

Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik

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Partnership for Good Civil Society and Sustainable Community Development: The Interface of Bureaucracy, Community, and Facilitator

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ABSTRACT

The legacy of top-down and modernisation thesis, which emphasises capital transfers, formal planning, specialisation, and central government and/or international agency control, has long been challenged. This paper is based on a case study research on a community driven development initiative in the city of Surabaya, Indonesia. It focuses on partnership amongst bureaucracy, community, and facilitator in order to achieve good civil society and sustainable community driven development. For achieving its aims, this research explores a detailed case study of the national program for community empowerment (PNPM) in Indonesia, more specifically the implementation of PNPM-urban in the city of Surabaya. PNPM is the first nationwide poverty reduction program that signals the shift away from centralized governance processes towards a community driven development (CDD). Together with PNPM-rural (Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Mandiri Pedesaan), PNPM urban (Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Mandiri Perkotaan) is the two pillars of PNPM. This research has relied on interview, participant observation, and document analysis. Forty (40) informants were collected through a six months fieldwork period. Findings reveal that before the city government of Surabaya (here-after Pemkot) agreed to provide co-sharing funding for the implementation of PNPM in Surabaya (as requested in the program), the implementation of PNPM resulted not only in unsuccessful partnership amongst bureaucracy, community and facilitators, but also problems within communities and amongst the three stakeholders. These were all surrounding around the issues of struggle over power and capital. This has further threatened the achievement of good civil society and sustainability that seek to be attained in the program. There has been a more promising partnership amongst the three key stakeholders in the program and thus the achievement of good civil society and sustainability of the program

Key words: *bureaucracy, community, reform, facilitator, poverty, community driven development*

ABSTRAK

Legasi tesis pembangunan atas-bawah dan modernisasi, yang menekankan transfer modal, perencanaan resmi, spesialisasi, dan pengawasan pemerintahan pusat dan/atau agensi internasional, telah lama ditantang. Makalah ini didasarkan pada penelitian studi kasus tentang inisiatif pembangunan yang digerakkan masyarakat di kota Surabaya, Indonesia. Penelitian ini berfokus pada kemitraan di antara birokrasi, komunitas dan fasilitator untuk mencapai pembangunan yang didasarkan masyarakat sipil yang baik dan komunitas yang berkelanjutan. Penelitian ini mengkaji studi kasus secara rinci tentang program nasional pemberdayaan komunitas (PNPM) di Indonesia, secara khusus tentang pelaksanaan PNPM-Perkotaan di kota Surabaya. PNPM adalah program pertama pengurangan kemiskinan skala nasional yang mengisyaratkan perubahan dari proses pemerintahan terpusat menuju pembangunan berdasar komunitas (CDD). PNPM-Masyarakat Mandiri Pedesaan dan PNPM-Mandiri Perkotaan merupakan dua pilar dari PNPM. Penelitian ini menggandalkan wawancara, observasi partisipan, dan analisis dokumen. Ada 40 informan dimintai keterangan selama enam bulan kerja lapangan. Temuannya adalah bahwa pemerintah kota Surabaya setuju menyediakan dana pendamping untuk pelaksanaan PNPM di Surabaya (sebagaimana yang disyaratkan dalam program ini), pelaksanaan PNPM tidak hanya kemitraan yang tidak berhasil di antara birokrasi, komunitas dan fasilitator, tetapi juga problem-problem dalam masyarakat dan di antara tiga pemangku kepentingan itu. Semuanya pada dasarnya adalah isu perjuangan atas modal dan kekuasaan. Perjuangan atas modal dan kekuasaan ini kemudian mengganggu pencapaian masyarakat sipil yang baik dan keberlangsungannya

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yang mesinya dicapai dalam program itu. Ada kemitraan yang lebih menjanjikan di antara ketiga pemangku kepentingan dalam program ini untuk pencapaian masyarakat sipil yang baik dan keberlangsungan program itu.

