STRENGTHENING THE BRIDGE TOWARDS INCLUSIVE POLICYMAKING

A Collective Learning with Six Civil Society Organisations.

Synthesis Report for VOICE
"Echoing Evidence, Using Action Research
for Inclusive Participation"

by
Centre for Innovation Policy and Governance

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Strengthening the Bridge towards Inclusive Policymaking:

A Collective Learning with Six Civil Society Organisations

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List of Abbreviations

AcSI	Active Society Institute
AMAN	Indigenous People's Alliance of the Archipelago (*Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara)*
AMANDA	Regional Branch for the Indigenous People's Alliance of the Archipelago (*Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara Daerah)*
CIPG	Centre for Innovation Policy and Governance
CREAME	Critical Research Methodology
DPRD	Regional House of Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*)
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
Maupe	Society for Women (*Masyarakat untuk Perempuan*)
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
Perda	Local Government Regulation (*Peraturan Daerah*)
PP	Government Regulations (*Peraturan Pemerintah*)
RUU	Bill (*Rancangan Undang-undang*)
SADAR	The Alliance of Merchants of *Pasar Terong* (*Persaudaraan Pedagang Pasar Terong*)
Supres	Presidential Warrant (*Surat Perintah Presiden*)
Yabiku	The Amnaut Bife "Kuan" Foundation (*Yayasan Amnaut Bife "Kuan"*)
Yasalti	The Wali Ati Foundation (*Yayasan Wali Ati*)

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INTRODUCTION: STRENGTHENING THE BRIDGE TOWARDS INCLUSIVE POLICYMAKING

1

Introduction:
Strengthening the Bridge
towards Inclusive Policymaking

Public involvement in policymaking in Indonesia is protected in Law 25/2004 on the National Development Planning System which states that participatory approach is a part of the planning process. All members of the society, regardless whether they are women or men, are citizens with the right to take part in that process.

However, what is often the problem in this process is the inequality of the representation and level of involvement of these groups (Young, 2000; Women Research Institute, 2005; Bochel *et al.*, 2008; Akatiga, 2010). In particular, groups that are marginalised due to economic, social, spatial, political status, or even their gender. They are known as the marginalised community (OXFAM Novib and Hivos, 2017). So, what should be done in order to achieve wider representation of the communities, especially so that marginalised communities can become more active?

This report will review CIPG's efforts in increasing citizen involvement in policy-making process and the responses of the parties involved.

1.1 Background and Rationale

Although Law 25/2004 has given the mandate to increased citizen participation in the policymaking at all levels of government, in reality, it is only elite circles, those who have knowledge, have been recognised, and are capable to access policymakers. Meanwhile, participation of marginalised communities is still regarded as low and passive, only as listeners who "follow the will of the majority," even without any part in the decision-making process (Akatiga, 2010; Nugroho *et al.*, 2013).

Several studies (Court *et al.*, 2006; Bochel *et al.*, 2008; Nugroho, 2011; Adibroto *et al.*, 2013; Nugroho *et al.*, 2013; Nugroho, Carden and Antlov, 2018) reveal that in general, citizen participation in the policymaking process is hindered by the limited access, communication and negotiation capacity, as well as minimum ability to gather information and process knowledge. Thus, in the end, citizens involved in the process are limited to those possessing the aforementioned attributes, such as the elites and activists (Akatiga, 2010).

Whereas in fact, an all-inclusive citizen participation in the policymaking process is believed to be able to produce policies that are more accurate for the public (Theiss-Morse, 1993; Young, 2000; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004; Bochel *et al.*, 2008). Moreover, contextual knowledge of these citizens from their own experience, is relevant in finding solutions to local problems (Nugroho, Carden and Antlov, 2018).

In general, marginalised groups are deemed to not have or to have less of the necessary knowledge to be involved in the policymaking process. Their voices may be heard only if they are personally close to activist groups and/or lower level governments (Akatiga, 2010). Meanwhile, activist groups are deemed to possess knowledge, experience and network to the relevant governments. They are often found within Civil Society Organisations (CSOs).

Thus, **CSOs play a role in hastening and broadening citizens' access to governance**. Nevertheless, these activists' knowledge, experience and network ought to be managed in such a way that it can be used as evidence to support advocacy for accurate policies.

This became the rationale for CIPG and VOICE Indonesia when devising the capacity building programme titled "Echoing Evidence: Action Research for Inclusive Participation". This programme was meant to **increase the involvement of marginalised communities in regional policymaking, and to encourage policymakers to take into account the knowledge of local citizens.**

Firstly, we started the programme by enriching CSOs' knowledge-processing ability. CSOs' knowledge was gathered and shared through **action research**. From here, we hope that the CSOs will be able to evaluate and analyse field events. Provided with concrete field data and a thorough understanding of the context of the issues, CSOs together with marginalised communities would then carry out the suitable **policy advocacy**.

1.2   Questions and Objectives

Against the background, the guiding research question during this series of intervention is:

> *How can marginalised communities gather evidence to inform policy-making process that affect their existence?*

This programme, therefore, aims to:

a. empower society through building the capacity of Indonesian CSOs so as to construct a proper and thorough evidence;

b. advocate inclusive participation by increasing involvement of CSOs in the policy making process, especially at the local level.

From December 2017 to August 2019, CIPG supervised six CSOs in conducting action research regarding the existence of the marginalised communities which they represent. This was followed by a policy advocacy through written public articles and policy papers.

We closed this series of programmes with a joint reflection. Our focus is on two main aspects: developing research capability of civil societies and evidence-based policy advocacy.

We targeted six CSOs from three regions in Eastern Indonesia. The focus of the six CSOs are spread across on three marginalised communities: indigenous communities (two CSOs), victims of gender discrimination (two CSOs), and age discrimination (two CSOs). Three outcomes were expected from each CSO: a research paper, popular written articles on online and/or offline media, as well as a policy paper for the targeted policymaking.

1.3   Analytical Framework

This report refers to the Theory of Change compiled by VOICE Global Theory of Change, which has long been used as an analytical framework to understand cause and effect in development programmes. We chose this approach as we wanted to observe how interventions contributed towards changes that we wanted to achieve together through the VOICE Global programme. Long-term changes that we wanted to accomplish are as follows:

> Long-term goals: Most marginalised and discriminated individuals are empowered to express their view and demand their rights for responsive and inclusive decision making, policymaking and policy implementation with transparent and accountable development processes.[1]

Our long-term goals stated above can be construed as to this day, many marginalised and discriminated individuals are still not included in the development processes, whether in decision making, policymaking, or inclusive and responsive policy implementation.

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1   Most marginalised and discriminated individuals are empowered to express their view and demand their rights for responsive and inclusive decision making, policymaking and policy implementation with transparent and accountable development processes.

1.4   Report Structure

This synthesis report will focus on the lessons learned from the interventions we carried out on the six CSOs spread across the provinces of South Sulawesi, West Nusa Tenggara and East Nusa Tenggara. After the introduction in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 will look at the theoretical framework used to explain and understand the relationship between intervention programmes on research and policy advocacy with marginalised communities and CSOs. This report will continually reflect back on this theory to emphasise the importance of the role of CSOs in magnifying the voices of marginalised communities in evidence-based policy advocacy. Chapter 3 explains the methodology for this programme, including how we compiled this report and the stages of interventions taken. Chapter 4 dissects the result of the interventions and how it fits into the theoretical framework. Lastly, Chapter 5 will close with reflections and a conclusion on the research findings illustrating the relationships between marginalised communities, CSOs and policymakers. This chapter offers programmes that could be undertaken by the relevant parties.

1.5   Report Limitations

This research titled Echoing Evidence, *Action Research for Inclusive Participation* has limitations, and they are:

c. Geographical limitations. This research collects results from interventions on six organisations located in Eastern Indonesia. Organisations outside of the six may or may not experience the same things.

d. Analytical limitations. The analysis of this research only covers the dynamics during the intervention to observe the changes in the six organisations, therefore we cannot convey all of the data and analyses collected.

Even so, the outcome from this research is expected to provide a basic understanding of the trends in the capacity building of research and evidence-based policy advocacy.

2

LITERATURE REVIEW: UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF RESEARCH IN POLICY ADVOCACY

2

Literature Review: Understanding the Role of Research in Policy Advocacy

In our efforts to develop the capability of the public to thoroughly and accurately gather evidence and to encourage inclusive participation in the policymaking process, particularly at the regional level, we ought to understand the theory that is the foundation of this capability development programme (hereinafter referred to as intervention).

An understanding concerning efforts for the changes we want to achieve, policymaking context, relationship between research and advocacy, as well as the relationship between marginalised communities with CSOs will act as a solid foundation for the programmes we propose.

Hence, this chapter will elaborate on these points and highlight the reason why a thorough gathering of evidence (through research) by CSOs is a crucial step to policy advocacy, especially in regard to the existence of marginalised communities.

2.1 Theory of Change

The term Theory of Change was first coined by Weiss CH (1995) who believes that programme evaluations should be guided by a theory. In particular, he describes this theory as, "a theory on how and why an initiative works" (Weiss, 1995, p.66). At the time, Weiss was advising that theory-based-evaluations should be used on programmes related to health and risk prevention. However, since it was put forward, Weiss's theory came to be used by various funding institutions (donors) and their organisers to see what happens after they carry out intervention through development programmes (Stein and Valters, 2012).

Several evaluation theory academics have stated that Theory of Change does not have a rigid definition. On the contrary, it is based on the needs of the creator (Vogel, 2012; Rogers, 2014). Thus, the theory itself evolves. Various grant organisations have even created their own version of Theory of Change. The Asia Foundation (Stein and Valters, 2012), UNICEF (Rogers, 2014), HIVOS (van Es, Guijt and Vogel, 2015), OXFAM Novib and HIVOS Consortium (Kamstra, 2017) and UNDAF (UNDG, 2015) indicate that there is a number of theories of change which have been recognised in the last five years.

Although it has a variety of definitions, Theory of Change is generally accepted as the approach to evaluate changes that occur after the intervention by organisations, planned prior to the execution of the intervention (Stein and Valters, 2012; Rogers, 2014; UNDG, 2015). We observe the presence of similar characteristics in each organisation's Theory of Change, confirming the research of Maini, Mounier-jack and Borghi (2018) and Thornton *et al.,* (2017), which is that they consist of organised components such as exercises, outcomes, and results (short-term or long-term).

Because each organisation uses a different definition that can be difficult to comprehend in a written form, Theory of Change is often simplified through the use of visual aids, like figures or pictures (Davies, 2018; Peta, 2018). At the same time, the simplification of this theory can potentially create a misunderstanding on the part of the reader (Davies, 2018; Peta, 2018). To ensure that everyone can properly understand these visual aids, people

who were not involved in the formulation of Theory of Change should be consulted when creating them (van Es, Guijt and Vogel, 2015).

Theory of Change is broadly used by grant donors to evaluate changes that resulted from their grants. Often it is also prepared Theory of Change by them, and thus, cannot be completely free from informational bias. To anticipate this, we need to ensure that Theory of Change is not so rigid, so that it can be evaluated periodically.

Interestingly, HIVOS (van Es, Guijt and Vogel, 2015) and their consortium with OXFAM Novib (Kamstra, 2017) view **Theory of Change as an approach to understand expected external achievements, is flexible and adaptable to local contexts.** The idea is that this way, Theory of Change can help HIVOS to analyse the complex system in their respective field. For this reason, the visual aid for VOICE's Theory of change, as a product of said consortium, has only been drafted once in 2017 to be re-evaluated and adapted to the context of the field they are working in.

From the above discourse, we deduce that Theory of Change should be viewed as a guidance for grant recipients to ensure that their interventions achieve the expected outcomes, while grant donors should appreciate the significance of the process and the influence of the area when observing the intervention responses, and both should consider Theory of Change as part of the learning process.

This report will particularly consider Theory of Change by VOICE Programme developed by OXFAM Novib and HIVOS (Kamstra, 2017; OXFAM Novib and HIVOS, 2017).
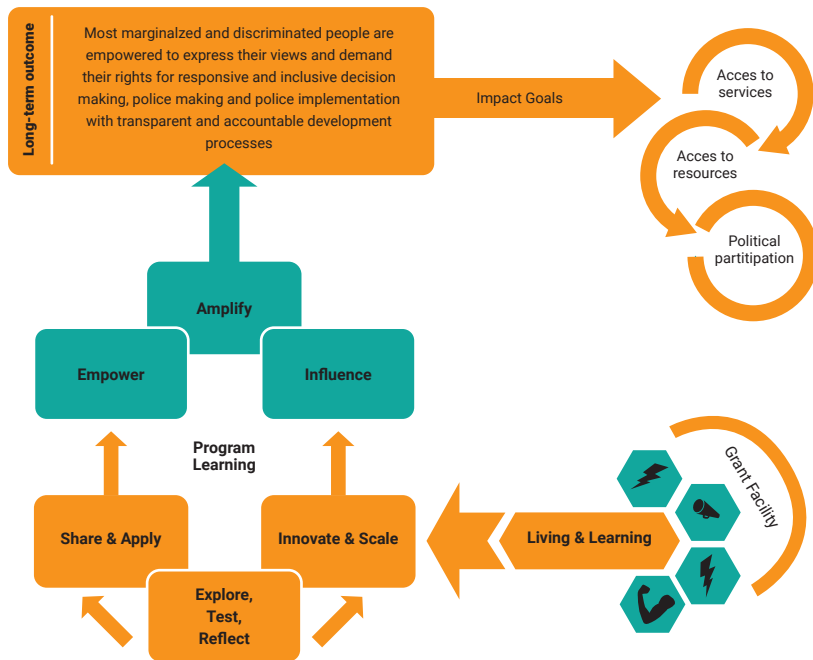
Figrure1 Theory of Change VOICE Global (2017 version)

Source: VOICE Global (2017)

Figure 1 is a visual aid depicting VOICE Global grant programmes' Theory of Change. Starting from the bottom right, this Theory of Change demonstrates that VOICE's grant funding was divided between four components:[2]

a. Empowerment, to be used by formal or informal groups directly affiliated with marginalised communities. The empowerment fund is used to increase awareness, to invest on their own leadership ability and to build the confidence they need to 'show up to be heard'.

b. **Influencing** reinforces the organisational capability to represent, to express, and strengthen the voices of the marginalised communities. **CIPG, in particular, is one of the recipients of the fund in this component.**

c. Innovate and learn enable recipients to examine, learn from, and potentially raise

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2   Types of VOICE grants: https://voice.global/assets/2019/06/Voice-annual-report-2018-A4-web.pdf

ideas and new approaches. This includes organisations acting as facilitators for Linking and Learning grant recipients in each country.

d. Sudden opportunity. This grant is to create flexibility in collective actions to take advantage of specific yet unexpected opportunities. In this context, it can influence policies or deal with the threatened civil space. This grant is only available from time to time.

