

MAKING SERVICES WORK FOR THE POOR IN INDONESIA

CASE STUDY 8: PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN MAROS DISTRICT, SOUTH SULAWESI PROVINCE

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ABSTRACT

From 2001 to 2005, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) implemented the Perform (Performance-Orientated Regional Management) project to assist 80 district governments in Indonesia with participatory planning for multi-year district investment plans. Forum Warga, a local civil society organization, was Perform's local partner in Maros district, South Sulawesi province. In 2002, Forum Warga and Perform staff began a Program of Participatory Development (PDPP) aimed at increasing villager participation in planning. In 2003, they successfully lobbied for passage of a law requiring participatory planning in Maros. As of the writing of this report, just 20 of Maros' villages (only 19 percent) have completed participatory 5-year village plans under PDPP. In some of these villages, the new planning process has indeed involved more people than did the traditional planning processes. However, in two villages visited by the team, villager awareness of and involvement in the PDPP process was nil. Even in villages where participation has increased, women's participation has still been limited, despite efforts to the contrary. And nowhere are villagers involved in budgeting. One of the objectives of PDPP was to ensure that village plans influence district budget allocation. In 2004, the district planned to support just 38 percent of village proposals (calculated by Rp. amount), but in the end more than doubled its support to 67 percent of total requests. However, this was due to advocacy by Forum Warga rather than to PDPP itself. Due to the lack of data, it is impossible to say whether there has been a change in type or amount of village budget allocations over time, though in one village PDPP was confirmed to have helped secure funding for two proposals where, prior to PDPP, no village proposals had ever been funded. Despite minor successes, then, villagers are still pessimistic about their impact on district plans and budgets, and continue to lobby government officials directly as the most effective way to get funding. It is unknown how many village plans are actually being used in district planning and budgeting. Forum Warga asserts that about two-thirds of PDPP village heads are using the 5-year plans as a basis for village-level annual planning, though. The financial sustainability of participatory planning in Maros is uncertain, due both to lack of data and limited financial commitments from the district, but financial hardship does not appear to be a factor. PDPP implementation has depended heavily on the involvement of the main local champion, Forum Warga, whose limitations reduce the chances of institutional sustainability. Finally, limited villager involvement in PDPP may reduce chances for social sustainability of participatory planning.

INTRODUCTION

As part of its mandate to alleviate poverty in Indonesia, the World Bank is undertaking analysis regarding "Making Services Work For the Poor." This work aims to promote better services, especially for poor and disadvantaged people. The case studies were chosen

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through a competitive outreach process managed by the World Bank from among the many innovative practices seen in much of Indonesian local government in recent years. Donors, non-governmental organizations, and local government staff were contacted and encouraged to submit proposals regarding innovative pro-poor service delivery work that they either were undertaking or knew about. Maros' reforms in promoting citizen participation in planning touch upon a key theme central to making services more pro-poor: enhanced client power.

THE STUDY SITE: MAROS DISTRICT

In 2001, Maros district had a population of 278,300, living in 14 sub-districts. Located in the western part of South Sulawesi province, Maros is about 30 kilometers north of the provincial capital, Makassar. The district's 2004 poverty rate was just under 21 percent, higher than the 2004 national rate of nearly 17 percent. Agriculture is the main economic activity. There are many ethnic groups in Maros, but the Buginese and Makasarese comprise the majority.

THE PERFORM PROJECT AND FORUM WARGA

From 2001 to 2005, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) implemented the "Perform" (Performance-Orientated Regional Management) project to use "participatory planning to assist 80 local [district] governments in the creation of multi-year investment programs." One of these districts was Maros.

At the local level, the Perform project focused on providing villages, districts, and civil society organization partners with technical assistance (mainly training and facilitation) in participatory planning methods for the preparation of medium-term investment plans linked to district budgets. Before providing assistance, Perform required interested local governments to commit to fully involving stakeholders in the planning process and to allocating sufficient funds for project implementation.

Perform project strategies:

1. Improving the quality of local fiscal policies by providing technical assistance to the Ministry of Finance;
2. Improving the quality of local administrative policies by providing technical assistance to the Ministry of Home Affairs; and
3. Improving the quality of local planning policies.

Forum Warga (FWSM, or *Salewangang Maros* in the local language, meaning "prosperous Maros") was Perform's local partner in Maros.¹ Forum Warga is a consortium of NGOs, citizens, and local informal leaders. Its vision is to make Maros a "prosperous community" through greater community participation by:

1. Institutionalizing citizen participation in policy-making;
2. Helping to ensure the approval of village proposals during district planning and budgeting; and
3. Encouraging the executive and legislative bodies to take citizen's voices into account.