Kata kunci: kemiskinan, pemberdayaan, birokrasi, komunitas, pembangunan berdasar komunitas, Surabaya

The legacy of top-down and modernisation thesis, which emphasises capital transfers, formal planning, specialisation, and central government and/or international agency control, has long been challenged. The assumption that placing development control and initiative in the hands of central governments/international agencies will result in optimal investment decisions, and in turn benefits for community through the trickle down effects (Amdam 1997, Keare 2001, Korten 1987), what remains, however, reveals the opposite. The third world development experiences, more especially, have demonstrated the tendency that such conventional development thesis has resulted in the use of development resources to maintain vast national patronage systems, increasing dependence on external resources, stifling local initiative and further tendencies toward authoritarianism the concentration of wealth and political power (Korten 1987).

Later, this new views of development has advanced democratisation within development. Besides the move from top-down to bottom-up approach or from growth oriented strategy to people centred development as discussed above; the paradigm shifts also/involve the move from centralised to decentralised development, blue print to learning process approach and many other forms of shifts; focused specially on community participation and/or empowerment and civic engagement. Latest democratisation within development has been comprehended under the well-known notion of governance and good governance, and in their advanced forms such as collaborative/network governance or partnership governance.

Following the advancement of democratisation within development theories and practices, approaches for poverty alleviation interventions have also followed this path. The national program for community empowerment (*PNPM*) is amongst one of the best example. National program for community empowerment locally known as *program nasional pemberdayaan masyarakat mandiri* (in short, referred to as "*PNPM Mandiri*" but in the World Bank project appraisal the abbreviation *PNPM* is used (World Bank 2008,2008a), also in this paper. As the first nation wide poverty reduction program

in Indonesia, *PNPM* was launched by President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono in August 2006. It started to be implemented in 2007 and will run through 2015. As the most recent community development initiative in Indonesia, *PNPM* signals the shift away from centralized governance processes towards a community driven development (CDD, hereafter CDD) (World Bank 2008,2008a). An overall objective to reduce poverty and to improve local-level governance and service delivery in rural and urban areas in Indonesia, *PNPM* seeks to involve local communities and governments to engage in participatory planning and decision-making processes to allocate resources for self-defined development needs and priorities (read governance partnership).

The building blocks of *PNPM* are the previous poverty reduction models that represent outstanding practices of CDD in rural and urban areas in Indonesia. These are *proyek pengembangan kecamatan (PPK)* or *kecamatan* development project (*KDP*), the rural arm of *PNPM*, currently known as *PNPM-Mandiri Pedesaan (PNPM-rural)* and *proyek penanggulangan kemiskinan perkotaan (P2KP)* or the urban poverty project (*UPP*), the urban arm of *PNPM*, currently known as *PNPM Mandiri Perkotaan (PNPM-urban)*. In 2007 *KDP* and *UPP* were adopted as the national framework for poverty reduction strategies known respectively as *program nasional pemberdayaan masyarakat-proyek pengembangan kecamatan (PNPM-KDP)* and *program nasional pemberdayaan masyarakat-proyek penanggulangan kemiskinan perkotaan (PNPM-UPP)*. Following further improvements in the principles, design and practices of the projects, in 2008 the projects were officially named as *PNPM-Mandiri Perdesaan* and *PNPM-Mandiri Perkotaan*. Linked to these projects are a number of sectoral programs that provide specialised inputs to improve the delivery of poverty services, and some other programs initiated by local governments.

The purpose of this research, the *PNPM*, which is studied, is *PNPM-urban*. Unless otherwise stated hereafter *PNPM* refers to *PNPM-urban*. Under the framework of *PNPM*, many sectoral poverty alleviation programs, including *PNPM rural* and *PNPM urban* are directed at increasing Indonesia's

human development index (HDI) and accelerating the achievement of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), especially the goal of having the number of poor people in 2015. A total number of poor people still 31,02 million or 13,33% of the total Indonesia's population in March 2010, a sustainable *PNPM* undoubtedly is amongst one that is unnegotiable.