Those four components are consolidated as the Linking and Learning programme, a process that is facilitated to encourage lesson-sharing and provides forums to learn from one another and empowers marginalised and discriminated groups[3].This programme aims to produce new insights and innovation for the components of this grant, nationally or internationally, through the three Linking & Learning (L&L)[4] cycles, which are:

- **Explore**. Exploring requires grant recipients to go to the communities

- **Test.** Focusing on testing innovations. Innovations can include anything that has never been done by grant recipients

- **Reflect**. Reflection asks grant recipients to make time to stop and evaluate their work

Grant recipients are expected to appreciate the intervention processes each of them is undertaking by carrying out the series of tasks and reflecting on them. The outcomes from the Linking & Learning reflections can be divided into two channels:

a. Share & apply, by sharing their reflections with other grant recipients, others can learn and apply the results on their own programmes.

b. Innovate & scale, with the knowledge obtained by other grant recipients, organisations that took part can innovate from what they have learnt, and even improve their learning outcomes.

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3   Kick-off Linking & Learning Presentation 24 November 2017 by Zack Lee

4   Written explanation from Kick-off Linking & Learning 24 November 2017 by Zack Lee, which can be accessed at: https://voice.global/blog/building-blocks-linking-learning/

From these two channels, we hope to create marginalised communities who:

- **Empower** (for marginalised individuals to be able to fully participate in their community, they need to feel empowered and accepted; these groups need the capacity to build a safe space, to build confidence and skills)

- Can **influence** (groups and their representations need the capacity to use various lobbying and advocacy tools to influence policies, and the behaviour and practices of policymakers)

- Are able to **amplify** (groups needing allies for their voices to reach critical mass, to change norms and attitude; they need the capacity to build alliances and network with various stakeholders) their own voices

In the end, this joint intervention will allow:

a) marginalised individuals to be accepted by power holders as equal citizens and as political, economic and social participants

b) responsive and inclusive government, policies and businesses practices, so that they can provide access for services, resources and political participation of marginalised communities.

In particular, **CIPG receives the grant** for the **influence** component and we are strategising to contribute directly to increase political participations of marginalised communities. Our analysis will focus on aspects promoting those contributions, such as **explore-test-reflect** as well as **share and apply** and **empower-influence-amplify.** Meanwhile, innovate and scale and direct contributions to increase political participation will help us elaborate on the reflection for the programme.

Alongside the above explanation of Theory of Change, the CIPG team translated the long-term changes into the framework of Outcome Mapping[5] to make it easier for us to see the changes that occurred, as follows:

LIKE TO SEE	EXPECT TO SEE	LOVE TO SEE
Local civil society organisations capacity on compiling evidence in promtly way escalated	Local civil society organisations involvement in the policy-making process gradually increment	Marginal groups become involve in the local policy-making process
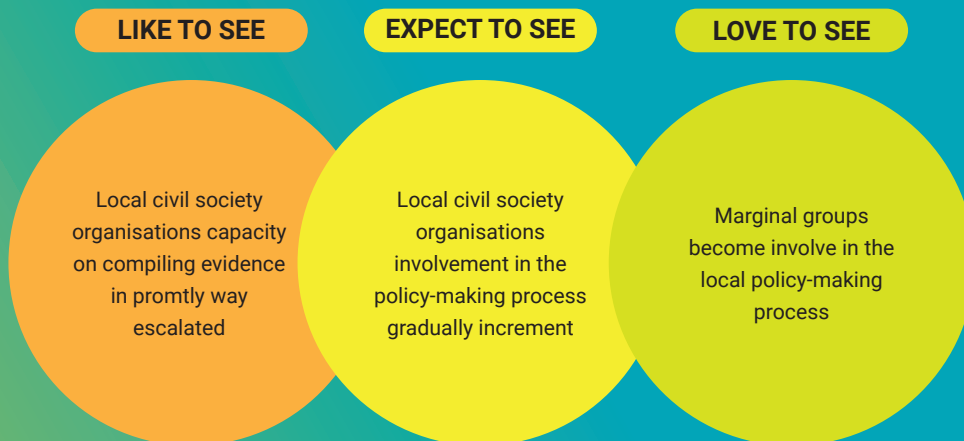
Figure 2 Desired Intervention Outcomes

Source: Authors, adopted from Young *et al.* (2014)

The main outcome we would **like to see** from the intervention is the increased capacity of CSOs in gathering evidence thoroughly and accurately. What we **expect to see** is for CSOs to be involved in their local policymaking process. Once CSOs are capable and are involved in local policymaking, we would **love to see** the involvement of marginalised communities in local policymaking. We use this Outcome Mapping to assist the research team to see **the extent of the contribution of our interventions in the VOICE Global Theory of Change.**

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5   Outcome Mapping is often compared against Theory of Change. It helps programme organisers to observe changes at the individual level as well as collectively (Vogel, 2012). Outcome Mapping was first formulated by International Development Research Centre (IDRC) as a way to plan their development initiative and evaluate the result (Young *et al.*, 2014). This framework focuses on the change in behaviour, relationships, actions, and individual, group and organisational activities.

2.2 Inclusive Policymaking

When talking about change, in this context we are referring to inclusive policymaking that engages marginalised communities. However, how have policies been made in Indonesia so far?

A number of public policy literature have demonstrated that although public policy is decided by the government, its formulations and implementations involve other actors and institutions (Howlett and Mukherjee, 2017; Friedrich, 2007; Kay, 2006, Somit and Peterson, 2003).[6] In essence, public policy is a series of formal statements issued by governments to deal with public issues.

In Indonesia, the parliament plays a central role in public policymaking through law formulation and amendments, as well as budget formulation and implementation. Regulation planning is usually organised by the task force in the relevant ministry, accompanied by academic document (or *naskah akademik*)[7] containing deliberations and detailed explanations on issues that the regulation has to address. However, a previous investigation (Datta *et al.*, 2011, p. 13) uncovers that in practice, these formal processes are often flawed, or the accompanying academic document are poorly written or even unsubstantive. The policy outcomes are then insufficient to resolve the issue in the community or are irrelevant to the needs of the people.

The practice of regional autonomy could be an opportunity for creating accurate public policies.[8] Within the framework of regional autonomy, the province acts as a coordinator,

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6   According to Dewey (1927), public policy often stresses the "public and their problems". Furthermore, for Thomas Dye (1972), almost anything a government chooses to do or not to do is public policy. Sharkansky (1970) defines public policy as a government's action to reach certain goals. Anderson (1979) defines public policy as a series of actions deliberately taken by an actor or a group of actors and its purpose is to solve a problem. Meanwhile, Lester and Stewart (1996) translates public policy as a process or a series of government actions to resolve a problem in the community. According to Lemay (2002), policies are a series of actions deliberately taken by a certain actor or actors in problem-handling. Somit and Peterson (2003) defines public policy as government action. Friedrich (2007) states that public policy consists of decisions suggested by individuals, groups, or governments with the goal of solving a problem.

7   Law 12/2011 on the Formation of Laws and Regulations Article 1: Academic document are research papers or legal studies and other research findings about a particular problem, that can be held scientifically accountable for the management of the problem in a Draft Law, Provincial Draft Regulation, or District/City Draft Regulation as a solution for problems and the legal needs of the community.

8   Law 6/2014 on Villages requires village governments to work with principles that are democratic, promotes gender equality and non-discriminatory, while also involving marginalised communities (minority communities) in decision-making. Furthermore, Law 23/2014 on Regional Governments also governs participation dimensions and channels that can be used by the community.

although a large portion of this authority lies at the district level. Every region has its own Regional House of Representatives (DPRD-*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah)* and its own elected head of government (governor, regent, or mayor) who presents budget drafts and development plans to DPRD for their approval. Local parliaments have three functions: laws, budgets and monitoring. Each region has its own long and complicated process for development planning and budgeting.

Unfortunately, after three decades of New Order and two decades of Reformation, the regional governments' ability to manage large funds, identify priorities and challenges, and establish local development planning and strategy is still lacking (Datta, 2017; Pramusinto, 2016). These governments rarely use research and data in policymaking, and when they do, they only use statistical data to decide on the policy agenda (Zhang, 2015; Datta *et al.*, 2016, p. 6).

Due to the complicated laws on procurement, policymakers rarely carry out independent research. It is not customary to involve stakeholders (practitioners, experts, universities, business community, civil society) in creating local policies; hence policymakers cannot reap the benefits from the wealth of knowledge of these stakeholders in relations to those policies (Sutmuller and Setiono, 2011, p.42). The implication is that those policymakers do not have a comprehensive understanding of the issues and end up issuing irrelevant policies.

Box 1   Problematic Regional Regulations

Regional regulations are in fact logical consequences from regional autonomy. Regional regulations are needed to perform government authorities and affairs handed over by central government to provincial governments and district/city governments. Sadly, not all regional regulations are published as a solution. Until June 2016, there have been 3,143 problematic regional regulations that had to be revoked or revised as requested by the Ministry of Home Affairs (see https://www.kemendagri.go.id/media/filemanager/2016/06/21/b/a/batal_perda_21_juni_2016.pdf). Thousands of regional regulations that have been revoked are believed to have inhibited the development of regional economies, complicating the bureaucratic process, obstructing the licencing and investment process, inhibiting the ease of doing business, complicating access to public services, and are contrary to regulations at higher levels.

In his article titled "Organising Regional Regulations in the Era of Regional Autonomy (*Menata Perda pada Era Otda*)" (Media Indonesia, 15 December 2017) Djohermansyah Djohan (Professor at the Institute Governance of Home Affairs, Director General of Regional Authority of the Ministry of Home Affairs 2010-2014, Acting Governor of Riau 2013-2014) recorded 10 crucial issues in the creation and implementation of regional regulations. First, regional regulations are contrary to higher level regulations. Second, regional regulations are in opposition to public needs and morality. Third, regional regulations inhibit investment. Fourth, regional regulations are formulated without the involvement of stakeholders. Fifth, **regional regulations are formulated without public consultations**. Sixth, regional regulations formulations are tainted with bribery and extortion. Seventh, regional regulations formulations are not transparent and vague. Eight, there is no regional regulations registration system. Ninth, regional regulations continue to be performed by the regions even when they have been revoked. Tenth, the scarcity in the use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in regional regulations supervision.

The absence of multi-stakeholders involvement in policy formulations absolutely betrays the principle of inclusive policymaking. Simply stated, inclusive policymaking is the approach for deliberating options and making decisions that actively involve everyone directly affected by those decisions. The word "inclusive" here covers the process (policymaking) as well as the result (policy outcome). OECD (2013) stresses that inclusive policymaking should be a transparent process, evidence-driven, accessible, and responds to as many citizens as possible. This inclusive policymaking attempts to assert a variety of aspirations/voices and views – including traditional customs – in the policymaking process.

Box 2 Citizen Participation Opportunities: Regulations vs Practice

The opportunity for citizen participation in policymaking has actually been initiated in Law 25/2004 on National Development Planning System which includes the element of "optimising community participation". Likewise, UU 12/2011 concerning Formation of Legislation Regulations also implies that the public has the right to provide verbal and/or written input in the formation of legislation regulations.

On the other hand, the establishment of Law 6/2014 on Villages is actually an opportunity to break the exclusion of public/citizens communities who have tended to be marginalised (or excluded) in development. The mandate of the Village Law is to guarantee the birth of social inclusion at the village level, both in terms of village structuring, village governance, village development and village regulation-making. In these aspects, the Village Law requires village government administrators to work with democratic principles, gender justice and non-discrimination, and include marginal groups (minority groups) in decision making (deliberation) and supervision (Zakaria and Simarmata, 2015).

In addition, normatively, inclusive policy making is also guaranteed in Law 23/2014 on Regional Government which contains new material on community participation. Community participation is the participation of citizens to channel their aspirations, thoughts and interests in the administration of Regional Government. In addition to the dimension of community participation, this law also regulates various channels that can be used by citizens to participate in the administration of governments in their regions.

Unfortunately, in practice, citizen participation is still limited to groups that have access and knowledge, such as elite groups and activists (Akatiga, 2010, Sudarno and Utomo, 2018). In other words, even though regulations that open up opportunities for community participation already exist, marginalised communities still have difficulty voicing their aspirations directly.

In practice, public policymaking is influenced by cultural, capability and power-relations dimensions shaped by social traditions and history (Bevir and Rhodes 2003; Schmidt 2010; Blomkamp *et al.*, 2018). The bureaucracy tasked with providing inherent, complex and political policy advice, has the tendency to make decisions that puts forward organisational traditions and political interests before optimal solutions (John, 2012; Geurts, 2011). In Indonesia, the legal processes for policymaking cannot accurately be described as a process supported by rational problem solving. Moreover, consultation practices and policy evaluations by the government is still inadequate (Blomkamp *et al.*, 2018; Zhang, 2015). The decision on whether a programme or a policy needs to be adopted or continued is not based on previous evaluations (Zhang, 2015). As a result, the government often return to old policies/solutions (routine).

2.3 Knowledge in Policymaking

Although politics is the primary factor which affects policymaking in Indonesia, access and utilisations of all sorts of evidence can prove to be useful in these processes (Pellini *et al.,* 2018). Sadly, the information used in policymaking so far is still limited to those from the elites (selected groups of society), not from grassroots knowledge. Whereas in fact, what we need is the knowledge from the citizens who are affected by these policies, especially from marginalised communities.

The process from knowledge to policy is frequently portrayed as a cycle consisting of three elements: (1) policymakers with a demand, (2) researchers who will fulfil the demand, and (3) middlemen with the mediation and communication skills to ensure understanding from policymakers so that they can accurately use the evidence (Nugroho, Carden and Antlov, 2018). Even so, in reality, the process is not simple, and the cycle can be messy. There are many actors with different value propositions and different background knowledge that interact during this policy formulation process.

