms and information that refer to the case studies in the annexes. In order to have a better and comprehensive understanding of the information and context, the reader will need to also look at the annexes.

2.1 Stakeholder Forums at the District Level

1. Representation of Multi-stakeholder Forums

District level multi-stakeholder forums strive to be inclusive. Maximizing the representativeness of a forum can be achieved through expanding the coverage of the forum and facilitating bottom-up decision-making. Most recently, there have been attempts to increase the representativeness of forums by involving government stakeholders and non government stakeholders (PDPP Forum, the Rakorbang/FKSPP, FOKUS, and FORPES: please refer to the annexes). The government stakeholders—which include both members of the Executive (the District Head, relevant local government bodies, authorities and working units) and the Legislature (the DPRD)—represent the interests of policy-makers in helping to channel the community’s aspirations. In comparison—non government stakeholders represented by NGOs, the general community and higher education institutions—take part in multi-stakeholder forums to ensure their inclusion in the development planning process. The end result of this process is the guaranteed accountability of public policy.

Multi-stakeholder forum membership can be either open and closed. Membership can be closed due to regulations determining entry into the forum (like a Decree or an organizational statute). Whether or not a forum has an open or closed membership policy is determined from the forum’s inception. Forums like the Rakorbang, Forum Pengaman Jaringan Sosial (FORPES), Kelompok Kerja Deklama (Pokja Deklama), Kelompok Kerja Resolusi Konflik (Pokja RKP), Forum PDPP, the Education Council, FOKER PP, and Forum Pendidikan Madura (FPM) are examples of multi-stakeholder forums with closed membership.[see tables 1 and 2]. These forums regulated their membership at their inception. Although forum membership is closed, inclusiveness is usually the main reason for forming a stakeholder forum as these multi-stakeholder forums are intended to facilitate as much community participation as possible.

In comparison, forums like the NGO Coordination Forum, Friends of Lore Lindu, FKAUB, and the Tera’ Bulan Forum have open membership. There are no strict regulations about who can

attend so anyone can take part in or stop attending these forums. The commitment and interests of members holds these forums together. Multi-stakeholder forums with open membership have fewer formal ties and members have the flexibility to join or cease participation. In such forums, the characteristics of individual members play an important part in the promotion of their interests. Coordination is the main function of this type of forum. Generally speaking, the decision-making ability of these forums is low because the specific interests of members dominate the forum. However, when forums with open membership are able to unify and create synergies between the interests of their members, then their decision-making ability becomes much greater and more effective than other types of forums, two cases in point being FOKUS in Bangkalan and the NGO Coordination Meeting in Poso.

Both types of memberships have strengths and weaknesses. Multi-stakeholder forums with closed membership are generally more formal but may have greater legal consequences. Decisions made by these forums can have strong implications for their members; some even have political strength. Such forums are ideal for adopting a function broader than just coordination.

Forums like the Kabupaten Poso's Rakorbang, FPM, Pokja Deklama, and Poso's Education Council are examples of forums with broad representation but low levels of participation and transparency. Participation and transparency are low because member recruitment is unfair, despite all necessary elements being represented. In these forums, members tend to be appointed by district officials, thus undermining the forums' democratic nature. This scenario proves that the proximity of a forum to the bureaucracy has the potential to damage the independence of the forum through the influence of vested interests from officials. Paramount to guaranteeing forum representativeness is the inclusion of all elements in the forum as well as a fair and transparent recruitment process for members.

To ensure such a recruitment process, there needs to be a joint team which consists of several qualified and dedicated figures. At the district level such figures could include members of the House, representatives from Bappeda, as well as community figures or NGO activists. The joint team would be charged with recommending groups or representatives to be invited to join the forum. In addition to the recruitment process, routine reorganization of the forum needs to be monitored to safeguard the forum's performance.

The experience of a number of multi-stakeholder forums has shown that reorganization of forum management is not monitored particularly closely. The stagnation or otherwise of forum management is linked to the intensity with which the forum conducts activities and the participation of members. Low participation from members leads to elitism within the forum and the concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals. As a result, the mechanisms within the forum do not function

and this is manifested, among other ways, in the forum's inability to reorganize. This inability contributes to poor transparency and accountability.

FORPES in Bangkalan is an elegant example of safeguarding the effectiveness of a forum by utilizing the potential of its members. The involvement of DPRD members, the press and the Public Prosecution has been magnificently employed by FORPES to mediate findings from the field. The involvement of the DPRD in the Rakorbang also allows the community's aspirations to be sounded out for discussion in the commission sessions at the DPRD. Program duplication was avoided when a number of elements came together in the Poso NGO Coordination Meeting and the Friends of Lore Lindu.

Therefore, the inclusiveness of members in multi-stakeholder forums supports the implementation of the forum's mandate. In addition to the ability of a forum to bridge the interests of member organizations, the presence of a wide cross-section of organizations also helps to avoid program duplication.

Although several multi-stakeholder forums have inclusive membership, in some cases effectiveness has become an issue? The effectiveness of a forum is determined by many factors, including the process of forum member recruitment and forum member participation.

Table 1: Multi-stakeholder forums in Kabupaten Bangkalan

Forum	Representatives	Links with other organizations	Legal Status	Transparency and Receptivity	Location and Access	Mandate and Decision-making	Funding	Duplication
Rakorbang	District Executives Council (Muspida), relevant government authorities, DPRD, community figures, Sub-district Chief, Sub-district Head of Development, Journalists. Open membership. Participants are pre-determined.	An important part of the Bappeda planning process. Important to the DPRD in hearing initial aspirations.	In accordance with a Ministerial Decree, at the district level it uses a District Head Decree.	Since 2002, NGOs have been invited to the UDKP forum and the Rakorbang. Quite dynamic, not particularly transparent. Community participation relatively high. Results and outcomes not published.	Facilitated by Bappeda. Secretariat in Bappeda. Bappeda responsible for issuing invitations to join.	As a program coordinating and synchronizing forum from the community and government authorities. Produces a document on district planning. Decision-making through commissions and plenary sessions. The pre-Rakorbang is an introductory session. Decision-making process long and directed.	District Budget.	No duplication with other forums.
PDPP Forum	Government stakeholders, non government stakeholders, DPRD, higher education institutes. Participants are pre-determined. There has never been a change of management.	Body responsible for Bappeda's Construction and Infrastructure Section. FOKUS is a forum of partners.	District Head Decree.	The presence of FOKUS created forum control. Grass roots community participation. The forum's government stakeholder technical team is elitist.	Its secretariat is at Bappeda.	Is a space for government stakeholders and non government stakeholders to meet and publicly discuss the drafting of development documents. Decisions are made through commissions and plenary sessions.	Project funding. District Budget.	There is no program duplication.

FOKUS	Non government stakeholders, bureaucracy, the DPRD, parties that are concerned about development planning in the district. Open membership. The forum coordinator is chosen annually.	Close relationship with Bappeda. The DPRD is not particularly responsive to FOKUS.	Is not a legal entity. Is led by a coordinator.	Controlled by NGO members. Open to the public. Activity reports are submitted to members and Bappeda. One of the large groups pushing for transparency and participation.	Has its own secretariat at Bappeda.	A forum facilitating communication between non government stakeholders concerned about development planning; Decisions made through consensus. The coordinator holds the power of veto. Independent.	Independent. Funds from PDPP projects.	There is no program duplication. The DPRD is reluctant to open a dialogue with FOKUS because its members are considered unauthorized community representatives.
FORPES	Academics, DPRD, bureaucrats, NGOs, youth organizations, university students, journalists. The management is elected annually.	Coordinates with Commission E and B, the Health Authority, the Authority for Education and Learning, District Level Logistics Board and the Authority for Village Community Empowerment.	A District Head Decree. There is one coordinator and several divisions.	Reports to members and the central government. was transparent at first but recent developments have seen it become exclusive.	Independent secretariat at the chairperson's house. Coordination meetings held every Friday. Has regular hearings with the DPRD.	Functions to monitor the social security network's programs and make recommendations to the Program Officials Coordination team, District Head, and Bappeda. The forum head is elected once a year through group approval. Decisions made by each working unit and plenary session. Independent.	Funds from the District Budget for the social security network program.	There is no program duplication.

Education Council	Community leaders, Indonesian Teachers Association, Indonesian Teachers' Union, education institutes, Madrasah Tsanawiya, educational leaders, religious leaders, members of the legislature, Islamic School Association (ISPI), bureaucrats, Maarif Education Institute, NU, Private Junior High Schools, FPM, Islamic boarding schools and entrepreneurs. Statute is being rocessed.	Opposing views to the Department of Education and Culture and the District Head. Close relationship with the DPRD.	District Head Decree. The District Head does not want to officially open the Education Council. Plays a coordination role with other organizations.	Newly formed. Has large potential to be transparent and open. The Head of the Education Council is charismatic. There is a high chance it will be welcomed by the public. Champions Kejar Paket B.	The self reliant secretariat in the same office as the NU branch office	As a mouthpiece for education constituents to achieve quality education. Decision-making through the forum. Independent.	Funding from the District Budget and other official, intermittent sources. Budget for 2003 was Rp. 100 million.	There is no program duplication.
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FPM	Education NGOs, the Authority for Education and Learning, community figures, the DPRD, education institutes, professional organizations, and higher education institutes. Statute is being negotiated.	Close relationship with the large NGOs. Close to the executive and the legislative bodies but receives little response from the National Department of Education.	Not a legal organization. Is equivalent to an NGO.	Has lobbied the DPRD regarding teacher welfare policy. Not transparent: is exclusive.	Secretariat at the office of the NGO Madura Mandiri.	Provides a place for aspirations and initiatives of the education community towards policy and education program creation. Usually, decisions are made through commissions and plenary sessions, however, they are often dictated by one person and are not independent.	Funds from Madura Mandiri, and donor organizations.	Has the same task and function as the Education Council. Mutually strengthen policy lobbying. Funding from District Budget.
'Tera' Bulan Forum	Members are all individuals and groups with a concern for the arts, membership is open. Since 2002 there has been no change in coordinator. Usually the management is elected once a year.	Informally approaches the DPRD, the District head and relevant government authorities.	No legal standing.	Transparent and open towards public observations. Open membership means this organization is accommodative.	Independent secretariat.	Prioritizes communality among members. Independent.	Independent funding from members.	Has the same function as the Bangkalan Arts Council (DKP) which has suspended its activities.

Table 2: Multi-stakeholder Forums in Kabupaten Poso

Forum	Representatives	Links with other Organizations	Legal Status	Transparency and Receptivity	Location and Access	Mandate and Decision Making	Funding	Duplication
District Government Rakorbang	Muspida, government authorities, the DPRD, community figures, Sub-district Chief, Head of the Sub-district Development sector, and journalists. Open membership. Participants are selected.	Part of Bappeda's planning process. Important for the DPRD to capture initial aspirations.	Ministerial Decree.	NGOs and journalists simply attend. The outcomes of the Rakorbang are not taken into account during the formulation of the District Budget.	Facilitated by Bappeda. Secretariat located at Bappeda. Bappeda responsible for inviting participants.	As a forum for coordination and synchronization of the community and government authorities. Produces one of the major district planning documents. Decision-making is done through commissions and plenary sessions (consensus). Pre-Rakorbang session as a introductory forum.	Funding from the District Budget.	Duplication occurs in villages and sub-districts where the CERD project is being implemented.
NGO Coordination Forum	Local NGOs, international NGOs, provincial and district level government authorities, Sub-district Government, and	Close cooperation with Satkorlak, Satlak and UNDP.	Not a legal body.	Transparent in terms of programs, participants are informed of outcomes from meetings.	Does not have a secretariat. Information available from the Authority for National Unity and Community	As an activity coordinator. Does not decide on programs or projects. Decision made through consensus.	Funding from Authority for National Unity and Community Protection	Set up to avoid duplication.

	UNDP. Members are volunteers.				Protection or the UNDP in Palu.		and the UNDP.	
CERD Rakorbang	DPRD, community figures, Bappeda, relevant government authorities, NGOs, journalists, District Head, youths, and Muspida. Participants are selected.	Community Empowerment Authority.	District Head Decree.	The process of determining Rakorbang membership is not transparent.	The secretariat is in the Community Empowerment Authority. Project Leader invites Rakorbang participants.	Verifying and deciding on projects that are suitable for funding. Decision-making is through commission meeting and plenary session. Some decisions cannot be made by the forum.	Project funding.	There is duplication in certain villages and sub-districts in which projects are being implemented.
Friends of Lore Lindu	NGOs, those concerned about conservation and with projects in the National Park. Created as a means to co-manage the National Park. TNC, Storma, CARE. Open membership. Management has never changed.	Work closely with Bappeda. The DPRD is fairly unresponsive.	Not a legal body.	Transparent. There is strong control from the public and NGOs.	There is a secretariat in the national park itself and in Palu.	Coordination forum for organizations concerned with projects in the National Park.	Funding from TNC.	No duplication.

Pokja Deklama	The DPRD, government authorities, NGOs, business people, community figures, public prosecutors, community organizations, higher education institutions. Management is changed once a year	Close relationship with Bappeda and the Authority for Social Affairs.	District Head Decree.	Not transparent. Use of funds is not made public. Open to public suggestions because of its broad network and diverse membership.	Secretariat in the offices of the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection.	Socialization of items in the Malino Declaration. Poor decision-making.	Funding from the District Budget	No duplication. The DPRD is reluctant to communicate with Pokja Deklama due to perception that it has encroached on the DPRD's responsibilities.
Education Council	Education NGOs, education organizations, the bureaucracy, DPRD, education institutes, community figures, school committees, and the business sector. Management is changed every three years.	Close relationship with the Authority for Education and Learning.	District Head Decree.	Not particularly transparent because few of the management are active. There is the potential to become an exclusive organization with vested interests because the head of the Council is also a contractor.	The secretariat is in a district government building. It is easily accessible to the public.	As a mouth piece for those involved in education in order to create good quality education. Decision-making through commissions and plenary sessions. Not particularly independent. Poor decision-making. Elitist forum as participation is low.	District Budget.	No duplication.

Pokja RKP	Sulsei—WALHI, AJI, IPPNU, PMKRI, HMI, GMKI, PMII, academics, and legal practitioners. Management is replaced once a year.	Keep their distance from the bureaucracy. Opens itself to the legislative.	Not a legal body. Similar to an NGO.	Transparent. Report to donor organizations.	Central office in Poso. Have a representative in Palu.	Forum for humanitarian work with refugees. Advocacy for victims of conflict, mediate between sides in conflict. Decision-making through plenary sessions and commission.	Self funded. Some funding from donor organizations.	No duplication.
FOKER PP	Women who are the victims of violence. No organizational statute. Management has never changed.	Conduct informal meetings with Members of the House. Fosters cooperation with other NGOs.	Not a legal body.	Not transparent. Reports to donor organizations.	Independent secretariat.	An umbrella organization for Christian and Muslim women who are the victims of conflict and who are concerned about humanitarian issues. Decision-making through plenary sessions. The forum shows elements of elitism due to low participation rates.	Funded by members. Donor organizations.	No duplication.
FKAUB	Community figures, Christian and Muslim leaders, village heads, and Muspika. Open membership.	A lot of coordination with Muspika, religious figures and village heads.	Not a legal body.		There is a secretariat at the village and sub-district level. The district level secretariat is not active. Only found in Poso Pesisir.	Umbrella organization for inter-faith friendship. Similar to an association.	Self-funded by the community.	No duplication.

Fokal Rekonsiliasi	Community organizations, non political organizations, journalists, members of the public. Membership obtained on recommendation.		Regulated by an organizational statute, is a network organization, organizational structure is made up of a Steering Committee and Organizing Committee.	No indications.	Secretariat in Poso. Members represent all aspects of Poso. Public access is easy.	Provides a place for NGO's concerned about reconciliation. Decisions made through forum mechanisms. In pressing circumstances, the coordinator is able to make decisions.	The main need of the forum is operational funding for the secretariat. Linkages with donor institutes.	Large potential for duplication with Sekber Bersama.
Sekber Pokja	Pokja Poso District Deklama, Pokja RKP, Pokja Deklama Palu, Pokja Trauma Healing.	The establishment of this forum was facilitated by the UNDP. Coordination makes use of member's networks.	Organizational statute, network organization with a Steering Committee and Organizing Committee.	No indications.	The secretariat is in Palu and Poso. Public access is easy.	Coordinating umbrella working group which aims to involve all parties concerned with reconciliation.	Potential for duplication with Fokal Rekonsiliasi.	Large potential for duplication with Fokal Rekonsiliasi.

2. Linkages between Multi-stakeholder Forums and other Organizations

The multi-stakeholder forums are coordinated most intensely by Bappeda, the DPRD, and the related government authorities which lead the sectors that multi-stakeholder forums work in. Both in regions that directly experience conflict and in regions affected by the consequences of conflict, Bappeda is the organization that should coordinate and communicate most closely with multi-stakeholder forums. The closeness of Bappeda and the multi-stakeholder forums is an artifact of the position of Bappeda as the development program coordinator at the district level. Bappeda coordinates development activities, from planning and implementation, to monitoring and evaluation. For several multi-stakeholder forums, linkages with Bappeda are established by the legal stipulations upon which the forum is based. The Rakorbang/FKSPP, Forum PDPP, FOKUS, and FORPES are multi-stakeholder forums that have a legal basis which states that coordination and forum activity are facilitated by Bappeda. Coordination is manifested in forum activity planning or funding allocated by the District Budget being under the management of Bappeda.

In conflict areas like Poso, although Bappeda remains the district level development coordinator, multi-stakeholder forums coordinate most closely with the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection. This is a result of a policy in conflict areas that makes the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection the coordinator of conflict recovery activities.

Multi-stakeholder forums also communicate with the DPRD, both institutionally and personally. Institutional relations are manifested in hearings or informal information sharing between forums and Members of the DPRD. The DPRD has strategic meaning for forums, enabling them to influence policy. This is evident in the activities of the FPM and the Kabupaten Bangkalan Education Council. Also in Bangkalan, FORPES' discovery that Social Safety Net (JPS) funds were being embezzled was conveyed to the DPRD in order to push the Executive to take action. In fact, FORPES has also worked with the Public Prosecution to ensure such discoveries have legal consequences.

Communication with the DPRD is not always easy. Often the House is hesitant to collaborate with multi-stakeholder forums due to concern that there will be role and function duplication. The refusal of the Bangkalan DPRD to meet with FOKUS, an umbrella organization for NGOs, is an indication of the House's fear of a street-level DPRD. The opinion has developed in the Legislature and even the Executive that NGOs want to appropriate their role and tasks. The Legislature has the opinion that NGOs want to take over the role and tasks of the House in responding to issues emerging from the people. The Executive believe that NGOs get too mixed up in government problems, for example in the

Rakorbang, which should really be resolved by constitutional bodies such as the Executive and the Legislature.

This trend has also been experienced by Pokja Deklama in Poso, which views the House as reluctant to deal with it because of fear of role duplication. Meanwhile, Bangkalan's Education Council believes it has been rejected by the District Head and government authorities due to concern over role overlap with the Authority for Education and Learning. In stark contrast, Poso's Education Council has a close relationship with the government.

The closeness or antipathy between multi-stakeholder forums and the Executive or the Legislature is heavily influenced by how the forum is established and the mandate of a forum. When a multi-stakeholder forum is initiated by a government body, it tends to work easily with the government and in some cases becomes the cash cow of a bureaucrat. This was evident in the case of the Poso Education Council which has become the means by which local bureaucrats obtain funds from the Central Government. However, when a multi-stakeholder forum is independently established and has the same mandate as the government, the Executive and the Legislature tend to be reluctant to communicate due to overlap plus function and role duplication.

In Poso, NGOs tend to maintain a distance from the bureaucracy; in Bangkalan the opposite is the case. Since 2001, many local and international NGOs have begun work in Poso. They cooperate and coordinate more with each other than with the government. Their relationship is stronger with international NGOs as activity funding providers (Friends of Lore Lindu, FOKER PP, and Fokal Rekonsiliasi).

On the whole, multi-stakeholder forums do coordinate with Bappeda, the DPRD and the government authorities related to their activities and mandate. Communication and coordination with Bappeda is carried out to support forum activities as Bappeda is the development program coordinator at the district level. Coordination is manifest in the planning of activities and funding allocation. Conversely, multi-stakeholder forums lobby the DPRD to create policies that support the forum's mandate. In addition, multi-stakeholder forums also work closely with related government authorities and international NGOs. In conflict regions, the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection often appropriates the task of coordinating with multi-stakeholder forums due to its role as coordinator of conflict resolution and post-conflict recovery activities.

3. Legal Status and Multi-stakeholder Forum Legislation Regulations

There are three legal bases regulating the existence of stakeholder forums: a decree from the District Head, a Notarial Document, and an organizational statute. A multi-stakeholder forum whose presence is regulated by a decree from the District Head is established in accordance with stipulations from Central Government. Alternatively, the existence of the forum is a result of district initiatives. These types of forums do not vary greatly in terms of internal regulations (for example, role, function and membership) because they are regulated by Implementation Guidelines (Juklak). Multi-stakeholder forums based on district initiatives usually take the form of a working group which have a temporary existence to implement particular tasks (such as Pokja Deklama). Forums that exist by implication of projects in the district also fall into this category (CERD Rakorbang, PDPP Forum). As their existence is regulated by a decree from the District Head, these forums are given funding allocations from the District Budget. Responsibility for these forums lies with the District Head.

The structure and organization of multi-stakeholder forums that have a Notarial Document as their legal basis is similar to that of an NGO. Although the members of these forums come from different organizations and groups, membership is stable. Membership to the forum is determined by those responsible for establishing the forum. Forums like these have a permanent and powerful Founding Board which rarely changes personnel. In fact the Committee is often more powerful than the Members' Meetings. Management has more power than members. Multi-stakeholder forums like this may also initiate advocacy. Forum funding is reliant on donor organizations or membership fees. Financial reporting is given to the donor organization. Forums which fall into this category are more project-orientated than other categories. The meaning of 'multi-stakeholder' in this context is that many organizations are united in one forum.

The third category of multi-stakeholder forums is those whose existence is regulated by just a statute or commitment. This type of forum takes the form of a network organization that prioritizes communication and coordination. As a network organization, the members of these forums are representatives of NGOs or individuals with mutual interests or commitment. Members of these forums are more open and free to join up or leave the forum. The main aspect which brings the forum together is interests or commitment from members. Funding of the forum originates from members or other intermittent sources.

Multi-stakeholder forums whose existence is regulated by a statute have a prominent coordination function. The main interest of the forum is as a tool of communication and coordination.

The individual traits of members are striking in these forums. Friends of Lore Lindu, Fokal Rekonsiliasi, Tera' Bulan Forum, FOKUS and NGO Coordination Forum are multi-stakeholder forums that fall into this category.

The legal status of a stakeholder forum has implications for the forum's funding and independence as well as relations between members. Stakeholder forums based on a decree from the District Head, automatically receive funding from the District Budget and so report directly to the District Head. Forums like this often have problems with independence (e.g. Pokja Deklama). However, forum independence is largely a function of how a forum safeguards its existence. For example, several forums (FOKUS, FORPES) do manage to maintain their independence even though they are regulated by a Decree from the District Head and are receiving a funding allocation from the District Budget. Aside from a critical outlook by forum members, the key to independence is a secretariat which is separate from the bureaucracy. The separation of the secretariat gives the opportunity to the forum to manage its own affairs. Organizationally, steps to guard independence are evident in the structure of the Education Council, which has a coordinating relationship with the Executive and the Legislature. Clearly though, the goodwill of the bureaucracy affects the shape of the forum.

4. Transparency and Receptivity of Multi-stakeholder Forums towards Public Input

Transparency is often related to the formulation and implementation of policies, programs and projects made by the government or other organizations.⁶ Keeping members up-to-date and informed is another indicator of transparency. The following evaluation of the transparency of multi-stakeholder forums looks at activity reporting and funding usage.

A large proportion of multi-stakeholder forums tend not to be transparent. Although their representation may be broad and may place most power in the hands of the members, in practice activity reporting is often only conveyed to the core structure and the Founding Board. In multi-stakeholder forums whose structure is similar to an NGO, the tendency not to be transparent is even greater as responsibility for activities is only passed onto the Founding Board. The low level of member participation is often an excuse for not giving members responsibility (see, for example, FPM, Pokja Deklama, FOKER PP, and the Kabupaten Poso Education Council).

An important lesson can be gleaned from Pokja Deklama in Poso. The management of funding allocations is in the hands of the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection resulting in

⁶ Joko Widodo, J. (2002). *Good Governance: Telaah dari Dimensi Akuntabilitas dan Kontrol Birokrasi*. Surabaya: Insan Cendekia.

Pokja Deklama having little control over task implementation. Pokja Deklama is incapable of informing the community of the funds that it has obtained and how these will be managed. Ironically, the Authority for Information and Communication, as a representative of the local government, has also never familiarized the public with the details of Pokja Deklama. As a result, Pokja Deklama has not been able to create forum transparency. Similarly, Poso's Education Council has never made public the amount of funds it manages. Pokja Deklama and the Education Council are two institutes that lie in the shadow of the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection. From the facts above, it can be concluded that a forum's transparency is heavily influenced by the bureaucracy overarching it.

Forums like FOKUS, the NGO Coordination Forum, the Tera' Bulan Forum, and the Friends of Lore Lindu have open membership; any community organizations with the same vision can take part. Uniquely, these association-like or *gemeinschaft*-like forums have relatively high transparency (in matters pertaining to information and forum funds) as members have a high level of control over the forum. Transparency is evident in the forums' receptivity to all forms of information. The lesson that can be learnt from these organizations is that multi-stakeholder forums with a mandate to coordinate have relatively high transparency.

Despite the fact that publicity is a medium for communicating a forum's achievements and is an important means of safeguarding forum transparency, not many forums publicize their activities. Pokja Deklama, which has never conducted familiarization activities with the public, is an example of the low-level of forum transparency. In Pokja Deklama's case, its opacity is related to the power of outside influences (government authorities) over the forum. The strong influence of the Establishing Committee (Mondir Rofi'i) in the management of FPM pre-determines the lack of transparency in this forum. From these examples it can be concluded that forum transparency is closely related to forum independence.

Participation is closely tied into whether or not a forum is elitist. Lack of participation in a forum can cause it to be controlled by a small group of people. Management models practiced in forums like the Poso Education Forum and FPM Bangkalan, which have a 'satay stick'-style management indicate that low participation has triggered forum elitism by placing the forum into the hands of a few managers.