The inherent interest of community development is in fostering a democratic culture within and between communities, and between communities and state institutions (Meade & Shaw 2007), one of the necessary pre-requisites for such community development initiative is a functioning state, or more precisely, a functioning bureaucracy, as the key instrument and institution of state. Yet, with the tendency of 'red-tape' - all imagined ills of bureaucracy, such as excessive or meaningless paperwork (Bozeman 1993: 274) in many public sector and or systems of bureaucracy, attaining a certain level of functionality and accountability has proven difficult and the call for (bureaucratic) reforms is now a pervasive feature of development strategies. In such a reform context, bureaucracy is expected to practice more democratic governance and citizen participation (Claver 1999, Harwood 2004), that is, to engage the public and collaborate with actors in other sectors of society including community organizations. The apparently antithetical character of both bureaucracy and community (Litwak 1970, Mott 1973), suggests an incongruence that cannot be easily reconciled. Thus, unless there is a means by which greater collaboration and cooperation occurs between bureaucracy and community (such as in *PNPM*), any reform strategies are fraught with problems and challenges.

Significantly, even though in some cases participation can be generated spontaneously within the beneficiaries (Rahman 1993), often it cannot just happen. Instead, it depends on mobilisation through the facilitation process. This marks the increasing tendency of facilitation process (or facilitators) to assist the collective activities in participatory development and/or bottom-up initiatives. This includes in *PNPM*, whereby the role of facilitators is amongst one of the important.

The question that is sought to be addressed in this paper is as to how bureaucracy, community and facilitator interact in partnership in the implementation of *PNPM* urban in the city of Surabaya.

Setting the Context: Bureaucracy, Community and Facilitator in *PNPM*-Urban

The increasing global tendency, that poverty has become an urban phenomenon for economic and demographic reasons have caused urban poverty alleviation intervention one of the most pressing needs. In Indonesia, this is strengthened by the fact that the 1997 economic crisis has harmed the urban poor more severely than those of the rural counterpart (Marcus & Asmorowati 2006), for detail discussion on the shift of the locus of poverty from rural to urban. In order to such initiatives remain effective and sustainable, as previously discussed, one of the necessary pre-requisites is a functioning state or more precisely a functioning bureaucracy.

Unfortunately, although it has been more than a decade since the reform epoch in Indonesia, what remains is that there are yet few significant improvements in the bureaucracy. Kwik Kian Gie, for instance, highlights the tendencies for low public service performance; the higher ratio of corruption, collusion, and nepotism (*KKN*); the inefficiency of central and local government institutions; and further, the weak functioning of the monitoring institutions are on-going problems (Anwaruddin 2005). Put more succinctly, aside from sometimes being corrupt, for Tjiptoherijanto (2007: 31), the Indonesian civil service is slow, lacks transparency, accountability, and initiative. Meanwhile, at her presidency, President Megawati had once said that bureaucracy in Indonesia was awkward, uncontrollable, and lacking in initiatives to carry out the state agenda (Anwaruddin 2005: 542). The Indonesian bureaucracy's poor performance has been well noted also by the international communities. The Hong Kong-based political and economic risk consultancy (PERC), for example, has recently ranked Indonesia, along with India and the Philippines, among the most inefficient bureaucracies in Asia. In such a context, the need for further reform of bureaucracy in Indonesia is understandably a pressing matter and one that continues to present problems and challenges.

Most importantly, new paradigms (including such as the implementation of CDD in the *PNPM*) require bureaucracy to visibly reorient its structure and culture (Mott 1973). The demand for transparency

and accountability in the conducts of government and development as outlined in the current reform strategies have not been responded to adequately by the bureaucracy. It can be even argued that bureaucracy has become a barrier for the current government to initiate changes.

The bureaucratic reform becoming a buzzword in the last few years in Indonesia, and the seemingly surmountable problems and challenges that have yet to be addressed, the place of community engagement appears to have a very low priority. That is, whether the reform has followed the criteria of better performance, accountability and democracy, does not in any deep sense speak to the issue of either greater benefits accruing to the community or more direct and collaborate relations between the bureaucracy and the community. Put simply, the question that emerges is, how can bureaucratic reform, which is focused on accountability, and transparency, be of benefit to the community?