Figure 3 Types of Knowledge

Source: Nugroho, Carden and Antlov (2018)

Knowledge that affects public policy can be categorised into three types: scientific, professional and local knowledge (Nugroho, Carden and Antlov, 2018), although the categorisation is not rigid.

The first type of knowledge is **scientific knowledge**. This type of knowledge produces a collection of data to advise us when making assumptions about the community and their implications for the policy. The key actors in this type of knowledge are scientists/ academics. They collect scientific evidence using qualitative and quantitative methods. These will be debated by academics, then some will go on to be presented to policymakers as materials for their deliberation.

In considering the influence of knowledge in public policy, oftentimes special treatments are given to "experts", scientists deemed to have superior knowledge and evidence (Jasanoff, 1990; Kingdon, 1994; Carden, 2009). Often, the scientific knowledge is what is called 'evidence' in evidence-based policymaking.

Professional knowledge comes from the experience or practice - *practice-informed knowledge* (Jones, Datta and Jones, 2009). Professional knowledge is usually based on secondary sources along with direct experiences of the practitioners, in addition to their knowledge about the context and processes their knowledge applied to. Nugroho, Carden and Antlov (2018) identified three forms of professional knowledge: bureaucratic, intermediary and advocacy. Bureaucratic knowledge is practiced within bureaucracy, intermediary knowledge is practiced by think tanks, and advocacy knowledge is practiced primarily by advocacy groups. These reflect the ability of certain groups to practically apply their knowledge through methods that would potentially influence policy outcomes.
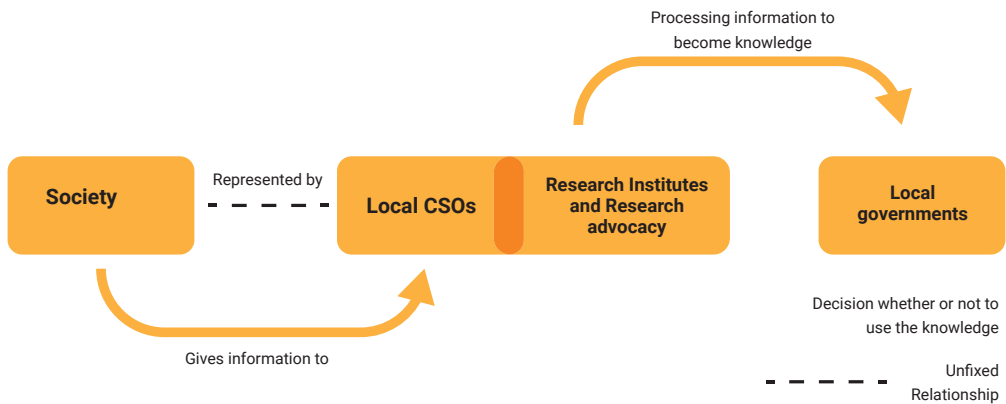
Figure 4 Local-Knowledge-to-Policy Process by Nugroho, Carden and Antlov (2018) reviewed

Source: Authors

The use of professional knowledge is based on the believe that the producers of the knowledge have used evidence and their expertise to advise a policy in a fair and honest way, that they have a deep understanding of the context surrounding the decision that has to be taken, and that they have not manipulated the evidence, especially for their own benefits or goals. For this reason, the reputation of a think tank is important: think tank takes on primary research and integrate it with other knowledge to articulate the significance of an evidence to a policymaking. If they are not respectable due to evidence manipulation or conceding to certain interest groups, they lose their ability to influence until their reputation has been re-established.

Thirdly, **local knowledge**, is the type of knowledge possessed by a group of people in particular communities or organisations that has accumulated over time through direct experiences and interactions with their social and natural environments (Nugroho, Carden and Antlov, 2018). Unlike scientific knowledge, local knowledge is often not clearly structured.

Which evidence is brought forward or picked in the policymaking process is a political choice (Parkhurst, 2016). Nevertheless, this political choice can change and be influenced by actors in the system if they are aware of the political dimension of the decision they are making and are able to identify the way and means of bringing particular insights to the table for consideration (Nugroho, Carden and Antlov, 2018). Giving the opportunity for other types of knowledge to contribute in policymaking is a democratic process that implies information is produced through participation from the wider community and legitimate actors (Nugroho, Carden and Antlov, 2018).

2.4 Marginalised Communities and Civil Society Organisations Engagement in Policymaking

"Can the subaltern speak?" A question asked by Spivak (1983) that is still relevant today. Inspired by Gramsci (1971) who identified the subaltern are the outsiders, excluded and displaced from the social order. For Spivak, the subaltern denotes everything related to the limitation of access (Louai, 2012; Setiawan, 2018).

Criticisms by Gramsci and Spivak still reverberate even today, affecting the reasoning for world development targets, such as with the principle "Nothing About Us, Without Us" elaborated in the manifesto of the United Nations' (UN) Sustainable Development Goals:

> No one will be left behind [in the collective journey to end poverty and inequality]. In addition, the most marginalised will be prioritised. We shall endeavour to reach the furthest behind first.[9]

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9   UN Agenda for Sustainable Development: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld

However, who does 'the marginalised' mean? For Spivak (1983), it is someone economically displaced, oppressed and without a voice, which more often is a woman. It seems this explanation refers to the UN's emphasis on economic factors (Watkins, 2014; Stuart and Woodroffe, 2016), and Indonesia's (Akatiga, 2010; BAPPENAS and UN in Indonesia, 2017) stress on its lack of asset and its location in villages (Regulation of the Ministry of the Home Affairs No. 110 Year 2016).[10]

In fact, Spivak cleverly pinpointed that the problem for the *subalterns* (or the marginalised) does not lie solely on their economic status. The VOICE Programme should pay attention to this (OXFAM Novib and HIVOS, 2017), as the word marginalised does not mean only economic exclusion, but also encompasses social, spatial, political and even gender-based exclusions. The harshest critic for Spivak's *subaltern* condition is in regard to the 'voice' that they often represent. In particular the Western academics' stance that largely gather information on subalterns then write it 'scientifically' and expects it to be accepted as truth by many parties. They act as if they represent the voices of the subalterns.

Long before then, Gramsci (1971) advised civil societies to form groups and to be totally involved in political contests by challenging the state and taking over power (Smith, 2010). Civil societies which created these groups and were independently and autonomously organised became known as Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) (Nugroho, 2007; Hadi, 2010). CSOs can exist in the form of professional Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO), extended families, religious groups, social movements, community-based organisations, labour union and professional associations (Lewis and Kanji, 2009). Slowly, CSOs are playing a larger role in the state's effort for democracy (Fakih, 1999; Hadi, 2010), even taking part in development programmes (Pollard and Court, 2005) and alleviating crucial issues such as poverty, the environment (Nugroho and Amalia, 2010), as well as marginal issues (Sudarno and Utomo, 2018).

For this reason, CSOs have an in-depth knowledge (Lettieri, Borga and Savoldelli, 2004; Nugroho and Amalia, 2010) that can be used to mediate between the community and the

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10   Article 33 of the Regulation of the Ministry of the Home Affairs 110/2016 implies that marginalised communities are classified as village communities. Regulations of the Ministry of Home Affairs 110/2016 concerning Village Consultative Body is a derivative regulation of Government Regulation 43/2014 concerning Regulations for Implementation of Law Number 2014 concerning Villages (PP 43/2014). PP 43/2014 itself has been amended by Government Regulation Number 47 of 2015 concerning Amendment to Government Regulation Number 43 of 2014 concerning Regulation of the Implementation of Law Number 2014 concerning Villages (PP 47/2015).

government (Hadi, 2010). Because of their experience and expertise, CSOs are included in the policymaking process (Pollard and Court, 2005; Court *et al.*, 2006; Akatiga, 2010; Nugroho, Carden and Antlov, 2018).

Spivak's critics on the use of knowledge of the marginalised seems to hold valid today; in order for the local knowledge of the community to become a strong source in evidence-based policymaking, it needs to come as information (Nugroho, Carden and Antlov, 2018). Sadly, it is still difficult to accept local knowledge of marginalised communities. In other words, participation in policymaking by marginalised communities are still faced with a number of challenges. The policy process that is not inclusive creates policy outcomes that are irrelevant to the needs of the community. Over and over again, marginalised communities are pushed to the edge. Hence, CSOs need to reinforce their capacity to gather the people's insights through thorough and accurate evidence-searching.

3

METHODOLOGY

3

Metodologi

This series of programme is an **action research**, because other than data collection and analysis, we also carried out interventions. According to Koshy (2005, p.8), "action research as a constructive enquiry, during which the researcher constructs his or her knowledge of specific issues through planning, acting, evaluating, refining and learning from the experience." To put it simply, action research is a "practice-changing practice" (Kemmis, 2009 in Kemmis, 2014). Basic characteristics of action research include its practicality, its ability to generate change, its cyclical process and participative approach.
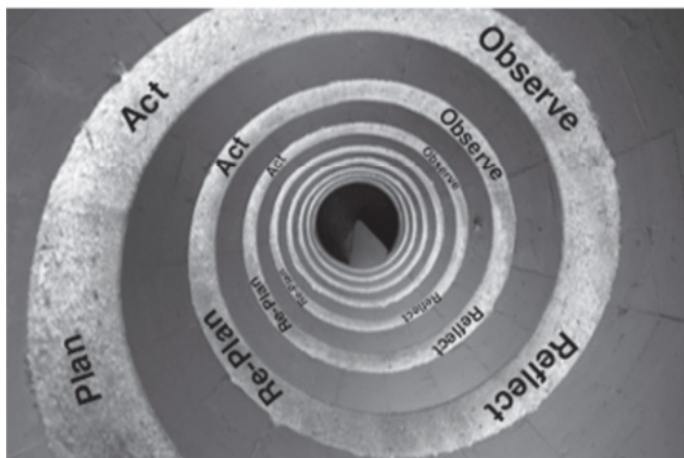
Image 1 Action Research Spiral

Source: Kemmis *et al.* (2014, p.19)

An action research consciously and intentionally plans to create social changes and improvements as an outcome at the end of the research. In this case, the researcher's involvement is not founded on the impartiality, but rather his or her partiality on the research subject the researcher wishes to empower. The quality of action research depends on the reflective sensitivity of the researcher – where data collection, analysis and interpretation will all be mediated by his or her own feelings and identity. Here, the researcher as a whole is a 'research instrument' (Somekh, 2006).

In this research, we performed interventions as a guide to improve the research and advocacy capacity of six Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in Eastern Indonesia[11]

Goal Attainment
- Desk study
- Snowballing
- Interview
- Field visit

Reserach Phase
- CREAME training
- CSOs doing action research
- Remote assistancies from CIPG and local facilitators
- Reflection after research phase

Advocacy Phase
- Advocacy workshop
- CSOs writing popular articles
- CSOs composing policy papers
- Remote assistancies from CIPG and local facilitators
- Face to face meeting with CIPG and local facilitators

Reflection Phase
- VOICE programme reflection workshop

Figure 5 CIPG Intervention Stages

Source: Authors

We carried out this intervention in four stages comprising goal attainment, research phase, advocacy phase and reflection phase. We implemented the intervention on six partners in South Sulawesi, West Nusa Tenggara, and East Nusa Tenggara. We will elaborate more on this intervention in Chapter 4.

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11   CSO profiles can be seen in Appendix B.

In general, we categorised the partners using the CSO spectrum discussed by Nugroho and Amalia (2010) with some modifications. This categorisation will help us understand the position of the partners and in doing an analysis of the organisation.
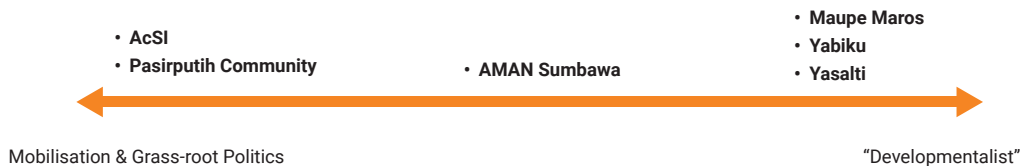
Figure 6 CSOs Activism Spectrum

Source: Authors

Without undermining the role of CSOs, this spectrum is used to observe the characteristics of each CSO's activities. Organisations leaning towards mobilisations and grassroots politics tend to gravitate towards the people who are 'lower' in the society to create a collective movement, otherwise known as community-based organisations (Lewis and Kanji, 2009). Meanwhile, developmentalists are development-oriented, for instance in poverty alleviation and environmental protection. Moreover, some of these organisations engage the community through education and training (Nugroho, 2010; Nugroho and Amalia, 2010) otherwise known as Professional NGOs (Lewis and Kanji, 2009).

When considering the definition above and the traits of the CSOs, three of these lie on the developmentalist end of the spectrum, and they are Maupe Maros, Yabiku and Yasalti. They have a tendency to work to find solutions from existing problems surrounding the organisations, such as poverty, gender equality or incomplete education. The structure of these organisations is often vertical, with different working teams.

There are two CSOs that are "grassroots" oriented: AcSI and Pasirputih Community. They are formed to encourage collective actions for issues that impact the life order in the community. Their organisations are horizontally structured, and almost everyone can do anything.

The other CSO, AWMAN Sumbawa, lies in the middle of the two. As AMAN Sumbawa is

a regional branch from Central AMAN (AMAN *Pusat* located in Jakarta), it is vertically structured. However, as their work is concerned with collective movements, we positioned AMAN Sumbawa in the middle of the spectrum.

To support this action research, we collected qualitative and quantitative data. We employed seven data-collecting methods, which are observation, field notes, focused discussions, survey, one-on-one interviews, bellwether interviews, and outcome harvesting.

3.1 Observations

To gain an in-depth understanding and as part of intervention documentation, we used 'research log' for our observation notes.[12] Every CIPG facilitators recorded their observations for all situations that happen in the field during supervision. This was used to capture a few occurrences in the field that would not otherwise be recorded in the interviews or surveys with our partners. Our observations were carried out between August 2017 until July 2019.