Forum Warga is supported by financial donations from two-thirds of the district's 55 civil society organizations as well as by in-kind donations from community members.²

In 2002, Perform and Forum Warga began a Program of Participatory Development (*Program Dasar Pembangunan Partisipatif* or PDPP) aimed at increasing villager participation in planning. District and village facilitators trained by the project were to be responsible for:

¹ Forum Warga members state that they founded their group independently. However, Perform staff played a key role in helping the group develop by, for example, helping them organize meetings and work with district government officials.

² Forum Warga members and General Secretary.

- data collection;
- the creation of sub-village plans;
- the organization of village meetings in which village leaders and district facilitators would work with villagers to identify and prioritize their needs;
- production of five-year village development plans; and
- forwarding these plans to sub-district offices, the District Planning Board (*Bappeda* or *Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah*), and the District Parliament (DPRD or *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*).

The five-year plans were to be used by villages as a basis upon which to produce annual plans, by sub-districts at their annual planning meetings, and by *Bappeda* during its annual planning meetings to inform fund allocation.³ Each of Maros' 14 sub-districts produces 20-25 project proposals, so 280-350 proposals must be considered during each district meeting. After the proposals are assessed for fit with line ministry proposals and the current district budget, meeting participants score each against five criteria: availability of market opportunities; job creation (*lapangan kerja*); sustainability; potential to increase villagers' incomes; and urgency.⁴ Finally, *Bappeda* drafts a development plan and budget and sends it to DPRD, where it is discussed and legalized as part of the new year's district budget (APBD, or *Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah*).⁵

In 2003, Forum Warga and Perform staff successfully lobbied for passage of a law on participatory planning,⁶ though implementation arrangements for the law have not yet been passed. Under the law, Community Participatory-Based Regional Development Planning (P2DBPM/P2BM) (*Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah Berbasis Partisipasi Masyarakat/Perencanaan Pembangunan Berbasis Masyarakat*) is now the required mechanism for development planning in Maros, though it complements rather than replaces previous planning mechanisms. The new law requires citizen involvement in short-, medium-, and long-term planning at village, sub-district, and district levels, in annual district budget creation, and in the formulation of policies in many areas including health, education, and the environment. The law also further requires full transparency and gives citizens the right to complain.

The Law's ten steps to participation.

1. Publicizing draft laws and plans.
2. Exposing communities to the draft laws.
3. Community organization.
4. Community responses to the law.
5. Government feedback to communities.
6. Final policy/law formulation.
7. Formal complaints by citizens.
8. Consideration of community comments by district parliament (DPRD).
9. Passage of the law by DPRD.
10. Public dissemination of the new law/policy.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

The fieldwork tested three hypotheses:

- The new law and the Program of Participatory Development (PDPP) have increased citizens' involvement in planning and budgeting.
- The new law and the Program of Participatory Development (PDPP) have not made district budgets or plans more reflective of citizen priorities.
- The impact of the new law and the Program of Participatory Development (PDPP) is unsustainable.

The research team spent 10 days visiting the district town, Maros, and 3 sub-districts: Mandai, Maros Baru, and Lau. In Mandai, the team visited Pattontongan and Hasanuddin

³ Secretary of a sub-district leader.

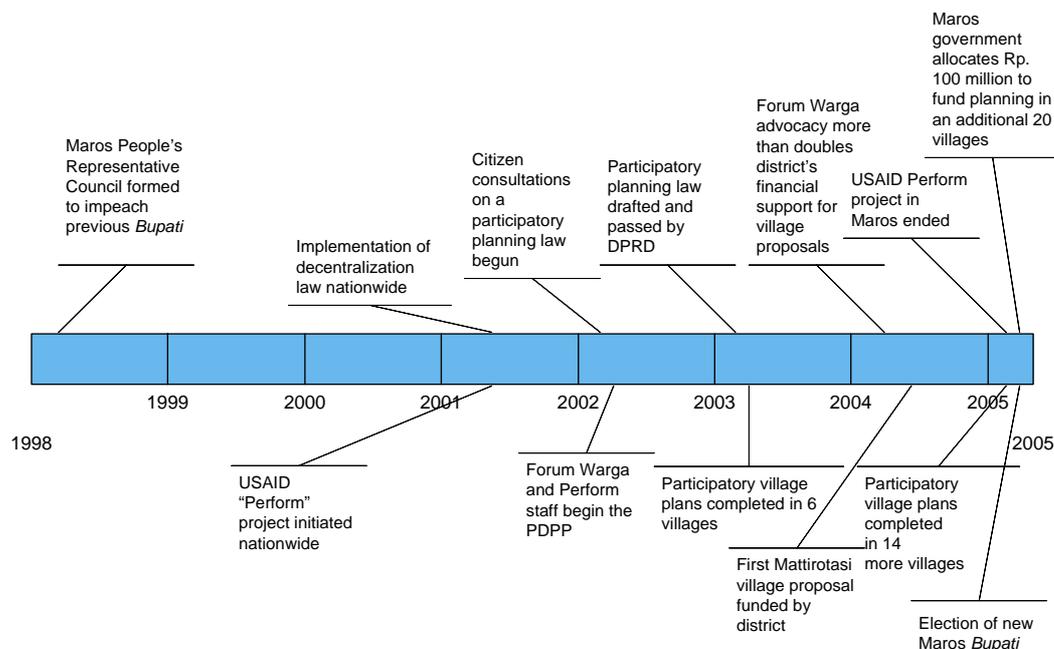
⁴ PDPP manager, *Bappeda*.