Under the ideal principles of *PNPM*, including *PNPM-urban*, it is expected that the target communities would gain benefits out of development interventions, supported by reformed local governments/bureaucracies and professional facilitators. Yet, as the already (centrally) designed development package, when it comes to the implementation unfortunately, it is not resistant from problems and challenges. This will be described in the implementation of *PNPM* in Surabaya below, but before that, an overview of the *PNPM urban* will be first discussed.

PNPM Urban: An Overview

As previously discussed, since 2007 the urban poverty projects (*UPP*) was adopted as the *PNPM-UPP*. Following further improvements in the project's principles and design, in 2008, *PNPM-UPP* was officially named as *PNPM-Urban*. As the improved *UPP*, *PNPM Urban* remains the widest/largest and the most important urban poverty reduction strategies during the reform era. It is financed from a World Bank (IBRD/IDA) loan of over US\$170 million, with counterpart financing of US\$75 million from the Indonesian government.

The discussion in this part is based on *PNPM Urban* general guideline. According to the guideline, *PNPM Urban* has different ways of approaching the problems of poverty. This is reflected in its view towards poverty, which is different from that of the traditional. Rather than regards poverty as caused by external factors including such as system,

opportunity, capital, knowledge, and skill; *PNPM-urban* views poverty as caused dominantly by internal human factors including attitude, mindset, and behaviour. Accordingly, the basic premise of *PNPM Urban* to solve the problems of poverty is that it should be started from the human mentality, and thus depends largely on the willingness of the poor to move themselves out of poverty. With this view, the main strategy to solve poverty problems in *PNPM urban* is through learning and practicing universal (transparency, accountability, participation, democracy and decentralization) and humanity values (such as honest, fair, equality, togetherness, voluntary, sincere and can be trusted for empowering the poor), so that they become self-governing community and later good civil society.

The overall objective of *PNPM urban* is to ensure that urban poor in *PNPM-urban* locations can gain benefits from the improved socio-economic and local governance conditions. The project involves many elements of community participation and empowerment, through competition for funds, and transparent decision-making; with project activity cycles involving information dissemination, socialisation (introduction of the project), community planning, proposal preparation, feasibility verification, funding decisions, implementation, and follow-up subprojects. The empowerment efforts emphasis on three aspect of empowerment, known as *TRIPOWER (TRIDAYA)*, embracing social, environment and infrastructure, and economic development

The existing local administrations, including district or city governments, local legislative bodies, subdistrict (*kecamatan*) offices, and urban village (*kelurahan/ward*) offices are involved in the implementation of project from the very beginning. The program targets *kelurahan*, the lowest political unit of the government, as the subject of *PNPM urban* intervention. Once a *kelurahan* has been selected for participation, and the community in the *kelurahan* received *PNPM-urban* (target communities have the right to refuse *PNPM-urban* in their *kelurahan* if they wish to, representing democratic principle in the project), the community is then invited to set up a voluntary and democratically structured organisation known as a *BKM/LKM* or *badan atau lembaga keswadayaan masyarakat* (community organisation), which will eventually administer projects and be socially and financially responsible for the sustainability of the project.

People in the community are then required to form ad hoc community groups built around various