3.2 Field Notes

3.2.1 CIPG Facilitators

Along with our research logs, CIPG facilitators also took minutes of every face-to-face meeting with the CSOs. During the intervention period, there were 5 face-to-face visits in total between CIPG facilitators and each CSO, including one field visit in the preparation phase, two visits in the research phase, and two visits in the advocacy phase.

3.2.2 Local Facilitators

Local facilitators guiding CSOs during the research and advocacy phase also took notes on the development of CSOs. Their CSO development notes were presented regularly to CIPG every 2-3 months during the intervention period.

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12   Facilitators' research logs are available upon request.

3.3 Focused Discussions

Focused discussions between CIPG facilitators in each region were carried out in order to exchange insights that may not have been observed by other facilitators. These discussions took place regularly every month during the intervention period.

3.4 Surveys

We completed two types of surveys:

1. The survey for CSO leaders to understand their views about this programme. CSO leaders were asked to fill in forms that then be emailed at the end of the intervention period.

2. The survey for CSO members involved was to understand the challenges and lessons they gained from CIPG's intervention. Every member of the CSOs who took part were asked to fill in a form on the spot.

The results of the survey were immediately organised for analysis.

3.5 One-on-one Interview

One-on-one interviews were carried out in order to obtain additional information directly from CSO members who took part in this programme. The interviews were performed by CIPG facilitators to each CSO members in their regional responsibility accordingly at the end of the intervention period (April 2019). The results of the interviews were recorded and condensed into interview summaries to be analysed.

3.6 Bellwether Interview

We carried out bellwether interviews with policymakers to fathom their policy agenda in the three regions. This method was first developed by the Harvard Family Research Project and used by the Overseas Development Institute in the module 'Research and Policy in Development' (Young *et al.*, 2014).

3.7 Outcome Harvesting

Outcome Harvesting (OH) allows the evaluators, grant organisers, and managers to identify, formulate, verify and understand the result. Outcome is the positive or negative changes that could be observed in the agenda, activities, relationships, policies, or practices of actors outside of the programme (could be individuals, groups, community, or institutions), relevant to the Theory of Change programme, and resulting from programme contributions – in part or wholly, directly or indirectly, accidental or deliberate. These changes to other actors occur outside of the hands of the programme organisers, but is connected to the interventions by programme organisers, although the intervention itself does not directly create change.[13]

OH is carried out to see how far CIPG interventions that have been completed contribute to the result of what is expected to happen. OH took place in March 2018 and April 2019.

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13   VOICE. (2018) *Identification and formulation of outcome statements: Guidance for "Harvesters". Outcome Harvesting for VOICE*, 20-21 March 2018 in Jakarta.

4

PRESENTING EVIDENCE AND INCLUSIVE PARTICIPATION TO CHANGE POLICIES

4

Presenting Evidence and Inclusive Participation to Change Policies

"North Lombok AMANDA plays a significant role in bringing forward indigenous people's concerns. AMANDA has been considered to represent the voices of the people. Pasirputih has not done as much, but they brought a policy paper the other day that was helpful. New issues were brought forth, one of which was local culture to attract tourism. But the focus is still on local culture, not on tourism."

(Arnowadi, Head of Art and Culture from the Department of Culture and Tourism North Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, interviewed on 26/07/2019)

"Citizen participation is very important, especially on issues on women and children that have been so far been considered to be domestic, family and paternalistic issues. We came to regard the significance of their opinions, so that policies can correspond to the problems and condition of the community."

(Muhammad Idrus, Head of the Department of the Protection of Women and Children, District of Maros, South Sulawesi, interviewed on 31/07/2019)

During the supervision period, we continually reflected on lessons from the stages of interventions implemented. The two pieces of the interviews above depicts what will be portrayed in this chapter. Armed with knowledge they thoroughly collected, CSOs were able to make changes concerning the existence of marginalised communities. Action research allowed CSOs to learn from the process that they experienced, towards the policy advocacy they desire.

Using the Theory of Change framework with the focus on some of its aspects (see discussion on Theory of Change), this chapter will elaborate further how CIPG developed the capability of CSOs to gather evidence concerning marginalised communities and use it for policy advocacy.

In the beginning, we understood that every partner chosen has research experiences, proven by research documents with their logos, and one partner had even published a book based on their research. From here, we assumed that these partners have a basic understanding in conducting research, including how to organise their mindset and analyse their data.

In our first meeting, we asked the participants to write down their organisational and individual skills. During training, we reviewed the ability and knowledge of every research training participants. From this, we gained the understanding that each of our partners had different ideas on what they mean about research experiences.

Table 1 Research Experiences of CSOs' Staff

Staff	Research Experience
AcSI	Facilitating participatory action research in a village
Maupe Maros	Data collector/enumerator for research done by a third party (donor or otherwise), institution' name included in the research report
Pasirputih Community	Unstructured research for cultural activities
AMAN Sumbawa	Accompanied a third-party institution during field work
Yabiku	Data collector/enumerator for research done by a third party (donor or otherwise), institution' name included in the research report
Yasalti	Data collector/enumerator for research done by a third party (donor or otherwise), institution' name included in the research report

Source: Authors

The table above reflects one of our findings on our partners' limitations in research-based policy advocacy. To hone their abilities in conveying research-based policy advocacy, CIPG performed a series of interventions explained in the following subchapters.

4.1 Explore, Test and Reflect

In line with the action research spiral, we demonstrate that explore-test-reflect series also takes the shape of a spiral; it is a process that runs continuously. Although in principle this is so, we decided to divide the research phase as 'explore', the advocacy phase as 'test', and the reflections as 'reflections' phase.

Chronologically, the very first step taken by the CIPG team is planning interventions for CSOs in order to develop their capability in evidence-based policy advocacy. The interventions are expected to influence the pattern of interactions between CSOs, marginalised communities and governments when working together to create inclusive

policies while using local knowledge from marginalised communities. The plan for the series of interventions by CIPG can be seen in the figure below:
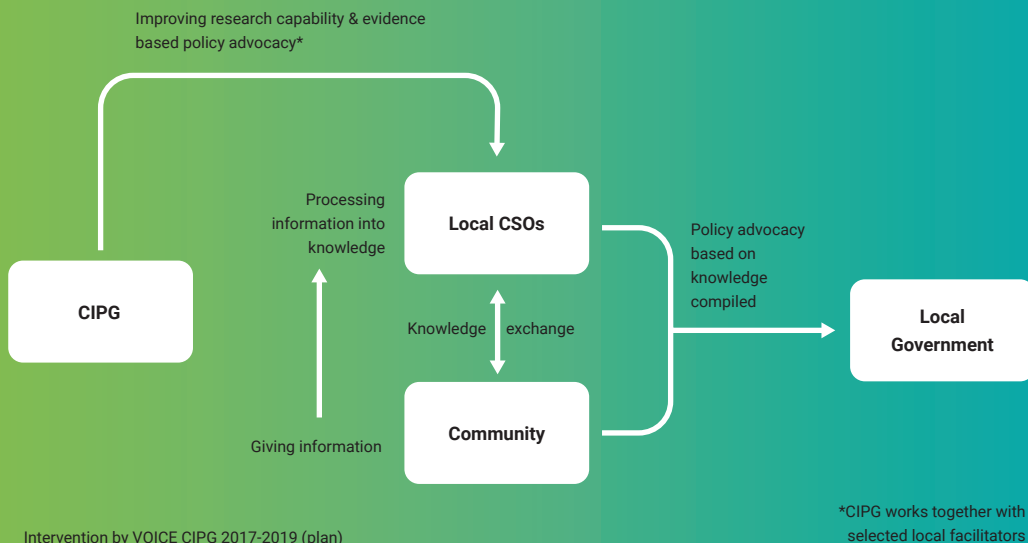
Figure 7 VOICE CIPG Team 2017-2019 Intervention Plan

Source: Authors

This intervention was prepared with the aim to develop research capabilities and evidence-based policy advocacy. The CIPG team comprises of three facilitators, each responsible for one region and is helped by a selected local facilitator.[14] We implemented the interventions on the local CSOs in the hope that every CSOs will exchange knowledge with their marginalised communities. In the research phase, the marginalised communities provided information to CSOs. Then, the CSOs transformed the information into local knowledge and returned this knowledge to the marginal groups. After which, CSOs and the marginalised communities would carry out policy advocacy on the local government based on the information they have collected. Once they have accomplished this, CIPG and CSOs perform a collective reflection.

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14   Please see Appendix B for information on the profiles of CSOs and local facilitators

4.1.1 Explore

Through the research capability development interventions, CSOs are expected to be able to process information from the constituents to become local knowledge. We expect that the knowledge they have gathered is used in engaging the constituents during policy advocacy. CSOs are also expected to provide lessons and build awareness about how such knowledge can be used by marginalised communities as evidence for policy advocacy concerning their existence. The figure below explains the intervention flow performed by CIPG and local facilitators, as well as the steps CIPG expects to see in the research phase:
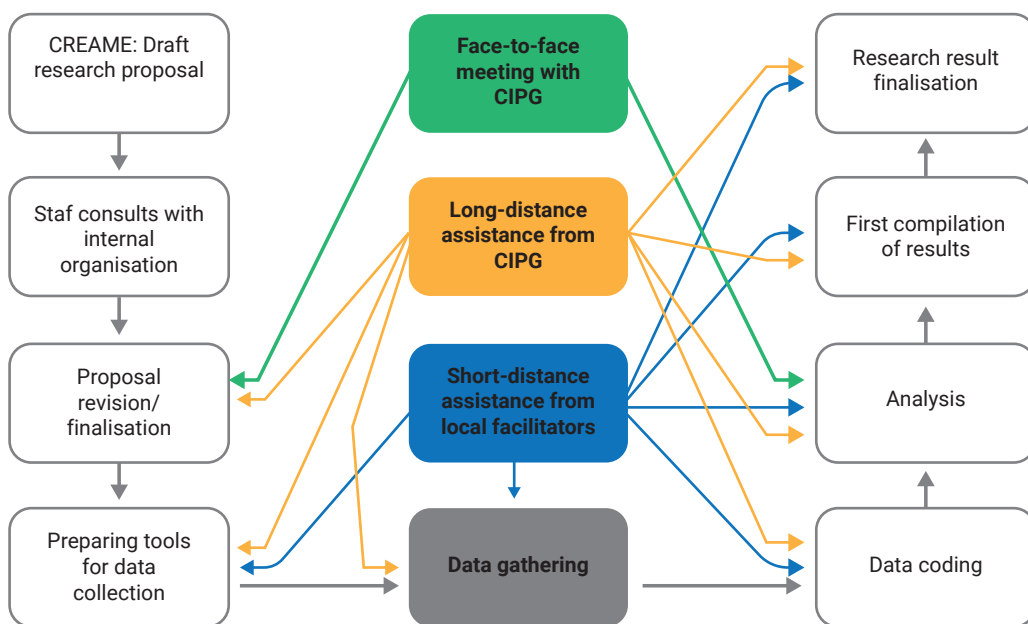
Figure 8 Intervention Flow during Research Phase

Source: Authors

The first exercise for the research phase is Critical Research Methodology (CREAME) training. CREAME is a training method that CIPG often implements to develop critical research ability. Through CREAME, we discussed research topics chosen by each CSO, from their comprehension, their approach to conducting research, and how to communicate their research. CREAME training was undertaken in Makassar for five

days between 5-8 December 2017. For CREAME, CIPG requested each organisation to send two of their members from the partners that could be involved long term in every phase and are committed to attending the VOICE programme to the end.

The materials given during CREAME are research design training, sharing sessions on the importance of advocacy based on research findings, and sessions to gain in-depth understanding of issues the partners had chosen for their research, as shown in the table below:

Table 2 CREAME Training Materials

No	Materials	Goals
1	Introduction to CREAME	For partners to understand the goal of Critical Research Methodology training
2	Sharing session: The Importance Research-based Advocacy	For partners to understand that research with valid data can support their advocacy
3	Research Understanding	For partners to understand different types of research and what is meant by 'research'
4	Conducting Research	For partners to understand different research methods, how to collect and process data, and how to write scientifically
5	Practice: Research Design	Partners, guided by presenters, begin to put together research proposals and decide on their constituents
6	Capita Selecta: Cooperative Contributions towards Inclusive Development	For partners to gain references and insights from community-level research
7	Presenting Research Findings	For partners to understand the strategy that could be taken when communicating their research findings and presenting them in policy advocacy

Source: Authors

After attending CREAME training, each CSO was asked to continue the research proposal they started during training. Drafting research proposals gave time for CSOs to carry out field observations, to dig deeper on their assumptions concerning issues of marginalised communities. This was to increase the objectivity of their research questions.

CIPG facilitators supervised the research proposal drafting process through long-distance supervision, via communications through phone calls, emails and chat applications such as WhatsApp.

Once the research proposals were finished and approved by CIPG facilitators, CSOs began their data collection in the field. During data collection and analysis, CSOs were supervised by a CIPG facilitator and a local facilitator. The supervision was carried through long-distance consultations and scheduled face-to-face meeting every three months. The purpose of face-to-face meetings was to see how their research has developed, while consultations on methodologies, data collection and analysis, and writing techniques were conducted long-distance using other communication channels.

After data collection and analysis phase, partners were given the time to incorporate their findings into their research reports. The same supervision methods as those during data collection and analysis were conducted, which are long-distance consultation and scheduled meetings every three months. Report writing was done between April–June 2018. A written research report was compulsory for the partners to prove they have completed their field research. After research phase, we held a series of reflection exercises along with an advocacy workshop. During this reflection, partners are expected to review their research processes and implementations, to evaluate the effectiveness of the exercises, and to understand the essence of the research experience.

In undertaking a scientific research, researchers (CSOs) were required to validate their data to prove the authenticity of their findings. This was to prevent bias in the analysis. Bias is an important subject in research, as the social reality reflected in the report can be influenced by the researcher's perspective, a respondent's single perspective, or any threats that may have arisen during the research process. Whether it is a qualitative or mixed-method research, bias can occur when the researcher is unable to distinguish the difference between emic and etic paradigms (Sanday, Peggy, 2008) influenced by the

researcher's background and the limitations in obtaining data (Zamili, 2015).