⁵ PDPP manager in *Bappeda* and General Secretary of Forum Warga.

⁶ Law No. 13/2003 on Community Participatory-Based Regional Development Planning.

villages; in Maros Baru, Mattirotasi village; and in Lau, Soreang village. PDPP has not yet been implemented in Soreang, but the other three villages visited were part of the first phase of PDPP. Focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews were carried out with 92 people, including 6 Forum Warga members, 2 *Bappeda* members, 3 DPRD members, 2 Perform staff, 1 sub-district head, 3 sub-district staff members, 3 village heads, 37 village elites, and 35 villagers.

FINDINGS



HAVE THE NEW LAW AND THE PROGRAM OF PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT (PDPP) INCREASED CITIZENS' INVOLVEMENT IN PLANNING AND BUDGETING?

Twenty of Maros' 103 villages—just 19 percent—have completed participatory village plans under PDPP. With Perform's assistance, six village plans were completed in 2003, and the district government funded and facilitated planning in 14 more villages in early 2005 (postponed from 2004 because of budget limitations). The district had a plan to expand PDPP activities to an additional 40 villages in 2005, later scaled down to 20 villages as a result of financial limitations. In the event, no training or participatory planning has yet been done in these 20 villages, and only 20 percent of the Rp. 100 million committed by the district for this process has yet been disbursed to the District Planning Agency (*Bappeda*).

In some of these twenty villages, the new planning process has involved more people and provided more time for participation than did the old planning practices. For example, in Mattirotasi village, most villagers were not only aware of the PDPP planning process but had participated in it. One villager stated that citizens are now more confident about speaking out. Others recalled that more people spoke up in PDPP planning meetings. The consensus was that both the quality of discussion in, and the level of satisfaction with, the process were high.⁷

⁷ Villager interviews.

Some PDPP villages had not even been holding old-style *musbangdes* meetings prior to the introduction of the new planning process; village heads themselves had been writing the proposals to submit to sub-district meetings. In these villages in particular, it is likely that PDPP has increased participation in planning.

	Old process (<i>musbangdes</i> or <i>Musrenbang tingkat desa</i>)	PDPP process (<i>musrenbang desa partisipatif</i>)
Type of participants	Mostly elites	Elites, men and women, poor and rich, young and old, informal leaders
Number of participants	5-20 people	30-50 people
Time required	2 hours	2 days
Proposal makers	Individuals	Small groups
Discussants	Only elites speak	Facilitated process encourages all participants to speak up
Facilitators	Village head	District and village facilitators
Output	Annual Village Development Plan	Five-Year Village Mid-Term Plan

Source: *Mattirotsi* villagers.

However, in two villages visited, villager awareness of and involvement in the new planning process was nil. For example, in Hasanuddin village, very few villagers were even aware of PDPP. The (new) village head and his staff didn't know whether PDPP planning had been conducted in their village in 2003 (though according to Perform, it had been), and the village facilitator had moved away. Village elites had no memory of PDPP, but took a dim view of the utility of their participation in even the old-style planning meetings (*musbangdes*), explaining that they were never given enough time to consult with villagers beforehand. Many perceived meetings to be "the same old thing" in which they would make proposals, but nothing would happen afterwards. One informal leader said, "I only have a 10 percent desire to come to this [year's] meeting, as I'm afraid it will be a repetition of last year."

In Pattontongan village, villagers and village leaders were also unaware of PDPP, though according to Perform, it had been implemented there as well. Here, villagers reported informal involvement in planning, however; they engage in informal discussions about their development problems, and then submit their ideas to the head of the neighborhood, who presents them at the *musbangdes*.