Receptivity can be seen in the dynamics of the district level Rakorbang/FKSPP. NGOs hurled criticism at the Kabupaten Bangkalan FKSPP as they considered the Rakorbang to be covering-up proposal budgets. This indicated that the Rakorbang forum was not entirely open to participants. However, receptivity provides an opportunity for the people to put forward their response and criticisms

towards the government's apparent lack of transparency.⁷ The lack of transparency in the Rakorbang was due to a fear that the practice of marking-up proposals would be uncovered.

5. Location and Accessibility of Multi-stakeholder Forums

Secretariat location and accessibility are closely linked. The main consideration for a stakeholder forum in choosing a location is proximity to information and governmental centers. The district capital is both a center of government and information so the majority of multi-stakeholder forums locate their secretariats in the district capital. Of the 17 multi-stakeholder forums in the two districts studied, 15 have their secretariat in the district capital and two in project areas. Placing the secretariat in the center of the capital enables greatest public access. Secretariats are either combined with the government institution responsible for the sector in which the forum is involved or are in an independent building. The choice between these two options is based on issues of coordination and communication to allow all elements to be able to participate in the forum. Multi-stakeholder forums that do not receive funding from the District Budget always have a separate secretariat.

Several stakeholder forums have set up their secretariats in Bappeda or the offices of government authorities to facilitate coordination with the government bodies in charge of the sectors in which the forum operates. This includes a number of multi-stakeholder forums which receive funding from Bappeda or government authorities. Funding, however, is not the main determinant of whether a multi-stakeholder forum will combine their secretariat with the relevant governing body. Rather, it is the relationship between the governing body and the forum which determines the decision of where to locate the secretariat. Forums which have combined their secretariats with relevant government bodies include the Rakorbang/FKSPP, the CERD Rakorbang, Pokja Deklama, and the PDPP Forum.

Choosing to establish a secretariat outside of the bureaucracy helps a forum ensure its independence. The secretariat's location is very influential in safeguarding a forum's independence; a separate secretariat allows a forum to distance itself from the bureaucracy which tends to interfere in forum affairs. This lesson was seen in the cases of Pokja Deklama in Kabupaten Poso, as well as FOKUS and FORPES in Bangkalan.

Research results also show that there are at least two multi-stakeholder forums that located their secretariats based on considerations of accessibility for its members. Friends of Lore Lindu, which functions to represent all those with a commitment to, or projects in, Lore Lindu National Park, chose

⁷ Widodo, J. (2002). *Good Governance: Telaah dari Dimensi Akuntabilitas dan Kontrol Birokrasi*. Surabaya: Insan Cendekia.

to locate its secretariat in the National Park area so stakeholders could access the forum. The National Park covers a vast area and is under the jurisdiction of two districts. Locating the secretariat in a project area ensures coordination is effective and opens access for members. This is also the case with FKAUB which located its secretariat based on its area of operations, allowing members easy access to the secretariat.

6. The Mandates of Multi-stakeholder Forums and their Ability to Make Decisions

While each multi-stakeholder forum has its own mandate, these mandates can be grouped into the objectives of coordination, synchronization, mediation, and advocacy. Coordination is multi-stakeholder forums' most basic function. Through coordination, these forums aim to bring all stakeholders to the table in an effort to create one unified outcome. The coordination role of multi-stakeholder forums is manifested in coordinating programs and activities, determining priorities for activities, and deciding on sources of funding. This role is important as it prevents overlap between stakeholder activities, increases efficiency, and enables a group to work together to reach their goal.⁸ Coordination is also very important in finding alternative sources of program funding.

The Poso NGO Coordination Forum, for example, was formed to answer the need for coordination between local and international NGOs as well as the district government, all of which have their own programs and activities, particularly dealing with conflict management in Kabupaten Poso. The presence of the NGO Coordination Forum allows conflict resolution efforts to be more effectively targeted and prevents any overlap in these efforts. Friends of Lore Lindu is also a coordinating organization for relevant NGOs and the community who are concerned with management of the Lore Lindu National Park. In comparison, the Rakorbang is a means for development stakeholders that work particularly in prioritizing proposals, finding funding alternatives and synchronizing community and government-run programs to come together. This is also the case with the coordination function played by other multi-stakeholder forums like the Tera' Bulan Forum, PDPP Forum, FOKUS, and FKAUB. These forums are the means by which stakeholders with a wide range of aims and interests come together.

The main characteristics of forums that prioritize coordination are flexibility among members and independent funding. Membership of forums like this is open because members are free to resign from participation at any time. Their relationship to the forum is voluntary and in line with their own

⁸ Panglaykim & Tanzil. (2001). *Manajemen: Suatu Pengantar*. Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia.

aims and interests. This flexibility is ensured by the lack of legal constraints surrounding the forum's formation. To avoid duplication, it is crucial that these forums coordinate and publicize their activities. Stakeholder coordination forums are also important for members in the budgetary planning process.

In terms of funding, stakeholder coordination forums are independent. Forums manage their operational funding based on an agreement between their members. Self-funding is a logical result of the flexibility that stems from open membership. The key to such forums' operations is the commitment and interests of its members. The failure of the alliance between the three international NGOs (CARE, Storma, and TNC) with WALHI and its network in the Friends of Lore Lindu is the result of poor commitment to, and prioritization of, forum goals by its members. Coordination forums are usually unable to make binding decisions because of the large number of interests among its members. However, transparency within such forums is relatively high because of the tight control members have over the forum.

In addition to filling a coordination role, a number of multi-stakeholder forums perform mediation and advocacy functions. These roles of mediation and advocacy are inextricably linked to the forums' basic function of coordination. Mediation is undertaken in an effort to bridge the interests and aspirations of stakeholders and those of the Executive and the Legislature. Multi-stakeholder forums' mediatory role in conflict areas is targeted towards mediating between conflicting sides. One downside of these forums is their preoccupation with finding project funding.

Forums that have an important mediatory role include the Education Council, Pokja Deklama, and Pokja RKP. The Education Council listens to stakeholders' aspirations, formulates them into policies, and promotes them to policy-makers (government authorities or the DPRD). The Education Council can also conduct mediation between the business sector and education sector in order to support education activities. In comparison, Pokja Deklama and Pokja RKP occasionally mediate reconciliation efforts through familiarization and reconciliatory activities. These two forums also conduct mediation by forwarding proposals from groups in conflict to the relevant bodies so the reconciliation process can continue. Mediation is also carried out by FORPES. FORPES forwards findings of irregularities in the implementation of the Social Safety Net Scheme to the DPRD and the Public Prosecution to obtain both political support and commence legal action.

The experience of multi-stakeholder forums in mediation underlines the importance of collaboration between parties with similar mandates. For such forums, working with government authorities, the DPRD, Public Prosecution, and the private sector is imperative for their activities. These links assist in achieving the forums' external aims. Mediation between opposing sides in a conflict,

preparation of reconciliatory efforts that can accommodate relevant interests, and recruitment of personnel who are acceptable to both parties are very important.

The advocacy role played by multi-stakeholder forums, in comparison, is similar to that played by NGOs and network organizations. FPM, FOKUS and Fokal Rekonsiliasi in particular focus on advocacy, meaning they create dialogue with stakeholders in order to further their aspirations.

The ability of multi-stakeholder forums to make decisions is linked to a number of factors. Internal factors include its independence and funding, member participation, and the types of groups involved. External factors including cooperation with, and goodwill from, other institutes which determine whether the forum's mandate can be implemented effectively or not.

The external effectiveness of a forum's decisions is dependent on the goodwill of the decision makers who will use the documents produced by the forum. The fact that decisions made by the Rakorbang are not taken into account during the formulation of the District Budget does not reflect the weakness of the forum in implementing their mandate. Rather, it is a consequence of the lack of goodwill from policy-makers. The forum's mandate is clear: to reach an agreement between stakeholders regarding development proposals and their funding. However, the dynamics and level of vested interests involved in the District Budget formulation process has meant the forum's outcomes are ignored.

A similar problem was experienced by FORPES Bangkalan. FORPES, which is very active in monitoring the implementation of the Social Safety Net Scheme, was able to present important findings to the DPRD and then take these findings to the relevant legal bodies for processing. This, however, resulted in frustration for FORPES, for once these findings were forwarded to these bodies, no further action was taken. These events strengthen the view that active mediation and goodwill from bureaucrats to implement the forums' decisions are necessary to guarantee the effectiveness of multi-stakeholder forums.

7. Multi-stakeholder Forum Funding

There are two main sources of funding for multi-stakeholder forums, the District Budget and self-funding. Only forums whose formation was initiated by the District Government in accordance with regulations from the Central Government receive funding from the District Budget. This includes government-formed working groups, the Rakorbang, the Education Councils and project forums. There is not a specific budget entry for forum funding in the District Budget, but rather this funding is combined with the allocation for the body or authority that is in charge of the sector in which the forum

operates (the Rakorbang, FORPES, POKJA Deklama, and Education Council). Funding is also combined with project funding in the District Budget (CERD Rakorbang).

Each year the District Budget allocation for forums receiving money from the Budget must be submitted to the DPRD through the relevant government authorities. Distribution of budget funding requires that a proposal be submitted by the forum to the relevant government authority. However, the District Head is responsible for the use of these funds. Only a few multi-stakeholder forums justify the use of their funds to their members before the report is submitted to the District Head.

All forums that do not receive funding from the District Budget operate using other funding. The majority of forums that do not receive funding from the District Budget obtain funding from donor organizations; usually this funding is obtained through project proposals. The accounting for the use of these funds is submitted to the donor organization. Only a few forums obtain their funding from membership fees (the Tera' Bulan Forum).

Forum expenses include establishment costs, secretariat operational costs, coordination expenses, and activities costs. For forums that receive District Budget allocations, these expenses are covered entirely by the District Budget. In comparison, the forums that receive no Budget funding save money to cover secretariat costs by setting aside any remaining funding from donor organizations after activity implementation is completed.

Very few forums provide their management with an honorarium. The Education Councils and Pokja Deklama are two of forums which do provide an honorarium. Although this honorarium is not particularly large, it is important for motivating the management to actively participate in the forum. Honorariums are intended to at least cover transport costs. To guarantee the mobility of the forum it is best for one person to be paid specifically to handle the administration. If not, then the forum's main activist is the director.

8. Duplication between Multi-stakeholder Forums and NGOs

To date, complete duplication between a multi-stakeholder forum and another organization has never occurred in Bangkalan and Poso. However, the potential for overlap has arisen in a number of forums. In Bangkalan, the presence of FOKUS has begun to create antipathy among DPRD members. This antipathy has been expressed by refusing the requests of FOKUS to meet with the House. The House is worried that FOKUS will become a street-level DPRD and rally the community. There was also the potential for duplication between the Bangkalan Education Council and FPM as both organizations have the same role and membership involvement. Only these organizations' legal status

differentiates the two of them. Initially, both these organizations competed for acknowledgment from the Executive and funding from the District Budget. The potential for duplication was avoided when the Executive released a Decree formalizing the Bangkalan Education Council and FPM took a more NGO-like position.

In Kabupaten Poso, the potential for institutional overlap is apparent. The Poso District Government Rakorbang and CERD Rakorbang are two multi-stakeholder forums with the same mechanisms, despite their mandates being different. Duplication also occurs in terms of membership. Their differences lie in the fact that government Rakorbang is part of the district planning process, while the CERD Rakorbang is the multi-stakeholder forum for the CERD project. These two forums have bottom-up participatory decision-making mechanisms. Duplication has occurred in the villages and sub-districts where the CERD project has been implemented because the community there must hold Musbangdes and UDKP for both. Despite having different agendas, this process is highly likely to result in duplication of proposals. Differences in the forums' mandates do help avoid duplication of role and function. In other words, duplication does not occur because the outcomes of these forums are also different. The District Government Rakorbang involves funding commitment from the district and sub-district level budgets as well as the National Budget and the private sector, while the CERD Rakorbang only involves allocation commitment of project funds.

There is also potential for duplication between Fokal Rekonsiliasi and Sekber Pokja. Although each organization has a different agenda, both forums act as umbrella organizations for the non government stakeholders in Poso. An indication that duplication has occurred is that one of Sekber Pokja's founders was also a founder of Fokal Rekonsiliasi. This founder was disappointed with the design of Fokal Rekonsiliasi and left to form his own parallel organization, Sekber Pokja. If these two organizations are not unified into one larger forum, duplication will occur.

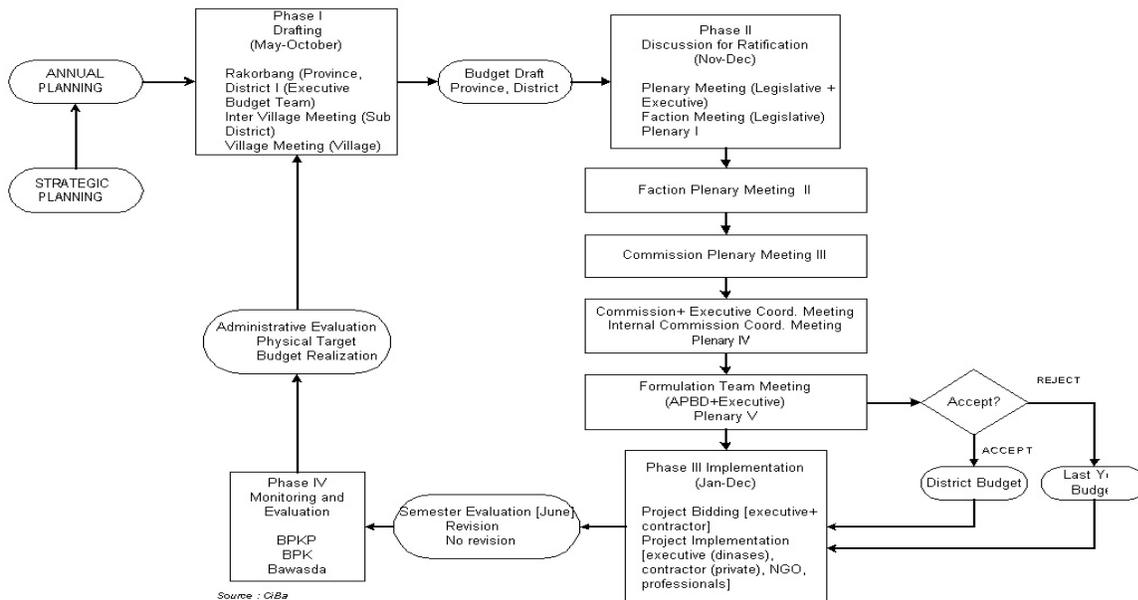
In both Kabupaten Bangkalan and Kabupaten Poso, duplication has occurred between the Education Councils and the Authority for Education and Learning. The Education Council is seen to have encroached on the Authority's role of distributing assistance from the Central Government. This, however, is not the case in Poso because the Authority for Education and Learning has been able to cooperate effectively with the Poso Education Council. This cooperation has been made possible through the close relationship between the Education Council and the Authority for Education and Learning. This, however, is linked to their establishment which was not transparent or representative, resulting in the Education Council becoming a vehicle for the Authority's interests. In brief, there is synergy between the Education Council and the Authority but this synergy has a negative outcome.

Learning from the experiences in Poso and Bangkalan, the potential for duplication can arise when forums are too self-focused and self-interested. This duplication is in the form of membership and forum mechanisms as well as forum function. This self-interest arises due to various vested interests of individuals within the forum. In actual fact, duplication can be minimized by unifying the current forums into one large forum and prioritizing the synergy between the forum and other institutes. For example, duplication of mechanisms and membership between the District Government and CERD Rakorbang could actually be minimized if these two forums used the document produced by just one forum.

2.2 Dynamics of the District Government Budget Formulation Process

District budget formulation is very dynamic. This is evident in both study sites in the respective Rakorbang, in the consultation process between government authorities and Bappeda, in the Working Meetings between the government authorities and the DPRD, and in the Discussion Plenary Meetings between the Budget Team (Legislative) and the Budget Committee (Executive) [See figure 1].

Figure 1: Cycle of Budget Formulation at District and Provincial Level



Rakorbang/FKSPP brings together all development stakeholders in order to coordinate and synchronize development program proposals. Apart from the large number of those involved in the Rakorbang, the dynamics of the forum are also intensified by the length of the Rakorbang. The involvement of NGOs in the Rakorbang is the main reason for the strong dynamics. The involvement of NGOs grouped under FOKUS in Kabupaten Bangkalan, for example, are able to produce their own

dynamic within the Rakorbang forum. NGOs frequently question the proposals from the government authorities and working units which they considered to be unreasonable. Criticism of unsuitable proposals is targeted not only during the Rakorbang forum, but begins during the UDKP forum. Consequently, the practice of marking-up and proposals that depart from development priorities can, to an extent, be thwarted.

Interestingly, during the UDKP and Rakorbang the main issues that always receive the attention of participants are over-sized budgets and proposals that ignore development priorities. Participants will question the authorities marking-up of the size of proposals. This practice is justified by authorities as being preemptive of the House's practice of trimming proposals—by increasing a proposal's budget, it is hoped the funding allocated will be enough, despite the House trimming down its size. This practice has become part of the budget formulation culture. Marking-up can also be explained because public bureaucratic budgets are based more on input rather than output. Budgets received by the public bureaucracy are determined more by need rather than outcomes provided by the bureaucracy to their community. Therefore there is little pressure within the government to produce outcomes and performance.⁹

The second issue that receives the attention of participants is proposals that diverge from development priorities. The appearance of such proposals is the result of the vested interests of officials. It is no longer a secret that through proposals of a project nature, officials can manipulate the project to obtain personal gain. This phenomenon occurs within the sub-district government, district government authorities and bodies, as well as from members of the District House of Representatives. A large proportion of the proposals that form part of the District Budget have already been annexed by a number of officials. Sectoral self-importance is seen through proposals that simply prioritize the interests of the authority. Proposals submitted are very often of a project nature. In a balanced budgetary system, such as the one used by Kabupaten Poso, sectoral self-interests can be seen in the reluctance of government authorities to allocate any of their remaining budget funding to other activities.

In Kabupaten Poso, however, the active involvement of NGOs in the Rakorbang forum was not evident. It appeared that the presence of NGOs was a formality. NGOs in Poso seem to keep their distance from the bureaucracy. In contrast to Bangkalan, there are a large number of local and international NGOs in Poso. Unfortunately, the number of NGOs is not relative to their participation in the district development planning process. Although NGOs are involved in the Rakorbang, the forum's

⁹ Dwiyanto, A. et al. (2002). *Reformasi Birokrasi Publik di Indonesia*, Pusat Studi Kependudukan dan Kebijakan. Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Kependudukan dan Kebijakan, Universitas Gajah Mada.

dynamics are nothing special as the NGOs which attend are not very representative. A number of the NGOs invited are partners of the government and are even owned by government officials. NGOs are an important barometer of dynamics because they rationally deal with the bureaucracy. However, according to Kumorotomo,¹⁰ if mutual understanding can be fostered between officials and participants, this group can be used as an intermediary medium between officials and the public.

During the budget formulation process, consultation between the government authorities and Bappeda is more decisive than the Rakorbang. This is proven by the fact that more proposals from the government authorities are accepted in the District Budget than proposals from the Rakorbang. The outcomes from the Rakorbang do not influence the District Budget. Ironically, the Rakorbang, which it was hoped would represent the aspirations of the community through participation, is ignored as the government authorities are at greater liberty to promote their proposals through consultation forums with Bappeda.

In Kabupaten Poso, prior to 2003 the budget formulation process was highlighted by accusations and counter accusations between the authorities and Bappeda. The authorities accused Bappeda, in its capacity as district government program coordinator, of trimming proposal budgets. They feel Bappeda ignored the urgency of the proposals which were trimmed. On the other hand, Bappeda accused the authorities of over-promoting sectoral interests resulting in many proposals diverging from development priorities. Bappeda also felt that the government authorities and the sub-district do not take into account the budgetary capabilities of the district when submitting proposals.

As a result of these mutual accusations between the authorities and Bappeda, Bappeda eventually lost the authority to trim the proposals of the authorities. Instead, proposals are now evaluated, apportioned a budget estimate, and then taken directly to the Discussion Meeting with the DPRD. This alternative, however, does not solve the problem, for now the DPRD has responded in the same vein with members of the DPRD in Bangkalan threatening to trim the proposals from the district and even sub-district government authorities. The DPRD hopes the Rakorbang or internal consultation with the Executive is able to produce rational proposals that are in line with development priorities. As a result, any proposals submitted to the House would already be finalized and not need to undergo further processing. This would allow for a more effective budget formulation process.

In both Kabupaten Bangkalan and Kabupaten Poso, the most heated discussion during budget formulation occurs during the Working Meeting between the government authorities and the DPRD. It

¹⁰ Kumorotomo, W. (1992). *Etika Administrasi Negara*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press.

is in this forum that proposals compete to receive direct approval. Since Bappeda does not have the authority to reject proposals, it is the DPRD that determines whether a proposal is approved or not. During the meeting between the government authorities and the DPRD there is often a clash of opinions. Members of the House always try their utmost to have proposals from their constituents approved to prove the Member is working hard for his/her voters. More interesting is the involvement of money politics in the budget formulation process; in order to have proposals approved, the government authorities will often have to bribe members of the House.

The practice of money politics within the budget formulation process is actually a reflection of the sorry state of the bureaucracy, a result of officials' low moral standards. Hendaridi,¹¹ Head of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute, has stated that the continued patronage from business inevitably gives rise to KKN at all levels, preventing criticism and objections. He claims that the wider bureaucracy has been infected by a 'levy bureaucracy' mentality as there are very few bureaucratic matters that do not involve bribes. This view explains the fact that the infiltration of money politics into the budget formulation process is a result of the business interests of both the Executive and Legislature. Many government authorities and members of the House submit proposals that smack of being project in nature, from which they can gain financial and political benefit. Politically, the House tries to exploit the proposals to satisfy their constituents' interests. In this process, both the government authorities and members of the House orchestrate coordination with those that will implement the project approved for the District Budget. When this occurs, the tender process will be manipulated. It is clear that the practice of money politics in the budget formulation process has implications for the transparency of the resulting governance.

According to Anderson¹² there are a number of values which form the basis for the behavior of public decision makers. These values include personal values that can be practiced by these decision makers to defend the status quo, to chase personal wealth, etc. Accusations and counter accusations between the Executive and Legislature, marking-up development proposals, and the involvement of bribe money in the budget formulation process at the district level reveals the strength of personal interests in public policy creation. According to Ong Hok Ham,¹³ such behavior can be explained by the fact that everyone wants to receive a 'percentage' from the state.

¹¹ Hendaridi. (1999). *Demokratisasi dan Otonomi*. Jakarta: Penerbit Kompas.

¹² Anderson, J.E. (1979). *Public Policy Making*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

¹³ Hok Ham, O. (1999). 'Sejarah Pembesar di Indonesia'. In Abdul Wahab (Ed.), *Ekonomi Politik Pembangunan* (pp. 35–43). Malang: Brawijaya Press.

A number of interesting issues related to the budget formulation process that warrant attention include: use of Unexpected Expenses items; differences in the budget system used; weaknesses of DPRD resources, and; budget duplication. Unexpected Expenses is the only item in the District Budget whose use is the prerogative of the District Head. This money can be accessed in emergency situations. A number of research participants admitted that use of these funds is extremely flexible. In an area like Kabupaten Bangkalan, this budget item is often used to cover any funding shortages within the government authorities and other government bodies. In 2003, the Kabupaten Bangkalan DPRD questioned the use of the Unexpected Expenses funding to pay for Direct Expenses like office supplies. In comparison, in conflict areas this budget item is usually referred to as Emergency Funding. This budget item is used in Poso for addressing conflict. In 2003, Rp. 8 billion was allocated to this budget item.

The budget formulation process has changed since the introduction of the Regional Autonomy policy. The new system is known as a Budget System with a Performance Approach, replacing the old Balanced Budget System. The new approach has a simpler structure and therefore is easier for the public to understand. A performance approach encourages the bureaucracy to take more responsibility and this system is one of surplus and deficit. In comparison with the Balanced Budget System, the potential for transparency towards the details of budget use is very high in this new system. With the old system, budget items were very general and unclear, so there was large opportunity for budget manipulation. In addition, a system based on a Balance approach tends to lead to manipulation by sectoral egotism, as each government authority would try to use their entire budget allocation.

The DPRD Members' lack of ability has become an issue that the Members must face. The weakness of House Members' capabilities was highlighted as the reason for the House's 'defeat' by the Executive when they met to formulate the budget. Furthermore, when these two bodies meet, the Executive will often win any discussions or arguments between the two (in Bangkalan and Poso). As a result, proposals which prioritize the interests of the Executive are relatively common. The officials of the Executive are more skilled because they have a tertiary education and have experience in budget management. In comparison, members of the Legislature have varied levels of education and experience because they are chosen through the political process rather than a process of recruitment. The fact that members of the House are only appointed for five years is another reason for the House's relatively low level of skills. This combination of poor level of skills and the short period of time individuals are appointed to the House has resulted in vested interests and consequently shady deals and money politicking during budget formulation. Therefore, a number of the proposals submitted to the District

Budget are project in nature because they have been appropriated by government authorities or members of the House.

Cases of budget duplication through manipulation of budget entries by members of the Kabupaten Poso DPRD highlight the dynamics of the budget formulation process. The DPRD can manipulate the District Budget by tinkering with various budget items and can even add new budget items. Whatever the reason, the DPRD's manipulation of the budget reflects the strength of the Legislature and Executive in struggling for funding allocation. The DPRD, which should be the controlling institution, is precisely whose manipulative actions need to be controlled. Active steps taken by NGOs to involve the media were quite effective in opening this case up to the public. Although these protests did not bring about any change, the fact that the public's attention was brought to the manipulation of funds was an important lesson that misuse of funds does not just occur at the Executive level but also in the legislative body.

The second lesson from this case was how important it is to make the District Budget Draft public so the community can also comment on and criticize the proposals to be discussed by members of the House. Essentially, the government's attempts to inform, consult and involve residents in policy formation cannot replace representative democracy, and is not meant to replace it. Rather, these efforts are all done to equip and strengthen democracy as a whole.¹⁴

2.3 Transparency and Receptivity of the District Government to Input from the Public

Public participation in government decision-making is an important measure of receptivity. In Kabupaten Bangkalan, the public have begun to become involved in the UDKP and Rakorbang forum mechanisms. The public do not just attend but are also able to exert their aspirations by examining the suitability of development proposals. In comparison, in Kabupaten Poso public participation in development forums is only a formality because the public does not have the opportunity to express their aspirations. Even their minimal level of participation is nullified as the document coming out of the Rakorbang has little influence on the District Budget. However, the Rakorbang forum is the only forum in which the public can become involved in policy formation.