We cannot ignore the potential for analytical bias that could occur when CSOs carry out their data analysis. Of course, this is concerned with the three issues discussed previously. The researcher's circumstance as a CSO member who possesses organisational values will contribute towards the etic paradigm (researcher's point of view), while limitations in obtaining data will affect the emic paradigm (natives' point of view).

The supervision conducted in this process had to become more intensive to prevent CSOs from misunderstanding phenomena. There had been at least two cases to illustrate this point. The first was Maupe Maros's potential for emic bias, as a domestic violence perpetrator's result was still insufficient. At the time, the perpetrator stated that their reason for violence is to "educate the victim to obey her husband". In their report, Maupe Maros wrote:

> H admitted that he committed violence against his wife because he was upset that she continued to work even when they were grieving, and he wanted his wife to be more obedient towards him.

> (Maupe Maros's Research Report, 28 August 2018)

The researcher was disheartened when they heard this, but the facilitator realised that this reality is biased. Should we neglect who the victim is and listen to their voice? After finding out the victim, the researcher carried out an interview. In the first conversation, the victim seemed to validate the perpetrator's statement:

> "I accept that I was shouted at because maybe I did something wrong. I am sure he does love me. After he hit me, he would stroke my forehead and kiss me when I sleep. Whenever I say I'm going to leave him, he would cry while kneeling and bowing in front of me, promising me that he wouldn't do this anymore... he even knelt in front of my mum..."

> (Interview with Her, not her real name, 09/07/18)

However, this situation should not automatically become the main focus. Researchers ought to learn that to unveil the real phenomenon, they should give the victim the opportunity to talk in a safe and comfortable environment. It took six hours before the victim revealed that she was experiencing mental and physical abuse since the beginning of their marriage:

> The victim, *Her*, experienced mental and physical abuse from her husband in the form of cheating and beating. Since the beginning of the marriage, *Her* had tried to leave the perpetrator, but her mum stopped her. "Think about it first, it would be bad for your children," her mother said when Her expressed her feelings. When the perpetrator fell ill after he abused the victim, she again stated that she wanted to leave him, but her mother stopped her again, "You will add to your sins if you leave your husband while he's unwell."
>
> Her explained that while she was living in Sorong, many people saw her being beaten with a bamboo stick and being dragged to her house, "At the time, they all cried, they felt sorry for me. I was covered in blood, but no one was brave enough to help, my husband was always threatening them."

<p align="right">(Maupe Maros's Research Report, 28 August 2018)</p>

Only after conducting an in-depth interview did the researcher understand that reality is not based on just one person's point of view. Even if it requires more time and effort, analytical biases arising from lack of data to understand the emic paradigm can be disregard by finding other relevant data.

Analytical bias arising from the etic paradigm that can promote the researcher's point of view as a point of reference is a wholly different story. They adopt common perspectives and hypotheses and applied it to their research. It was a complex challenge for this action research, because the essence of this research is to understand the views of the marginalised communities, not the CSOs.

The second example of analytical bias is the potential of etic bias by AMAN Sumbawa. As a local CSO under the shadow of a national organisation, AMAN Sumbawa stood at a crossroad; should they continue the mandate of their organisation so that the state acknowledge the existence of diverse indigenous populations in Indonesia (Erni, 2015), or to channel the real aspirations of the marginalised group they are assisting, *Cek Bocek?*

Cek Bocek Selesek Reen Suri (otherwise known as *Cek Bocek*), is a community of indigenous populations represented by AMAN Sumbawa. In her notes, one of the CIPG facilitators wrote:

> Meanwhile, the second partner is the *Cek Bocek* Community through AMAN Sumbawa. The face is a conflict for their indigenous land with the company Newmount, which is still very much ongoing. The *Cek Bocek* indigenous community is concerned about 'narrating' the history of their indigenous community so that their existence can be acknowledged. AMAN Sumbawa, who assists the *Cek Bocek* indigenous community, are actively advocating the issues of cultural conflict at the local to national level. What is needed is for policymakers to know of the existence of this community, and that they can find a road to advocacy between businesses, local governments and that particular indigenous community.
>
> (Research notes, Daya Sudrajat, CIPG Facilitator, West Nusa Tenggara, 4 October 2017)

From the CSOs' initial examination, we were under the impression that *Cek Bocek's* aspiration is to find a middle way to end this conflict by 'narrating' the history of *Cek Bocek* from a verbal to a written one, so people are aware of their existence and advocate this to policymakers.

Sadly, the concept of indigenous community in Indonesia is still not standardised. To this day, the Draft Laws on Customary Law Community planned since 2013 is yet to be passed. Although President Joko Widodo has released a Presidential Decree to create a governmental team to discuss these Draft Laws with DPR RI (Alaidrus, 2019), the relevant ministries has yet to arrive on the same definition.[15]

The Ministry of Social Services use different terms: alienated community (in Indonesian: *masyarakat terasing)*, backward community (in Indonesian: *masyarakat terbelakang*), and alienated indigenous community (in Indonesian: *masyarakat adat terasing)* (Presidential Decree 186/2014 and Decree by the Ministry of Social Affairs 6/2000).[16] The Ministry of

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15   This Presidential Decree was released on 9 March 2018 through Ministry of State Secretariat No.B-186/M.Sesneg/D-1/ HK.00.03/03/2018. The government team consists of six ministries: Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Forestry, Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency, Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, Ministry of Villages, Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration, and Ministry of Law and Human Rights. This government team is coordinated by the Minister of Home Affairs, Tjahjo Kumolo. The on bill on masyarakat hukum adat (or customary law community for the internationally used term indigenous people) was included in the 2019 National Legislation Program (Prolegnas). Until now, the bill has not been passed (https://www.medcom.id/nasional/peristiwa/ yNL7zQ2K-aliansi-masyarakat-adat-kecewa-ruu-adat-gagal-disahkan).

16   Presidential Regulation 186/2014 on Social Empowerment of Remote Indigenous Communities revokes Presidential Decree.111/1999 concerning the Development of Social Welfare of Remote Indigenous Communities. The Regulation of the Ministry of Social Affairs 6/2002 on Guidelines for Implementing Remote Indigenous Community Empowerment.

Environment and Forestry uses the characteristic description of indigenous communities according to the Ruling of the Constitutional Court No.35/PUU-/2012 that acknowledges the existence of indigenous forests, but the existence of the indigenous people and their territory is decided using local regulations. The Ministry of Agriculture uses the term indigenous community (Law 39/2004 on Agriculture) and Ministry of Home Affairs uses the term indigenous villages (Law 6/2014 on Villages).

However, since the beginning of the research, AMAN Sumbawa already dedicated themselves to use the research findings as the basis for advocating the recognition of the *Cek Bocek* indigenous community when their advocacy should, in fact, be based on the research findings, the real existing phenomena, not one that is created by the point of view of a part of a group. An initial assumption relating to what phenomena they want to research is important, however, the researcher cannot use the results of the research before they even begin. From here, etic bias could potentially occur.

In anticipation for these biases greatly affecting our research series activities, we had intensive discussions while also revealing the types of research that use the emic paradigm as facts. For instance, reviewing what indigenous people meant by the *Cek Bocek* community. Although it was challenging in the beginning, in the end, AMAN Sumbawa was able to 'narrate' *Cek Bocek*'s history in its report.

Contrary to emic paradigm bias potential due to data limitation, the etic paradigm approach in qualitative research is harder to eliminate as it is influenced by the researcher's background.

In the context of this VOICE intervention, the backgrounds of CSO members we supervised were reasonably varied and from different organisational styles.[17] However, among everything, we learned that opening up ourselves to learning process can be a driving factor behind a researcher's paradigm changes. Although changing paradigms is a complicated matter that needs a sufficient amount of time and knowledge, it is still necessary in order to show partiality to the truth.

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17   CSO Profiles can be seen in Appendix B.

4.1.2 Test

After the research phase, CIPG continued the next main phase: advocacy. The figure below explains the flow of interventions taken by CIPG and local facilitators, as well the steps CIPG hopes to achieve in the advocacy phase.
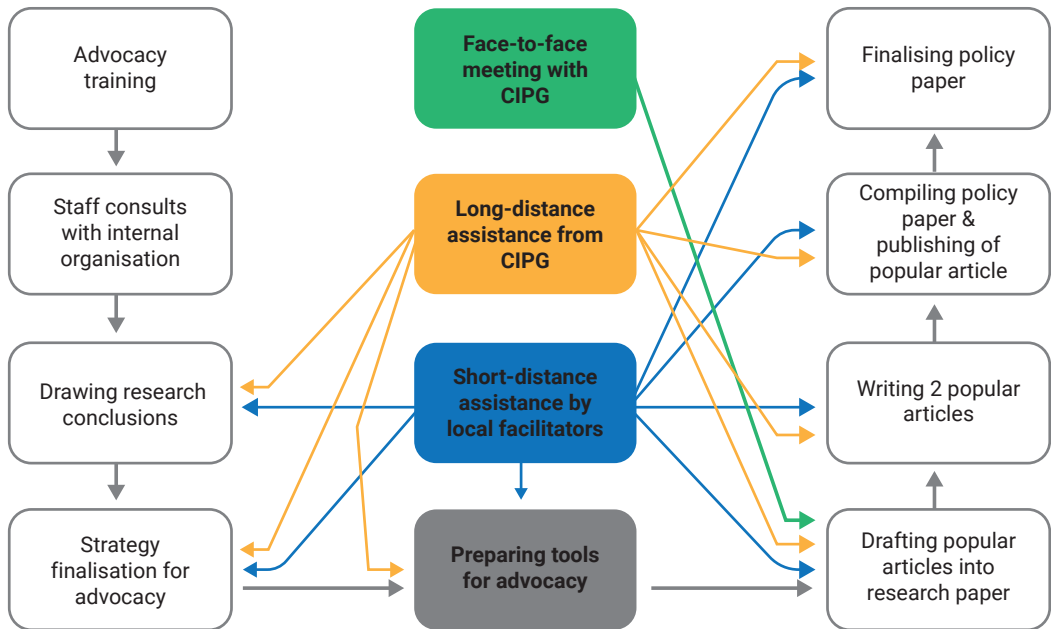
Figure 9 Intervention Flow during Advocacy Phase

Source: Authors

The first step in this advocacy phase was a workshop. Advocacy workshops were held between 28-31 August 2019 in Jakarta with speakers from both inside and outside CIPG. The goal of the advocacy to have it as a reference for advocacy exercises and to sharpen CSO's advocacy strategies. Our goals from the workshop was for CSOs to be able to process the evidence they have collected and produce more varied and creative advocacy tools. There were four stages of the advocacy workshop: seminar and presentation, practice, discussion and Q&A, and participation. These four methods are explained below:

Table 3 Advocacy Workshop Material

No	Method	Goal	Materials
1	Seminar and presentation	Materials to be given by a facilitator. CSOs to broaden their knowledge and improve their advocacy strategies, CSOs to receive a new reference for producing creative advocacy tools.	An introduction to advocacy planning, policy analysis, actors mapping, visit to Jakarta Legal Aid Institution.
2	Practice	CSOs to directly use aids; create a draft for the activity outcome to facilitate CSOs' understanding of the materials	Drafting public campaigns; popular writing I and II; making use of Information and Communications Technology (ICT); drafting policy papers and fact sheets
3	Discussions and Q&A	CSOs to participate in the discussion and Q&A session; to discuss their experience and ask questions on advocacy planning	Let's share I and II; Introduction to advocacy planning; policy analysis; actor mapping; visit to Jakarta Legal Aid Institution; drafting public campaigns; popular writing I and II; making use of Information and Communications Technology; drafting policy papers and fact sheets
4	Participation	CSOs to give ideas and suggestions as individuals or an organisation, exchange experience and knowledge to other partners	Tailored

Source: Authors

This advocacy phase started in September 2018 and ended in April 2019. In this phase, CSOs prepared advocacy instruments in the form of policy papers and two popular articles. From the result of the draft in advocacy strategy, partners were asked to discuss the outcome of their strategies with marginalised communities, in order for CSOs, along with marginalised communities, to be involved in hearings as well as in discussions with their respective local governments.

CSOs were supervised by CIPG facilitators and local facilitators through long-distance consultation and face-to-face meeting in their policy paper and fact sheets-writing stage. CIPG continued the collaboration with local facilitators during research for local facilitator advocacy. In this stage, the engagement of constituents is expected to

continue while drafting the policy paper recommendations and in how partners raise the issue in the two popular writings.

4.1.3 Reflect

In two years, the relationships between the six CSOs with their different styles, work area, and experience have created a positive outcome. We gathered this from the feelings they communicated in the face-to-face meetings during the research and advocacy phase, and during the End of Programme Reflections workshop.

The aim of this workshop was for CSOs to review the process, research practice, advocacy, and to evaluate the effectiveness of the activities and understand the essence of carrying out the research phase and the advocacy phase.

Table 4 Reflections Workshop Materials

No	Methods	Goals
1	One-on-one interviews	Partners to identify their goals and obstacles individually
2	List of achievements	Partners to identify what they have achieved, qualitatively or quantitatively
3	VOICE Journey Map	Partners can express the learning process from the VOICE programme through their journey map.

Source: Authors

The purpose of this phase was for partners to share their experience, to reflect on their goals and the ability they gained during the advocacy and research phases, so that individual members of the organisations can appreciate themselves and what they have achieved.

In the last exercise, all participants expressed their gratitude for being able to get to know the other five organisations. For instance, this is what was said by Ijtihad from Pasirputih:

> "One of the most valuable experiences I gained from this VOICE Programme is meeting my peers from other organisations, while the discussions about different issues allows me to keep on learning."
>
> (Ahmad Ijtihad, VOICE 'Journey Map' session, 30 April 2019)

Or as Idawani from Maupe said:

> "I learned from AcSI that we have to prepare a few different presentations depending who we are presenting it to, and now I know that the presentation we prepared may not be used in the end because of the condition in the field that is different from our expectation."
>
> (Idawani Latief, VOICE 'Journey Map' session, 30 April 2019)

Aside from understanding and learning from one another, the ability to write concise and easy-to-digest reports, policy papers, and popular articles is essential. In the beginning of each phase, we carried out a series of training exercises, one of which is a writing exercise (see section on Test and Explore). Writing supervision by CIPG or local facilitators continued throughout the programme so that partners can produce concise and easy-to-understand pieces of writing. Supervision during the VOICE programme created changes, especially in the partners' writing ability. Evidently, improvement in writing ability was also felt by our partners.