Even in villages where overall participation has increased, women's participation has still been limited. PDPP required 30 percent female attendance at planning meetings. Female participation during the meetings was also reported to be somewhat forced; facilitators questioned women directly to ensure that they spoke up. While the attendance quota was usually met on the first of the two days of planning, the Forum Warga head estimates that only about half of those women showed up on the second day, citing their household work demands.

PDPP villagers are still not involved in budgeting. Either directly or indirectly, the research team found no evidence that the already limited villager involvement in planning extends to budget allocation at the district level.

HAVE THE NEW LAW AND THE PROGRAM OF PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT (PDPP) MADE DISTRICT BUDGETS OR PLANS MORE REFLECTIVE OF CITIZEN PRIORITIES?

There was a large increase in planned district funding for 2004 village proposals. It is debatable to what degree this was the result of the new law and the PDPP, however. The direct cause of the increase was Forum Warga's advocacy, but one of the Perform project aims includes successful advocacy by local groups for improved district budget processes.

At first, the district government agreed to fund just 38 percent of 2004 village proposals (calculated by Rp. amount). Forum Warga was very disappointed, and held a meeting with some DPRD and *Bappeda* members to discuss the situation, pointing out that some approved expenditures, such as car purchases for civil servants, were inappropriate, while support for legitimate development activities was insufficient. After three meetings, the number of village proposals funded was dramatically increased, to 67 percent (about Rp. 133 million) of the total request, representing 70 percent of the district's entire annual development budget for both villages and district departments.⁸ At the same time, according to the Perform website, district proposals to buy vehicles, discretionary allocations for the *Bupati* (district head), and support for professional organizations were cut. Given the power of the departments, this was seen as a substantial accomplishment.⁹

Due to the lack of data, it is impossible to say whether there has been a change in the type or amount of village budget allocations over time. The biggest single concern identified by Mattirotasi villagers was that *Bappeda* has not rewarded their planning work with significantly different and/or bigger development grants. Neither *Bappeda* nor the Perform manager were able to supply any budget data at district or lower levels to substantiate or refute this assertion, though.

In Mattirotasi village, PDPP clearly helped in obtaining some district funding for a few village proposals. The village leader stated that prior to PDPP, village proposals had never been funded, whereas since then, two of their proposals have (after being amended):

- construction of paved roads in 2004. The village requested funding for 1,500 m in 3 hamlets, but the district funded just 150 m in one hamlet—the one with an elementary school.
- construction of toilets in 2005. The village requested toilets for each household but the district just funded public toilets.

Mattirotasi Village Mid-term Plan 2003-2007

Activities	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Cost (Rp.)
Analysis of community activities						- ¹⁰
Mangrove plantation						-
Extension of irrigation channel						-
Completion of village head's office						-
Construction of concrete road from Kanjitonang to Bawalangi						750,000,000
Revolving funds						40,000,000
Training for shrimp chips production						-
Construction of clean water tubs						-
Construction of toilets for each household						105,000,000
Construction of asphalt road in slum						-
Construction of bridge						-
Repairs for local road						700,000,000
Construction of concrete road from Kanjitonang to Bawalangi						750,000,000

Despite some successes, villagers are still pessimistic about their impact on district plans and budgets, and continue to lobby government directly as the most effective

⁸ Article by local Perform manager in *Berita Perencanaan Partisipatif* ("Participatory Planning News").

⁹ Estimates from head of economic and development sector in *Bappeda* (actual budget document was unavailable to the team) and the RAPBD (draft budget or *Rancangan Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah* that is formalized as the APBD).

¹⁰ According to the village head, this and other items in the table do not have costs because villagers were unable to estimate them.

way to get funding. In the village where PDPP has apparently had its greatest impact, Mattirotasi villagers still describe feeling “hopeless and pessimist”¹¹ as the number of village proposals actually funded by the district remains low. Villagers said that lobbying government officers such as the *Bupati* and the head of *Bappeda* has been the key to achieving some of their goals, such as building a village office and village road.¹² For example, they felt that funding for a road project was only forthcoming because they were able to directly request it from the *Bupati* during one of his monitoring visits.¹³ The head of Hasanuddin village has also sent proposals directly to the *Bupati*, as well as attempting to get the support of a relative of the Padangala hamlet head’s wife who is a member of the DPRD.¹⁴ Tellingly, Padangala hamlet has received funding for street lights, school renovation and path upgrading.¹⁵ Many villagers noted that “having a friend in the local parliament or planning agency” is the best way to get results.