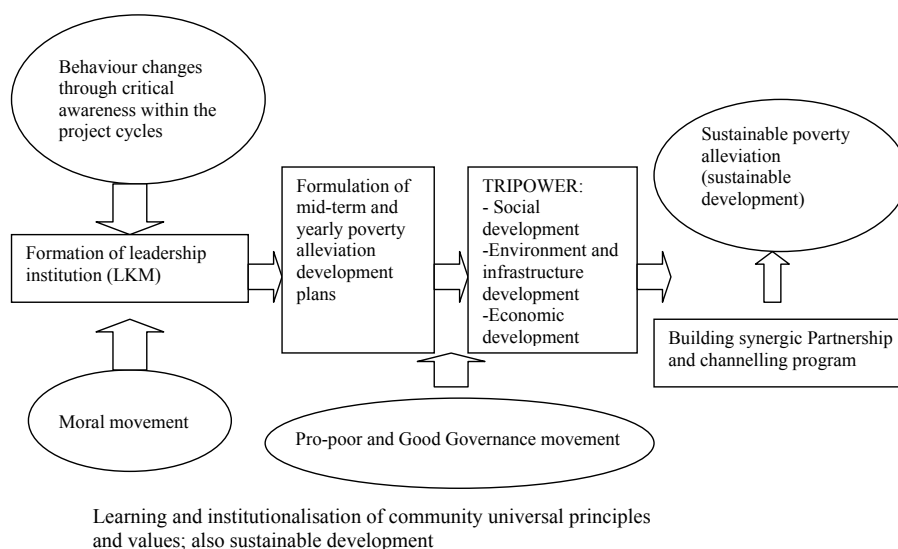


Figure 1.

Approach for Poverty Alleviation intervention by Community in PNPM

Source: *Pedoman Pelaksanaan PNPM Mandiri Perkotaan* (Departemen Pekerjaan Umum, Direktorat Jenderal Cipta Karya 2009)

proposed projects. These groups are known as *KSMs* or *kelompok swadaya masyarakat* (community groups). It is *KSMs*, which most of the members supposedly are poor people that seeks to be made stronger in the *PNPM*-urban. Once *KSMs* are stronger, they are expected to be able to lift themselves out of poverty by creating partnership and channeling projects/programs with other sectors inside and outside the community, including such as financial institutions. Further, the *KSMs* are expected to be the key vehicles for developing capacity and increasing social and other capital, thus enabling community stakeholders to become agents of beneficial change.

The project transfers a fixed-amount block grant to a targeted community in a *kelurahan* (urban village), known as *bantuan langsung masyarakat* (*BLM*, hereafter *PNPM* grants). The amount varies according to the *kelurahan* population with a range of Rp. 150 million-Rp. 350 million (which is relatively huge for an Indonesian context). The grants can be used for an 'open menu', such as for infrastructural, social, and economic activities, which the community believes to be a development priority. Once a *BKM* is set up, *KSMs* are required to submit proposals (development plans), prepared through 4–6 month long participatory processes. Community institutions (*LKMs/BKMs*) with collective leaderships of 9–13 people, then collectively decide through a *kecamatan* forum or a community-based organisation (*CBO*) which proposals to fund. Community groups are also responsible for implementing the selected proposals, with support from the project and government agencies.

Under the responsibility of directorate of building and neighborhood development in the directorate general of human settlement of the ministry of public works (*Direktorat Jenderal Cipta Karya* (*DGCK*)), the program involve consultants/facilitators for its implementation at the city/local level. At the city level, city coordinator (*koordinator kota* or *Korkot*, here after *Korkot*), with its assistants (*askot*) and facilitator teams, provide assistances with matters concerning basic infrastructure, micro-enterprises, community development, management of data, training, and education. Their roles are amongst the significant in the program, in which they assist the project by disseminating project details, holding focus groups, helping the community to identify problems and initiate solutions, and raising awareness about larger issues, such as education, savings, and public sanitation that connect to the fight against poverty.

These facilitators are development workers who qualify with the projects requirements, including for example holding a relevant diploma or degree. They are the primary day-to-day link between the project staff/bureaucracy and the *BKMs* and *KSMs* that were at the core of community participation. They work in partnership with local government and with three to five unpaid voluntary community cadres chosen by members of the *kelurahan* to represent them. Briefly, *PNPM* urban approach in solving the problems of poverty can be seen in Figure 1.

To end, by emphasising resource transfer to local community and cooperation among stakeholders for the success of the program, *PNPM* strives to create opportunities for people to be able to learn

about democracy by practicing it. This project, accordingly has been considered as 'a bet' that Indonesia's reform succeed in moving away from the development authoritarianism of the new order towards a model built on representatives institutions (Guggenheim 2004). Besides, it contributes to the re-working of state-society or bureaucracy-community relationships and facilitators in a community development initiative.