Public participation is very low due to the lack of willingness of the government to allow for such participation. The government is hesitant to accept input from the public. The involvement of the

¹⁴ OECD. (2001). *Warga Negara Sebagai Mitra: Buku Panduan OECD tentang Informasi, Konsultasi dan Partisipasi Publik dalam Pembuatan Kebijakan*. Jakarta: Friedrich Naumann Siftung.

public in the development planning process is limited to fulfilling regulation requirements. If the outcomes of the Rakorbang that have been obtained through participatory means are not taken into account in the District Budget, then how can we say the public have participated?

To allow the public to evaluate development plans or results, there needs to be publicity or familiarization. Unfortunately, the local government has not shown the willingness to do this. This is evident in the fact neither the Rakorbang outcomes nor the District Budget or its draft were made public. The Rakorbang outcomes were passed directly to Bappeda for documentation. In Kabupaten Bangkalan, it is hard for journalists to access the Rakorbang's proposal documents. To access any information, journalists must collect information independently by using their own links and connections, as officials are unwilling to provide such information. This also happens in Poso where to obtain information about the District Budget Draft, NGOs must have connections with someone on the inside (a government official). This is despite such information actually being public property.

Observations have revealed that public access to public forums such as the DPRD Plenary Sessions for discussing the annual District Budget Draft is also difficult. Although the Kabupaten Poso DPRD provided seats for journalists and NGOs, not one of these seats was filled. As another example, when this researcher tried to enter as a community representative, the officials were very suspicious and asked a lot of questions. Furthermore, when this researcher asked for the documents handed out to the participants, the officials refused. Two conclusions can be made from this event. *First*, officials do not understand that the forum is a public forum and anyone is allowed to attend. *Second*, the public do not usually attend the DPRD forum so when they do try to attend it is considered odd.

In Bangkalan, although the public (represented by NGOs) have begun to become involved in formulating local documents in the Rakorbang, their involvement is still very minimal. Not all proposals submitted are relayed in detail so it is hard for NGOs to evaluate the proposals on the public's behalf. There is also the strong impression that the size of budget allocations are covered up. These attempts to cover up information relating to the budget are linked to concern from public officials over the practice of marking-up. The officials also do not want the proposals they submit, which show signs of mark-up, to be criticized because if the budget allocations are trimmed then they will receive a smaller allocation. In Kabupaten Poso, the involvement of NGOs is even more concerning because their involvement in the Rakorbang forum is limited to one of formality. NGOs are not present at the sub-district level UDKP.

The lack of transparency from the local government is also seen in the manipulation of the tender process. The current tender process is also just a formality. Although all requirements are met in

this process, the winner is determined beforehand. Deals are made between those applying for the tender and the government authority. The term '3-4-4' refers to the percentage given to certain officials as payment for awarding projects. Officials and some of the public know about this problem, but it is hard to overcome because those involved are key members of the Legislature and Executive. This perception, behavior and managerial style, based on misuse of authority and position, is a bureaucratic disease. Such behavior arises because officials forget that their authority is not inherently owned by them, but rather embodies a responsibility that must be served in the interests of the entire community.¹⁵ Efforts to keep information from the public amount to a type of bureaucratic secrecy. Difficulty in accessing information narrows the opportunity for public participation. Without information, the public cannot examine and evaluate the accountability of development planning and implementation.

On many occasions, members of the House has accused the Executive, who often act independently, of carrying out their tasks without involving the House. In Kabupaten Poso, a number of projects have gone ahead without the approval of the members of the DPRD. This can occur because government authorities tinker with projects that are part of the District Budget without meeting with the members of the House. Although the DPRD in Poso has condemned this behavior since 2001, in 2003 government authorities continued to follow the same practice. A number of projects still go ahead without the approval of the House. Similar practices occur in Kabupaten Bangkalan, where the Executive continues to allocate funding for recruitment of civil servant candidates without House approval. This occurrence proves that the Executive does not respect public decisions made by the Legislature and Executive itself. Unfortunately, the Legislature merely accepts this situation and does not take political or legal steps to address it. These practices continue because the root of the problem is the domination of certain groups and interests within the bureaucracy.

Finally, political alliances also appear to have a strong influence on the local government's receptivity. The domination of one party means all important positions in the Executive and the Legislature are controlled. The stronghold over the positions of District Head, Head of Bappeda, Head of the DPRD and Heads of DPRD Commissions preserves the vested interests of small groups within the government. The interests of a few dominate over the interests of the general public. Political opposition will not be heard.

¹⁵ Siagian, S.P. (1994). *Patologi Birokrasi-Analisis, Identifikasi dan Terapinya*. Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia.

3 Conclusions and Recommendations

3.1 Conclusions

Multi-stakeholder Forums

Multi-stakeholder forums are divided into two categories based on open and closed membership. Multi-stakeholder forums have closed membership if there are fundamental regulations that determine who can join the forum. In contrast, open membership refers to when membership is unrestricted and open to anyone. All multi-stakeholder forums have a tendency to be inclusive by involving all elements of society in one forum. The inclusiveness of a forum is important in; however, more important still is ensuring that a forum's recruitment processes are fair and frequent. Currently, the majority of multi-stakeholder forums do not place importance on forum regeneration. In addition, low participation from members will give rise to elitism and the localization of power around a few individuals and, consequently, a lack of transparency and accountability within the forum.

Organizations that frequently work as partners with the forums at the district level include Bappedas, the DPRD, and relevant government authorities. Particular to conflict areas, the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection most intensively coordinates with multi-stakeholder forums. Forums coordinate with Bappeda as a result of Bappeda's role as the district level development program coordinator. Coordination with DPRD is done to externally ensure a forum's effectiveness and receive political support for the activities and existence of a forum. The closeness of a forum to the bureaucracy is strongly determined by the processes that led to the forum's establishment. The bureaucracy's facilitation of a forum tends to have implications for the potential cooptation of the forum.

Multi-stakeholder forums have various legal bases including those based on a District Head Decree, Notarial Document, and organizational statute. Forums based on a District Head's decree receive funding from the District Budget. Funding usage accounting is presented to the District Head. Multi-stakeholder forums that are formed for projects are included in this category. Forums based on Notarial Documents are similar to NGOs and tend to have a strong project orientation. In comparison, multi-stakeholder forums which prioritize coordination are usually formed through the communal interests of its members as is depicted in their organizational statute.

The transparency of a multi-stakeholder forums and its receptivity to public input is closely related to the forum's member recruitment processes. Fair recruitment processes have the potential to foster forum transparency and vice versa. Forum transparency is also influenced by the bureaucracy's

goodwill and other organizations associated with the forum. The level of member participation also affects the extent to which a forum is transparency.

A forum's location is strategic for accessing programs and stakeholders. Locating a secretariat in the city center or project site allows stakeholders easy access to the forum and facilitates coordination with relevant organizations. A separate secretariat can help safeguard a forum's independence.

A multi-stakeholder forum's basic mandate is to conduct coordination as a representative of its stakeholders. Multi-stakeholder forums also take on mediation and advocacy roles. Multi-stakeholder forums that are primarily focused on coordination usually have more flexible membership than other forums. Cooperation with other organizations is crucial for supporting the effectiveness of forums with a largely mediatory role. In comparison, advocacy-focused forums are similar to NGOs in that their presence is based on a Notarial Document. A forum's ability to make decisions is influenced by members' participation in the forum and the power of external interests over the forum.

Forums based on a District Head decree receive funding from the District Budget. Distribution of funds to this type of forum is based on approval from Bappeda or relevant government authorities. Certain multi-stakeholder forums give an honorarium to core members of their management board (usually forums that receive funding from the District Budget). In comparison, multi-stakeholder forums outside of this group obtain funding independently from their members or from donor organizations. These latter groups manage funds by putting aside money from their projects and activities. Multi-stakeholder forums' main expenses are operational costs associated with their secretariat.

Absolute duplication of forum activities was not seen in any of the forums studied but there is potential for duplication between a number of multi-stakeholder forums. Duplication can occur when there are similarities in the role and function of multi-stakeholder forums or because of similarities in the decision-making process. Duplication usually occurs between forums and government authorities or the DPRD in relation to their coordination, mediation, and advocacy roles.

Dynamics of the Budget Formulation Process

The district level budget formulation process is very dynamic. The involvement of NGOs in participatory development adds to the dynamics of the budget formulation process. Also influencing budget formulation dynamics are the accusations and counter accusations between the DPRD and the government authorities as well as between the government authorities and Bappeda. A combination of pressure from constituents and personal interests results in House members trying their utmost to have certain proposals accepted. In comparison, within the government, authorities sectoral egotism is seen

through the promotion of proposals that promote the authority's own interests, without considering the needs of other authorities, as well as through the unwillingness to allocate any remaining funding to other authorities at the end of the financial year. It is the involvement of the vested interests of House members and government authorities that has caused such a large number of proposals to diverge from development priorities.

The most heated debate over budget formulation occurs during the Working Meeting between the government authorities and the DPRD as it is during this meeting that proposals are cut by the House. There is rampant political dealing and money politicking to ensure proposals of a project nature are included in the District Budget. The strength of the argument is often the deciding factor in whether a proposal is approved or not.

In Kabupaten Bangkalan, the budget formulation process features a number of proposals that have been marked-up as well as proposals that diverge from development priorities. In Kabupaten Poso, meanwhile, budget formulation is affected by House members, who manipulate budget items. These phenomena basically come down to one thing: the prioritization of certain groups and individuals through budget mark-ups.

Sectoral egotism and the clash of interests between government authorities, bodies and other entities, or between the Executive and Legislature, have meant that the outcomes of the Rakorbang are always ignored. The outcomes of the Rakorbang achieved through participatory planning do not form part of the District Budget due to the number of vested interests vying against each other during the budget formulation process.

The transparency of the District Governments in budget formulation is relatively low. For example, in Kabupaten Bangkalan although NGOs are involved in the budget formulation process from the UDKP onwards, the Executive is still keeps budget proposals quite closed. In Kabupaten Poso the situation is worse because the Rakorbang is only a formality and is manipulated by forum participants.

In both Kabupaten Bangkalan and Kabupaten Poso, there are many irregularities in the tender process. In fact the tender process is a sham; the winner has been determined before the tender process begins.

Other important indicators of the low level of transparency in these District Governments include the fact neither the outcomes of the Rakorbang nor the final District Budget are made public. This secrecy that makes it hard for the public to participate in the development process. Public documents should be published in order for the public to scrutinize these documents. The only

opportunity to examine any proposals is through the Rakorbang forum which has minimal levels of participation. In terms of participation, Kabupaten Bangkalan is more open than Kabupaten Poso.

The Executive has the tendency to operate on its own and ignore the DPRD. For example, the executives (government authorities) in the two districts studied here often tamper with projects without the approval of the DPRD. This shows the low level of receptivity the district governments have towards input from the public. The continuing lack of meaningful involvement of non government elements in the Rakorbang is also an indicator of the government's low level of receptivity to input from the public.

The political landscapes of Bangkalan and Poso are rife with vested interests and nepotism. The domination of certain political parties has implications for important budget items and could trigger KKN or other irregularities.

3.2 Recommendations

Based on the dynamics of budget formulation and the experiences of multi-stakeholder forums in the two districts under examination here, a number of important recommendations can be made:

1. While the broadest possible range of participants is important for ensuring the inclusiveness of multi-stakeholder forums, more important still is a fair recruitment process. To achieve this, before a multi-stakeholder forum is launched, a joint team made up of credible people such as community figures, speakers of the House, the Head of Bappeda and representatives from pre-existing multi-stakeholder forums, needs to be formed. This joint team would be responsible for planning the establishment of the forum and identifying which individuals should be invited to join.
2. To safeguard the performance of multi-stakeholder forums, routine re-organization and publicization of forum tasks to members and the general public is necessary.
3. The coordination of multi-stakeholder forums should be handed over to Bappeda, not the government authorities, to minimize the encroachment of sectoral interests into the forums. Bappeda can legitimately act as stakeholder facilitator due to its position as program development coordinator at the district level, and to the fact that it can operate vertically and horizontally.
4. Those that need to be included in multi-stakeholder forum membership include Bappeda, the DPRD, journalists, the BPD forum, relevant government authorities, and

the Public Prosecution. For SPADA, relevant government authorities that could be considered include the Health Authority, Authority for Education and Learning, and the Authority for Industry, Trade and Cooperatives, Heads of Authorities and the Public Prosecution. It is these authorities that are crucial in safeguarding the effectiveness and transparency of forums.

5. To safeguard their independence, it is best for multi-stakeholder forums to have a secretariat that is separate from all government authorities and bodies. A secretariat should ideally be in the capital of the district to facilitate coordination and public access. Forum management should receive an honorarium as an incentive.
6. Multi-stakeholder forums should have a clear legal basis to provide legal strength to their decision-making capabilities. The legal basis of the forum must clearly explain that the forum's relationship with all other institutions is coordinating one. A District Head's decree is the most appealing option for a multi-stakeholder forum's legal basis. A District Head's Decree also allows the forum to receive funding from the District Budget. Forums should be structured with a coordinator and as many commissions as is necessary. A forum coordinator should not hold two positions concurrently or come from the bureaucracy.
7. Forum transparency can be achieved by promoting member participation. Multi-stakeholder forums should therefore hold routine meetings. All forum activities and use of funds must be reported to forum members and the media. If necessary, such reports should even be advertised.
8. Considering the strength of the dynamics involved in district-level budget formulation, multi-stakeholder forums should meet periodically (at least twice a year) with Bappeda and the DPRD outside of the forum's internal meeting, particularly after important decisions have been made by the forum.
9. The quality of public participation in the development planning process needs to be improved to allow for government stakeholders and non government stakeholders to meet on a level footing, without government-determined involvement. Goodwill on the part of the district government is therefore crucial to creating a participatory development process.
10. Knowledge of the development planning process, particularly the budget formulation process, is a necessity for non government stakeholder participation. Therefore,

development planning documents need to be publicized so the public has sufficient information and justification for conducting development monitoring.

11. The existence of inclusive and representative forums that have been established fairly and transparently are the catalysts for creating transparency (reducing the practices of marking-up and money politicking in budget formulation), participation (involvement of all stakeholders) and efficiency (avoiding duplication and sectoral self-importance). District governments therefore need to encourage the growth of multi-stakeholder forums and begin to conduct dialogue with them.

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Annex 1. Kabupaten Bangkalan Case Study

1. Multi-stakeholder Forums at the District Level

A The FKSP of the Kabupaten Bangkalan Government

The FKSP (Development Planning Coordination and Synchronization Forum) is a district body facilitating development planning communication between development officials in Kabupaten Bangkalan. This forum is also commonly referred to as the Rakorbang. In accordance with the Ministry of Internal Affairs Circular No. 050/987/SJ, 2003 on Guidelines for Implementing Participative Development Coordination Forums, the Rakorbang has undergone several name and structural changes. The most recent change was to the FKSP. The creation of the FKSP in the district was ratified by a District Head's Decree which mandated the formation of the FKSP Committee, which annually organizes the FKSP.

Rakorbang participants in Bangkalan are development officials including government executives (Heads of Authorities and Boards, Head of the District Secretariat, Sub-district Chiefs and Heads of the Section for Village Community Empowerment and Section for Community Health, Head of Departments and Sub-departments of Bappeda), members of legislative bodies, the BPD (Village Representative Board), Stakeholder Forums, Higher Education Institutes, community leaders, and the business community in Bangkalan. Journalists are also invited to join the forum.

The FKSP committee, under Bappeda, decides who the members of the FKSP should be.¹⁶ In implementing the Rakorbang, Bappeda, as the body in charge, installs a committee which is usually chaired by the Executive Director or Secretary of Bappeda. The committee determines which participants are suitable for the meeting. Due to legal requirements, only members of the community can attend the Rakorbang, so the participants change from year-to-year. Membership to the Rakorbang is closed meaning that participants must be invited by the committee. As a result, not everyone can take part in the Rakorbang.

Rakorbang are closely linked to Bappeda and the DPRD. As the development program coordinator at the district level, Bappeda is the Rakorbang facilitator. The outcomes of the Rakorbang are district documents which represent important recommendations for Bappeda in designing development programs and priorities.¹⁷ For the DPRD, the Rakorbang gives important indicators for

¹⁶ Minister of Trade and Industry Circular No. 050/987/ SJ/2003.

¹⁷ Interview with the Secretary of Bappeda, Kabupaten Bangkalan.

knowing what the community's aspirations are, as voiced in the *Jaring Aspirasi* (Aspiration Net), facilitated by the village and sub-district level governments.¹⁸ All DPRD Commissions also send members to participate in the Rakorbang. Other agencies with an interest in the Rakorbang include various other district government authorities.

In comparison to the Rakorbang in Kabupaten Poso, the Rakorbang in Kabupaten Bangkalan are far more dynamic. In these meetings, sub-district authorities and agencies detail their project proposals for evaluation by participants. Although not conveyed in detail, these explanations address the size of the program (the type of program and its total budget).¹⁹ During this process, NGOs are involved from the UDKP (Inter-village Forum) at the sub-district level to the Rakorbang at the district level. This ensures consistent evaluation of and support for proposals from the sub-district and the local government authorities.

Kabupaten Bangkalan development program planning is a step ahead as it involves NGOs during the process. However, the involvement of NGOs is only half-heartedly welcomed by bureaucrats. There are even those that accuse the 29 NGOs behind FOKUS (the Stakeholder Communication Forum) of disrupting and ruining the UDKP.

"There are officials who have reported to the District Head that NGOs have ruined the UDKP. The NGOs are considered to be too critical of proposals put forward by government authorities and the sub-district."

Head of FORMAD (the Madura Forum)

"It was very difficult to get information on the recommendations of the UDKP from the last Rakorbang/FKSPP. The Committee or Bappeda always refuses to provide information, giving a number of reasons. I obtained information about the sub-district's and government authorities' proposals by directly observing their explanations given to the commissions and plenary sessions."

Reporter from *Radar Madura*

The Rakorbang Committee has its secretariat at Bappeda to facilitate the coordination of activities and allow for easy access for anyone interested in the FKSPP. The Bappeda Office building is located in the center of the city on Jalan Sukarno-Hatta No. 35. Coordination of development activities has been carried out by Bappeda for a number of years making public access easier.

The Rakorbang/FKSPP functions to coordinate and synchronize development proposals from the community and program applications from district government authorities. As part of budget

¹⁸ Interview with the Head of Commission C (Budgets), DPRD, Kabupaten Bangkalan.

¹⁹ Interviews with: the Coordinator of the NGO, Mossat (20 Oct 2003); Head of the NGO, Leksdam (19 Oct 2003); SM (23 Nov 2003), and; Secretary of Bappeda (26 Nov 2003).

formulation, the FKSPP is expected to produce agreement between, and commitment from, development officials regarding programs and development activities which require funding from the Bangkalan District Budget, the East Java Provincial Budget, the National Budget (APBN), as well as activities funded by the community themselves. This process is participatory and refers to relevant development planning documents.²⁰ The FKSPP is expected to be capable of producing the following documents: the AKU (General Policy Directions) of the District Budget; the Repetada (Annual District Development Plan); a list of Regional Development Policy Proposals; a list of Investment and Activity Proposals, which is usually in partnership with the private sector, and; a list of Activity Proposals which need further examination.²¹

The decision-making process of the Rakorbang is reasonably long as this process goes through the Village Development Meeting (Musbangdes) at the village level, the UDKP at the sub-district level, and the Rakorbang at the district level. During the Rakorbang, decisions are made through commissions and plenary sessions. Consensus of Rakorbang's members has the greatest weight in the decision-making process.

Box 1: FKSPP Decision-making Mechanisms

The Musbangdes, implemented by the local government, identifies proposals from the village community. All village residents can participate in the Musbangdes. The outcomes of the Musbangdes are brought to the UDKP. The UDKP verifies applications from the village to avoid proposal duplication and then compiles proposals from all villages within the sub-district. The UDKP forum has the same level of representation as district level forums. Participants from the village are represented by the Village Head, Head of the Community Service Institute and Head of the BPD. The outcomes of the UDKP are conveyed to the Rakorbang. Decisions on the priority of applications are made in the Rakorbang and are reached through commissions and plenary sessions. Participants are divided into commissions as is required. In the 2003 Rakorbang in Kabupaten Bangkalan, participants were divided into three commissions, the economic commission, the socio-cultural commission, and the building and infrastructure commission.²² Outcomes from the Rakorbang commission sessions are taken to the plenary sessions. Plenary sessions are the highest forum within the Rakorbang and are based on consensus. Voting is never used to make decisions.

Although the process is protracted and tiring, within two to three days the FKSPP is able to make important decisions. Decisions can be made on several documents such as the AKU and proposals from government authorities and the sub-district. One important factor in decision-making is the pre-FKSPP activities which are held in the days leading up to the FKSPP. Pre-FKSPP activities are carried

²⁰ Interview with the Director of Bappeda, Kabupaten Bangkalan (17 Oct 2003).

²¹ FKSPP Manual, Kabupaten Bangkalan.

²² Interviews with: the Secretary of Bappeda, Kabupaten Bangkalan (30 Nov 2003); the Coordinator of Mossat (20 Oct 2003).

out to prepare FKSPP forum material and organize the forum's agenda. These activities are imperative to the FKSPP running smoothly.

Funding for Rakorbang comes from the District Budget. This funding is allocated through the Development Coordination and Monitoring budget entry. To organize one Rakorbang, which is held over two to three days, costs between Rp. 100 million and Rp. 150 million.²³ The use of funding for these meetings is entirely the responsibility of Bappeda. All reporting is submitted to the District Head.

As of 2003, there was still no stakeholder forum similar to the FKSPP in Kabupaten Bangkalan so no duplication had occurred.

B The PDPP Forum

The PDPP Forum consists of meetings to discuss development issues covered by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) funded Basic Urban Development Program and is a means for government stakeholders and non government stakeholders to come together. Government stakeholders consist of the PDPP Technical Team/Working Group as the working body for the PDPP, which is made up of individuals from the legislative and executive bodies of the DPRD and district level authorities, as well as other functional officials in the District Government. The government stakeholders that take part in the PDPP come from technical bodies that have played a significant role in handling development programs or that have, through inter-sectoral means, provided solutions to development issues. The non government stakeholders are represented by local NGOs as well as individuals such as lawyers, academics, economists, and other people who have the same vision that come together in FOKUS.²⁴ Members of the House are actively involved in the forum, but institutionally are unsympathetic to the presence of FOKUS because this forum is seen to be interfering with the House's duties. Therefore, the House is yet to accept the suggestions from FOKUS meetings.²⁵

Observations reveal that participation in the PDPP forum is high with a wide range of representatives attending. Despite no members of the DPRD attending, a number of meetings have been attended by representatives from district authorities and working units as well as NGOs.

²³ Interview with the Secretary of Bappeda, Kabupaten Bangkalan (30 Oct 2003).

²⁴ Interviews with: KK, Bappeda, (31 Nov 2003), and; IS, Perform Project Consultant (18 Oct 2003).

²⁵ Interviews with: RD, Mossat; BS, FOKUS Coordinator; SM, Head of the PKB (National Awakening Party) Faction.

“The transparency of the PDPP Forum is evident from the involvement of FOKUS in all elements of planning beginning with the Jaring Aspirasi, formulation of the Poldas (Basic Directions) and other development issues. On numerous occasions, information on the use of funds for the forum has been relayed to forum participants.”

Local PDPP Partner

The PDPP Forum secretariat is located in the Bappeda building so it is easily accessible to the public. The public can also visit the FOKUS secretariat on Jalan Veteran No. 4 in Bangkalan. Easy coordination was the main consideration in situating a PDPP Forum secretariat in the Bappeda building, allowing for all elements to be grouped in the forum.²⁶

Funding for the Forum comes from PDPP project funds that are allocated through the District Budget.²⁷ Allocation of these funds must be approved by Bappeda. In 2003, PDPP received Rp. 150 million in funding for activities and operational expenses. In addition to funding from PDPP, a number of the Forum’s activities also receive aid from the USAID Perform Project through facilitation of forum activities.²⁸

PDPP is a participatory planning project orchestrated by Bappeda, so Bappeda, or more specifically the Infrastructure and Construction Board of Bappeda, also manages the coordination of the PDPP Forum. In addition to Bappeda, the Perform Project (USAID) also facilitates PDPP activities through technical assistance to enhance participatory development planning.

The PDPP Forum was formed based on a Decree from the District Head that detailed the function and responsibilities of the Forum. The PDPP Forum does not have a management structure because it is the means for government stakeholders and non government stakeholders to meet. The structure of the PDPP Working Group consists of a First and Second Supervisor, Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary and members, while FOKUS consists of a Coordinator and members.²⁹ The Decree states that the period of management for the PDPP Technical Team is one year. However, despite holding office for two years, Technical Team management has not been replaced.

The mandate of the PDPP Forum is to coordinate between government stakeholder and non government stakeholder elements in the context of participatory and transparent development planning process. The PDPP Forum carries out identification, compilation, discussion and coordination to produce district planning documents such as the Medium Term Development Strategy, the Urban

²⁶ Interviews with: BS, FOKUS; DR, Local PDPP Partner.

²⁷ Interviews with: BS, FOKUS; KK, Bappeda; SD, Bappeda.

²⁸ Interview with IS, Perform Project Consultant.

²⁹ Interview with BS, FOKUS and Kabupaten Bangkalan District Head Decree No. 188.45/36/Kpts/443.013/2001 on the Formation of a Formulation Team for the Basic Urban Development Program (PDPP) Kabupaten Bangkalan, 2001–2002.

Development Investment Program, the Funding Management and Action Planning Program, the Institutional Development and Action Planning Program and the Program for the Development of Community Participation.³⁰ To achieve this, each time discussions of concepts are held by the PDPP Technical Team/Working Group (GS), the PDPP forum always involves FOKUS (NGS) as a partner.³¹

“FOKUS feels the internal forums held by the PDPP Working Group are very elitist because they only include bureaucratic officials. The meetings are not at all egalitarian. They are also rarely held. However, the involvement of FOKUS is enough to represent the interests of the community.”

FOKUS Coordinator, Kabupaten Bangkalan

As the aim of setting up the forum was to address the needs of the project, there was no overlap with other forums. All forum activities deal only with matters relating to the PDPP.