It is unknown how many village plans are actually being used in district planning and budgeting. The Mattirotasi village head, for one, is certain that his village’s plan is being used by the district, as he has visited the district and seen that they actually have the plan and use it. On the other hand, in Hasanuddin nobody in the village could even locate the new mid-term plan that had supposedly been produced. In Pattontongan, a village facilitator did have a semi-completed five-year plan, but was unsure what to do with it. He reports asking the local Perform managers about it, but until now he hasn’t had a clear answer.¹⁶

According to a *Bappeda* staff member who is also the local PDPP manager, *Bappeda* has all 20 completed village mid-term plans, yet the local Perform manager has borrowed them all and was either unwilling or unable to show them to the research team.

Despite the apparent lack of impact at district level, Forum Warga leaders state that about two-thirds of PDPP village heads are using the 5-year village plans as a basis for village-level annual planning. The Mattirotasi village head was the only one who was able to confirm this, however.¹⁷ Forum Warga also claims that it ensures village plans are submitted to the *musrenbang* (Development Planning Meeting) at sub-district level,¹⁸ but there was no evidence to show that village plans are being used at this level.

IS THE IMPACT OF THE NEW LAW AND THE PROGRAM OF PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT (PDPP) UNSUSTAINABLE?

The financial sustainability of participatory planning is uncertain, due both to lack of data and to limited financial commitments from the district, but financial hardship does not appear to be a factor. The primary funder (USAID) has left; while the remaining funder (the district government) has continued to fund the PDPP process, its actual support has been much less than its promised support for the last two years. In 2004, it initially planned to dedicate Rp. 250 million (about US\$25,000) to participatory planning in 14 villages, but cut this to Rp. 50 million. In the end, even this sum was not disbursed until 2005, due to budget shortages in 2004. In 2005, it allocated Rp. 100 million to a further 20 villages, but to date has disbursed just 20 percent of this sum. There has been no stated commitment to funding participatory planning in the remaining 63 villages.

¹¹ Interviews with Mattirotasi villagers.

¹² Hasanudin village.

¹³ Interviews with Mattirotasi villagers.

¹⁴ Informal interview with Hasanuddin village head.

¹⁵ Interviews with community in the poorest hamlet in Hasanuddin village.

¹⁶ According to the General Secretary of Forum Warga.

¹⁷ PDPP manager/*Bappeda* staff.

¹⁸ Forum Warga.

PDPP Funding

District budget	Perform budget	When implemented	Number of Villages
Rp. 50 million (US\$5,000)	Rp. 200 million (US\$20,000) ¹⁹	Mid-2003	6
Rp. 50 million (US\$5,000)	No data available, though it is known that Perform paid some project costs this year	January-February 2005	14
Rp. 100 million (US\$10,000)	0	No date planned	20

Source: PDPP manager/Bappeda staff.

The team was unable to obtain any financial data from Perform for its 2004 PDPP spending. Without this, it is impossible to accurately calculate the cost of implementing PDPP to date, making estimates of the cost of implementation in the remaining 63 villages difficult. At least Rp. 400 million has been spent or committed for the process in 40 villages, though. Extrapolating from this figure, the remaining 63 villages could be expected to cost about Rp. 630 million more at an average cost per village of Rp.10 million. This represents less than 5 percent of Maros' 2005 development budget, though, implying that budget limitations may *not* be at the heart of the slow pace of PDPP implementation throughout the district.

PDPP implementation has depended heavily on the involvement of the main local champion, Forum Warga, whose limitations reduce the chances of institutional sustainability. The Forum has been very active in promoting participatory planning. It tries to ensure that village plans are actually used in forming district plans and budgets, by having staff present at and actively involved in planning meetings at each technical department as well as the district level. It has also helped facilitate participatory planning in all 20 villages. However, it has limited financial resources and technical skills, so its ability to maintain this level of involvement if PDPP is extended to the remaining 63 villages is uncertain. Yet there is no obvious alternative to the Forum's leadership.

Limited villager involvement in PDPP may reduce chances for social sustainability. Perform staff initially trained 20 trainers: 10 from local government and 10 from civil society organizations, including Forum Warga. These 20 people trained facilitators for the first 6 villages to be included in PDPP. Village facilitators, including 3 leaders from each village, were to have led the participatory planning process in these villages. However, in the next 14 villages, no village facilitators were trained or used; instead, Perform managers and district trainers (including Forum Warga staff) were used. Admittedly, using villagers as facilitators may not have been very effective in building social sustainability: in Mattirotasi, for example, the village head was not even aware that there had been village facilitators. When it was explained to him what the responsibilities of the village facilitators were, he concluded that he must have been one of them! But he could not recall having attended any related training. Village facilitators were never paid for their work, in contrast to district and Forum Warga facilitators, perhaps further reducing their buy-in to the program. (According to *Bappeda*, this was because most were already village leaders whose job responsibilities included facilitation of village meetings.) Moreover, Forum Warga—essentially the local leader of PDPP—is, despite its championing of villagers' causes, isolated from the villagers by its elite status. Though it has formal links with NGOs in many villages, it does not have a strong local base of support. Many villagers have never even heard of it. Perhaps as a result, villagers have not taken ownership of the participatory planning process.