Bureaucracy, Community, and Facilitator in *PNPM*: Partnership for Good Civil Society and Sustainable Community Development - The Theoretical Perspectives

Notion of Bureaucracy, Bureaucracy in *PNPM*-Urban

There are multiple meanings attached to the notion of bureaucracy. The discussions on bureaucracy invariably return to Weber's (1947) ideal type of bureaucracy. In this paper, the notion of bureaucracy refers to what Olsen's (2006) called as bureaucracy as an instrument (of the state or public administration), which again is a further elaboration of Weber's (1947) ideal type. Besides, as an instrument of the state, bureaucracy according to Olsen (2006) can be also regarded as an institution of the state. Refer to Olsen (2006) for more detailed explanation. According to Olsen, as an instrument, bureaucracy is "a rational tool for executing the commands of elected leaders. It is an organisational apparatus for getting things done, to be assessed on the basis of its effectiveness and efficiency in achieving predetermined purpose". In this context, bureaucratic structure determines what, how, when, where and by whom authority and resources can be legitimately used.

Thus, bureaucracy in *PNPM* can be understood as a rational tool for executing the government's commitment towards poverty reduction. It is an organisational apparatus at local level of government for getting the *PNPM* objectives done, to be assessed on the basis of its effectiveness and efficiency in achieving the predetermined goals. Bureaucracy in this context determines what, how, when, where and by whom authority and resources in the *PNPM* can be legitimately used, in which commands and rules are followed because they are in charge with the implementation (the implementers) of *PNPM* at local level. To be more precise, local level bureaucracies in this research refer to the bureaucracies involve

in the *PNPM* from district, sub-district, and village government.

Notion of Community, Community in *PNPM*-Urban

The notion of community is bandied around in ordinary, everyday speech, which seems to be easily understandable. When it comes to social science discourse, the notion is highly resistant to satisfactory definition (Cohen 1985). The Latin roots of the word community are *munus* (means gift) and *cum* (means together, among one another) (Maser 1999). Amongst the various definitions/views of community, Cohen's (1985) view of community represents one of the most useful. According to him, two related ideas regarding community are that the members of a group of people have something in common with each other, which distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups. In this sense, community implies both similarity and difference, and involves the opposition of one community to other communities or social entities. The sense of differences amongst communities according to Cohen is then confirmed as the boundary, which marks the beginning and end of a community (Cohen 1985:12). Cohen (1985) accordingly, community is just such a boundary-expressing symbol, which is held in common by its members; but its meaning varies with its members' unique orientations to it.

Community, as a unit is the typical cite for participatory projects and or community development, including in *PNPM*. In *PNPM*-urban, it is a *kelurahan* (urban village), which is regarded as one community. *Kelurahan* is chosen as the site for the UPP because as the lowest tier of government it is considered the best size group to work with while the *kelurahan* level of organisation is considered the closest and the best place to tackle the issues of poverty at the community level

Facilitator and Facilitation Process

As previously discussed, participation sometimes cannot just happen, instead, it depends on mobilisation through facilitation process. In such a context, the need of facilitator, who acts as a development leaven, is one of the important (Marcus & Asmorowati 2006). It should be emphasised that being facilitators, development workers need to understand that they are outsiders who cannot

develop the poor by themselves. Rather, they should understand the community and then assist, encourage or stimulate them to search for solutions (and not ready-made solution) (Botes & van Rensburg 2000, Clever 1999, Oakley 1999).

Notion of Reform, The Reform of Bureaucracy: Towards Partnership Governance

According to Pollitt and Bouckaert's (2000:16-17), reform strongly implies not just change but beneficial change. They further explain that as a deliberative move from a less desirable (past) state to a more desirable (future) state, reform is not total innovation but to the reshaping of something which is already there (reform).

Driven by the lack of efficiency and the perceived inability of government to manage itself and other organisations in society (especially concerning its responsiveness to the demands of the public), agendas for reforms have been directed at enhancing the capacity of government and bureaucracy to process demands from their citizens and to be more responsive to the demands. The general label of this sort of reform is the notion of governance or sometimes referred to as empowerment or participatory governing (Peters 2004).