C FOKUS (Stakeholder Communication Forum)

FOKUS is the umbrella organization for non government stakeholders in Kabupaten Bangkalan. The formation of FOKUS was very difficult, owing to differences in opinions between the non government stakeholders grouped under FOKUS. NGOs were worried the government would manipulate the forum because FOKUS' formation was a government initiative resulting from PDPP activities. However, after over three months of work, FOKUS was finally established. The majority of NGOs in Kabupaten Bangkalan joined. While the number of members has since decreased, those remaining are both committed and have stood the test of time.³²

Since FOKUS has become the forum for the PDPP it has involved both government stakeholders and non government stakeholders, including NGOs, community organizations, youth organizations, the private sector, associations and members of the general community that have an interest in the development of Bangkalan.³³ Twenty-nine NGOs and individuals joined, including HMI (the Muslim Students Association), PMII (the Indonesian Muslim Students Movement), Madura Mandiri, PKM (the Association for Small and Medium Enterprises), City Council, LEMPAR, Mossat, ALMARAS, and Leksdam.³⁴ FOKUS is open, independent, and transparent. ‘Open’ means that members can enter or leave the forum at any time.

FOKUS is not a legal entity and is only regulated by a members’ code of ethics. Breaches of this code are met with moral punishment and reprimands from other members. FOKUS members chose not

³⁰ Kabupaten Bangkalan District Head Decree No. 188.45/36/Kpts/443.013/2001.

³¹ Interview with KK, Bappeda.

³² Interview with RD, Local PDPP Partner.

³³ PDPP Development Report, Bappeda, Kabupaten Bangkalan.

³⁴ Interviews with: BS, FOKUS; RD, Local PDPP Partner.

to legally register the forum to avoid formalities and the cooptation of the forum by vested interests. The institutional structure of FOKUS consists of a Coordinator, first and second level Administration, Finance and Logistics.³⁵ The Coordinator is elected directly by the members. Since its formation, neither the Coordinator nor forum management have changed, despite regulations stating the Coordinator and Forum management should be elected annually.³⁶

FOKUS is actively involved in the activities of the UDKP at the sub-district level and the FKSP at the district level, playing a large role in both these forums. The FOKUS Coordinator explained:

“The role and function of FOKUS are as an umbrella organization for dialogue to actively help increase the involvement of the community in all public and political policy processes starting from the village level up to the district level. In comparison, the role of the Forum is as a communication forum between stakeholders and also as an umbrella organization for Bangkalan’s development aspirations.”

FOKUS Coordinator, Kabupaten Bangkalan

Decisions in FOKUS are made democratically through consensus among members. Observations revealed that communication between FOKUS members was well structured which assisted the decision-making process. For example, when the researcher asked FOKUS to organise a focus group discussion, FOKUS members were quickly organised a group meeting. Relationships between members are also egalitarian and fluid, allowing all elements of the community to come together as one.³⁷

The formation of FOKUS is linked to the PDPP program, facilitated by the Perform Project. As Bappeda is the primary body responsible for PDPP, FOKUS works very closely with Bappeda. All tasks handled by FOKUS members are coordinated by the Supervisory Body of PDPP. Coordination of the Jaring Aspirasi, for example, is always done in accordance with Bappeda’s capacity as the agency responsible for planning in the regions. The disbursement of operational funds for FOKUS is approved by Bappeda. FOKUS always works with the PDPP Technical Team when discussing all development issues that they are responsible for.

As the DPRD sees FOKUS as a ‘street-level DPRD’ (*DPRD Jalanan*), FOKUS’ relationship with the DPRD is strained. This perception of FOKUS arose because House members felt FOKUS were taking over the House’s role as community representatives. In comparison, FOKUS feels that although the DPRD could be a strategic partner in forcing policy change, it is being extremely arrogant

³⁵ FOKUS Kabupaten Bangkalan’s General Conference Report.

³⁶ Interviews with: BS, FOKUS; RD, Local PDPP Partner.

³⁷ Interview with YS, Head of FORPES.

as it has refused requests for dialogue. FOKUS is yet to conduct a hearing with the DPRD regarding public policy issues.³⁸ FOKUS feels the Executive, in contrast, has been more accommodating. The Executive, however, still holds the conservative view that FOKUS' role is to assist the government in planning, not to criticize the government's actions.³⁹ Interestingly, on a personal level members of the House see the existence of FOKUS as positive, a fact evident in their frequent attendance of FOKUS forums.⁴⁰

Both the secretariats in Bappeda and on Jalan Veteran are easily accessible to the public because they are located in the middle of the city. Initially the FOKUS secretariat was in the Bappeda office. However, to ensure FOKUS' independence from bureaucratic interests, a second secretariat was opened on Jalan Veteran. However, FOKUS still operates the secretariat in Bappeda.

"The FOKUS secretariat in Bappeda is not intended to co-opt the Forum, but rather to develop more intensive communication."

Director of Bappeda, Kabupaten Bangkalan

FOKUS receives funding through the District Budget's allocation for the PDPP, meaning distribution of funding for FOKUS is through the approval of Bappeda. In the 2003 budget, FOKUS received Rp. 25 million of the Rp. 150 million received by the PDPP forum. FOKUS has accounting mechanisms for Bappeda and its own members to ensure the forum's transparency.

"As Bappeda is the main funding body, they also have the largest responsibilities. FOKUS itself is accountable to the Forum for the funding it receives, because if they were accountable to the government, there is concern the independence of FOKUS would be questioned."

FOKUS Coordinator, Kabupaten Bangkalan

Although the DPRD is worried about the expansion of FOKUS' role, which would allow it to become a street-level DPRD, the presence of FOKUS has created synergies and encouraged genuine community participation. FOKUS' Jaring Aspirasi and the DPRD can work in harmony because the interests of FOKUS are to assist PDPP activities, while the interests of the House are to collect information for budget formulation.

³⁸ Interview with RD, Local PDPP Partner.

³⁹ Interview with SD, Director of Bappeda, Kabupaten Bangkalan.

⁴⁰ Interview with SM, Head of Commission C, DPRD, Kabupaten Bangkalan.

D FORPES (the Social Safety Net Forum)

FORPES was formed in 2001. Another name for this forum is the FLP (Multi-stakeholder Forum) which was founded by the JPS (Social Safety Net) program. The forum was established as a district level umbrella organization for stakeholders to monitor the distribution of aid through the JPS program.

Members of the forum include most elements of society, such as: Members of the DPRD, bureaucrats, entrepreneurs, legal practitioners, members of the Public Prosecution, reporters, NGO workers, community leaders, and students. Bappeda orchestrated the forum's establishment by inviting all sections of the community to form the FLP. The choice of who should become part of FORPES is carried out through direct election. Determining which official should be in which division is decided by the elected Chairperson.

According to Yasin, the Chairperson of FORPES, Bappeda and the DPRD are the two institutes who most often collaborate with FORPES. The links between FORPES and Bappeda are funding related. FORPES' funding allocation from the District Budget is dispersed with the approval of Bappeda. This mechanism is a tool by which Bappeda controls how FORPES uses its funding. Bappeda also evaluates activities carried out by FORPES, to ensure the forum's effectiveness. FORPES also has a strategic alliance with the DPRD and the mass media to ensure its activities are successful.

The community in Bangkalan has a positive view of FORPES as the Forum is believed to display transparent management. This is expressed in the PDPP stakeholders' analysis document which stated that the Bangkalan FORPES has been carried out according to the desires of the community. A number of cases of misconduct found in the Bangkalan JPS program, discovered by FORPES, have been exposed to the community and resolved through legal channels.⁴¹

“Aside from Bappeda, FORPES’ findings of misconduct in the disbursement of social safety net funds were conveyed to the DPRD. FORPES frequently conducts hearings with the DPRD to attain political support for its findings and therefore act upon them. The mass media is another strategic partner for FORPES. FORPES also regularly conveys its findings to Radar Madura (a local newspaper) so that the public know about the outcomes of FORPES’ activities.”

Chairperson of FORPES, Kabupaten Bangkalan

The establishment of FORPES was based on a Decree from the District Head. Consequently, funding for the forum comes from the District Budget. The District Head's Decree, which regulates FORPES, only describes the tasks and membership of FORPES. The function and role of FORPES is

⁴¹ Stakeholder Analysis of FOKUS.

to observe the implementation of the social safety net and report the results of these observations to the Coordination Team for Program Management (TKPP).

The structure of FORPES is made up of an Advisor and a core structure which includes a Chairperson, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and various divisions. Every year the forum holds an annual meeting to evaluate the forum's impact and to elect a new Chairperson. The election of the Chairperson should be conducted annually, but since 1999 only two people have held the position of FORPES Chairperson. One of them is H. Yasin, the incumbent chairperson.⁴²

“The re-election of the FORPES chairperson and members of the core structure should be carried out once a year. However, to date, there have only been two changes. In the first year, FORPES was headed by Pak Syarif, but since the second year I have been chairperson. Indeed there has been no reorganization since the second year.”

Chairperson of FORPES, Kabupaten Bangkalan

For one year FORPES had its own office at Jalan Mawar, not far from the Kabupaten Bangkalan Government Offices. Some members lived in the office, thus increasing the ease of coordination outside of business hours. An additional reason for having its own secretariat was to establish institutional independence.⁴³ FORPES holds weekly routine meetings after Friday prayers.

In 2003, the FORPES secretariat moved to the home of Chairperson, H. Yasin, on Jalan Raya Socah. The Socah neighborhood is reasonably far from the center of the city and is not considered part of the metropolitan area, but part of a rural sub-district. Public access to the secretariat has therefore become difficult. This move was related to the increased uncertainty regarding the role FORPES played in monitoring the social security net and the increasingly small funding allocations for FORPES from the District Budget.⁴⁴ The uncertainty of FORPES' role is linked to the disappointment of FORPES towards the DPRD and the Public Prosecution not responding to the findings conveyed by FORPES.⁴⁵

E The Madura Education Forum (FPM)

FPM was formed in 2002 as a response to the process of familiarizing the community with the establishment of the Education Council. Seeing the strategic opportunity provided by the Education Council, Mondir Rofi'I,⁴⁶ the Executive Director of the NGO Madura Mandiri (MM) took the initiative

⁴² According to several sources in the field, HY is a large real estate contractor in Bangkalan known to be close to the former District Head. Due to this relationship, HY is not particularly close to the new District Head of Kabupaten Bangkalan.

⁴³ Interview with BS, Coordinator of FOKUS.

⁴⁴ Interview with DR, Local PDPP Partner.

⁴⁵ Interview with BS, Coordinator of FOKUS.

⁴⁶ MD is an influential entrepreneur and NGO activist in Bangkalan. MD is the younger brother of SR who is a descendant of Kyai Cholil—the most influential Kyai family in Bangkalan. MD is also the cousin of District Head FA. Many people refer to MD as the 'Private Authority for Regional Housing and Infrastructure' in Kabupaten Bangkalan due to his influence in

to form the FPM. The planned construction of the Suramadu Bridge (connecting Surabaya and Madura) which was to be followed by industrialization was another important reason for establishing the FPM.⁴⁷

The FPM provides a place for the aspirations and initiatives of education stakeholders in forming education policy and programs, providing policy makers with input on the education system in Madura, and raising the responsibility and active role of all elements of society in increasing the quality of education. In addition, the FPM aims to create an environment and atmosphere in the regions conducive to implementing and improving the quality of education.

In general, the FPM has two functions: to assess and to control. As an assessment body, the FPM gives advice and policy input on the implementation of education in the region. As a control body, the FPM monitors, evaluates and observes the transparency and accountability of education in the region.⁴⁸

FPM has undertaken a number of activities in order to realize its goals and functions. These activities have included advocacy, such as holding hearings with the DPRD to lobby for policies relating to teacher welfare and for the allocation of teachers to be based on need rather than request. This pressure resulted in a public discourse on the matter in Bangkalan. The FPM has also worked with OXFAM Great Britain to conduct a study on the curriculum in Islamic boarding schools and to hold a workshop on alternative education.⁴⁹

As the director of Madura Mandiri was the forum's founder, the FPM uses the facilities of Madura Mandiri.⁵⁰ Observations suggest the role and influence of Mondir is actually larger than that of the Chairperson of the FPM (H. AM). This researcher gained such an impression from the interaction between the Chairperson of FPM⁵¹ and the Director of Madura Mandiri which was stiff and instructive with H. AM appearing to be in a less powerful position than Mondir. The Chairperson of the FPM revealed the forum's management was not independent of the management of Madura Mandiri as both organizations were in one office and the forum was a part of Madura Mandiri.

determining which projects receive funding from the Regional Government. Since PKB came to power in Bangkalan, many of the projects have been awarded to his organization Madura Mandiri.

⁴⁷ FPM Profile.

⁴⁸ Interview with AM, Head of FPM.

⁴⁹ Interview with SK, Madura Mandiri.

⁵⁰ Madura Mandiri is a large NGO in Bangkalan working in all fields, from regional planning to providing program facilitators and assistants. Madura Mandiri also has a division of contractors.

⁵¹ H. AM is the younger sibling of H. SM, Head of Commission C (Budgets) in the Kabupaten Bangkalan DPRD. This relationship has strategic meaning in deciding on projects in the district. According to NGO circles, this is the reason MR appointed AM as the Chairperson of FPM.

There are other basic signs that the FPM management is not independent of Madura Mandiri, such as the fact that all FPM files are stored in a safe at Madura Mandiri. According to Muad, an officer of Madura Mandiri, accounting of funding is also forwarded to Madura Mandiri accountants. The management of funds is handled by the Director of Madura Mandiri. Since the forum's formation, management has never held a meeting to answer to the members. The Chairperson of FPM himself acknowledged this and stated that the FPM management cannot be fully implemented as only 2–3 people are active. After implementing programs in accordance with the proposal, the Chairperson reports to the donor organizations.⁵²

The membership involved in the management of the FPM is reasonably broad. Members include education NGOs, community leaders, religious leaders, education experts, school committees, the Authority for Education and Learning, the DPRD (Commission E), education institutes, and teacher organizations. According to the Head of Programs under the Kabupaten Bangkalan Authority for Education and Learning, the status of the FPM is unclear as it was formed independently of the Authority for Education and Learning. On several occasions the Authority for Education and Learning has been invited to meetings but it has never taken part.⁵³

Initially the existence of the FPM gave rise to potential duplication with the Education Council. This potential existed because the Organizations' Statutes both stated a similar vision, mission, and role. The establishment of the FPM was actually inspired by the concept of the Education Council. This was evident whenever the FPM applied for funding from the District Budget. However, the District Budget now only provides funding to the Education Council (see the Kabupaten Bangkalan Education Council section below for more information on this relationship).

“The Madura Education Forum could be a forum like the Education Council; however, there is a District Head's Decree which states that the Education Council is an official organization formed by the government in accordance with a Ministerial Decree. Therefore it is the Education Council that should receive funds from the District Budget.”

Head of the Kabupaten Bangkalan Education Council

Each management period is three years with the option of re-election for a fourth year. The structure of management includes the Chairperson, Secretary, and Treasurer. The Chairperson of the

⁵² Interview with AM, Chairperson of FPM.

⁵³ Interview with Head of the Authority for Education and Learning, Kabupaten Bangkalan.

FPM, Abdullah Muad, is one of the managers in the Kabupaten Bangkalan Education Council so there are dual position responsibilities.⁵⁴

The FPM is not a legal entity, yet a statute regulates the organization's operations. According to the statute, funding for the FPM is derived from members, the District Budget, collaboration with donors, and funding from other intermittent sources. However, to date FPM funding has only been raised from two sources, independent funding from its founder and project funding from the donor organization OXFAM Great Britain. Any funding remaining after carrying out these activities is used to run the operations of the FPM. The FPM is directly accountable to the donor organization for this funding. The FPM did lodge a submission for funding from the District Budget but this was rejected by the DPRD. Instead, the Education Council received funding from the District Budget.

F Kabupaten Bangkalan Education Council

The Education Council in Kabupaten Bangkalan was formed in May 2003 by the Authority for Education and Learning which invited groups and individuals that were considered to be representative of the community to join. Those invited included: Bappeda, the Authority for Religion, the Authority for Education and Learning, NGOs, Commission E (Education) and Commission B (Development) of the DPRD, Posma Lima (a school association), community leaders, student representatives, and key figures in the education sector.

The Education Council of Kabupaten Bangkalan was authorized through a District Head Decree. However, it has yet to be officially opened by the new District Head Fuad due to an antagonistic relationship between himself and the Head of the Education Council.

"In addition to the Head of the Education Council, the District Head also dislikes several members of the Education Council. Consequently, the Education Council still hasn't been officially launched. However, the delayed launching of the Education Council does not reduce its validity."

Head of Programs, Authority for Education and Learning, Kabupaten Bangkalan

The Education Council has four roles: advisory, supporting, controlling, and mediating. These roles are set down in the Department of National Education Decree No. 44, 2002. According to this Decree, the Education Council has the role of assessing the design and implementation of education policy; providing financial support, expertise and manpower in the implementation of education; maintaining transparency and accountability of education implementation and spending, and; mediating

⁵⁴ The Secretary of the Madura Education Forum, SZ, is the Head of Fatayat Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as well as the wife of the Head of the Kabupaten Bangkalan DPRD. The Head of the Kabupaten Bangkalan DPRD is also the older brother of M. With such close ties within the FPM, it would be difficult to say that the forum is transparent.

between the government, the DPRD and the community. To carry out its roles, the Education Council possesses a number of responsibilities.⁵⁵

Since its formation, the Education Council has met with the Authority for Education and Learning and Bappeda. Concrete steps taken by the Education Council include lobbying for attention to be given to *Kejar Paket B* (a Funding Package available to adults to help them obtain a Junior High School Education) to help it become a priority in the formulation of the District Budget. Communication with Members of the DPRD tends to be on a personal rather than formal basis. The Education Council has also conducted meetings with the School Committees in Bangkalan by inviting all relevant school associations. At present, the Kabupaten Bangkalan Education Council is discussing issues of teacher movement, equitable and transparent assistance, and school mergers. The Kabupaten Bangkalan Education Council is now formulating a policy that will be promoted to the Authority for Education and Learning and the DPRD, in particular Commission E which is responsible for Education and Welfare.⁵⁶

As stated in the District Head's Decree, the Education Council is entitled to funding from the District Budget. In 2003, the Education Council requested Rp. 150 million but only Rp. 100 million was approved. Funding for the Education Council came under the budget allocation received by the Authority for Education and Learning. As a result, coordinating the distribution of these funds was conducted with the Authority. The Education Council used their budgetary allocation in 2003 for establishing a secretariat as well as various initial coordination activities. It is currently completing the secretariat which is next to the NU's Kabupaten Bangkalan branch office.⁵⁷ The Head of the Education Council is the Head of the Kabupaten Bangkalan branch of NU. The secretariat is in the city so provides easy public access.

The presence of the Education Council in Kabupaten Bangkalan is quite controversial because it is in direct competition with another institution, the FPM. As stated above, the FPM and Education Council have the same function and role. The FPM was created first with the expectation that it would be established as the Education Council in Kabupaten Bangkalan. However, the political processes took another path. The District Head of Kabupaten Bangkalan initiated the formation of the Kabupaten

⁵⁵ These include: encouraging increased attention and commitment from the community towards implementing quality education; working with the community on an individual and organizational levels, the government and the DPRD in relation to providing good quality education; promoting and analyzing the aspirations, ideas and educational needs raised by the community; providing input, assessment and recommendations to the DPRD on education policies; encouraging parents and the broader community to participate in education, and; conducting evaluation and monitoring of education policies, programs, activities and outputs.

⁵⁶ Interview with IB, Head of the Education Council.

⁵⁷ Interview with IB, Head of the Education Council.

Bangkalan Education Council. Only the Education Council is entitled to receive funding from the District Budget. After the Education Council was established, FPM moved to become an NGO because overlap of both function and roles would have occurred if both these organizations had continued to vie for responsibility. To date, the Kabupaten Bangkalan Education Council has not been especially active.

G The Tera' Bulan Forum

The Tera' Bulan Forum was established in Kabupaten Bangkalan in 2003. The forum was formed in reaction to the formalization of the institution representing the interests of artists and cultural observers in Bangkalan. Since 2001, but prior to the existence of the Tera' Bulan Forum, there had been two official organizations, the Bangkalan Arts Council (DKB) and the Private DKB. The first organization was created by the government, while the second was formed by independent artists. Although both these organizations had the same structure, their membership and interests were largely different, however, there was some overlap in interests in terms of trying to attract funding from the District Budget.⁵⁸ Consequently, there was some duplication between these two organizations.

The Private DKB arose as a reaction of disappointment to the government's formation of the DKB. Ironically, both these forums are defunct as members resigned due to the competition between the two.

"The Government and Private Bangkalan Arts Councils both died as quickly as they were born because of internal organizational conflicts."

The DKB Forum Coordinator

Moving on from these events, the artists and cultural observers of Bangkalan organized a monthly meeting on each full moon. These meetings eventually formed the basis of the Tera' Bulan Forum. Made up of artists and cultural observers in Bangkalan, the Tera' Bulan Forum is committed to the development of Bangkalan culture through artworks, dance, paintings and performances. Membership is open, meaning all artists and cultural observers can enter and leave the forum without constraint.

Each month, forum members meet to display local artwork. The forum also discusses issues relating to the development of regional art in Bangkalan. At each meeting, the agenda for the following meeting is agreed upon. The forum has a coordinator who is responsible for running the meetings. The coordinator is elected directly by forum members once a year. In turn, the members leave it up to the

⁵⁸ Interview with the Coordinator of the Tera' Bulan Forum.

coordinator to choose a management team for the forum. Forum members have rejected attempts to formalize the forum, for example through the District Head's Decree or other legal means, because they feel it will restrict the freedom of the forum's members. Members have agreed on the forum as an association of Bangkalan artists and cultural observers.

"Members of the Tera' Bulan Forum rejected the legal constraints imposed by the District Head's Decree on the forum because they did not want to be restricted by regulations. The District Head suggested the Decree but we rejected it. The incident when the Private DKB's proximity to the District Head resulted in being used as a political vehicle to obtain votes in the last District Head elections was lesson enough."

DKB Coordinator

To ensure transparency, at each Tera' Bulan meeting information is given on all forum developments. The most important issue relates to the forum's cash flow which comes from membership fees. Before the meetings begin, the forum's cash situation is relayed to all participants. However, not only funding matters are discussed; as the forum is open in nature, all proposals are also presented to the forum for approval.

Throughout 2003, the Tera' Bulan Forum conducted a campaign promoting Bangkalan's regional art. Funding for this campaign came from members themselves as well as from those concerned with Bangkalan culture. In addition to approaching the District Head and Members of the House about the need to create a policy supporting the development of regional art, the Forum also published a CD of regional artworks. Every month there is a meeting and an art and cultural exhibition which rotate from one place to the next. However, according to Agus, Coordinator of the Tera' Bulan forum, there is very little enthusiasm from bureaucrats for what the forum does.

The Tera' Bulan Forum has an independent secretariat on Jalan Kyai Cholil No. 16 in Bangkalan. The secretariat was established to facilitate coordination between forum members. If no agreement can be reached about the location of the following meeting, then the meeting is held at the secretariat. The secretariat also becomes a means of communication with other groups and individuals. The forum is self-funded and is reliant on donations. There is no overlap with other forums.

H Other Forums

The Mobile Street Vendors' Association is an umbrella organization for the mobile street vendors in Bangkalan. This association carries the aspirations and addresses the problems faced by mobile street vendors. The main aim of this association is to maintain the appearance of the city and at the same time protect the rights of mobile street vendors. This association works with the District Head and the DPRD. The association also has a close relationship with a number of NGOs that are part of

FOKUS and frequently works with the PDPP. The association has conducted dialogue with the District Head and the DPRD regarding improvements to the city's layout. M. Yusuf is currently the Head of the Association.

The Becak Drivers' Association was formed to represent the aspirations of *becak* drivers, who are often the focus of debate in Bangkalan. Unfortunately, during the last general elections, the association was used by one of the parties to mobilize the masses. The Head of the Association is Sadewi.

The UKM (Small and Medium-scale Enterprises) association was initially formed to represent the community's small and medium-scale enterprises in order to open opportunities for financial assistance. It was formed at the time KUT (Agricultural Enterprise Credit) assistance was available in Bangkalan. The UKM has received joint funding from both Bappeda and Depkop (the Department for Cooperatives and Small to Medium Scale Enterprises). However, after receiving KUT assistance, the interests of certain individual and groups began to play a large role in the association. It is headed by Maksum Yakni.

The Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin) is a stakeholder forum for traders and industrialists. At present the Head of Kadin is also the Deputy District Head of Kabupaten Bangkalan.

GAPENSI (the National Entrepreneurs Union) is a stakeholder forum for entrepreneurs, particularly contractors. Contractors that wish to submit tenders must register as a member of GAPENSI.

2. Dynamics of the District Budget Formulation Process in Kabupaten Bangkalan

The process of formulating the District Budget is a collaboration between the executive and the legislative government bodies. The Budget Team of the Executive coordinates all program proposals from executive bodies. The Budget Team is led by the District Secretary and has as its members, representatives from various District government bodies, authorities, and working groups. Members change each year. In contrast, the Budget Committee attached to the Legislature has the same members for five years.

Generally, the formulation of the District Budget is divided into two stages, the formulation at the executive and legislative level, and discussion in the DPRD. Formulation at the executive level culminates in the Rakorbang. Before and after the Rakorbang, government authorities and working groups collaborate with Bappeda as the district's development program coordinator. Budget formulation at the legislative level derives from the Jaring Aspirasi, meetings between Commissions and government authorities, bodies and working groups, faction and committee meetings as well as budget committee meetings.

The discussion stage in the DPRD comprises four plenary meetings:

- Executive Financial Accounts Presentation;
- the General Opinions of the Various DPRD Factions;
- the Response of the Executive to the General Opinions of the DPRD Factions; and
- the Final Opinions of the DPRD Factions.

These four steps combined usually take 2 to 3 months. The final decision is made during the DPRD plenary sessions. The dynamics of budget formulation are most evident during working meetings between the Executive and the DPRD.

In Kabupaten Bangkalan, the Budget Team and the Budget Committee use district documents such as the Poldas, Propeda (Regional Development Program), Renstrada (District Strategic Plan), the District's Vision and Mission statements, and the AKU as reference points from which to draft the District Budget Draft. Both the executive and the legislative bodies use the Rakorbang, the Jaring Aspirasi, activity monitoring and evaluation as well as direct input from the community as the means by which they compile the data for budget formulation.