KEY FACTORS IN THE POSITIVE IMPACT OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

It is still early days for the participatory planning process, so perhaps it is not surprising that its positive impact has so far been rather limited. First, more villagers are now involved in

¹⁹ Estimate of PDPP manager based on agreed cost-sharing between the district (20 percent) and Perform (80 percent); no supporting budget data available.

annual planning at the village level than before, and they reportedly are more confident about being involved; second, in some villages, the 5-year plan produced by the process is actually being used as a basis for annual village planning, and is being brought to the sub-district *musrenbang* in hopes of influencing higher-level planning. The increase in 2004 funding for village proposals is arguably another result, albeit indirect, of PDPP.

Political changes at district and national level. After the economic and social crises of 1997 and 1998, the incumbent *Bupati* was impeached and ultimately imprisoned for corruption, the first time that citizens had exerted such power in Maros' recent history. This was in line with changes that were happening all over the country. The struggle to unseat the *Bupati* led to the formation of the Maros Representative Council, a grassroots citizens' groups, and gave citizens a hint of their potential to shape district events.

Meanwhile, at the national level a sweeping decentralization law was passed that suddenly vested each of the approximately 420 districts and towns in the country with greater control over planning and budgeting.²⁰ Local politicians, citizens, and foreign donors began taking a much greater interest in promoting good governance and participatory processes at the local level. The law, implemented in 2001, set the stage for the entrance of the Perform project and the formation of Forum Warga the following year.

Passage of a law on participatory planning. The collaborative process of drafting and passing the law—which involved government, NGO, and Perform staff—mobilized support for and commitment to participation. The law asserts that “participation matters”—a major change from the past when participatory processes had been neither desirable nor necessary.²³ The law also provided a legal basis for PDPP. Perform has attempted to promote similar legislation in the other 79 program districts, yet in only six has it been successful, a demonstration that passage of the law is indeed a significant achievement. Conditions were right for the law in Maros because of the consultative process and the support and leadership of the *Bupati* and other reformers in DPRD.

The process of drafting participatory legislation. Perform's inauguration in the district coincided with a period of political ferment led by local university students. In May 2002, Perform staff and local students organized a meeting with local leaders and NGOs to discuss how to promote greater citizen participation in planning. Government staff were willing to attend because they understood that many donors would begin requiring participatory processes. Reformist elements within the district government welcomed this initiative, recognizing that enhanced participation could actually work in their favor, by enabling them to respond more effectively to citizen demands, and in the process build greater popularity with their constituents.²¹

The meeting resulted in a proposal to create a team of 15 people (40% from the government and 60% from NGOs) to draft legislation to require citizen participation in planning. After four rounds of popular consultation among government, NGOs and citizens between 2002 and 2003, including a workshop on participatory planning and a seminar on the design of the law, and three drafts, the team finalized the proposed law. DPRD approved Regional Regulation Number 13 on Community Participatory Based Regional Development Planning (P2DBM/P2BM)²² in 2003.

²⁰ Law 22/1999 on Decentralization and Regional Autonomy established the framework for Indonesia's decentralization process, while Law 25/1999 clarified the fiscal relationships among central and local governments.

²¹ Interview with DPRD member and Chair of Governance Commission.

²² *Perencanaan Pembangunan Berbasis Partisipasi Masyarakat P2BM*.

²³ There was a nominally bottom-up planning mechanism in place nationwide for many years previously, but in reality most village heads drafted plans themselves, and only very rarely were village proposals approved and funded (*Keputusan Menteri Dalam Negeri No.9 tahun 1982 tentang Pedoman Penyusunan Perencanaan dan Pengendalian Pembangunan di Daerah*, or Home Affairs Ministry Decree No. 9/1982, Guide of Planning Formulation and Development Management Locally).

The receptiveness of local government staff to “changing the rules of the game.”