> "Writing used to be difficult for me. However, after my writing was published in local media, I'm now confident that I can write and I'm happy."
>
> (Yanti Rambu Babang, VOICE 'Journey Map' session, 30 April 2019)

Thus, the long supervision process during VOICE programme created positive changes, particularly in the partners' writing ability.

4.2 Share & Apply

During the workshop in each phase, we provided a range of research and advocacy related materials. For instance, during the advocacy workshop, our partners received materials not only on advocacy strategy to use on policymakers, but also on how to use other media, such as photos and films, to bring CSOs' mission to a larger audience. AcSI

worked with Ika Mahardhika, a local female film director to produce a film documentary on the lives of Pasar Terong merchants.

> The issues of female merchants who are poor and susceptible should not be the focus of just one organisation, but also that of the local and/or national community, because this issue is prevalent in every corner of Indonesia. One of the elderly merchants who still active in Pasar Terong is a lady called Daeng Ranu, 80 years old. She sells mixes of herbs and spices that cannot be found anywhere else, as they are slowly becoming obsolete. However, due to the limits of her knowledge, she can only sell items that are "her age".

> Ika Mardhika is known as a female film director who creates film documentaries on strong female figures, one of which is Charlotte Salawati Daud, an activist from the Indonesian Women Movement (*Gerakan Wanita Indonesia*) who became the first female mayor in Indonesia in 1949. Films by Ika Mahardhika are frequently shown in Film Festivals in Makassar and Jakarta.

> With Ika Mahardhika's help in making a film documentary about female merchants (Daeng Ranu in particular) during AcSI's advocacy process, we expected this issue to gain more attention from local and/or national community, and that the voices of the marginalised will be heard far and wide. This supports the principle "Nothing About Us, Without Us", CIPG's aim to encourage inclusive participation, and VOICE Global's outcome in increasing political participation.

<div align="center">(CIPG's Outcome Harvesting Document by Ferzya as a harvester, 19/04/2019)</div>

From the six VOICE partners, four of them created a press/media release as the popular articles that we requested in the advocacy phase. Partners took advantage of the media release to also generate public discussion by inviting local media. Public discussions were performed by Pasirputih and Yabiku.

Pasirputih held their public discussion on 13 April 2019 in North Lombok. It was attended by a number of local communities and cultural observers from the District of North Lombok. The discussion was held in order for the issue presented by Pasirputih to gain a larger audience and the attention of other communities in North Lombok. Additionally, to initiate collaborations with other communities in North Lombok.[18]

Aside from Pasirputih, Yabiku's partner in East Nusa Tenggara also held a public discussion on 8 and 9 August 2019. It served the purpose of presenting Yabiku's research

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18   Media coverage on this activity can be found at http://www.savananews.com/2019/04/pembangunan-pariwisata-budaya-di-lombok.html?m=1

findings about the increase of domestic violence in Kuanek Village, North Central Timor, East Nusa Tenggara. Yabiku took this opportunity to explain the factors and the practices of domestic violence in Kuanek Village and Maubesi Village.[19]

4.3 Empowerment, Influence and Amplification

4.3.1. Empowerment

Based on our experience supervising the research phase, CSOs have the opportunity to build a strong bridge between marginalised communities and policymakers. However, this cannot happen instantly. At the very least, CSOs need to have had experience in conducting research. That is why in the beginning of this intervention, we picked CSOs with 1-2 research papers or policy papers. We imagined that with the experience they have, we could focus on improving their research ability, allowing the supervision process to run more smoothly, and CSOs can focus all their energy on the knowledge-exchange process between them and their marginalised communities they are assisting.

In reality, participants representing CSOs admitted that they had little to no knowledge nor experience in research. We uncovered that the "research" they meant solely focuses on data collection (please see Table 1 Partners' Staff Research Experiences). When there are collaborations between CSOs and a third party, their job is to find subjects, collect data and provide them to the third party. Research planning and analysis are carried out by the other party, hence CSOs have never had the opportunity to draft, formulate question and analyse facts that they obtain from the field.

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19   Media coverage on the public discussion by Yabiku in Kuanek Village can be found at http://www.timor-media. com/2019/08/08/yabiku-ntt-paparkan-hasil-riset-tentang-kdrt-untuk-warga-desa-kuanek/ and http://www.nttonlinenow. com/new-2016/2019/08/09/penanganan-kasus-kdrt-di-ttu-belum-memberikan-efek-jera-pada-pelaku/. Media coverage on the public discussion by Yabiku in Maubesi Village can be found at http://www.timor-media.com/2019/08/09/ penanganan-kasus-kdrt-belum-memberikan-efek-jera/ and http://www.nttonlinenow.com/new-2016/2019/08/10/ yabiku-ntt-implementasi-perda-ttu-14-2016-tentang-kdrt-belum-optimal/

CHALLENGES DURING THE RESEARCH PHASE

Challenge	Value
No/Minimum Knowledge	5
No/Minimum experience	5
Team dynamics	4
Internal organisational activities	3
Time limitation	3
Long-distance assistance	2
Unfamiliar with assisted marginal groups	1
Limited funds	1
Other	0
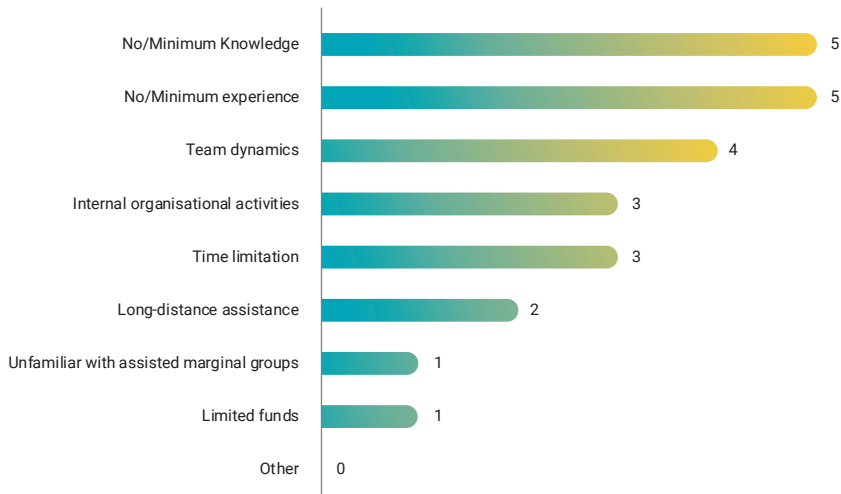
Figure 10 Challenges Faced by CSOs in the Research Phase

Source: Authors

Such conditions resulted in the **individual's limitations in critical thinking.** As they are used to taking orders, CSO members found it difficult to find patterns or to understand cause and effect in a phenomenon. Furthermore, their understanding of the phenomenon was dubious, as they were influenced by assumptions that are not validated by facts. In order to sharpen their critical thinking skills, we gave CSO members freedom to choose their own research question; this was not easy, and for several CSO members it was difficult to even choose a question word. Some repeatedly asked the facilitator what question word they should use. Their basic comprehension regarding the use of "how" to ask a process, "why" for cause/reason, "when" for the time an event takes place, was not fully rooted in every CSO.

However, among all of the challenges in the research phase, the most difficult step faced by CSOs seemed to be data processing and analysis. They had **difficulties seeing the relationship between findings** collected through different data collection methods, such as connecting survey results with interviews. Moreover, their **limited vocabulary** when commenting on or interpreting data meant it was difficult for them to explain

the phenomena they encountered and to formulate an abstract from the relationships between these phenomena. This is as written by a local facilitator:

> Their (CSO members') interpretation often goes back to their 'comfort zone', that is back to the conclusions that already exists among the circle of people who work on similar research themes as them. It is possible that the lack of references (theoretical reading and/or analysis on relevant case studies) limits their ability to translate the data they have processed. For instance, what does it mean when the expenditure of one family is dominated by groceries (AcSI)? Or what does it mean when a large portion of perpetrators in violence against women are people close to them (Maupe)?

> (Nurhady Sirimorok, Local Facilitator for South Sulawesi Partners, research phase supervision reflection)

After finding the right vocabulary, CSO members **needed to improve their writing skills in order to write with good, concise and easy-to-understand language.** Almost all of the CSO members are able to express their ideas verbally, but they find it difficult to put their ideas into words. Long-winded sentences that are repeated over and over, typos and punctuation errors, and wrong placements of conjunctions and affixes are commonly found in their report drafts. To illustrate, there was a report draft with one long sentence as its first paragraph. It took 9-10 revisions to arrive at a succinct paragraph.

In another instance, members of the partner teams could not use Excel to produce a graph and immediately asked for help from another facilitator to generate the graph of their research paper. The facilitator evidently refused and showed how to create a graph in Excel. Some of the partners could not use the 'search' feature when they forget where they have saved the newest document. Once during a face to face meeting, we lost the first 30 minutes of the meeting only to find their newest document. This really happened.

In East Nusa Tenggara and West Nusa Tenggara, the level of knowledge of the partners is also different. They only understood so much that their laptops could connect to the internet and that Google Docs could be used to create a joint report draft. This way, nobody could claim that they cannot work on the document because they are waiting for another member to finish their part and send the document over. Although it seems trivial, this **technical problem affected the flow of the entire research**. As a result, the time allocated for the research phase was used to teach technical skills, instead of having discussions or reading to improve their critical thinking.

BENEFITS GAINED FROM RESEARCH PHASE
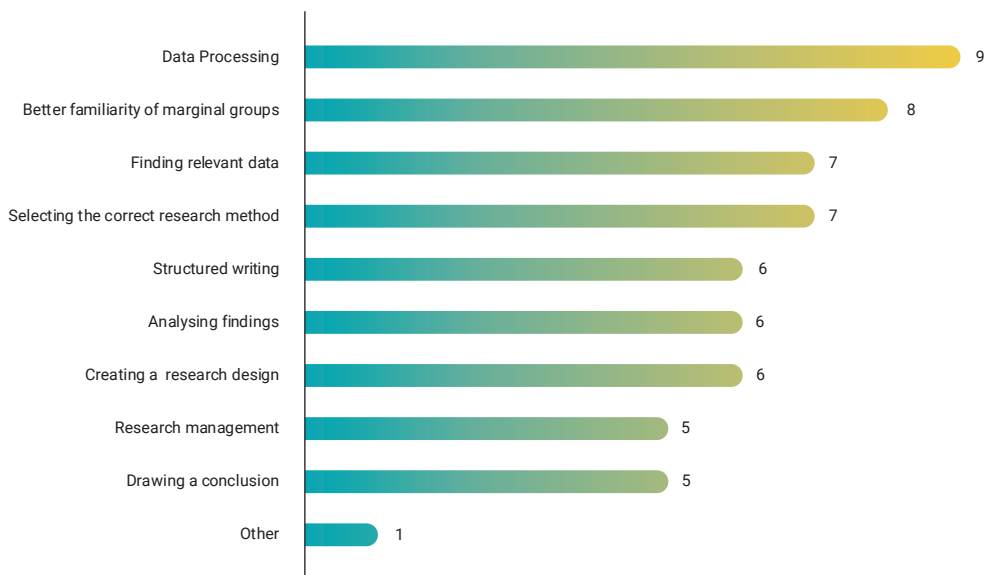
Figure 11 Benefits Gained by CSOs in the Research Phase

Source: Authors

In the end, with a lot of effort, CSO members were able to develop their ability and gained real research experiences. We could see this from the survey we conducted at the end of the programme. Apparently the most profound challenge, data processing, was most memorable. Therefore, we could say that one challenge at the individual level that is evidence gathering regarding the existence of marginalised groups, is slowly fading.

We could see the change that the partners went through in the reflection phase; they felt empowered, particularly in their research capacity development, which means this is the start of their role in representing marginalised groups.

One of the positive responses was received by AcSI as an organisation that successfully gained awareness of local youth about *Pasar Terong* issue through popular media. AcSI took an initiative by using social media as an advocacy instrument. Through the Instagram account @*infopasarterong*, AcSI spread information about the activities in *Pasar Terong*. After which, to attract the attention of local youths and to bring them

closer to *Pasar Terong,* AcSI held another initiative, *Jappa-Jappa Ri Pasarra* (Walking through the Market) in December 2018. *Jappa-Jappa Ri Pasarra* invited the youths of Makassar to see the other side of *Pasar Terong* by using citizen journalism. This activity attracted nine local youths to join the first phase of *Jappa-Jappa Ri Pasarra*.

In addition to the attention received from local youths, AcSI's initiative successfully created awareness among merchants in *Pasar Terong*. The Community of *Pasar Terong* Merchants (SADAR-*Persaudaraan Pedagang Pasar Terong*) that had long been inactive was reactivated. SADAR was immediately involved in the discussion held by AcSI in 20 March 2019. SADAR became an active organisation to accommodate the aspirations of merchants and to shield them against changes in policies concerning the fate of merchants.

4.3.2 Influence

From the beginning, the VOICE programme aimed to use research as a significant part of policy advocacy. For this reason, partners were asked to produce policy papers and popular articles. The policy paper will be presented directly to policymakers, while their popular articles will be sent to the media so that CSOs' key messages can reach massive audience.

We found that **writing a policy paper** was another challenge for our partners. To achieve a succinct policy paper, a strategy had to be in place in formulating the main issues and compiling accurate recommendations. These recommendations were the result of the analysis and data collected by partners in the research phase.

CHALLENGES FACED IN ADVOCACY PHASE

Challenge	Value
No/Minimum ability to write a policy paper	7
Time limitation	6
No/minimum ability for popular writing	6
Team dynamics	4
No/Minimum experience of research based	4
Involvement of constituents in advocacy	3
Internal organisational activities	3
Long-distance assistance	1
Others	0
Limited fund	0

Figure 12 Challenges Faced by CSOs in the Advocacy Phase

Source: Authors

There were also challenges when our partners experienced etic bias that occurred not only during data analysis, but also when compiling policy paper recommendations. These recommendations were again put forward using the organisations' own perspectives. It created bias, as the organisation' agenda is not entirely compatible as the needs of the constituents.