The Jaring Aspirasi is the responsibility of the DPRD and it is carried out by meeting directly with members of the community. These meetings are held several months before budget formulation begins. To ascertain the community's aspirations, members of the DPRD visit their constituents and

provide them with information. The recommendations of the community become the material that is brought up during the Faction and Commission Meetings on Budget Formulation.

“On the one hand, the Jaring Aspirasi is important for the DPRD to ascertain the community’s aspirations. On the other hand, the Jaring Aspirasi also increases the intensity of budgetary formulation dynamics as it places pressure on House members to champion the community’s aspirations.”

Chairman of Commission C, DPRD, Kabupaten Bangkalan

Both the House and the Executive (Bappeda) also listen to the aspirations of the community relayed verbally or through letters. Suggestions are the basis for both bodies to formulate programs. According to House members, these suggestions can be in the form of anonymous letters or proposals. If the views are seen as important or significant, the House will forward these letters on to the Commission Meeting.

At the executive level, program and budget formulation begins by collecting proposals from district authorities and working units. The district authorities formulate their programs by holding an internal office meeting that involves all units. However, not all authorities conduct this process. For example, when formulating programs, the Authority for Education and Learning holds a meeting that involves only the local level authorities, the Authority’s Deputy Head, and the Authority’s Head.

The proposals from the authorities will then be grouped with the proposals from the community at the Forum for Development Planning Coordination and Synchronization (FKSPP/Rakorbang). Since 2002 (for the 2003 budget formulation) Kabupaten Bangkalan has begun using the FKSPP format rather than the Rakorbang format for networking information through the district level stakeholder forums. With the release of Regional Regulation No. 16, 2002 on Management and Responsibility of Regional Finances,⁵⁹ Kabupaten Bangkalan has begun using a performance budgeting system in formulating the District Budget Draft.⁶⁰ The performance budgeting system is intended to be orderly, transparent, accurate, reliable and easily understood. It is an attempt at the first steps towards good governance.⁶¹

⁵⁹ In accordance with Internal Affairs Ministerial Decree No. 29, 2002 on Guidelines for Management, Responsibility and Monitoring of Regional Finances as well as Formulation of District Budgets, Implementation of Regional Finances Administration and Formulation of District Budget Accounting.

⁶⁰ Previously, a traditional budgeting system was used that was based on balance and dynamics. Under the traditional system, the District Budget structure only consisted of Income and Expenses. Regional Expenses consisted of Routine Expenses and Development Expenses. However, using a performance budgeting system, Regional Expenses consists of an Apparatus Expenses Section, a Public Services Expenses Section and each expense section consists of a General Administration Expenses section (indirect expenses), Operations and Maintenance Expenses (direct expenses) and Capital Expenses (direct expenses), as well as Profit Sharing Expenses, Financial Aid and Unforeseen Expenses.

⁶¹ Kabupaten Bangkalan District Head’s Statement of Finances on Kabupaten Bangkalan’s 2003 District Budget Draft.

During this two-day forum, proposals from the authorities and the sub-district were synchronized. In Kabupaten Bangkalan, the Rakorbang/FKSPP are quite dynamic because NGOs are involved from the discussion stage at the sub-district level (UDKP). Unfortunately, not all proposals that are submitted at the FKSPP, including those from both government authorities and the UDKP forum, can be explained in detail but only referred to by name and the size of the program. This makes it hard for NGOs in particular to highlight their program's benefits. The limited timeframe of the Rakorbang means not all proposals can be evaluated by participants.

NGOs point out that there is a practice of marking-up the majority of proposals submitted to the Rakorbang. This is explained in the following quote:

“The practice of marking-up is done by those submitting the proposals, both from the government authorities and the sub-district, because they know proposals will be trimmed down at the Rakorbang by Bappeda or during discussion at the DPRD. At the 2003 Rakorbang, of the 978 successful program/project proposals, this number was trimmed to only 362. This trimming was done because of program overlap and because many proposals did not make sense.”

Coordinator of FOKUS, Kabupaten Bangkalan

Box 2: Accusations of NGOs regarding the Development Proposals of FKSPP

A number of proposals were considered unreasonable by NGO members of FOKUS. Kecamatan Bangkalan Kota submitted a proposal for one computer and internet connection at the estimated cost of Rp. 150 million, without stating the brand or specifications of the computer. There were also proposals for office renovations for the District Industry Authority worth Rp. 300 million (Kecamatan Bangkalan), Legal Education Activities worth Rp. 250 million (submitted by 18 sub-districts), and Handling Community Complaints worth Rp. 450 million (District Monitoring Board, Bawasda).⁶² Despite the number of proposals being cut by 55%, in terms of budget this was only a 20% cut.⁶³ Another example of irrational proposals submitted to the Rakorbang forum was the increase in total costs of proposals submitted to Rp. 8 trillion, despite there only being Rp. 200 billion in block grants in Kabupaten Bangkalan.⁶⁴

These NGOs are also upset with the lack of responsibility by bureaucratic officials when formulating budgets. Apart from proposals that smack of mark-ups, many proposals from the government authorities, sub-district, and other bodies depart from the Strategic Issues. The Kabupaten Bangkalan's Regional Strategic Plan states that the improvement of human resources should be the

⁶² Jawa Pos, 20 July 2003.

⁶³ Interview with the Coordinator of Leksdam.

⁶⁴ Jawa Pos, 20 July 2003.

number one priority in district development through improving education and health services.⁶⁵ However, the proposals submitted to Rakorbang do not reflect this priority.

“Many proposals submitted to Rakorbang are for physical improvements and seem to represent vested interests or are of a project nature, such as the construction of an office or the purchasing of a computer. In addition, in nearly all sub-districts, government sectors or bodies submit office renovation proposals along with quotes, but the quotes themselves use up the same amount of funding as the construction project itself. Even more ironically, proposals for purchasing office supplies appear every year.”

Head of the NGO, FORMAD

The practice of marking-up proposal budgets and the fact many proposals diverge from district Strategic Issues has received a harsh response from Members of the House. In formulating the 2003 Budget, at least two House members (Wahid and Idris) requested the proposals from the Rakorbang be re-rationalized before being submitted to the House so that the House would not need to trim the proposals. This shows that many of the proposals from the Rakorbang are considered unreasonable.⁶⁶ The House also questioned development management that was not based on the Renstrada or the Repetada, resulting in development in Kabupaten Bangkalan having no clear direction and seeming *ad hoc*. The development programs implemented were subjective, rushed and not based on costs and benefits ratio.⁶⁷

Despite there being a mass trimming of proposals by the government authorities, the sub-district and other bodies, not everybody is satisfied. Fahrudinnur, Head of FORMAD, adds:

“Despite many proposed activities being cut, the total funding still needed for the proposals has not fallen, proving that many irrational proposals are approved by the Rakorbang. The reason often given by bureaucrats for the large budget for proposals is to cover the cost of paying the National Income Tax and other fees or to ‘conduct’ activities that actually do not take place.”

Head of FORMAD

The large budget requested in proposals from government authorities or institutes has been acknowledged by the Bappeda Secretary and the Head of the DPRD Budgetary Commission as the result of the high National Income Tax (PPN) and various other costs.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ In Kabupaten Bangkalan’s Regional Strategic Plan there are three classifications of development that are considered most strategic, namely: the improvement of human resources; economic empowerment, and; good governance free from corruption, collusion and nepotism.

⁶⁶ Jawa Pos, 20 July 2003.

⁶⁷ General view of the PKB faction, Proceedings from the Plenary Session held to discuss the 2003 District Budget Draft.

⁶⁸ Interviews with: Head of Commission C, DPRD in Kabupaten Bangkalan, and; Secretary of Bappeda Kabupaten Bangkalan.

While the outcomes of Rakorbang should be used as a reference for the Legislature and Executive when formulating the District Budget Draft, reality shows otherwise. Both before and after the Rakorbang, the authorities frequently consult with Bappeda on the allocation of funds and the types of proposals that can receive funding. Such consultations are held more than once because there are a lot of adjustments to proposals.⁶⁹ These meetings also strongly influence the proposals that receive funding from the District Budget. Through this coordination, the authorities, working units or other bodies in the district will also know the amount of funding they have obtained.⁷⁰ In contrast, the outcomes of the Rakorbang are no longer of worth because no-one is promoting them. Proposals are then subsequently handed over to the Budget Team for formulation.

“Inter-sectoral self-interests are often the cause of problem because they create program overlaps. In addition, Rakorbang are still ineffective at all administrative levels.”

Head of the Bangkalan Health Authority

The most heated debate during the formulation of the District Budget occurs during the Working Meeting between the authorities, the Budget Team and other government bodies with the Commissions of the House or the Budget Committee. Although there are differing views regarding which group has more power in promoting their proposals, both the Executive and the Legislature agree that the most heated dynamics during the District Budget formulation occurs at the Working Meeting at the DPRD. At this forum the DPRD re-examines the substance and suitability of the proposals submitted by the Budget Team.

On the one hand, the House always asserts that the majority of proposals submitted by the Executive smack of vested interests, or appear to be of a project nature, and that many proposals from the government authorities depart from the Strategic Issues. In addition, a lot of the budget requests for these proposals are seen to be inflated.⁷¹ In contrast, the authorities accuse the House of over-prioritizing their own interests.

“I know for a fact the House members are rotten. During the Working Meeting with the authorities, many proposals were cut and replaced with ones that were in the interests of House members. Such proposals included the construction of roads or schools in areas where House members live or even projects to fill the quota House members had with contractors. The House does this to remain popular with their supporters and win the next election.”

⁶⁹ Interview with Secretary of Bappeda Kabupaten Bangkalan.

⁷⁰ Interview with Head of Authority for Education and Learning, Kabupaten Bangkalan.

⁷¹ Interview with the Head of the DPRD Budget Commission, Kabupaten Bangkalan.

Head of the Authority for Education and Learning, Kabupaten Bangkalan

“The Working Meeting is the most difficult. They do not understand how things are on the ground, but they like to just cut and trim things. It is even quite common for new programs to arise that had not been submitted by the offices when the District Budget Draft was decided on.”

Head of the Health Authority, Kabupaten Bangkalan

“Although the mechanisms are in place, the outcomes of the Rakorbang are not considered in the formulation of the District Budget. This reflects the ineffectiveness of the Rakorbang. How can the community’s aspirations be heard if the outcomes of the Rakorbang are not taken into account?”

Head of Leksdam, Kabupaten Bangkalan

There is a trend in Kabupaten Bangkalan for the performance of House members to be measured by the number of infrastructure projects that the member is able to win for their constituents. This trend results in the interests of House members becoming tied to the programs because these members worry they will not be re-elected.

“I admit that there are attempts by a number of House representatives to promote their own proposals. For example, they support proposals that fall within their constituency. This is to prove to voters that he/she is fighting for their interests. Such proof is considered very important by the community in Bangkalan.”

Head of the PKB Faction in the Bangkalan DPRD

The heated debate over the formulation of the District Budget Draft during the Working Meetings between the authorities, working units and other bodies with the House has negative implications. The tense nature of the forum means individual’s negotiation skills are a large determinant of how the forum progresses. Whether a proposal is accepted or not depends on the negotiations and lobbying between the authorities and the House.⁷² In terms of negotiating ability, it is generally acknowledged the Executive is more highly skilled than the House.⁷³

In the discussion held during the DPRD plenary forum, the tension has usually subsided because this forum is only for finalizing proposals. During the delivery of the Financial Statement, the District Head provides a general outline of the District Budget Draft for the upcoming year.⁷⁴ After delivering the Financial Statement, all factions in the DPRD present their views. The Executive then responds to these views. The final plenary session in the formulation of the District Budget is the

⁷² Interviews with: the Head of the Authority for Education and Learning, and; Head of the Health Authority in Kabupaten Bangkalan.

⁷³ Interview with the Head of the DPRD Budget Commission, Kabupaten Bangkalan.

⁷⁴ Proceedings from the Kabupaten Bangkalan DPRD Plenary Meeting, for discussing the 2003 District Budget Draft.

Factions' Final Opinions. This last plenary session finalizes the District Budget. For a description of the atmosphere during the discussion in the DPRD, see Box 3 below.

Box 3: Issues Raised during the Plenary Meeting by the DPRD, Kabupaten Bangkalan

During the 2003 Plenary Meeting, a number of factions in Bangkalan's DPRD raised several important issues. The PKB faction queried the income of civil servants that had been rejected by the DPRD but still been budgeted for. The Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle (PDI-P) faction brought up the discovery of corruption in Bangkalan's District Waterworks and the improprieties in the purchase of office supplies. The PDI-P faction also raised the accusation that the recruitment of civil servant candidates was tainted by KKN, as well as the poor results of infrastructure projects in Bangkalan that did not meet requirements. Questions on the uneven placement of teachers were also an important feature of the meeting. The use of funds set aside for Unforeseen Expenses was also raised by the Army/Police faction. The Army/Police faction suggested that the Executive closely scrutinize any sudden requests for using these funds and that these funds not be used for Indirect Expenses (office needs).⁷⁵

The issue of using funds from those set aside for Unforeseen Expenses is also quite unique. These funds become like a reserve for unforeseen activities and costs in the region. The use of these funds is the prerogative of the District Head, meaning he/she is the one responsible for one of the important sections of the District Budget.⁷⁶

3. Transparency and Receptivity in the Kabupaten Bangkalan Government

Generally speaking, receptivity in the Kabupaten Bangkalan Government has begun to develop. There are indications that NGOs are involved in the district development planning process. Beginning in 2003, NGOs joined together under FOKUS have been involved in decision-making processes. FOKUS, which primarily represents non government stakeholders and the private sector, does not just work in the interests of PDPP.

"NGOs have been involved on a number of occasions in drafting the District Budget through the Rakorbang and the UDKP at the sub-district level. FOKUS is also active in drafting several development planning documents like Poldas, Propeda as well as the Renstra in Kabupaten Bangkalan. This participation is capable of increasing the quality of participatory planning in the Bangkalan PDPP program so that it is valued at a national level.

Anonymous, 20 July 2003, Kabupaten Bangkalan

"From the beginning, the Kabupaten Bangkalan Government has had an open attitude towards the existence of FOKUS. This is evident from the goodwill of the DPRD and the Kabupaten Bangkalan Government in

⁷⁵ Proceedings from the Kabupaten Bangkalan DPRD Plenary Meeting for discussing the 2003 District Budget Draft.

⁷⁶ Interview with the Secretary of Bappeda, Jakarta.

allocating funds to the PDPP. Other indicators are the involvement of Members of the DPRD and bureaucrats in assisting the PDPP forum.

Director of Bappeda

However, many groups are skeptical about the receptivity of the Kabupaten Bangkalan Government. Based on District Budget formulation indicators, the government is not seen to have been receptive. Although it has involved NGOs, the drafting of the District Budget has not been entirely transparent.

“The Kabupaten Bangkalan Government always tries to keep the District Budget under wraps, despite it being a public document. One indication is that the budgets of program proposals are not conveyed in a detailed fashion at the Rakorbang.”

Head of FORMAD, Kabupaten Bangkalan

“To date the government has not released the outcomes of the Rakorbang or the District Budget to the mass media so the public can not gauge whether their aspirations have been accommodated.”

Coordinator of FOKUS, Kabupaten Bangkalan

In addition to the formulation of the District Budget, there are many other mendacious projects as well as projects with undertones of KKN in Kabupaten Bangkalan. One example is the Bangkalan sports hall construction project. This project nearly went ahead without public knowledge.⁷⁷ Factions in the DPRD (the PDI-P and PKB factions) also raised the point that there were indications of KKN in the recruiting of civil servant candidates in Kabupaten Bangkalan during 2003. According to the observations of the PDI-P faction, a number of the construction projects in Kabupaten Bangkalan did not satisfy the community’s aspirations and were not in compliance with plans due to the involvement of an unprofessional network of cronies. Cronies grouped together under the umbrella organization GAPENSI are considered to be just going through the motions as one individual will apply for the tender under several different organizations thereby eliminating any competition.⁷⁸

The transparency of the Kabupaten Bangkalan Government towards input from the public can be seen in the budget formulation process. In Bangkalan, the harshness of budget formulation has meant the outcomes of the Rakorbang are not taken into account during the District Budget formulation process. This, in turn, means the involvement of NGOs has not been particularly meaningful and the aspirations of the public have not been accommodated. The government is not sensitive to the public’s

⁷⁷ Outcomes from a focus group discussion with FOKUS.

⁷⁸ Proceedings from the 2003 Kabupaten Bangkalan DPRD Plenary Meeting.

aspirations, a fact seen in the obstinacy of the Kabupaten Bangkalan Government in allocating funding to the recruitment of civil servants, despite the DPRD having vetoed such an allocation.

Observations reveal that one extended family dominates the political landscape in Kabupaten Bangkalan. The Bangkalan District Head, Head of the DPRD, Director of Madura Mandiri, and Head of the Education Council are all related. In the private sector, Mondir Rofi'i has emerged as a prominent contractor and has won many projects since PKB came to power in Bangkalan. Mondir is famously known as the Private Authority for District Housing and Infrastructure in the Kabupaten Bangkalan Government, implying Mondir has more power than that of the Head of the real Authority for District Housing and Infrastructure in determining funding for projects. In addition, before becoming Director of Bappeda, Sudarmawan was a close childhood friend of the District Head of Bangkalan and is someone he trusts to drive the wheels of governance. Such a scenario unavoidably presents a large potential for fostering KKN.

In terms of party politics, PKB is the party which holds the greatest number of votes in the DPRD. The domination of PKB is unstoppable because the majority of the Bangkalan community are members of NU. PKB holds a majority in the DPRD with 25 of the total 45 seats. Other parties and coalitions represented are PDI-P with 7 seats, the PAU (Muslim Members' Coalition) with 8 seats and the National Indonesian Army/Indonesian Police faction with 5 seats. PKB made a clean sweep of all Heads of Commissions posts in the DPRD, including Commission C (Budgets) which is chaired by Syarbini Makki, Head of the PKB Faction.

In the DPRD, the PDI-P faction is reasonably vocal in voicing its findings from the field. In the 2003 Plenary Meeting, the PDI-P faction raised the findings of the NGO, LEMPAR, regarding misuse of District Waterworks funds. This misuse of funds included marking-up prices of machinery. The PDI-P faction demanded legal action be taken and an audit be carried out by an independent organization. These events became public debate in Bangkalan owing to NGOs raising public awareness of the issue and the poor performance of the District Waterworks. The PAU faction also asked the Executive to act upon NGO findings regarding mis-deployment of Raskin (Rice for the Poor), 98 percent of which did not reach its targeted recipients. In response, the Executive guaranteed to create a Raskin Team which would monitor the distribution of the rice right into villages and hold routine coordination meetings regarding Raskin distribution.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Proceedings from the Plenary Session held to discuss the 2003 District Budget Draft.

Annex 2. Kabupaten Poso Case Study

1. District-level Multi-stakeholder Forums

A Kabupaten Poso Government Rakorbang

The Rakorbang is a development planning forum for stakeholders which is facilitated and coordinated by the district. The Rakorbang are a place for stakeholders to make agreements and commitments between development officials regarding strategic issues, programs, activities and district annual development budget. The Rakorbang work from the village level up, starting with the Musbangdes and then the UDKP at the sub-district level. Before the Rakorbang is held, the committee organizes a pre-Rakorbang to decide what material will be discussed in the Rakorbang. This is usually conducted several days before the Rakorbang.⁸⁰

Participants of the Rakorbang have varied backgrounds. Each year participants include officials from all the district government authorities, the District Head, members of each DPRD Commission, community leaders, individuals from the private sector, sub-district representatives (Sub-district Chief and Head of the Section for Development), journalists, and representatives from NGOs. The Head or Secretary of Bappeda, who is usually the Rakorbang Committee Chairperson, invites individuals to become participants. Members of Muspida (Head of the DPRD, Head of the Public Prosecution, Head of the District Police Force—Kapolres, District Military Commander—Dandim, and the District Head) attend only the opening ceremony. Aside from giving general development directives in his address to participants the District Head often highlights the crucial issues that must be acted upon.

All elements of the community are involved in the Rakorbang so that there is synchronization between activities. However, it is unfortunate that the involvement of non bureaucratic elements such as NGO workers and journalists is a mere formality. Due to the over-generalized presentation of programs, there is no interactive dialogue to revise the programs or scrutinize/examine public responses to them. In addition, the choice of which NGOs should attend the Rakorbang is engineered, as only NGOs with close ties to the bureaucracy are invited to take part. This is evident in the names behind such NGOs like Nurani Dunia which is run by a high placed official at Bappeda. Such engineering can occur as the

⁸⁰ The Rakorbang is three days long and during the opening ceremony the District Head provides directives and a general outline is offered by the sub-district representatives and government authorities. Then the participants are divided into Commissions. In the Poso Kabupaten Rakorbang there were two commissions, namely the Economic Empowerment Commission and the Infrastructure and Physical Development Commission. The outcomes from the Commissions are sent to the plenary session and the final decisions are made during the Rakorbang.

decision over who can be invited is managed by the Rakorbang Committee (Bappeda). Several research participants confirmed that each year the same NGOs are invited to join.⁸¹

As Rakorbang's regulations only direct which organizations are invited to take part in the forum, its membership is open in the sense that there is a reasonable possibility participants of the Rakorbang will change year to year according to the needs and availability of the involved parties.

As a meeting place for government stakeholders and non government stakeholders, the Rakorbang has strategic meaning in district planning.

“The Rakorbang forum will produce agreements and commitment between development officials regarding programs and development activities that require funding from the Kabupaten Poso District Budget, the Central Sulawesi Provincial Budget, the National Budget as well as NGOs and the private sector.”

Director of Bappeda Kabupaten Poso

Bappeda, as the local government development program coordinator, manages the implementation of the Rakorbang. The outcomes of the Rakorbang are meant to be the starting point for Bappeda in organizing the District Budget Draft alongside the Budget Committee from the DPRD. Bappeda integrates the results of the Rakorbang with the proposals by government authorities. Members of the DPRD are also involved in the Rakorbang so that they have a good understanding of recommendations made by the community for the District Budget Draft Discussion Meeting.

As one of the government stakeholder forums for district development planning, the Rakorbang is authorized by a decree from the Minister of Internal Affairs. In the regions, decisions about the Rakorbang are made in accordance with decrees by the District Head. The Rakorbang receives a funding allocation from the District Budget. Although a decree by the Minister of Internal Affairs has changed the format of the Rakorbang, Kabupaten Poso still uses the old format as Bappeda is not prepared to apply the new format.

In contrast to the Rakorbang in Kabupaten Bangkalan, which thoroughly involves NGOs from the UDKP at the sub-district level, the Kabupaten Poso Rakorbang is yet to extensively include NGOs in planning. NGOs and journalists are only present during Rakorbang processes at the district level and do not take part in the UDKP. Their involvement is one of formality as they have little role in appraising proposals. The decision over which participants are invited is made by the committee (Bappeda based) and so it is difficult to guarantee the representativeness of the forum. To date no NGOs have challenged this.

⁸¹ Interview with the Director and Secretary of LPMS.

Reporting of activity implementation and funding accounting is not relayed to the public, but rather to the District Head. In fact even the outcomes of Rakorbang are not made public. Bappeda only requests those that took part in Rakorbang to publicize results at the sub-district level and to government authorities. However, it appears that this publicizing does not take place.

The coordinating secretariat of the Rakorbang is at Bappeda. When the Rakorbang is held, all administrative matters are handled by Bappeda. Coordinating and facilitating under the auspices of Bappeda eases communication between all parties. The Kabupaten Poso Bappeda used to be in the same office building as the District Head's office. At present, the Bappeda offices are in a special complex and so are easily accessed. During the Poso conflict, Bappeda had two offices, one in the center of the city (a Muslim area) and one in Kaua (a Christian area).

Rakorbang has a vital role to play in district planning. Aside from integrating and providing a space for all stakeholders in development planning, Rakorbang is also a means to synchronize the programs and activities of each organization. In addition, the Rakorbang forum also discusses funding for development proposals from the community.

“Rakorbang is a forum to link up all the proposals made by stakeholders and direct them to the same objective by paying attention to the development priorities.”

Secretary of Bappeda, Kabupaten Poso

However, this broad mandate cannot be wholly accommodated because the Rakorbang forum is restricted by formalities. Two indications of this are: decision-making processes regarding who should take part in the forum, and; the level of community participation and dynamics of the forum.

“Rakorbang has been hemmed in by formalities. The issues discussed stay the same and the proposals are continued from year to year.”

PAN (National Mandate Party) Representative, DPRD, Kabupaten Poso DPRD

Even more ironic is the fact that the outcomes of the Rakorbang are not reflected in the final version of the District Budget because the proposals from the authorities and the DPRD are more prominent.

“I admit that the Rakorbang is still ineffective. Apart from the forum itself which seem to be just a formality, the outcomes of the Rakorbang are not taken into account in the District Budget. At most only 10% to 15% of the proposals approved after Rakorbang make it into the District Budget.”

Member of Commission B, DPRD, Kabupaten Poso

“The ineffectiveness of the Rakorbang can be seen by comparing the amount spent with the influence of the Rakorbang outcomes on the District Budget. One Rakorbang requires over Rp. 100 million, but the documents these meetings produce are not particularly influential to the formulation of the District Budget.”

Secretary of Bappeda, Kabupaten Poso

This ineffectiveness has caused disappointment among numerous groups, both within Bappeda and among House members. A sentiment has emerged to give legal strength to the outcomes of the Rakorbang so they are taken into account in the District Budget. It has been suggested that a District Head Decree could be used to legally strengthen the Rakorbang rather than a Government Regulation as this would allow more flexibility. A Government Regulation would extend and complicate this process. The Secretary of Bappeda, Isnaeni, even plans to conduct research to evaluate the effectiveness of the Rakorbang to obtain strong justification for strengthening the forum.

“The Rakorbang forum needs to be strengthened legally so any decisions made in the forum are taken into account into the formulation of the District Budget. For example, there could be an agreement that 50% or 75% of the outcomes from the Rakorbang must enter directly into the District Budget. This could be achieved through a Decree from the District Head.”

Member of Commission B, DPRD, Kabupaten Poso

The Rakorbang receives funding from the District Budget. The funding comes from the Coordination Funding budget item. Each Rakorbang uses around Rp. 100 million in funds. The Coordination Funding budget item is usually used for development planning and monitoring items. Funding for Rakorbang does not appear specifically in the District Budget. It is the responsibility of the committee (Bappeda), as a general mechanism for the use of funds from the District Budget, to report the use of these funds to the District Head. Use of these funds is not reported to forum participants or the public.