Bappeda is the organization responsible for reviewing, prioritizing, and allocating development funds, including all village proposals. *Bappeda* staff were involved in the initial meetings that led to passage of the law on participation, and have been quite supportive of Forum Warga and Perform project staff. While some DPRD members were concerned about the implications of institutionalizing participation, many others, especially those linked with Forum Warga, played active roles in drafting and ultimately passing the law. Legal reform would not have been possible had there been strong political resistance. The fact that key local government officials—the *Bupati*, DPRD members, and *Bappeda*—were actively engaged in discussions with civil society groups and Perform staff in early 2002 about the new law indicates openness from the very beginning to changing the traditional top-down relationship between government and citizens. The likely low per village costs of implementing PDPP have probably also helped to enable PDPP supporters to keep getting at least some government funding for the process each year.

The Perform project. Perform project staff were key facilitators and supporters of the planning process. They provided support for the formation of Forum Warga, played a key role in working with the Forum and district government on passage of the law on participation, and supported village-level planning via funding and facilitation. The project’s specific requirements about including more people in planning meetings and encouraging them to speak up were also important.

Forum Warga’s genuine commitment to, and ability to lead, participatory planning.

The Forum provided a legitimate, local organizational home for participatory planning advocates to rally around. Its ability to make a difference for PDPP was likely due in part to its government contacts and organizational support from the Perform project.

The leadership of some sub-district and village heads. A few active sub-district (*camat*) and village (*lurah*) leaders have helped bring participatory planning to life. Of the villages visited by the team, this was only the case in Mattirotasi, but Forum Warga asserts that over two-thirds of PDPP village heads now understand and use participatory planning methods. They play a key role in ensuring that villagers understand their rights under the new law, that local planning processes are undertaken on schedule and to a high quality, and that villagers understand the subsequent process of prioritization and budget allocation at district and sub-district levels. In the opinion of Forum Warga’s secretary general, the Mattirotasi village head, for example, “really understands how to get community participation.” He has close relationships with many members of the Forum, and a background as a district activist. In 1998, he joined other activists to form the *Majelis Amanat Rakyat Maros* or Maros People’s Representative Council which impeached Maros’ previous *Bupati*.

Villagers and village leaders’ continued use of personal lobbying as a way of obtaining district support for village proposals.

WHAT REDUCED THE POSITIVE IMPACT OF THE INNOVATIONS?

Limited involvement of villagers in PDPP. Perform and Forum Warga facilitators met with leaders of all 20 PDPP villages to ensure an appropriate cross-section of villagers be invited to two-day planning meetings. However, there was no follow-up; it was left to village leaders to issue invitations to and publicize meetings. In Mattirotasi village over 50 people attended. Their degree of representativeness of the village population is unknown, though interviewees stated that all stakeholders had been involved.²⁴ Preparatory sub-village meetings were required by PDPP rules, but in at least one village (Pattontongan), villagers claimed that

²⁴ In Hasanudin village, no reliable information is available because the village facilitator moved out of the village, there is a new village head, and villagers did not have a clear recollection of the process. In Pattontongan village, locals reported that the planning process has not yet been completed.

there had been no such meeting in the poorest of the 4 sub-villages, which reduced their ability to prepare their proposals and thinking. The village facilitator, however, contends that sub-village meetings were conducted in all 4 sub-villages. Strategies to increase women's involvement were ineffective in part because they failed to take into account women's work responsibilities and consequent availability for meeting.

Only in six villages were attempts made to use village facilitators, and even in these villages, villager involvement was rather weak. Indeed, one "village facilitator" was unaware of training he had supposedly received.

The lack of measurable improvements in budget allocations for PDPP villages.

Villagers have seen few or no links between their actions (joining planning meetings) and outcomes (funding for village projects). The existence and comparative effectiveness of a "shadow process"—informal lobbying—has likely further undermined the potential for local support.

Weak support from the government for PDPP. The previous *Bupati* is known for his rather poor financial leadership. He frequently makes extra-budgetary financial commitments to villages, so that money has to be reallocated from the agreed budget (this may explain the drastic reduction in the district's 2004 financial support for PDPP). Further, there is no plan for long-term financial sustainability for participatory planning. While it is not, in itself, very expensive, recurring costs associated with training facilitators and monitoring village progress, plus increased costs for expanding the program to new villages, mean that the total cost of this work will rise, not fall, in the coming years. The district's inconstant financial support for participatory planning to date implies internal wrangling over the program's relative merit.

Poorly-planned ending of Perform's support.

The project's ending was timebound rather than linked to results. Perform left Maros having actively facilitated participatory planning in 6 out of 103 villages,²⁵ without leaving behind either a solid cadre of individuals who would continue the process, or ensuring the necessary funding.