This happened to AMAN Sumbawa. In the policy paper writing process, AMAN Sumbawa found it difficult to formulate recommendations based on their research findings. The need for recognition of the indigenous community *Cek Bocek* does exist, this was captured in the first stages of forming advocacy strategy during advocacy workshop in Jakarta. Unfortunately, after the workshop, AMAN Sumbawa still found it difficult to see which recommendations they could have done strategically.

Their main agenda of the recognition of the indigenous community could be achieved through Regency Regulations/Gubernatorial Regulations/Regional Regulations on the protection of indigenous communities. However, AMAN Sumbawa had forgotten a significant finding in their research, to fulfil the historical aspect so that the indigenous community *Cek Bocek*'s existence can be recognised. This point was missing when formulating the policy paper recommendations; AMAN Sumbawa could have encouraged the regional government to assist *Cek Bocek* indigenous community to document the history of *Cek Bocek*, instead of directly demanding legal certainty from the regional government.

Further, an important process in formulating policy paper recommendations is **analysing the potential of actors and policies** that already exist in the area. This was done at the advocacy strategy training before the advocacy phase began. Partners were asked to find loopholes or identify which policies need to be changed so that it could be implemented practically and can be put forward in the policy paper recommendations.

In the beginning, our partners had difficulties in seeing the opportunities in the existing regional policies. This happened to *Yabiku*. To reduce cases of domestic abuse, the local facilitator asked *Yabiku* to review the North Central Timor Regency Regulation Number 14 Year 2016 on the Implementation of Women's Protection (Perda TTU 14/2016). By reviewing this regulation, *Yabiku* could find articles that are important and can be implemented in the organisation's programmes. After several consultation, they were able to find several articles that could be applied as programmes, one of which is the socialisation programme stipulated in Chapter 5 Perda TTU 14/2016.

> The supervision for *Yabiku* more or less had the same process. I had to give inputs more than three times in order for *Yabiku*'s policy paper to have sharp and profound recommendations. The main weakness of *Yabiku*'s policy paper was that their policy analyses on the Regional Regulations on the Implementation of Women Protection in North Central Timor lacked depth.
>
> (Pantoro Tri Kuswardono, Local Facilitator for East Nusa Tenggara Partners,
> Advocacy Phase Supervision Report)

Once they are capable in collecting evidence thoroughly and accurately (through the whole series of research), how could they become useful as a policy reference? Pollard and Court (2005) identified that the **access to policymakers** is a prerequisite for CSOs if they wanted to change or take part in policymaking. This was proved by five of the CSOs we supervised: AMAN Sumbawa, Pasirputih Community, Maupe Maros, Yabiku, and Yasalti. Access to policymakers made it easier for the five partners to convey their recommendations to policymakers, as well as allowing CSOs to take the crucial next step, negotiations.

One aspect of locals-to-policy approach is mediating skills. Mediators should ensure policymakers have the right level of understanding so that they can use the evidence to formulate policies (Nugroho, Carden and Antlov, 2018). Hence, **negotiations were held between partners and policymakers so that policymakers are willing to adopt the recommendations communicated through their policy paper.**

A negotiation process successfully took place between Yasalti and the village government. Yasalti is seen as a pioneer in voicing the aspirations of Lairuru Village's youths. Even so, Yasalti had also built a good relationship with Lairuru Village's community through other programmes in the previous years, such as the civil registration services that helped believers of Marapu faith to receive citizenship documents. This approach helped Yasalti to come in with their advocacy. Lairuru Village officials also agreed on Yasalti's recommendations to give special attention to the youths' aspirations in the village, by allocating a part of the village funds for educational scholarship for school-age children and teenagers from poor families.

Yabiku went through a similar negotiation process. Although the central figures in Yabiku's team are not members who deal with violence against women on a daily basis, Yabiku has a special access to Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) of the North Central Timor District, as Maria Filiana Tahu, one of Yabiku's founders is currently the head of Commission C in DPRD of the North Central Timor District that focuses on women issues. This familiarity with Maria Filiana Tahu allows Yabiku to discuss points of their policy recommendation informally before presenting their policy paper in a formal discussion with the Head of DPRD of the North Central Timor District.

Box 3 Disasters, Advocacy and Awareness in Seizing Momentums

A natural disaster occurred during the research phase that directly affected VOICE partners; the earthquake in Lombok in July 2018 with the epicentre located in the North Lombok region. This natural disaster directly affected our partner Pasirputih, located in Pemenang, North Lombok. Even worse, their office was badly destroyed from the earthquake. This took place during their research paper drafting phase, entering the advocacy phase that opens with the workshop in Jakarta. Due to the earthquake, the draft writing process was constrained, especially our partners West Nusa Tenggara, Pasirputih and AMAN Sumbawa. This obstacle was discussed by the CIPG team with the directors, and we came to the decision that Pasirputih will receive an extension for their research paper.

This was favourable decision for Pasirputih's as their research relates to advocacy post-earthquake. Their findings were concerned with protecting indigenous houses architecture, which could be correlated with the post-earthquake events as it showed that a large number of architectures that survived were indigenous buildings. Pasirputih took advantage of this opportunity. The regional government also realised that this was elaborated in the policy paper by Pasirputih.

In Maros, South Sulawesi, from the Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, the regional government started to realise the importance of data in socialisation. This became an opportunity for Maupe Maros to spread facts about the real conditions of violence against women happening in the region. Socialisation using local context can increase awareness with a location that is close and relevant to the community.

Local political conditions became a challenge and also an opportunity for our partners when they are carrying out their advocacy, as they were able to directly communicate with regional governments. In the case of AMAN Sumbawa, this became an opportunity as Sumbawa's elected Regent has yet to hear negative perspectives about *Cek Bocek* and so, will be more open to *Cek Bocek*'s advocacy issues. Meanwhile, in other regions such as the East Nusa Tenggara Province and the North Lombok District, although the regional governments have initiated an audience with our partners, there were concerns

that the advocacy process will stop at the official in that period[20], and they would have to start from the beginning with a newly-elected official in next period.

4.3.3. Amplify

There are some lessons that our partners could take away, for example to be more meticulous when looking at momentums and the government's communication platforms. For instance, Maupe Maros took advantage of the International Women's Day momentum in March 2019 and held a collective action titled "Act Together, End Violence Against Women". Through this programme, Maupe distributed their research findings and linked them with women issues that are the focus of Maupe's work.[21]

In contrast to the other partners, as a community-based organisation, AcSI has limited access to local governments, but because the marginalised groups they are representing do want to be more popular with the public, AcSI decided to **open the market as a public space that can be accessed by various groups.** For instance, AcSI carried out a programme with *Katakerja* Library called *Jappa-Jappa Ri Pasarra*. They also did a trip to the market with Makassar citizens who are curious to explore the market. AcSI also held film exhibitions and photo exhibitions in empty spaces in the market. The aim is that by gaining interest from local citizens for a public space, the policies can then be effectively directed towards the marginalised communities they are representing.

A different story came from our partner in North Lombok. The policy paper presented by Pasirputih for the Deliberation on the Cultural Development Plan (Musrenbang/ *Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan*) for the North Lombok Regency successfully brought forth a new issue in the community that focuses on tourism and local cultures in North Lombok. During Musrenbang in March, the Bayan indigenous community, North Lombok Kerama Village Council, North Lombok Regional Indigenous Community, Tebango Indigenous Community agreed to adopt Pasirputih's recommendation to record their cultural assets and form a North Lombok asset research team. Other recommendations

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20   East Nusa Tenggara Province and North Lombok Regency held local elections at the same time on 27 June 2018.

21   In this programme, Maupe worked together with a few members of Stop Child Marriage Coalition (*Koalisi Stop Perkawinan* Anak) and a number of media outlets, for example Gamasi FM, Inews, 99.6 RAZ FM, VE Channel and South Radar.

adopted by the North Lombok community was community-based research to identify the indigenous communities in North Lombok. Moreover, the Pasirputih policy paper gave Pasirputih a new networking opportunity with North Lombok AMANDA. Pasirputih, along with North Lombok AMANDA, quickly explored collaboration potentials to raise and echo the issues for the indigenous communities of North Lombok.

In the two years of our capacity building journey, we realised that marginalised groups and CSOs are two entities that complete each other in their struggle for policy advocacy. They both have the potential to have a voice, to communicate their voices and to participate in policymaking.

5

REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5

Reflections and Recommendations

"Nothing About Us, Without Us" is a principle that should be reflected over and over again. To what extent were "we" involved in discussions about "us"?

In this closing chapter, we would like to draw a lesson from the process of giving room for local organisations to gather evidence, relay it to influence policymaking and ensure marginal voices are heard.

5.1   Reflections

What we had discussed in the previous chapter paints a picture of the outcome resulting from our partners' efforts to relay the knowledge they produced forward to policymakers or other stakeholders. Due to this notion, as an organisation with intensive knowledge (Lettieri, Borga, Savodelli, 2004; Nugroho and Amalia, 2010), CSOs should place careful attention on the knowledge they produce.

CSOs produce knowledge composed of various information they receive in their day-to-day life. For example, from the 'bottom' (involvement with affiliated groups), from the 'top' (communication with donors), and from collegial networks they built (Nugroho and Amalia, 2010). However, due to inefficient processing, often their knowledge is not used, or lost under the ambiguity of everyday management, or neglected because of the long-

time taken on the field, or even dispersed as a result of high rates of staff turnover (Lettieri, Borga, Savodelli, 2004; Nugroho and Amalia, 2010).

For example, as expressed by Yasalti's Representative:

> When a member/staff of the organisation appointed to the job is less open to consult about things in which they lack understanding, as the people in charge of the organisation we would find difficulty in understanding what they needed.
>
> They have not shared results from meetings or trainings that staff of they had attended, with the leaders of the organisation, making it difficult for leaders to estimate their capacity. Despite having a completed research report, it would be better if the appointed staff could share their research experience and the strategy they used.
>
> (Ninu Rambu W. Lodang, reflective questionnaire for persons in charge of the organisation, 11/01/19)

A similar sentiment was shared by a representative of Yabiku as follows:

> As far as the execution of this program is concerned, some of my expectations had been met, for example there is a sharing process between members of the network. However, my expectation for Yabiku NTT staffs to increase their knowledge about research has not been fulfilled, since the appointed staffs are not capable of sharing their knowledge with other executors yet. As part of the group, my expectation also was not met because the research finding is still being followed up by the advocacy process, which will take time.
>
> (Antonius Efi, reflective questionnaire for persons in charge of the organisation, 11/01/19)

Not only the problem of post-training knowledge sharing by individuals, processing information between different divisions also created their own challenges. For example, Yabiku has a counter-productive rule regarding data accessibility. As facilitators (CIPG and local facilitators), we definitely would like to ensure the data used by CSOs are relevant. In this case, Yabiku research team needed real data regarding the domestic violence. But unfortunately, those data cannot be accessed by personnel outside of the assistance division. Meanwhile Yabiku staffs who were responsible for the research had never had directly involved in any activity related to the assistance division.

> Staffs involved do not directly come into contact with victim assistance tasks. My suggestion is for them to learn something new.
>
> (Antonius Efi, reflective questionnaire for persons in charge of the organisation, 11/01/19)

However, if members are unable to access necessary data, how can they fulfil their responsibilities? Within a context of evidence gathering for policy advocacy, of course this would be crucial. Members could hold a separate research from those who assisted the victims, but it would be better for the knowledge gathered by the victim assistance division to be shared with members doing the research so that the result could reflect the complete knowledge which existed within the organisation.

Generally, in the case of those CSOs supervised, knowledge could be obtained from two channels: 'the field', when members work with local communities or other organisation, or capability training activities, and from 'the office', when they return and interact with other members. Unfortunately, knowledge gathered from 'the field' often becomes buried inside their heads which is known as implicit knowledge. Meanwhile, this implicit knowledge is the key they need to unlock innovation for the sake of policy changes and social behaviour.

The three developmentalist CSOs that we supervised had a special scheme to collect information from 'the field'; every member returning to the office was required to relay the information they gathered to other members (Agusnawati, interview, 23/07/19 and Antonius Efi, interview, 30/07/19). Depending on the type of information, the activity can be done within the organisation and involve all members or done within the scope of a working unit. Meanwhile in grassroot organisations, thanks to their horizontal structure, information is shared over coffee. Each time they return from the field, members would be comfortable enough to invite others to discuss the knowledge they have learnt. This way, the information understood by each member of the organisation tend to be more uniform and less unbalanced (Muhammad Gozali, interview, 23/07/19 and Rachmat Aris, interview, 06/08/10). If they were asked a question, each member would give almost the same reply.

Although they have been implemented for a while, in reality these two mechanisms of sharing information are not good enough to create organisational knowledge. The tradition of sharing information orally could cause it to disappear if not well-documented, the knowledge could even disappear as a result of a member leaving the organisation. The departure of a member from an organisation even before the knowledge is passed

onto another member is a problem we often face. Due to this, information must be gathered in written form.

Yet, this is only the beginning. After successfully gathering and storing information, organisations also need to understand how to access/distribute and use their knowledge. We especially found difficulty in supervising a 'developmentalist' partner during the research process. Again, using the example of a problem faced by Yabiku, because of tight organisation rules, not all knowledge, not even data, could be accessed by other working units. Individuals who know about the relevant information are unwilling to share with members who were doing the research, as they though it was not 'their place' to share knowledge (Frida Ikun, interview, 29/07/19). At this point, we understood that implicit knowledge of an individual is difficult to access/share as long as it had not yet become knowledge for the whole organisation.

Therefore, their homework now is to not only transform individual knowledge into organisational knowledge, but also to change implicit knowledge into explicit knowledge, storing it, distributing it and most importantly, using it as a tool to influence local decision-making.

Back to the first research question that was our guide in creating a framework for intervention, "How can marginalised communities collect evidence to influence policies to do with their existence?" in any case, it turns out that targeted marginalised communities still need CSOs as a bridge between them and the government. An example is just as expressed within the document "Outcome Harvesting":

> On the 26th of March 2019, Pasirputih Community was invited by the Head of the Culture Division of the North Lombok Culture and Tourism Authorities, West Nusa Tenggara Province to take part in a Cultural Discussion for Development Planning (Musrenbang) to arrange a programme for cultural development.