There is now a forum similar to the Rakorbang implemented by the CERD (Community Empowerment and Regional Development) project, funded by ADB (the Asian Development Bank). The CERD Rakorbang forum uses the same mechanisms as the district-level government Rakorbang which begins with the Musbangdes at the village level and the UDKP at the sub-district level. There is potential for overlap because in the areas where the CERD project is implemented, the community must hold two of the same forums. Despite these forums having different agendas, there is still the possibility that the proposals submitted by the community to the CERD Rakorbang forum are the same as those submitted to the Poso District Government Rakorbang.

B NGO Coordination Meeting Forum

This forum began in 2001 when an increasing number of NGOs arrived in Central Sulawesi and Kabupaten Poso in particular. Most local and international NGOs that went into Poso came with their own programs. All of these respective programs needed to be coordinated so they were not poorly targeted, there was no overlap between programs and consequently post-conflict recovery in Kabupaten Poso could progress quickly. Coordination was also important as no one government agency can complete tasks working alone.⁸² The Coordination Meeting allows information on who is doing what, where and when to be made public. Where and when the next coordination meeting will be held is decided upon through consensus.⁸³ To date, the presence of the NGO Coordination Forum has been very useful for avoiding program duplication. There is no duplication between this forum itself and other institutions.

The forum basically does not make decisions on programs because it acts only as a vehicle for publicization and synchronization. However, the forum can facilitate agreements amongst projects, for example between KDP and CERD, as to which one will be implemented in a certain location.⁸⁴

Previous experience shows that there, on several occasions, have been overlaps between programs implemented by the government and NGOs (international and local) as well as suspicion from the community towards the aid provided.

Box 4: Examples that Highlight the Need for Coordination between NGOs in Poso

Examples of program duplication among NGOs include the aid provided for building infrastructure for public toilets and showers in Tojo Una-Una Sub-district where CARE and the Health Authority both provided assistance. There was also the experience of CWS (Church World Service) in which cooking oil handouts from CWS were rejected by the Muslim community because the oil had no certification of being halal. The Muslim community was also suspicious of aid given by CWS because the aid was given directly and the majority of it went to Christians. Muslims were worried CWS was smuggling weapons to the Christian side.

The two cases in Box 4 led to the formation of Satkorlak (Organizers' Coordination Unit) in Palu Province which coordinates between the government, local and international NGOs, and relevant government authorities that have humanitarian programs and activities. The Coordination Forum, as it is usually known, was initially coordinated by Satkorlak. However, since arriving in Palu, OCHA (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs)/UNDP (United Nations Development Program) have

⁸² Siagian, S.P. (1994). *Patologi Birokrasi-Analisis, Identifikasi dan Terapinya*. Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia.

⁸³ Interviews with: Head of the National Unity and Community Protection Authority, and; CWS's Project Officer.

⁸⁴ Proceedings from the NGO Coordination Meeting.

taken over coordination. Routine participants at the coordination functions include the provincial and district level Satkorlak, international NGOs (like CWS, Mercy Corps, IMC, CARE), local NGOs (LPMS Sulteng, FOKER, POKJA RKP and Pokja Deklama—*see below*), Bappeda, Program Coordination Teams (for example KDP and CERD), sub-district Governments (such as from Pamona Utara Sub-district), and relevant government authorities (like the Health Authority, Authority for District Level Community Empowerment, and the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection). Forum membership is extremely open.

“There are no stipulations regarding participants. Basically all individuals or groups that have a program in Kabupaten Poso can attend the Coordination Meeting Forum.”

Project Coordinator, CWS

The Coordination Meeting Forum is closely linked to the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection which is a Satlak (Organizers’ Unit) in Kabupaten Poso. Satlak coordinate all post-conflict recovery activities.

“In addition to coordinating with relevant authorities and Bappeda, all activities dealing with addressing conflict must also be coordinated with Satlak. Satlak manages a large amount of aid from the District Budget as well as from the Palu and Central Governments for activities dealing with conflict.”

Head of the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection, Kabupaten Poso

Bappeda, as the district program coordinator, also has an interest in this forum. Bappeda always sends a representative to each NGO Coordination Meeting who is often requested to provide an overview of the programs in the area. The DPRD is yet to send any of its members to attend this meeting.

As a coordination forum with open membership, the Coordination Meeting Forum is not a legal body. Attendance and membership in the forum is open because anyone can join and leave the forum. All members are informed of any agreements made at each meeting.

The NGO Coordination Meeting Forum does not have a secretariat, but several months ago OCHA in Palu promised to become the Coordination Meeting’s information center. As an information center, OCHA is responsible for documents produced by the Coordination Meeting Forums. Anyone that needs the outcomes of Coordination Meetings can contact OCHA. To increase proximity to projects themselves, since 2003 a lot of coordination has been conducted in Poso itself, allowing easier and wider access. In addition to OCHA, the Satlak in Kabupaten Poso is also a reference point for information on the Coordination Meetings.

The Coordination Meetings, usually a day long event held once a month, are basically self-financed. Those organizing the meeting willingly pay for any expenses. Financing covers communication costs, snacks, and any necessary accommodation. The participants themselves pay for transport costs. Since arriving in Palu, OCHA has taken on a lot of the necessary coordination for the Meetings.

The forum's transparency is evident at the Coordination Meetings. At every possible opportunity, a number of participants, whom meeting participants consider pertinent, will present an explanation of their program. Not all participants give an explanation of their programs. Participants can question those giving presentations. This forum is open to anyone concerned with and interested in development. The public can access information from the forum and attend the forum at anytime. There is a high level of participation in the forum.

C The CERD Rakorbang

The CERD Rakorbang uses the same mechanism as the Rakorbang implemented by the Kabupaten Poso Government. The Rakorbang begins with the Musbangdes and is then followed by the UDKP at the sub-district level. The entire process needed to organize the Rakorbang is long and should involve ten stages. However, according to Husban, CERD Program Coordinator, not all steps are progressing optimally because there are unfavorable conditions, such as the community's situation and a lack of goodwill from the Kabupaten Poso Government, to implement these steps.

Participants of the CERD Rakorbang consist of DPRD members (from all Commissions), community figures, Bappeda, relevant government authorities (Authority for District Level Community Empowerment, Authority for Small and Medium Scale Enterprises, Division for Women's Affairs, Authority for District Housing and Infrastructure), NGOs, journalists, District Head, KNPI (Indonesian National Committee for Youths), members of the Muspida, Village Heads, members of BPD as well as representatives from village community groups and the BPD Forum.

An investigation by this researcher found a number of irregularities within this forum. For example, one community representative attending the Rakorbang was a famous contractor in Poso. Similarly, several of the NGOs invited to take part in the CERD were closely linked to Bappeda and Kabupaten Poso government authority staff. These irregularities can occur because the Project Head determines who the forum participants will be. There is no external consultation as to who will be invited.

Box 5: Decision-making Mechanisms of the CERD Rakorbang

CERD Rakorbang activities begin at the hamlet level. Hamlet Development Working Groups (KKPDus) in each hamlet organize workshops to identify, categorize and prioritize issues. A proposal is then taken to the Village Development Working Group (KKPDes).⁸⁵ KKPDes participants include village officials and member of the BPD and KKPDus. This forum selects, fine tunes and finalizes the proposals from the village. These proposals are then taken to the UDKP forum at the sub-district level. Participants of this forum include KKPDes representatives, Village Heads, BPD, NGOs, community figures, and members of the FLP. The sub-district forum is charged with finalizing the annual development plan from the villages. The outcomes of the UDKP are then taken to the district level Rakorbang forum. The Rakorbang forum consists of representatives from throughout the villages and sub-districts. The Rakorbang decides on which proposals will receive funding.

The CERD Rakorbang is an integral part of the CERD project, as is determined by the District Head's Decree. Therefore, financing for the Rakorbang forum is the responsibility of the project. CERD consultants, not the District Level Community Empowerment Authority, manage the funds for Rakorbang activities. The function of the Rakorbang forum is to verify the suitability of the proposals from the community. After verification, the forum will decide which proposals will obtain funding. Decision-making in the forum is done through consensus among Rakorbang participants. The forum, however, cannot always make a decision.

"In 2003, a number of projects were delayed because the decision on these projects was passed on to the Project Head. Projects are delayed if the proposal's budget is too big or the project has specific hi-tec needs but is still considered important to the community."

CERD Program Coordinator

The center for coordinating the CERD Rakorbang is the CERD project secretariat which is located at the Authority for District Level Community Empowerment. As a program that falls largely under the District Level Community Empowerment Authority, the CERD Rakorbang Forum is always coordinated by this Authority. In addition to the District Level Community Empowerment Authority, there is also close coordination by Bappeda.

Duplication is evident in several regions where other projects have a similar series of processes. Duplication of this forum occurs at the village level with the activities of the Kabupaten Poso Rakorbang. This duplication occurs as the community must repeat the same processes at village and sub-

⁸⁵ KKPDes is the village level group working with CERD, a body essentially the same as Musbangdes with a particular focus on economic issues.

district level. However, the potential for duplication is slightly reduced as the participants and the orientation of the forum are different.

D Friends of Lore Lindu (FKTNL)

Friends of Lore Lindu was formed as a place for all groups interested in the preservation of the Lore Lindu National Park. Friends of Lore Lindu is a medium for program coordination designed to prevent overlapping. There is a need for coordination as many parties conduct programs or activities in the National Park. Friends of Lore Lindu takes the form of National Park Co-management; thus the forum is a place for National Park program management.

Decisions are reached in the Friends of Lore Lindu forum are reached through deliberation and consensus by all members of the forum. The forum's decisions hold weight only after they have been jointly decided upon. The mandate of the Friends of Lore Lindu is to be an umbrella organization for all stakeholders who have programs in the National Park. The diversity of members, however, does pose an obstacle to decision-making.

Several months ago there was a clash between Friends of Lore Lindu and WALHI (Forum for the Environment) because of differing views (and interests) in managing the National Park. Three international NGOs, The Nature Conservancy (TNC), CARE, and Storma are the backbone of the Friends of Lore Lindu, and their programs are oriented to conservation of the area. These three international NGOs prioritize preservation of the park, including efforts to relocate people living in the National Park to other areas. On the other hand, WALHI and its network, which are also members of the forum, place priority on empowering the community living in the park. The empowerment takes the form of urging the surrounding community to take advantage of things found in the park.⁸⁶ These differing outlooks have stimulated conflict between the two NGO groups. This conflict has even resulted in violence when WALHI and its network agitated a mob to surround the Friends of Lore Lindu secretariat.⁸⁷

"It is very difficult for forum members to make commitments because of friction between members, even more so with open and flexible membership."

Assistant Project Manager CARE

⁸⁶ Interview with Alam, Director of LPS HAM, Central Sulawesi.

⁸⁷ Short Interview with Coordinator of the Central Sulawesi branch of WALHI.

Membership to the forum resembles membership to the NGO Coordination Meeting, in that groups or individuals who are concerned about conservation, and have projects and interests in the Lore Lindu National Park, may become members. The Lore Lindu National Park crosses two districts, Kabupaten Donggala and Kabupaten Poso, and so its management also involves the local governments of these two areas. Members of the Friends of Lore Lindu involve international NGOs (Care, TNC and Storma), local NGOs (including Institute for Development and Human Right Advocacy/ LPS HAM and WALHI), the Forestry Authority, community leaders, and members of the local government and the DPRD. Interestingly, although Kabupaten Poso has the CSIACDP (Central Sulawesi Integrated Area Conservation and Development Project) running in the National Park, the coordinating team of this program is not involved in the Friends of Lore Lindu forum.

Membership of the forum is open and any party can take part. It appears, however, that the backbone of the forum is made up of the three international NGOs: TNC from America, CARE from Canada, and Storma from Germany. Change in management is not routine. As its membership is open, this organization does not have legal status. Members rejected the proposal to formalize the bonds between them to ensure that the forum would be flexible.

“Membership is open, any organization can freely join or leave the forum. Membership is allowed to be open as participants want it to be this way and it is in accordance with the character of the forum itself.”

Project Assistant Coordinator, CARE

The Friends of Lore Lindu secretariats are in the city of Palu and in the area around the National Park. As Lore Lindu National Park stretches over two districts, one secretariat is located in the city of Palu so that all parties can access it, thus easing coordination between all parties. There is also a secretariat near the National Park to facilitate coordination between all project stakeholders and the surrounding community.

Funding for the Friends of Lore Lindu secretariat is provided by TNC. This funding covers the forum’s operational costs, electricity, telephone costs, and office rent. TNC, as an international NGO, receives funding from several international donor organizations such as USAID. Accounting for the forum’s funds is reported to TNC, which then reports to the donor organization.⁸⁸

Friends of Lore Lindu has many linkages with the Forestry Authority and Bappeda. Coordination is carried out in planning the layout, usages and future safeguarding of the park.

⁸⁸ Interview with the Project Assistant of CARE Palu.

Coordination with Bappeda is related to development planning and national park conservation.⁸⁹ Evidently, Members of the DPRD have personal reasons for being involved in the forum. This is understandable as the region of Lore Lindu National Park is extensive and covers many of the Members' constituents.⁹⁰

E Pokja Deklama (the Malino Declaration Working Group)

Pokja Deklama was created to be a manifestation of efforts to create peace in Poso. The working group was announced in December 2001 as an initiative of the government to bring together both parties (Muslim and Christian) involved in the Poso conflict. Muslim and Christian leaders, together with members of the bureaucracy, formally declared the working group open. The management of the working group consists of an Advisor, Chairperson, and Commissions (six in total). During its first phase, the management of Pokja Deklama was only present at the district level. Publicization and reconciliation was carried out directly with the community.

Members of Pokja Deklama are from the DPRD, government authorities, NGOs, the private sector, the Public Prosecution, community organizations, and higher education institutes. There are also community leaders, as well as Muslim and Christian religious leaders involved. More than 200 individuals made up the management for Pokja Deklama during its first phase. This large number was due to the fact that all the announcers of the working group automatically became part of the management. Membership to Pokja Deklama management during its first phase was based on a directive from the Executive. Nevertheless, the Chairperson of Pokja Deklama was directly elected by members.

The size of the working group's structure during its first phase caused many problems in coordination and so Pokja's performance was not optimal.⁹¹ During its second phase, the members of Pokja were winnowed down to just 54 individuals. Difficulties in coordination, however, not only affected the first phase, but also occurred during the second phase.

Pokja Deklama formed to publicize the ten points of the Malino Declaration⁹² and reconcile the communities involved in the conflict. The management of Pokja Deklama is made up of an Advisor and

⁸⁹ Interviews with: the Project Assistant of CARE Palu, and; Bappeda Staff Member in Poso.

⁹⁰ Interview with a Member of the DPRD, Kabupaten Poso.

⁹¹ Interview with the Chairperson of Pokja Deklama.

⁹² Ten points of Malino Declarations are: 1. To stop any kind of conflict and dispute; 2. To obey any effort relating to law enforcement and to support any sanction for any violation toward this effort; 3. To appeal to the apparatus to act firm and just in maintaining the security; 4. To maintain a peaceful situation, to refuse any martial law and any outside intervention; 5. To stop any kind of malicious messages and to respect each other; 6. Poso is an integral part of Republic of Indonesia, so people may come and go as long as they respect existing tradition; 7. To recover the right of property to the owner; 8. To return internally

an Executive Director. Everyday supervision of Pokja Deklama's activity implementation is carried out by the Chairperson of Pokja Deklama. Pokja has only recently undergone restructuring and changed its management. The reason behind this restructure was the ineffectiveness of Pokja Deklama during its first phase.

Initially Pokja Deklama's secretariat was at the district level, in the offices of the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection. However, since the change in management structure the working group is developing secretariat branches in every sub-district and village (although at this point in time they are not in operation). It is planned that the secretariats at the village level will be the vanguard of reconciliation activities. Pokja Deklama, at the village level, accommodates aspirations and puts forward proposals. Proposals for activities are forwarded to managers at the sub-district level and then passed on to the district level. At the district level, Pokja Deklama is made up of six sectors that discuss and endeavor to raise funding for the proposals.

Coordination for Pokja Deklama comes under the Kabupaten Poso Authority for National Unity and Community Protection. As a result, the closest coordination and communication is maintained with this Authority. Funding for Pokja Deklama from the District Budget is disbursed only after approval from the Authority. Aside from the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection, Pokja Deklama also orchestrates coordination and communication with other authorities. This cooperation and coordination is implemented by the district level Pokja. After Pokja Deklama receives a proposal from the community, it is discussed during plenary sessions. Pokja will subsequently submit these proposals to the related government authorities, such as the Authority for Agriculture (to ask for aid in the form of tractors), the Authority for District Housing and Infrastructure (for proposals to develop the economic opportunities of the community), and to the Authority for Education and Learning (regarding rebuilding school buildings that have been burnt down).⁹³

According to Yahya Mangun, the Chairperson of Pokja Deklama, Pokja is the Executive's and the Legislature's partner in the process of reconciliation. Pokja exists due to a lack of confidence in the DPRD. To date, Pokja has never held a hearing with the DPRD, although its members have held working meetings with government authorities. Pokja regularly conducts hearings with Bappeda. Issues raised during meetings with Bappeda include discussing the reconstruction of school buildings that have

displaced people; 9. For the people to rehabilitate the social and economic infrastructure in collaboration with government; 10. People have the right to apply their beliefs with respect to the other community.

⁹³ Interview with the Chairperson of Pokja Deklama.

been burnt down and the distribution of Jadup (Life Insurance) and Bedup (Life Support).⁹⁴ It appears that those members of the DPRD were opposed to the existence of Pokja Deklama as it conducts work similar to their own. There would consequently seem to be role and function duplication between Pokja and the DPRD.

Pokja Deklama is based on a Decree from the District Head. Consequently, all operational, publicizing and reconciliatory activities are paid for by the District Budget. In addition, members of Pokja Deklama's management receive a wage of three hundred thousand Rupiah a month. However, in the past, any remaining funds from the budget allocation have been used in emergencies by the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection. The Chairperson of Pokja considers the use of these funds in general security restoration efforts regrettable, as they had been allocated specifically to Pokja Deklama.

Pokja takes task with the funding management mechanisms dominated by the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection due to the sentiment that it has no independence in managing funds. Pokja also objects to the District Budget entry entitled the Malino Working Group being used by the Authority for security funding and refugee replacement, rather than the needs of Pokja itself. In 2003, for example, this budget entry received an allocation of four billion Rupiah, yet Pokja spent under one billion in running its programs.

In 2004, Pokja proposed that its funding allocation be an independent budget entry, due to the fact that its funds were being appropriated by the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection and Pokja was unable to control this appropriation. Pokja's funding accounting is only reported to the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection. As the reporting is not made public, ascertaining the total sum of funds used by Pokja Deklama is problematic.

"Ever since it was set-up, Pokja has not had its own funding. The funds have been managed by the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection. For each activity it conducts, Pokja submits a proposal to the Authority which holds all determining power. Pokja cannot fund proposals. All proposals for reconciliation activities from the community are submitted to the Authority. Pokja merely receives a copy. Decisions regarding proposals are made by the Authority. For even operational costs Pokja must plead to the Authority, let alone funding for proposals."

Chairperson Pokja Deklama Poso

⁹⁴ Jadup and Bedup are a local government programs designed to alleviate poverty through providing essential goods and construction materials.

Pokja also requested its own secretariat, separate from the office building of the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection. The District Head has signaled his agreement to these requests. In order to achieve this goal, Pokja has submitted a proposal for two billion Rupiah to the UNDP. To date, Pokja has received an agreement for 900 million Rupiah from the UNDP that will be given directly to Pokja and not the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection. These funds are to be used for establishing an independent secretariat in the old local government office building.

Pokja Deklama, as a government initiated group, is not considered to be independent; the people involved with Pokja are hand picked by the government. NGOs, which should be most up-to-date on development in Poso, have little understanding of the selection processes of members for Pokja Deklama. Similarly, its decisions are reliant on the policies of the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection. Weaknesses in Pokja's performance have given rise to the formation of new groups like Poso Community Alliance (AMP) and Fokal Rekonsiliasi (the Reconciliation Communication and Alliance Forum). Many parties, including NGOs, criticize the fact Pokja Deklama's circumstances are still opaque. Such reproval has been raised during seminars held by non political organizations and political youth groups. Similarly, the NGO sector often questions the performance and benefits of funding Pokja Deklama.

"The success of Pokja is unclear. At the grassroots level there is little understanding of what Pokja is and what it has done. Even village level members of Pokja don't know what they should be doing."

"Another indication of the opacity of Pokja's work is that none of the ten aims of the Working Group has made meaningful progress. For example: there are still a lot of refugees living illegally in the cities; there is still no guarantee of security, and; the level of reconciliation in the community is low as there remains mutual suspicion between Muslim and Christian communities."

Director of Central Sulawesi LPS HAM

F Kabupaten Poso Education Council

The Kabupaten Poso Education Council was formed after the central government explained the concept of an Education Council in Palu at the end of 2002. Consequently, the Kabupaten Poso Government formed the Poso District Education Council and a Broad Based Education Team.

Initially, the establishment of the Education Council was directed. The Poso Authority for Education and Learning coordinated this process by listing the names of people considered suitably representative. When the Education Council was first founded, it was chaired by the Head of the

Authority for Education and Learning, Suriady Ngewa. However, after receiving a reproof and new guidelines, a direct election was held. Through the second elections, Yasin Mangun was elected Chairperson. Suriady Ngewa himself was still part of the Council as one of the Deputy Heads.

Members of the Council come from various sections of the community. Individuals forming the Poso Education Council management board include officials from the Authority for Education and Learning, education experts, education institutes (Al-Khairat, Muhammadiyah), elements from the business sector, school committees, community figures, and members of the DPRD. Yahya Mangun, who represents education experts in the Council, explained his involvement:

"I became a member of the board of governors in the Education Council based on an Appointment Decree. I was never involved in the formation process. I was invited twice but could not attend on either of those occasions."

Yahya Mangun, Education Council Member

Since its formation at the end of 2002, the Education Council is yet to change management as internal regulations state that a management change must occur only once every three years.

The Education Council mainly works with the Authority for Education and Learning. Since 2002, the Council has managed Rp. 1.4 billion in aid from the Central Government for Broad Based Education. From these funds, Rp. 150 million was used by the Council itself for monitoring and surveillance of the aid's implementation. Yasin said a few percent of this funding was set aside to cover the operational costs of the Council's secretariat. Additional aid distributed by the Education Council was for improving sporting facilities.⁹⁵

The Educational Council tries to find and then distribute aid from the Central Government, but when time comes to implement the activity they must hand over the funds to government authorities. Coordination with the Poso Authority for Education and Learning is usually informal with the Chairperson of the Education Council and the Deputy or Secretary approaching the Authority for Education and Learning. The Council has never formally conducted a hearing or meeting with the Authority for Education and Learning, the DPRD, or Bappeda. In addition to not meeting formally with the DPRD, the Education Council is yet to lobby the House regarding education policy. Communication with House members is informal and personal.

In accordance with the Decree, the mandate of the Education Council is to: represent and channel the aspirations of the community into education programs and policy; increase the responsibility

⁹⁵ Interview with Head of the Education Council.

and active participation of all levels of society in the implementation of education, and; to create a transparent, accountable, and democratic environment and atmosphere within good quality education services.

The goals of the Poso Education Council are: encouraging growth in community awareness and commitment; working closely with the community; presenting and explaining the community's aspirations, ideas, and recommendations to the local government; providing input, evaluation and recommendations to the local government and DPRD; encouraging parent and community participation, and; evaluating and monitoring education policies, programs, activities and spending.

In accordance with its goals and mandate, the Council's organizational structure consists of advisors and a daily management board. This management board consists of a Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer, and members. The advisors to the Council include the District Head, Head of the DPRD's district secretariat, and Director of Bappeda in Kabupaten Poso. The involvement of these figures as advisors is intended to allow extensive coordination to be conducted with all elements of District Government.

Decision-making must be done through mechanisms that involve all members of the Education Council forum. However, because of the low level of participation from the management board, the Council's organizational management is done through 'satay stick' management, where almost all activities are carried out by the Chairperson of Council. The management board and members are yet to play an active role.⁹⁶ As a consequence of this management system, all decisions are made by the Chairperson of the Council Chairperson. It is therefore not surprising that there has never been any formal coordination with other institutes.

As an institute set up by a District Head's Decree, all Education Council expenses are covered by the District Budget. The Council is entitled to apply for funding each year. In 2003, the Council received Rp. 100 million of the Rp. 150 million that was requested from the District Budget. The management must account for the use of these funds to the District Head. The Chairperson of the Education Council is directly responsible to District Head; there is no requirement for accountability necessary to other members of the Education Council or the public. Based on the budget proposal submitted to the DPRD, the Rp. 100 million of allocated funding is used for management team honorariums, office operations, and Council activities.

⁹⁶ Interview with Yasin Mangun, Head of the Education Council.

Several of the community figures and NGOs that were interviewed were not aware of any of the Council's activities. It appears the public had not been informed of the Council's activities through newspapers or other forms of media. This is in stark contrast to the Education Council at the provincial level (Palu) which regularly publicizes its services and activities.

“Since I have been working in Poso, I have never heard of the Education Council publicizing the type or amount of assistance they receive. I think this is because the bureaucracy taints organizations in Poso, causing low levels of participation and a lack of transparency.”

Director of LPMS, Central Sulawesi

The Education Council has its own secretariat in one of the local government buildings. It is located at Jalan Pulau Kalimantan No. 8, Poso. As this is a main road in Poso, public access could be easy except, as Yasin Mangun admits, the secretariat is never open. Since Yasin Mangun became Head of the General Elections Commission (KPU), the Education Council secretariat has moved along with Yasin Mangun to the KPU office.

In Kabupaten Poso there are no other organizations like the Education Council. Government authorities consider the presence of the Council as a positive thing because it creates synergy with the authorities' activities and is very effective in looking for funding from the Central Government. It was for this reason that the government authorities engineered the formation of the Education Council. Despite the fact there should be healthy competition between the Education Council and the government, such competition does not exist as the Education Council is working for government interests.

“Apart from the Council being important in attracting funds from the Central Government, the government authorities do not feel the Council has encroached on their area of responsibilities because the Council is able to work effectively with the authorities.”

Head of the Education Council, Kabupaten Poso

G The Poso Conflict Resolution Working Group (Pokja RKP)

Pokja RKP was formed on July 9, 2000 in response to concern from a number of groups about the horizontal conflicts affecting various regions in Indonesia, one of which being the conflict in Poso that began on December 24, 1998. It was because of this concern that a number of NGO activists, journalists, youth activists, students, academics, and legal practitioners had the idea to form a new institute that would accommodate all these groups. The group's aim is to conduct humanitarian activities

to assist refugees, provide advocacy and assistance for victims of conflict, to mediate meetings between both groups in conflict, and to develop a discourse for peace.