Perform timetable for PDPP implementation:

Year 1: Local stakeholders prepare multi-year planning document;
Year 2: Local stakeholders begin roll-over plan;
Year 3: Local governments assumed able to continue the process on their own, or seek further assistance from consultants trained by Perform.

Dependence on one local champion. While many stakeholders are involved in PDPP, other than Forum Warga and close associates such as the Mattirotasi village leader, there is no local champion for participatory planning. Meanwhile, Forum Warga has broad but shallow roots among Maros' citizens. Most local citizens have a limited awareness of the Forum or what it does.

A truncated planning process in some villages. In the first 6 villages, PDPP was implemented as intended, in a leisurely 5-day process, but in the next 14 villages, due in part to budget limitations, the process took just 2 days.²⁶ Most participants agreed that an intensive two-day process was too brief for the community to effectively implement a needs assessment and draft a plan together.

Limitations of the law. The Participatory Planning Law was a significant achievement in Maros. However, it has many limitations which have likely been key to problems with funding

²⁵ Forum Warga facilitated the process in the next 14, during which time Perform was winding up its work in Maros.

²⁶ Interview with general secretary of Forum Warga.

participatory planning and putting the resultant plans to use in district-level planning and budgeting. For instance, the law does not clarify:

- implementation arrangements at the sub-district and village levels;
- how participatory planning will be funded;
- what constitutes “participation”;²⁷
- the roles and responsibilities of different levels of government for implementation; and
- how village plans and district budgeting shall be linked.

Nor does it include provisions for a citizen’s complaints commission or sanctions for government staff who do not work in a participatory manner.²⁸ (Both were dropped just prior to finalization of the law.)

Lack of an implementation decree for the law. The implementation decree is almost complete, and it is hoped that it will soon be legalized. It is expected that the decree would clarify much of the confusion surrounding participatory planning, as it would clarify responsibilities and help ensure accountability.

Local political changes. It is likely that the election of a new *Bupati* and the replacement of *Bappeda*’s head in late 2005 were one cause of the slow disbursal of funds committed to participatory planning in the next 20 villages and also delayed implementation of the implementation decree for the participatory law.²⁹

Citizens’ weak understanding of their rights and obligations under the new law. Most local citizens are unaware of the new law, and even fewer were able to cite its specific provisions regarding their participation in planning, further reducing their “demand” for participatory “services”.

Very limited available data on PDPP spending, funding for village proposals, and production and use of village plans. The lack of adequate data on these key topics means it is impossible to accurately gauge the success of PDPP to date, making it difficult to plan for effective implementation in the future.

MAKING IT SUSTAINABLE AND REPLICABLE

Consider instituting a local “block grant” system. Such a system, which provides a pre-set amount of funding for local development proposals, could offer a direct, immediate, and powerful incentive for villagers to invest in developing high-quality medium-term plans.

Widely disseminate information on citizens’ rights and obligations regarding participatory planning. Citizens are less likely to effectively participate in planning exercises if they are unaware that the law supports them in this. Currently, many citizens still believe that planning remains the responsibility of their leaders.

Invest heavily in training and supporting village-level facilitators. If poor-quality plans result from village exercises, then it is almost certain they will not be used at the district level. There is evidence that the few village facilitators used so far have not received the necessary training and support to help villages produce high-quality plans, yet because of their grounding in village society and politics, these are the facilitators with the greatest potential to work effectively at the village level.

²⁷ It merely states that “participation is a form of active societal involvement, directly and indirectly responsibly providing input for all policy formulation and enactment, and for all governance activities, so they can be more accommodative, transparent and accountable.”

²⁸ DPRD Chair on Governance.

²⁹ PDPP manager/*Bappeda* staff and Secretary General of Forum Warga.

Outside agents such as the USAID Perform project should employ results-based programming. It is clear that participatory planning was not institutionalized or financially secure by the time Perform departed Maros, despite Perform's stated intent to ensure both. Such fundamental goals need to be incorporated into a project's planning and decision-making structure to help ensure their realization. Financial sustainability is intimately linked to social sustainability: participation requires that people believe their involvement today will be rewarded with better outcomes tomorrow.

Provide support to government offices (in this case, *Bappeda*) to improve their ability to link village plans and budgets. Technical support is not, of course, sufficient to address the "egos" of the district departments and the influence of political parties, but is still an important factor.

Civil society organizations such as Forum Warga must have deep support to function effectively as agents promoting participatory planning. Most citizens only have a vague awareness of Forum Warga at present, so it cannot yet play the role to which it aspires, that of organizing and facilitating genuine citizen participation in budgeting and planning district-wide.