> In previous years, the community was not involved as a stakeholder in a Cultural Musrenbang. The invitation from North Lombok's Culture and Tourism Authorities for Pasirputih Community came because they had presented their research results about traditional housing architecture in the Segenter Village during a hearing with the Head of North Lombok Cultural and Tourism Authorities on the 19th of March 2019. The invitation shows that they intend to seriously pursue the policy recommendations the community presented during the hearing.

> The involvement of Pasirputih Community in a Musrenbang is a step forward towards inclusive development. This supports the principle of "Nothing About Us, Without Us", CIPG's goal of inclusive participation, and the outcome of VOICE Global increasing political involvement.
>
> *(Outcome Harvesting Document CIG by Ferzya and Anesthesia H. Novianda as harvester, 19/04/2019)*

Although this was the case, we are aware that within its process, CSOs **must gather data from the source** (*emic*) **instead of the researcher** (*etic*), so that we can prevent the Spivak's critic of 'representation' from occurring. For this, we would like to clarify that CSOs here **act not as marginal representation but as a bridge** between marginal communities and the government.

With that, we would also like to reiterate that should this programme reach its goal of a) strengthening society by increasing the capabilities of civil society in compiling thorough and accurate evidence, and b) encouraging inclusive participation through increasing the participation of civil society in the policymaking process, particularly at the regional level.

At the end of the process, we concluded that the six CSOs we guided successfully compiled evidence from their research[22], in twelve popular articles distributed online and offline from the regional level to the national level, as well as six policy papers for target government stakeholders.

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22 Research findings of the six CSOs in their entirety have been published in a book titled "Echoing the Voices of the Marginalised: Stories from Eastern Indonesia" (CIPG, 2019)

Improving research capability & evidence based policy advocacy*

Processing information into knowledge

Local CSOs

CIPG

Knowledge exchange

Policy advocacy based on knowledge compiled

Local Government

Community

Giving information

Intervention by VOICE CIPG 2017-2019 (actual)

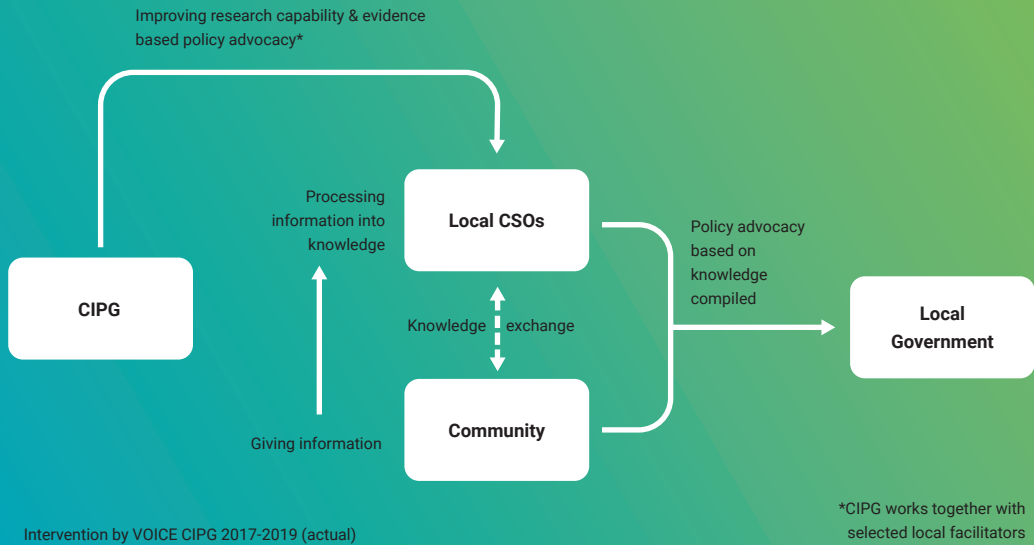*CIPG works together with selected local facilitators

Figure 13 CIPG Intervention Flow and Result

Source: Writers

As seen on figure 13, we refer back to mapping our findings (see Theory of Change). Thus, this programme reached the primary result we liked to see, which is an increase in the capacity of CSOs in compiling complete and accurate evidence. More than this, we also witnessed what we expected to see, which is the participation of CSOs in the local policy-making process. Unfortunately, because of time constraints we have not yet been able to see what we love to see, which is the actual participation of marginal groups in local policymaking. Thus, the implementation of ability development training needs to be more innovative and expand to other CSOs, especially in Indonesia.

5.2 Recommendations

There are at least four recommendations that should be considered for implementation.

For the General Public: Inclusive participation is a way to push political decision making. If participation within the policy formulation is accompanied by evidence relevant to the situation, then the policy made will be more accurate and represent the needs of the people.

For CSOs and CSO partners: Processing organisational knowledge. For those who want to work with CSOs (and the CSOs themselves), they need – if not must – to implement a concept of processing implicit information into explicit information. There are two methods that we offer. First, to write the 'field' reports in a journal, such as a notebook or a compilation of documents that could be read by anybody at any time. Second, if writing has not yet become a habit, then the members could document orally through recording a monologue of findings. The compilation of documents and recordings can be stored when they return to the 'office' so that anybody who needs the information can access it.

Only with these two methods – writing or audio recordings, can implicit knowledge from the members be stored and distributed to other members, so that it can become shared organisational knowledge. If the member leaves or disappears from the organisation, then the knowledge does not disappear.

For Donors: Anybody who donates to a local CSO must consider the organisation's ability to collect thorough evidence for a solid policy recommendation. Even though local CSOs are not yet capable of research, their efforts to take over this task is unwise. Even in the process, donors focusing on marginal issues must **ensure CSOs gather emic data and not etic data**, so that we can end Spivak's critic of 'representation'. So that in the end, marginalised communities can express their own voices, are heard, and accepted as solid knowledge.

For Policymakers: A wise policy is not based on political choices, it is based on real facts. The existence of marginalised communities as citizens should be recognised. Because of this, it is important to use their voices as a foundation in decision making, not only to increase popularity to enter parliament.

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Appendix

A.   VOICE Global Grants and CIPG Profile

VOICE grants are based upon a pledge within the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, "to leave no one behind (in the collective path to end poverty and inequality)". This programme also prioritises marginalised groups encompassing the five dimensions of exclusion, which are social, economic, spatial, politic, and gender exclusion as explained by the section Involving Marginal Communities and Civil Society Organisations in Policymaking.

VOICE grants are given to projects which will impact three aspects:

- Improving productive access for resources (land, water and wealth) and work

- Improving access to social, health and educational services

- Space for political participation[24]

Specifically, this program aims to raise the capacity of CSOs and informal groups in order to increase their political participation in building the main flow.

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24   Dokumen *Voice Analysis Context* - Indonesia oleh PT. Solusi Empat Satu.

B.   CSOs, Local Facilitators, and Locations Profile

- Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)

As explained in the section Introduction: Echoing Evidence, Action Research for Inclusive Participation, VOICE's main priority is to encourage the involvement of marginalised groups in policymaking. Thus, the team feels that one of the primary targets of this program is civil society organisations. CSOs belong to constituents and have long worked to empower their local communities. CSOs themselves have the ability to advocate for their constituency, and we expect they will need to be polished to improve research capacity and policy advocacy.

CIPG recognises its knowledge is not as extensive as local organisations that had long worked with issues regarding the empowerment of marginal communities. Considering the view of Nugroho, Antlov, and Carden (2018), local communities could do well in advocating policy recommendations to local authorities. This is because they have already built relations with local leaders and have good reputations within their society. Therefore, the role of civil organisations should not be undermined.

With these considerations in mind, CIPG chose two CSOs from each of the three regions; East Nusa Tenggara, West Nusa Tenggara, and South Sulawesi. Every organisation chosen works with either one or two issues within the programme's objectives. We collaborated with CSOs to teach the importance of research in policy advocacy. The six CSOs are:

Active Society Institute, or AcSI, founded in 2004 in Makassar, South Sulawesi. AcSI focuses on encouraging local communities to actively participate in local policymaking, creating an urban youth community as well as working together with other urban communities. Their research reviews the strategy for increasing the livelihood of female merchants in Pasar Terong, a central market in Makassar.

Indigenous People's Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN – Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara) Sumbawa was founded in 1999 and is a part of the AMAN Indonesia Network. Based in Sumbawa Besar, (Sumbawa Island, West Nusa Tenggara), AMAN

Sumbawa focuses their work upon advocating the rights of indigenous communities in Sumbawa. Their research discusses the dynamics of land ownership in the indigenous community of Cek Bocek Selesek Rensuri, also known as the Berco Tribe.

Pasirputih Community (Komunitas Pasirputih) started in 2009 by collaborating with the youth in Pemenang, Lombok Utara (Pulau Lombok), NTB. Pasirputih focuses on literacy and increasing participation in various local issues through art and culture as well as documentary production. Their research reviews the effect of developing cultural tourism on the local wisdom of the Segenter indigenous community, North Lombok.

The Amnaut Bife "Kuan" Foundation (Yabiku – Yayasan Amnaut Bife "Kuan") was founded in 2002 in Kefamenanu, North Timor Tengah, East Nusa Tenggara. As per its name (in the Dawan language, Amnaut Bife "Kuan" means Care for the "Village" Women), Yabiku focuses on women issues; in assisting women and child victims of violence as well as female access to natural resource management and policymaking. Their research examines the factors of domestic violence in Desa Kuanek and Desa Maubesi, two villages with the highest occurrence of domestic violence from 2015-2017.

Society for Women (Maupe – Yayasan Masyarakat Untuk Perempuan) Maros was founded in Maros, South Sulawesi, in 2003. Maupe endeavours to actualise gender equality and justice, fighting for women to have active roles in economic, social, political and cultural aspects through educating citizens about democracy and developing alternative media for raising critical awareness. Their research analyses factors causing violence towards women in the Maros region.

The Wali Ati Foundation (Yasalti – Yayasan Wali Ati) was founded in 2002 and is based in Waingapu, East Sumba (Sumba Island), East Nusa Tenggara. Since their establishment until now, Yasalti focuses on inclusive development, including access to basic services for marginal communities, effective public services and sustainable governance. Their research reveals the aspirations of a teenage weaver in Desa Lairuru, a village which produces *tenun hikung* unique to Sumba, in which almost all villagers believe in the minority faith Marapu.

- Local facilitator

CIPG collaborated with local facilitators as an extension to help and supervise partners in the research and advocacy processes. In every area, a local facilitator is chosen to save time and cost on face-to-face meetings with clients. CIPG decided the general criteria for local facilitators would be having the same level of knowledge on the situation of each region as the partners, and are experienced in interacting with CSOs in the region. A special selection criterion for the research stage is knowledge in academic writing and research including research methods. Meanwhile, for the advocacy stage is knowledge and experience in advocacy both to the government or to a constituency.

Choosing a local facilitator begins at the same time as cooperating with partners in the beginning phase of the VOICE programme. As recommended by CIPG's network and an internet study, CIPG received several suggestions for local facilitators. To understand their capacity, CIPG requested every candidate to send their CV and attend an interview to understand their interest in issues chosen by partners. After receiving a few names, the CIPG team held a meeting with directors to decide the relevancy of each candidate's experience for the research issues chosen by our partners. Below is the selection process:

Attachment Table 1 Local Facilitator Selection Process

Phase	Selection Process	Expected Outcome
Research	Internet search, recommendations	Research assistance, improving methodology, case analysis, technical assistance for writing research report
	CV interview, CV selection	
	Director's decision and team	
Advocacy Phase Research	Internet search, recommendations	Advocacy assistance, sharpening strategy for advocacy, improving recommendations, technical assistance for writing policy paper and popular writing Expected Outcome Research assistance, improving methodology, case analysis, technical assistance for writing research report
	Selection Process	
	Internet search, recommendations	

Source: Authors

At the research phase facilitators are expected to give short-distance consultations to each CSO in a more intense manner. Local facilitators familiar with CSOs who come from the same area are expected to dispel any awkwardness in consultations between the facilitators and the CSOs. Local facilitators are also expected to give their own perspective as well as context based on their local knowledge.

Assistance by local facilitators can be done through scheduled face-to-face meetings. Consultations are not limited to face-to-face meetings but also through communication by phone, emails and WhatsApp. This is done to help all partners to freely develop ideas for their research and writing up their report.

After a tough discussion process, we chose three people to assist the CSOs:

Anhar Putra Iswanto is a local facilitator who assisted the research phase of Pasirputih Community and AMAN Sumbawa that are both located in the region of West Nusa Tenggara. Anhar is an elected secretary of the North Lombok Local Research Board (DRD) since 2016. He had written articles to do with public policy and political analysis. The Master of Sociology graduate of Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang was also part of the team for the creation of Local Law for Indigenous Societies in Sumbawa.

Nurhady Sirimorok assisted AcSI and Yayasan Maupe Maros for the research and advocacy phases. In 1999, he and his friends initiated and founded Ininnnawa, a community in Sulawesi Selatan which is part of the Indonesian Society for Social Transformation (INSIST) network. He graduated with a master's degree in Rural Livelihood and Global Change from the Institute of Social Studies, Den Haag, in 2017.

He specialises in rural and social organisation issues. He has published several books, including *Laskar Pemimpi: Andrea Hirata, Pembacanya dan Modernisasi Indonesia* (InsistPress, 2008)*, Membangun Kesadaran Kritis* (InsistPress, 2010) and the latest one, *Catatan Perjalanan tentang Satu Bahasa: Melihat Desa Lebih Dekat* (EA Books, 2018). His articles have also appeared in *Jurnal Wacana,* INSIST. His short stories and essays are available on various media both online and offline.

Pantoro Tri Kuswardono is a local facilitator for Yasalti and Yabiku for the research and advocacy phase. He left Bandung after Indonesia's Reformation Period to live in Kupang. The carpenter school alumni was once a national campaigner for WALHI in 2005-2008, and he was the international coordinator for Agrofuel's *Campaign Friends of the Earth International*.

Up until now, he has been active in policy analysis regarding ecology, food, climate change, and disaster risk reduction with several organisations including Oxfam and the Asia Foundation. He is also a facilitator for social analysis, strategic planning and data analysis. Since 2014 he is the director of Pikul and a member of the management for *Jaringan Advocacy Tambang* and *Yayasan Para Perintis*.

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