The members of Pokja RKP are the same groups and individuals that initiated its formation. These groups include WALHI–Sulsel (the South Sulawesi branch of WALHI) and its networks, the Palu Alliance of Independent Journalist (AJI), Nahdhlatul Ulama Youth Group (IPNU), Christian Students Association of Indonesia (PMKRI), Islamic Students Association’s Council for Organizational Safeguarding (MPO-HMI), PMII, academics (including Arianto Sangaji) and legal practitioners. The organizational structure consists of a Steering Committee and an Organizing Executive. This Organizing Executive consists of an Executive Head, Secretary and Treasurer, as well as three divisions (Study and Research Division, Campaign and Education Division, and Monitoring and Advocacy Division).

Since its formation in 2000, the management has not been reorganized. The current management was installed when Pokja RKP was formed. According to Pokja RKP’s organizational statute, its Members’ Meeting is held annually. The members meeting is the highest decision-making forum within Pokja RKP. However, in the course of their activities, management can meet as needed. Membership is limited to the groups which established Pokja RKP. These groups can nominate representatives to become members of the Committees during the annual Members’ Meeting. The democratically elected positions include the Steering Committee and Chair of the Organizing Executive. The selection of members for the Organizing Executive is then the responsibility of the directly elected Chair of the Organizing Executive. Any member can be nominated for a management position.

To ensure Pokja RKP’s effectiveness, it has several secretariats in both Palu and Poso. In Poso the secretariat is on Jalan Brigjen Katamso No. 13. In Palu there are two secretariats, one on Jalan S Parman No. 2 and another on Jalan Setia Budi No. 53. The three secretariats have their own phone numbers so they are easily contactable. Several staff members live at the secretariats thus facilitating communication and coordination. The reason for having three secretariats is because when the group was formed, Palu was the gateway for refugees so emergency aid was at the time imperative. One reason Pokja RKP was also formed was to prevent disorganized handling of aid, which in itself can create new conflict. As a result, the main secretariat was located in Poso because much of the rehabilitation and reconciliation efforts were conducted in Poso directly.

Pokja RKP identifies itself as an NGO—even though it has yet to organize a Notarial Document. As such, Pokja RKP tends to distance itself from the bureaucracy and the Legislature. The working group does not even conduct close coordination with the Authority for National Unity and

Community Protection, despite the Authority being the coordinator of conflict resolution activities. Most coordination and communication is done with NGOs and donor organizations. With NGOs, the working group conducts intensive information sharing and exchange of ideas. At the same time, NGOs and donor organizations are constantly being lobbied to support the group's activities. WALHI and AJI are two large organizations that have a long-standing association with Pokja RKP through their support of its formation. The access to information and funding channels allowed through the group has been very useful to these two organizations.

"In Poso, NGOs do not try to approach the bureaucracy, but rather stay clear because they feel the bureaucracy has no real interest. The 'red number plate' NGOs are close to the bureaucracy. Other NGOs are closer to international or donor organizations."⁹⁷

Head of Pokja RKP

Pokja RKP tries to accommodate the participation of the two main parties in the Poso conflict (Muslims and Christians) through representation of those sitting on the management board. According to Darwis Waru, Head of Pokja RKP, half of the management board are Muslims and the other half Christians. Such a policy is in place so Pokja RKP's work in trying to achieve reconciliation will be accepted by the community. The participation of members themselves in the management is usually guaranteed because a number of the managers live at the secretariat.

A number of groups contacted by this researcher had a positive view of Pokja RKP. The existence of Pokja RKP is seen to strengthen the institutions that are working for conflict reconciliation in Poso.

"One strength of Pokja RKP is that the group is firmly grounded because they communicate so much with other NGOs and the broader community. This is different to Pokja Deklama which is elitist in terms of both the amount of access the public can obtain and the people within the group."

NGO activist in Poso

Pokja RKP's activities are facilitated by funding from donor organizations. Part of this activity-based funding is set aside to run the organization. Activity implementation reports are submitted to the funding organizations. Similar to other organizations, members do not receive copies of these performance reports; rather they are submitted directly to the funding donor. Underscoring this point is the fact that since establishment, no reports of funding usage have been given to members or the public.

⁹⁷ This refers to processes whereby NGOs are appropriated by the government. The euphemism 'red number plate' used to describe this phenomenon is drawn from the red number plates given to many government issue cars.

Needless-to-say, the presence of a Steering Committee representing forum management does supervise the organization's funds. As the ethos of volunteering is fundamental to Pokja RKP, managers are not paid wages but they do receive an honorarium when implementing Pokja activities. In principle, the efforts of members of Pokja RKP are voluntary. To date, most funding for Pokja RKP has come from USAID and the UNDP.

H FOKER PP (Poso Women's Cooperation Forum)

FOKER PP was established in 2001 following conflict management training conducted with female victims of conflict, carried out by the University of Indonesia in Poso. Post-training, participants met and the idea emerged that there was a need for an umbrella organization for women perceived to have suffered from conflict both physically and mentally. FOKER PP was intended to be a medium for communication and to help develop active cooperation for broad-based reconciliation processes in Poso.

Members of FOKER PP derive from both the two main groups of women, Muslim and Christian. Membership to the forum can be both individual and under the name of another organization. The groups represented by FOKER PP include: Aisyah Women's Organization, Al-Khairat Muslim Women's Organization, Tarbiyah Muslim Women's Organization, Indonesian Christian Women's Association, Church Women's Association, Central Sulawesi Christian Church Crisis Center, and Lobo Women's Group. Membership to the forum is in accordance with an individual's involvement in the declaration of the forum.

The FOKER PP structure is made up of a Steering Committee, Board of Governors and members. The Steering Committee and the Board of Governors were directly elected by forum members during the launching of the forum. Directly below the Board of Governors are the members of FOKER PP. Greatest power is exercised during member meetings. Nevertheless, since its launch, the forum has largely been single-handedly run by the Board of Governors. There has been no change in Chairperson or in the Board of Governors. According to Nurmala, the Chairperson of FOKER PP, membership is open. As there are no prerequisites to becoming a member, any woman who is concerned about reconciliation can join FOKER PP.

At this point in time, the organizational statute of FOKER PP has not been finalized. FOKER PP has not been restructured since its establishment. Based on observations, the level of member participation in FOKER PP is low with only a handful of people are active in the forum. The reigns of the organization appear to be entirely in the hands of the Chairperson of FOKER PP as she is pro-active in communicating and coordinating with donors and other organizations. FOKER PP has on several

occasions conducted conflict management training with female participants from various spheres and regions (these training sessions have included conflict management training and women based reconciliation). In addition, FOKER PP has held several discussions about conflict and its consequences.

Funding for FOKER PP is provided by donor and other organizations. Similar to other forums examined in this report, FOKER PP sets aside funds for running activities and for the operational costs of the organization. Accounting for use of funds is submitted to the funding provider. Perhaps due to the low level of participation by members and the dominance of the Chairperson, financial accounting is not passed onto members. FOKER PP has an independent secretariat at Jalan Talasa No. 20 Kabupaten Poso, attached to the home of the Chairperson of FOKER PP. The secretariat is located in the city so that it can be easily accessed by anyone. Telephone facilities also make access to FOKER PP easy.

To date, the Chairperson pays for the running costs of the secretariat. Member participation is dependent on activities, that is to say, members get involved when there is funding for a specific activity and a coordinating committee has been formed. If there are no activities, only the Chairperson and a few staff remain.

Another women's forum in Kabupaten Poso is Pokja Perempuan (the Women's Working Group), which was established by the Authority for Social Affairs during the conflict. The Women's Working Group was formed to anticipate the aid that would come to Poso. It has not been particularly active or vocal since its establishment. FOKER PP often corresponds personally with the Chairperson of the Women's Working Group. Cooperation between women's organizations is strong in Palu including Women's Solidarity (SP) and the Women's Coalition (KP). In addition, FOKER PP, through its Chairperson, actively carries out coordination and strengthens alliances between other NGOs in Kabupaten Poso. Personal rather than institutional coordination is also carried out with Members of the DPRD. This is also the case with coordination with Bappeda and the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection.

I FKAUB (Inter-Faith Communication Forum)

The FKAUB was formed before the conflict in Poso and is only present in Kecamatan Poso Pesisir. According to Ence Nurdin, the Head of Lage Village's FKAUB, the forum exists due to concern in the community that inter-ethnic or religious conflict may erupt in Poso Pesisir, the most conflict susceptible area due to its dichotomous religious community. The initiative to set up the forum evolved from the military and was facilitated by the local government, the sub-district government, and the

community. Post-conflict, FKAUB was re-established by the different elements of society that support reconciliation.

Members of FKAUB come from different social groups including the military, Muspika (Sub-district Executives Council), community leaders, youth leaders, religious leaders, and community members. The organizational structure is made up of a Steering Committee and a core structure which includes the Head, Secretary, and Treasurer. The Steering Committee of FKAUB includes high ranking military officers and members of Muspika. Below the core structure are community members from that region. FKAUB's members derive from village clusters, but due to the size of Poso Pesisir this one sub-district has been divided into three FKAUB. To facilitate community participation, the Village Head is always the manager of FKAUB. Reorganization of FKAUB's membership has never occurred.

“Management of FKAUB is not at the district level because when it was formed there was no Christian community representation in Poso. The basis of FKAUB membership is representation of all religious elements in the community. When the conflict erupted, Poso was dominated by Muslims.”

Head of FKAUB, Kecamatan Poso Pesisir

Funding for FKAUB is independent and involves community participation. Post-conflict, the most prominent activity conducted by FKAUB has been a peace campaign, which involves disseminating messages of peace throughout their areas of operations. In addition, FKAUB organizes a *Pesta Rakyat* (Community Festival), involving all community members. The *Pesta Rakyat* has the aim of stimulating reconciliation in the religiously divided Poso Pesisir community. This festival is supported financially by the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection and community donations.

The management of FKAUB is regulated by a Decree from the Sub-district Chief which has become the legal basis of FKAUB. FKAUB is a community organization as its members are community based and its membership is open. Anyone can become a member of FKAUB. During its activities, FKAUB acts on behalf of the villages that are members of the FKAUB.

J Fokal Rekonsiliasi

This forum was formed at the beginning of 2004. The initial idea in establishing this forum was based on an agreement arising from a workshop held by Pokja RKP and the Toloka Foundation in September, 2002. One of the recommendations from this workshop was the need for a joint forum for NGOs working in conflict resolution in Poso. Fokal Rekonsiliasi was the result; its establishment by the ‘Nine Team’ (*Tim Sembilan*) in January 2004 was attended by non political organizations and political youth groups in Poso. At this workshop, the only international organization present was the World

Bank. The Sejati Foundation, which was one of the members of the Nine Team, walked out of the workshop as they found the low level of publicity about and representation of the forum problematic.

Even before this, preparations for the workshop were tainted by internal conflict within the Nine Team which resulted in the resignation of Darwis Waru (Pokja RKP), the Chairperson of the workshop's steering committee. His resignation was followed by the resignation of the Chairperson of the organizing committee. Furthermore, the resignation of Darwis Waru was also followed by maneuvers to create a new alliance with other working groups namely, Pokja RKP, the Trauma Healing Working Group, Kabupaten Poso's Pokja Deklama, and Central Sulawesi's Pokja Deklama. That month the new alliance held a workshop in Palu, to set up Sekber Pokja (Working Group Joint Secretariat) as an umbrella organization for all working groups and non government stakeholders working towards reconciliation.

Members of Fokal Rekonsiliasi are members of non political organizations, political youth groups, individuals and journalists. Participants of the workshop declared the establishment of the forum and simultaneously pledged membership to Fokal Rekonsiliasi. It was decided that any subsequent members must gain the recommendation of at least three current member NGO workers. Membership is permanent unless a member chooses to resign. Based on observations, although membership of Fokal Rekonsiliasi does not cover all NGOs and non political organizations in Poso, membership is reasonably representative. The resignation of the Sejati Foundation, one of the most dynamic NGOs in Poso, was due to differing interests between the Head of the Foundation and the Nine Team. The absence of Pokja Deklama and Pokja RKP in this forum is due to the same reason.

Fokal Rekonsiliasi has no legal basis. The organization runs on the forum's organizational statute which regulates the mechanisms and mandate of the organization. Forum members agreed not to legalize the forum's status as the forum was an umbrella organization for groups concerned about the conflict in Poso.

The forum's organizational structure consists of a Steering Committee and an Organizing Committee. The Steering Committee has five members who supervise the work of the Organizing Committee. The Organizing Committee carries out everyday implementation of activities relating to the forum's mandate. Both the Steering Committee and the Organizing Committee are directly elected through a Members' Meeting which holds most power in the forum. Reshuffling of the Organizing Committee and Steering Committee members occurs once a year. The Chairperson of the Organizing Committee may not hold a position in another organization. Consequently when Iskandar was elected as

the Chairperson of the Organizing Committee he had to resign from his position as Head of the Institute for Empowering Civil Society (LPMS) Central Sulawesi.

There are three reasons why Fokal Rekonsiliasi was formed. *First*, the forum was established in response to ineffective reconciliation efforts in Poso (primarily the work carried out by Pokja Deklama). *Second*, due to the lack of coordination between the large number of groups conducting reconciliation efforts, there was much program overlapping. *Third*, the embezzlement of funds for victims of conflict had been the cause of new conflict.

The mandate of this forum was to recreate the unity that used to exist in *Tanah Poso* (Land of Poso) through: 1) persuading the government to investigate humanitarian funding embezzlement in Poso; 2) stimulating the police and military to uphold the law in Poso; 3) facilitating coordination with various elements and helping to resolve the conflict in Poso; 4) conducting experience-sharing activities to create reconciliation, and; 5) facilitating communication between the various groups in Poso.

Forum funding, according to the organizational statute, is independently obtained through membership fees and donor organizations. The founding workshop was funded by the UNDP in Palu based on a proposal submitted by the Nine Team. The potential for duplication is evident in the divide between forum founders and the establishment of Sekber Pokja.

K Sekber Pokja⁹⁸

Sekber Pokja is a stakeholder forum with a member base made up of four working groups: the Kabupaten Poso Pokja Deklama, Pokja RKP, the Central Sulawesi Pokja Deklama, and the Trauma Healing Working Group. The establishment of Sekber Pokja was contemporaneous to the formation of Fokal Rekonsiliasi, in January 2004. The formative meeting of this group was held in Poso and was followed-up with the declaration of Sekber Pokja in Palu. Although the members of Sekber Pokja still solely comprise the four founding working groups, Sekber Pokja aspires to involve all NGOs in Palu and Poso that are concerned about resolving the conflict.

The orientation of Sekber Pokja is to carry out coordination with donor organizations or foreign parties that wish to fund reconciliation projects in Poso. As this forum is an umbrella organization, coordination is implemented by each member working group: for example, Pokja Deklama and Satkorlak, or Satlak Pokja RKP with other NGOs, or Pokja Trauma Healing with international health organizations. Sekber Pokja maintains an open outlook towards coordination and cooperation. The

⁹⁸ All information is based on interviews via the telephone with Yahya Mangun, Chairperson of Pokja Deklama.

overlap of conflict resolution projects in Poso was the catalyst for founding Sekber Pokja, as, prior to Sekber Pokja, most parties have been operating in isolation, thus creating opportunity for project overlap.

The legal basis for the formation of the Sekber Pokja is the agreement between its members. This agreement is apparent in the organizational statute of the Sekber Pokja. According to the stipulations of the organizational statute of Sekber Pokja, the structure of the Sekber Pokja consists of a Steering Committee and an Organizing Committee. The Steering Committee is made up of the Heads of four working groups that are coordinated by Sekber Pokja. In comparison, the Head of the Board of Managers is elected based on member consensus. The Organizing Committee is responsible for implementing the tasks given priority by working group members.

Sekber Pokja's mandate and programs are approved by members. The mandate of Sekber Pokja is to work for conflict resolution in accordance with the vision and mission of its members, for example, through conducting familiarization activities and conflict resolution. Each member of Sekber Pokja conducts activities in accordance with the group's vision and mission. Some activities are conducted jointly and coordinated by Sekber Pokja, but individual members also conduct activities in accordance with Sekber Pokja's vision and mission. All such activities are coordinated with other members of Pokja to prevent possible overlap.

Decisions are made through consensus. The Organizing Committee holds a tri-monthly meeting to implement its programs. These meetings do not follow a set timetable, but rather are held whenever it is deemed necessary.

Because the forum has only recently been established, the researcher did not observe evidence of transparency or receptivity from public monitoring. Sekber Pokja now has a joint secretariat with the Trauma Healing Working Group on Jalan Mayjen Sungkono No. 13 in Palu. Financing of Sekber Pokja is independent or obtained from donors. Members of Sekber Pokja receive reports on activity implementation from the forum.

The presence of Sekber Pokja has created the possibility of duplication with another stakeholder forum, Fokal Rekonsiliasi, because both organizations have essentially the same mandate—to be an NGO umbrella organization for conflict resolution in Poso.

2. District Budgetary Planning

Budgetary planning in Kabupaten Poso is no different to that in Kabupaten Bangkalan; in both locations processes follow existing regulations. Differences lie in the fact Kabupaten Poso still uses the old approach, namely, the Rakorbang forum (not the FKSPP), and the fact that the budget system used is one of balance rather than one of performance. District Budget planning is most dynamic during meetings between the government authorities and the DPRD.

These dynamics are evident in the mutual accusations between government authorities and Bappeda during discussions at the executive level. During budgetary planning prior to 2003, Bappeda held the power to allocate sectoral development funding. Exercising this authority, Bappeda evaluated proposals from Rakorbang and government authorities for their appropriateness.

As proposals were numerous and funding was limited, Bappeda would trim or even eliminate government authorities' proposals from consideration.⁹⁹ This practice caused a strong reaction from the authorities who questioned Bappeda's removal or trimming of proposals that they had carefully pieced together. The tension between government authorities and Bappeda was manifested in mutual accusations with Bappeda being labeled a 'proposal butcher'. Situations such as this occur as a result of weak coordination between organizations. One clear weakness on the part of the authorities is that proposals are submitted to Bappeda but no follow-up is done.

"Bappeda finds fault with the government authorities because budgetary planning pays little attention to the size of budgets. On the other hand the authorities lay blame on Bappeda because they chop up their proposals."¹⁰⁰

Head of the Authority for Education and Learning, Kabupaten Poso

As result of the tension between government authorities and Bappeda in budgetary planning, from 2003 onwards Bappeda no longer has the final word in determining proposals. In the new system, the authorities put forward program proposals to Bappeda and each government authority is given the opportunity to consult with Bappeda. In practice, however, this consultation is a one-off meeting where Bappeda reveals the funding allocation received by the government authority and requests that the government authority reshape the proposal in accordance with the funding they received.¹⁰¹ After the

⁹⁹ Interview with the Secretary of Bappeda Kabupten Poso.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Head of the Poso Sub-Office for Education and Learning.

¹⁰¹ Interview with the Members of Commission B DPRD Poso.

government authority has adapted the proposal and re-submitted a final draft of the proposal, it is then forwarded by the Budget Team to the DPRD.

After the proposal is received by the House, Members of the House (Commissions/Budget Committee) consult with the relevant authorities to confirm the recommendations that have been submitted. Members of the House and government authorities will also informally lobby each other to allow for smooth processing of proposals. Political deals promoting personal and sectoral interests also occur. According to Firdaus, House Member and PAN Representative, the Executive is better at planning.

“Consultation with the House is the most heated and difficult process in budgetary planning. The strength of arguments and lobbying often determines whether or not a proposal receives funding.”

Secretary of Bappeda, Kabupaten Poso

Mutual accusations are not unique to the authorities and Bappeda; they also occur between the Executive and Legislature. For example, the House may accuse the government authorities of submitting proposals that do not pay attention to district priorities but rather prioritize the personal interests of the authorities. The result is the emergence of sectoral self-interest.

“The Executive only prioritizes their own desires, not the real interests of the people. A concrete example of this was the stubbornness of the District Head to pass a program to develop the city’s parks to the value of more than one billion Rupiah, even though there are still many refugees living in the city.”

“With a balanced budget system, if there is an excess of funds, the government authorities compete to spend it all rather than allocate it to more pressing needs. This creates sectoral self-interest.”

Head of the DPRD, Kabupaten Poso

Meanwhile, Jufri, an outspoken member of the DPRD and PAN, gave the example of several development projects under the District Waterworks as clear cases of manipulation. These projects, totaling one billion Rupiah, were never completed to a functional state. The reason for this was that funds had been divvied up among project officials, despite the fact that much of the planned irrigation and agricultural machinery needed for post-conflict economic recovery had not been delivered.

On the other hand, the Executive accuses the House of pruning back their proposals and promoting the interests of their constituents. Due to the expectations of constituents that Members will bring their aspirations to fruition, and to the measure of performance being the realization of infrastructure development, Members are pushed to fight for program proposals that fall under their constituency.

“For the average constituent, the success of the House is judged by its ability to fight for projects that fall into their region. Therefore, the House tries hard to pass these proposals.”

Head of the Development Division, Kabupaten Poso

Members of the House also often work with contractors so that project planning is carried out from the beginning of the project. More than a few Members of the House have contracting firms in mind who will become their colleagues in future project implementation. A combination of the need to fulfill constituent’s aspirations and the opportunity to promote personal interests sideline recommendations by the Executive.

“Due to the involvement of House interests in the process of budgetary planning, we are often surprised by the appearance of programs and projects not submitted by the government authorities during explanatory meetings.”

Head of the Authority for Education and Learning, Kabupaten Poso

“Reform hasn’t brought any change in Poso’s district government. What reform? Reform is bullshit. Really, things were better before it.”

Head of the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection, Kabupaten Poso

Box 5 below details information about accusations from the NGO sector regarding budget manipulation by the DPRD. Based on a research report by LPS-KR (see Appendix 4), the emergence of inappropriate and dubious input into the budget has several causes. Two such causes may be the low quality of human resources in the DPRD and manipulation of regulations. One interesting example is the manipulation of Government Regulation No. 110, 2000. Manipulation is carried out through increasing the number of budget items to more than is allowable. These additional budget items include Honorary Expenses, Other Expenses, and Family Expenses. Manipulation is also carried out through twisting and renaming budget items, despite these items actually being for the same purposes. The result is duplication in budgetary items which when calculated in their entirety reveal a fantastic increase in budget size.

Box 6: Accusations of NGOs towards the Kabupaten Poso DPRD's Budgetary Planning

In 2002, the budget plan submitted by Kabupaten Poso's DPRD was problematic for several NGOs. These NGOs united in the Front for Poso Society Watch (PMPP) and took task with DPRD budget items which they considered to be unnecessary. Regional Regulation No. 1, 2002, regarding the financial status of the Head, Assistant Head and Members of the Poso DPRD, was considered to violate Government Regulation No. 110, 2000¹⁰² due to the fact that there were numerous discrepancies and an increase in budget items. The District Budget Draft, agreed upon by the DPRD, was also considered to violate pre-existing Regional Regulations. In addition, the desire to use the maximum amount (90 percent) of Budgetary Planning Items plus Rp. 590 million in Development Funding was believed to disregard the circumstances of the community. The Poso DPRD Budget in 2001 was only Rp. 2,666,100,450 but this dramatically increased by 145% to Rp. 6,538,667,860 in 2002. However, expenses in the District Budget had increased by 170%.

Kabupaten Poso, as an area that has directly experienced conflict, has a different approach to planning. The district has five post-conflict recovery policies. These policies have implications for management of government financing. Funds from the District Budget are allocated to the different recovery efforts. To support these recovery efforts, the two biggest budget items in the District Budget for handling conflict are Unforeseen Funds and Emergency Funds. These two expenses are the responsibility of the District Head and their use is very flexible.

The conflict has also influenced the formulation of the District Budget Draft, as the Budget's finalization is always being postponed. The Budget, which should be finalized by December, is usually only completed by March or April. This delay has implications for the performance of projects because these projects cannot commence at the beginning of the year and must therefore be rushed through to completion at the end of the year. The fiscal year has effectively been shortened. This postponement, according to Members of the House, is a result of the Executive's weakness in formulating budgets. Since 2001, the House has constantly reminded the Executive of the problems in organizing the budget. However, the Executive admits the delay in formulating the budget is partly deliberate because the release of the budget needs to be synchronized with the distribution of Block Grants (DAU) and Specific Grants (DAK) so that projects can be organized without having to make double calculations.

3. Transparency and Receptivity of the Government to Input from the Community

In many matters, both the Executive and the Legislature are unresponsive to public participation and criticism. This was exemplified by the 2002 DPRD Budget Draft which the public

¹⁰² About the Financial Position of the DPRD.

considered to not have taken into account the community's circumstances, a fact that reflected the House's lack of concern. Despite widespread public opinion that such a budget was irrational, the House avoided the issue and asked demonstrators to request budget clarification from the District Head. The House always refuses requests by NGOs for meetings to discuss their policies.¹⁰³ Only when these NGOs hold street demonstrations does the House accept their requests. However, even after receiving representatives from the demonstrators, government policies continued with no change to budget allocations. Even if the demonstrators were received they were told to directly question the Governor about the budget.

The Executive's reluctance to include NGOs in the Rakorbang, which should be participative, is one indicator of the Kabupaten Poso Government's lack of receptivity. In the course of this study it became clear that the NGOs invited to the Rakorbang forum were 'red number plate' NGOs, meaning that they had a close relationship with the government. The NGO, Nurani Dunia, which is invited to participate in the Rakorbang forum each year, is owned by a Bappeda official. This is also the case with 'community figures' in the CERD forum who are big contractors in Poso. Such events occur because the Project Leader, an official from Authority for National Unity and Community Protection, is responsible for inviting the participants.

The conflict in Poso is often used by the Executive as a reason to tinker with the budget. Since 2001, the DPRD has warned heads of government authorities and divisions in Poso not to tamper with the District Budget before the DPRD has made changes. However, in reality many projects exceed their budget allocations without requesting prior approval from the House. The brazenness of government authority and division heads was still apparent in 2003 when, during the Budget Adjustment Meeting in November 2003, the DPRD found projects that were operating without prior consultation with the DPRD. Bawasda did not seem to react at all to these events. However, this was because the Head of Bawasda is close to the District Head, Muin Pusadan, through their association with the Golkar party. In addition to Golkar channels, the political lobbying by the District Head is strengthened through HMI's network because Muin is head of KAHMI (HMI Alumni).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ According to a number of groups and individuals that this researcher met (Head of LPKP, LPMS and LPS HAM), the focus on budget manipulation by the DPRD has recently disappeared. Previously this issue was a hot topic. However, this issue has been hushed up because the press has been bought by the Legislature and Yasin Mangun, as the movement coordinator, has already made project deals with members of the House as compensation. Grassroots NGOs are very disappointed with this situation.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Iskandar, Director of LPMS.

The insensitivity of Kabupaten Poso's Executive and Legislature is also evident from the disbursement of Jadup and Bedup. It is a poorly kept secret that there were many irregularities during the distribution of these funds. However, despite community protests and the fact the Legislature and the Executive were aware of these irregularities, both bodies kept quiet. Public outcry is always met with excuses.

Transparency in Kabupaten Poso is also poor. Community figures often question the lack of transparency in the disbursement of Jadup and Bedup. Furthermore, it is NGOs that disseminate information about Jadup, not the government. The government does not publish detailed information on the distribution of Jadup and Bedup, if members of the public want information, they must seek it out themselves. The government has never conveyed the amount of funding received by Kabupaten Poso for Jadup and Bedup. The government has also never made it public how much funding has already been distributed for Jadup and Bedup. In any forum, when the public (NGOs) questioned this matter, officials from the Authority for National Unity and Community Protection responded by telling the public to contact the Authority's office directly.

Another indication of the Kabupaten Poso Government's lack of transparency is the fact the outcomes of the Rakorbang are also not made public. The outcomes of Rakorbang are entirely under the authority of Bappeda.

There is much manipulation in the tender process in Kabupaten Poso; the posting of tenders by the District Government is entirely staged. Due process may appear to be conducted but people claim that the winner of the tender is decided long in advance and projects are divvied up amongst the cronies of officials (of both the Executive and Legislature). Other competitors are paid not to submit a competitive offer. According to one contractor, there are three types of projects in Poso: Recompense Projects, Compassion Projects, and KKN Projects. By Recompense Projects he meant projects under the District Budget that are distributed to people who assisted with the election of the District Head (Members of the Success Team). Compassion Projects are projects given to people that have served the government for a long time and are about to retire. KKN Projects are projects given to cronies or those with vested interests.

"In addition to the cooption of the tender process in Poso, there is also the term '3-3-4 fee'. This term refers to the practice of when a contractor wins a tender, this contractor must pay 3% to the Project Head, 3% to the Head of the relevant government authority, and 4% to the District Head."

A contractor in Poso

Appendix 3: Research Paper on Kabupaten Poso's Regional Regulation Number 1, 2002 and the 2002 DPRD Budget Draft in Kabupaten Poso: Is It Appropriate or Arrogant?

By: YASIN MANGUN

Executive Director, Central Organisation for Policy and Community Empowerment Studies (LPSK-KR)

We jointly acknowledge that the political, economic, socio-cultural and security breakdown in Kabupaten Poso caused by three episodes of unrest will definitely have negative implications for all sectors of community life and systems of government. Post Malino Declaration, all sections of the community and the government have begun to straighten themselves up, trying to go back to life as it should be. During this process, these community members have been asked to create a more intelligent way of life and to prioritize authentically humanitarian values.

This way of thinking has become one of the reasons why such a discourse has become necessary. It will facilitate discussion, analysis, debate on and a future agenda for Kabupaten Poso Regional Regulation No. I, 2002 on the Financial Position of the DPRD Head, Deputy Head and Members and the 2002 DPRD Budget Draft. Reason being, this discussion, analysis and debate will be ineffectual if it takes place after the 2002 Budget Draft has been finalized.

This research is a comparative analysis of Regional Regulation Number I, 2002 and the 2002 DPRD Budget Draft, based on Government Regulation Number 110, 2000; Kabupaten Poso Regional Regulation Number I, 2002; the 2001 Regional Budget and the 2002 Regional Budget Draft.

As part of this analysis, it is necessary to note the 2002 Poso District Budget Draft totaled Rp. 232,663,944,995.72 and consisted of: (a) Routine Expenses totaling Rp. 164,663,074,927.72 and (b) Development Expenses totaling Rp. 68,000,870,068.00. When compared with the 2001 Annual Budget of Rp. 234,407,377.49, we see there had been a 0.7% reduction. However, Routine Expenses had increased from Rp.134,924,179,411.49 in 2001 by 22% and Development Expenses had decreased from Rp. 99.483.197.996.00 in 2001 by 31%. The Gross Regional Product for this budgetary year totals Rp. 3,000,524,000. These are draft budget figures so have not been finalized.

A number of methodological instruments have been utilized in this paper, allowing for a theoretical basis in systematic, logical and empirical critical-constructive analysis.

A Comparative Analysis of Kabupaten Poso Regional Regulation Number I, 2002 and the 2002 Financial Year DPRD Budget Draft

When viewed in light of Government Regulation No 110, 2000 on the Regional House of Representatives Financial Position, Kabupaten Poso Regional Regulation Number I, 2002 has several weaknesses. Rather, it is “legally crippled”. Matters addressed in the formulation of the Regional Regulation have resulted in a number of additional budget items which by and large are not addressed in the Government Regulation. Looking further, the basis of these additional budget items are philosophically speaking inappropriate and inhumane.

How can this happen when the Executive and the Legislature are involved in the Regional Regulation formulation process? From the available data, it seems the relationship that has developed between the Executive and the Legislature tends to be imbalanced. Rather the relationship is tendentious and weighed down with the interests of certain individuals and groups so in the Regional Regulation analysis and design process any critical and moral values are lost. Those involved forget their own place as well as the essence and aim of the regulation. This imbalanced relationship emphasized the stronger bargaining power of the Legislature over the Executive. As such, the formulation of Regional Regulation Number I, 2002 was dominated by the Legislature and it will not be surprising if the resulting policy is very favorable to the Legislature.

How can this happen? Are there not legally-binding rules in the policy design process and shouldn't these representatives of society be prioritizing humanitarian values within the community? Why are society's needs and suffering no longer a consideration in such policy design?

The reality of this reveals two basic tendencies: first, the low level of human resources; and second, the deliberate ignoring of efforts to try and obtain as much personal benefit as possible.

- **Low Levels of Human Resources**

The low levels of human resources reveal two limitations among House members. Firstly, limitations among themselves regarding knowledge of the legal process and the mechanisms involved in formulating and finalizing a policy. The formulation process and the finalization of a policy are often not in accordance with the current legal regulations. However, are these limitations strong enough to be used as justification and provide us all with some sort of understanding? In the current policy design process shouldn't the Executive act as a partner and a balancing agent in decision making?

Is there not literature that can be used as a frame of reference when analyzing a policy? Haven't all members of the House undertaken training and education on the framework and operating

mechanisms of the DPRD and can't this training and education be used to establish and develop their thought processes? No longer do these individuals merely walk into office, enough time has passed for them to understand their roles and place within the organization. These small questions are self-evident if we examine this phenomenon.

Also, there are limitations to the potential for self development which would allow for a more humanitarian perspective. During discussion of Regional Regulation No I, 2002 which included a substantial level of 'vested interests and community interest' whereby on one hand discussing the amount of money personally received by House members...and on the other hand discussing the proposed money and pressing needs of the community there is a need for a high level of intelligence and awareness from all House members to broaden discussion as a limited framework of thought will restrict the social values, justice and equality that should be basic qualities of this institution. However, if we are looking at Regional Regulation No I, 2002, an egotistical, individualistic mentality is evident in all Members of the House when they are designing and discussing a policy, a fact which is reflected in the resulting policy. We can therefore assume that morality and humanitarian values can no longer be found among the members of the DPRD in Kabupaten Poso.

- **The deliberate ignoring of efforts to try and obtain as much personal benefit as possible**

Analysis of the second tendency will begin with looking at the red tape from the first tendency, where although there is an Executive as well as supporting Literature, the Legislature has the hide to ignore its own legal structure. This is a result of the egotism of all members of the House when deciding on and discussing a policy and is reflected in the final version on the policy. We can therefore assume that morality and humanitarian values can no longer be found among the members of the DPRD in Kabupaten Poso.

The accumulative result of such tendencies is the brazenness of allowing all attempts to obtain as much personal benefit as possible.

Empirical evidence of these tendencies can be seen from correlation analysis between Government Regulation Number 110, 2000; Kabupaten Poso Regional Regulation Number I, 2002; the 2001 Regional Budget and the 2002 Regional Budget Draft.

To support this analysis, it is necessary to state that budget entries in the 2002 Kabupaten Poso Regional Budget Draft totaled Rp. 6,539,667,860 with DPRD expenses totaling Rp. 4,776,962,360. In comparison the 2001 Regional Budget was only Rp. 2,666,100,450 with DPRD expenses totaling Rp.1.765.195.800. This means there has been a total budget increase of 145 % and an increase in DPRD

expenses of 170 % from the previous year. These increases in Budget Drafts will seem to even the most under-educated member of society as unfair and inhumane considering the region's financial situation and the pressing needs of the community. The question then arises, how are these unfair and inhumane increases to budget items achieved?

- **By Manipulating Government Regulation Number 110, 2000.**

This method involves adding budget items outside of those agreed upon. These additional budget items, aside from being outside the stipulations of the above Government Regulation, also do not have a strong philosophical basis and give the impression of fabrication and expose the negative interests of those involved. This will become clearer in the following explanation:

First, in Section I, Article I of Kabupaten Poso Regional Regulation Number I, 2002 which refers to 'Specific Support' this term remains undefined, it is eventually referred to in Section H, Article II, Point F even though Section H, Article II is supposedly an interpretation of Section I, Article I. Is this deliberate or a result of ignorance?

Second, in Section I, Article I, Point 0 of this Regional Regulation, 'Welfare Support' is defined as money given to the Head and Members of the DPRD in the context of improving their welfare, including healthcare, general health check-ups and assistance for ongoing medical treatment expenses. However, based on Section H, Article X of Government Regulation 110, 2000 Welfare Support: (1) ...is provided to DPRD heads and members for healthcare and treatment; and (2) Welfare Support as defined in Clause I is provided in the form of insurance.

Then if we look at the interpretation of Welfare Support in Section 11, Article XI of the Regional Regulation, fundamental changes have been made: (1) Welfare Support is given its own budget entry of Rp. 500,000 per month per person while in Government Regulation 110, 2000, Welfare Support is just that, welfare support; (2) Health Support in Regional Regulation 2002 is not provided as insurance but rather determined as Rp. 500,000 per month and can also include additional expenses for a Health Check-up to an amount in accordance with the Regional Financial Standing and Assistance for Treatment Expenses as set down in the current regulations.

Then looking at the 2002 DPRD Budget Draft, the Welfare Support found under the Healthcare Expenses totaled Rp. 590,000,000, compared with Rp. 171,820,000 the previous year. This means there has been a substantial increase of 343%. If we look at the break down:

Expenses Draft, DPRD Heads and Members Healthcare for January until December 2002, 40 people x 12 months x Rp. 500,000 = Rp. 240,000,000. This figure is in comparison to Rp. 106,820,000 in 2001, an increase of 124 %.

Assistance for Ongoing Treatment Outside of the Area for DPRD Heads, Members and their families in 2002 DPRD Budget Draft totaled Rp. 50,000,000. This is an increase of 333% from the previous year's amount of only Rp. 15,000,000. Is this a logical and realistic increase that needs to be included in a budget draft?

General Check Up Expenses for Executives and Members of the DPRD between January and December 2002 were: 40 people x Rp. 1,500,000 = Rp. 60.000.000. This is compared to expenses in 2001 which were 40 people x Rp. 1.250.000 = Rp. 50.000.000, meaning there had been a 20% increase from one year to the next.

There is a split definition of 'Welfare Expenses', creating many new budget entries. Although this Budget entry falls under Other Expenses and Welfare Allowance for House members in the 2002 Budget Draft, this perhaps occurs because of misunderstanding...from the Speaker and Members of the DPRD...

Third, in Section I, Article I, Point P of Kabupaten Poso Regional Regulation No. I, 2002 it is stated that Honorary Expenses are given to executives and members of the House as an honorarium due to their status as Members of the DPRD. In comparison, Government Regulation No. 110, 2000 does not have a budget entry for Honorary Expenses. There has therefore been an additional budget item made that is in conflict with this Government Regulation. There has been Rp. 168,000,000 made available to executives and Members of the DPRD under this entry, calculated by 40 people x 12 months x Rp. 350.000. It would have been possible for this additional budget item to receive a level of understanding if the philosophical basis of this budget item was logical, empirical and realistic. However, the word 'honorary' carries the connotation of a form of honor or respect from one person to another. This gives rise to the question of whether respect for someone must always be measured in terms of money, to the point where there has to be a Regional Regulation on the matter? Is it not enough that the utmost trust and highest hopes have been placed on the Members of the DPRD by the community? How is it possible they can ask for more 'respect' in the form of money from the community who themselves are living in suffering and misery.

Fourth, Section I, Article I, Point Q of Kabupaten Poso Regional Regulation No. I, 2002 refers to Other Expenses which are defined as money given to House Members and executives based on Gross

Regional Product in the context of support for implementing their duties and increasing awareness. However, Government Regulation 110, 2000 does not contain an Other Expenses entry. The fact is that supporting funds to cover operational costs and awareness raising covered in Other Expenses entry according to Government Regulation 110, 2000 is actually has been regulated in Section 11 Article 14 which regulates Activity Costs, other things on DPRD. Therefore there have been both additional budget entries and an overlap between these entries. This budget entry totals Rp. 292,200,000 made up of: (a) Chairperson 1 person x 12 months x Rp. 750,000 = 9,000,000; (b) Deputy Chairperson 2 people x 12 months x Rp. 700,000 = Rp. 16,900,000; (c) 37 people x 12 months x Rp. 600,000 = Rp. 266,400,000.

Manipulation of Regional Regulation Number I, 2001

This manipulation is achieved by adding budget entries which are manifested in the DPRD Budget Draft but not set down in the House's own Regional Regulations. By casting aside any legal standards and their own ethics, the members of the House have the hide to add items to the budget. Perhaps this should be seen as normal as even the highest laws and regulations are brazenly ignored. This is explained below:

First. In Regional Regulation No. I, 2002 there is no mention of the Family Expenses budget item. But in the 2002 DPRD Budget Draft, Family Expenses was a separate budget entry totaling Rp. 70,882,560. This entry in the 2001 Regional Budget totaled Rp. 37,006,200, meaning there had been a 91% increase between 2001 and 2002.

Second. In Regional Regulation No. I, 2002 donation money for the family of the deceased and costs of transporting the body was regulated in accordance with Government Regulation No. 110, 2000 Such donation money set aside in the 2001 DPRD Budget for DPRD members or executives that passed away totaled Rp. 2,500,000.

However, when looking at the 2002 Budget, there had been increase in 400% in this budget item to Rp. 12,500,000. This increase occurred because there had been additions to and replacement of the budget entries that were not set down in Government Regulation 110, 2000 or Regional Regulation No. I, 2002. The introduction of the donation money for those that have passed away replaced the assistance money for the costs of transporting the deceased's body. Is this logical?

Third. Education Expenses in the DPRD Budget Plan totaled Rp. 600,000,000 targeted towards improving the Human Resources of DPRD members, divided into; (1) External Work Shop Expenses for members totaling Rp. 300,000,000, (2) Exchange Study Expenses for members totaling Rp.

300.000.000. Here there is, in addition to a relatively large amount of money, an Other Expenses entry which is targeted towards improving the understanding of DPRD members.

Fourth. The Operational Expenses budget item in Regional Regulation No. I, 2002 has been set at 4% of the Gross District Product each year. When considering the 2002 Gross District Product totaled Rp. 3,000,524,000, then Operation Expenses budget totaled Rp. 120,020,960. However, in the Budeg Draft this had changed to Rp. 402,360,000 or around 13.4 % of the Gross District Product.

Only 4% of the Gross District Product was considered too small for the DPRD's operation expenses but the percentage rather than the size of the budget in Regional Regulation No. I, 2000 (Article 18, Clause 2) was changed because the budget draft spells out what has been set down in the current Regional Regulations.

By Moving Budget Items

This involves moving certain budget items which, if compared directly to the previous year, would reveal huge increases. This is made clearer in the following analysis: Looking at the break down of the Operational Expenses entry, the total Rp. 401,360,000 is divided up into two budget entries; (1) DPRD Operational Expenses of Rp. 210.360.000 and (2) Executives Operational Expenses totaling Rp. 192,000,000. In comparison the 2001 budget entry totaled Rp. 325,000,000 divided into; (1) DPRD Operational Expenses of Rp. 95,000,000 (2) Mobility (car/motorbike) Assistance for DPRD members of 40 people x Rp. 5,000,000 = Rp. 200,000,000 and (3) Executives Operational Expenses totaling Rp. 30,000,000. There has consequently been a 23.8% increase in 2002

Then what about the Mobility Budget that was not in the DPRD Operational Expenses in 2002? This budget entry was moved in 2002 to the Members Welfare Budget and totaled 40 people x Rp. 15,000,000 = Rp. 600,000,000. Why was this budget entry moved? Was it because if the entry remained in the Operational Expenses budget entry the insane increase would have become evident?

If we assume that the 2002 Budget, like the 2001 Budget consisted of three sections then the total would be Rp. 402,360,000 + Rp. 600,000,000 = Rp. 1,002,360,000. This amount represents a 308.4% increase from 2001.

The question that then arises is what will the Rp.600,000,000 Mobility Expenses be used for? If it is to buy motorcycles, why does it not come under that appropriate budget item? If this is true, don't the executives and commissions already have cars for day to day operation? Shouldn't the budget be 10 x 15 million rather than 40 x 15 million, this would be more realistic. Or if it is for motorcycles, for

example, then to reduce expenditure this item should not be receive such a large allocation in every budget.

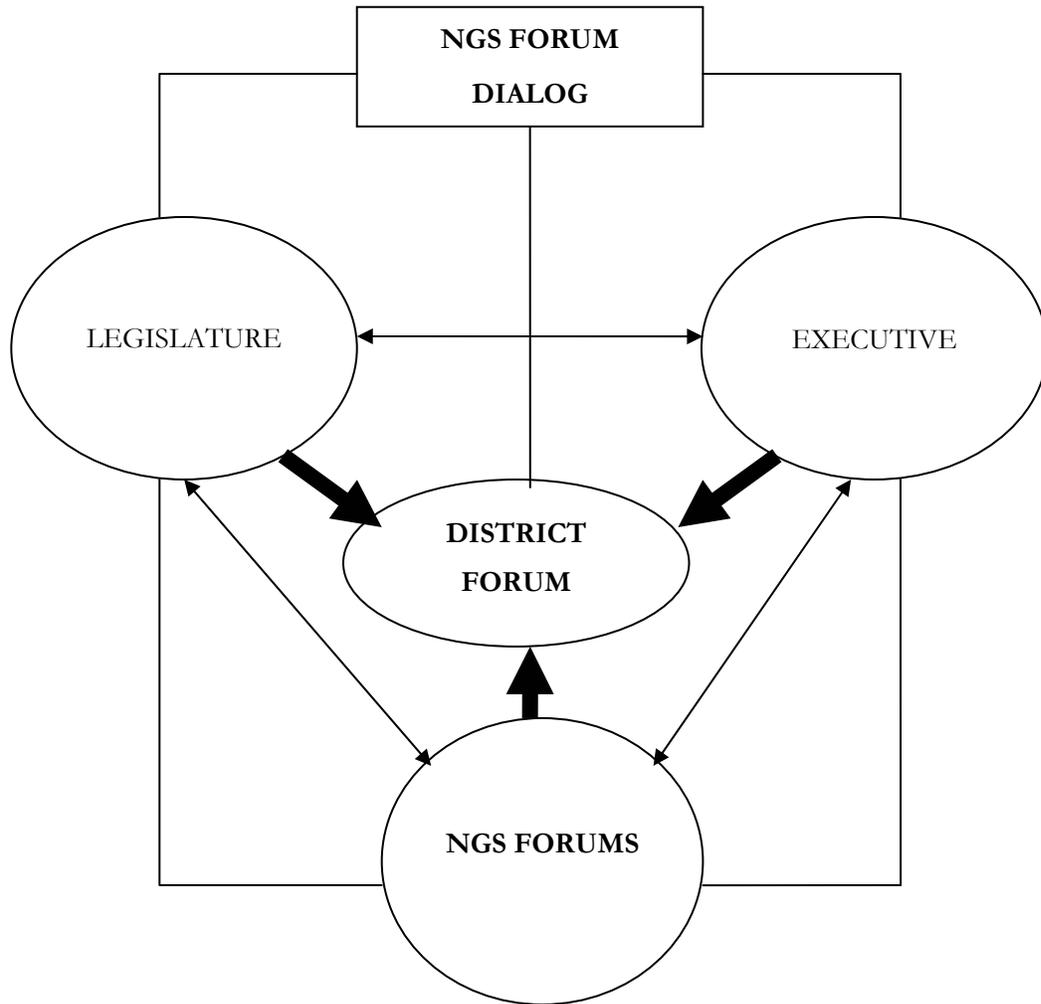
If we look at the above comparative analysis, this might have become fitting if there were more conducive conditions in Poso and the conflict had not occurred whereby the entire community had access to normal everyday life, no one lived in a refugee camp, people were not willing to gamble their lives just to receive funding from the Authority for Social Affairs, no children dropped out of school as their parents could no longer afford to pay for tuition, there were sufficient external sources of education, no one died from starvation or malnutrition, and no one died through lack of medication or doctors. It is incredibly naïve to look at these problems with one eye and see them as unavoidable. However, by doing just that the House can easily and guiltlessly formulate policies which are profit orientated and benefit the vested interests of certain individuals.

It is therefore incorrect to say Regional Regulation No I, 2002 and the 2002 Budget Draft are appropriate. However, these policies were based on vested interests over people's suffering which has been unconsciously cast aside and become incapable of resisting exploitation by other parties. Violations of Government and Regional Regulations as well as and abuses of universal humanitarian values committed by the Kabupaten Poso DPRD when designing policy is "audacious behaviour" but also "unthoughtful and inhumane".

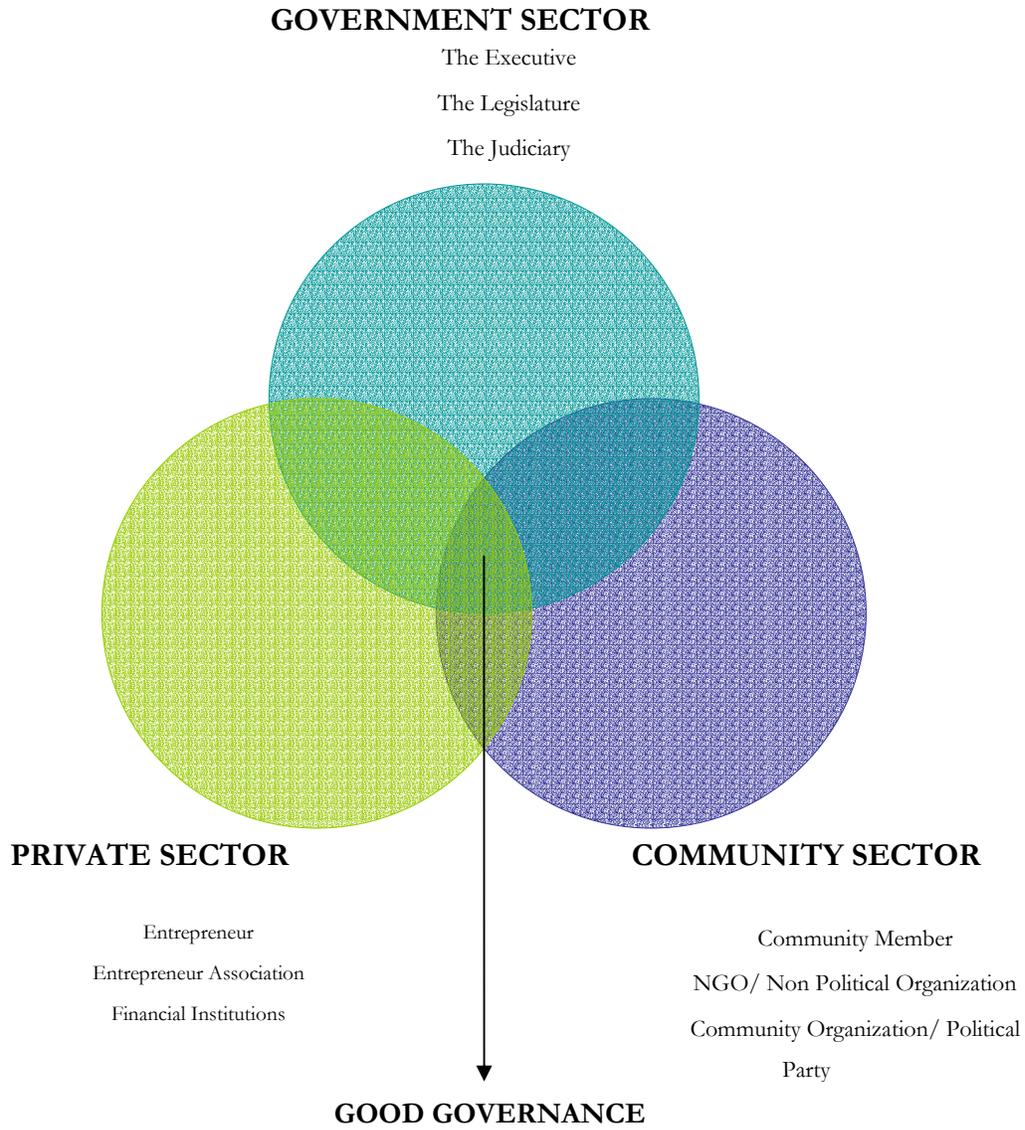
This audacity which has affected the members of the DPRD then accumulates to become a "Portrait of Arrogance" which can at any time torment the community and come back to bite members themselves. By forgetting their own existence, that of other organizations, and the substance of policies, members of the DPRD see only a status quo that must be defended.

This discourse can perhaps spark critical awareness throughout the community and Non-Government Organisations which are fed up with the violence, poverty and misery. They need to use their power to control the government. It is this strength that may be able to cure the 'diseases' currently afflicting the members of the Kabupaten Poso DPRD.

Annex 4: Implementation of Inter-Development Stakeholder Dialog



Annex 5: Diagram of Synergy between Development Stakeholders





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