Traditionally associated with government or with the exercise of power by political leaders (Kjær 2004), following the raise of extensive intellectual debate within the 1980s and the 1990s; since the 1980s, governance has re-emerged with a new meaning and context. Specifically, it refers to self-organising, inter-organisational networks characterised by interdependence, resource-exchange, rules of the game and significant autonomy from the state (Rhodes 1997:15). In this context governance referring to something broader than government, whereby state actors and institutions are not the only relevant institutions and actors in the authoritative allocation of values, but it embraces processes and actors outside the narrow realm of government, private sector and civil society. Together with the state, these are the three actors of governance (Kjær 2004).

Triggered amongst other by the growing complexity of society as well as the dependence of public actors on resources controlled by other actors to achieve (public) goals (Klijn 2002), the move towards governance within public administration and bureaucracy is also obvious. That is the transformation that involves less government (or less rowing i.e. what you should do), to more governance

(or more steering, i.e. 'what you can do') (Rhodes 1997). In this case, the states and its bureaucracies act as regulators than as producers; as facilitators rather than as provider, so that enable individuals to satisfy their own preferences more fully (Hughes 1998). This is what referred to as 'hollowing out of the state' the shift of power and tasks from the central state and from public actors in general to a wide array of often autonomous local, non-profit and private actors. In such a context the predominant traditional view that the state as being the organiser of service delivery and policy maker with its own bureaucracy (Rhodes 1997, Hudson 2004, Klijn 2002) is not in favour anymore.

The emergent of development arrangement such as partnership governance and network governance (Barry 2006, Kelly 2006) marks further development of the model of governance. Indeed, the literature of public management today are marked by many discourses/analysis and approaches with various (if not in excess of) perspective and framework which unfortunately sometimes refer to the same ideas. Amongst other, these are governance networks (Klijn 2008), collaborative-governance (Head 2008), network-partnership (Hudson 2004) or networking (O'Toole 2007). Ultimately, what remains important above all the discourse is the importance of partnership amongst involved actors (stakeholders), such as the inquiry in this research.

Partnership, can be defined as a working relationship, characterised by a shared sense of purpose, mutual respect and the willingness to negotiate (Pugh in Crawford 2003:142). Another perspective suggests the premise of partnership, that each party should help each other to develop (Beall 1996). Within this research context, partnerships amongst bureaucracy, community, and facilitators, as the three key stakeholders in the *PNPM* are the most essential. This will be analysed against the above definition of partnership, in which within a partnership has to be characterised by a shared sense of purpose, mutual respect, the willingness to negotiate and lastly willingness to help each other to develop.

Yet, as it has been argued equal partnerships, including partnership between bureaucracy and community will remain a challenge. Diaz (2001) for example, notes that community and government agencies generally fail to work well together, showing by the tendency of the officials to undermine the community and impose their paternalistic and prescriptive role rather than act as an equal partner (Mitlin 2003). Schubert (2010),

argues that access to partnership is somehow assumed to be a form of access to power. She further maintain that cross-sectorial partnership (her words to refer to partnerships, which involve state, private sector and civil society) often masks the reality of various stakeholder groups holding greater power over others. She further maintains that this has even perpetuated existing power or relational inequities.

Nonetheless, with a project vision that the target communities become self-governing, partnership between the three main stakeholders, bureaucracy, community and facilitator in *PNPM* is undoubtedly important. With such a partnership, the achievement of good civil society and sustainable community development can be easily fulfilled. By civil society, Dr. Mahathir bin Muhammad, ex prime minister of Malaysia refers to a community which is self regulating and empowered through the use of knowledge, skills, and values inculcated within the people (Keane 1998:3). In such a context, by achieving a good civil society in *PNPM*, meaning that community has been able to practice the sustainability of the program and thus can lift their selves out of poverty, even after the program terminates.

Meanwhile, by sustainable development, it means the reconciliation of three aspects of development imperatives. These includes ecological imperatives, involving global physical carrying capacity and maintain biodiversity; the social imperative, embracing more democratic governance; and the economic imperative involving fulfillment of basic needs worldwide. For sustainable development to be achieved, equitable access to these three resources ecological, social, and economic - is fundamental for its implementation (Dale & Newman 2010). Consequently, sustainable community development refers to development that integrates ecological, social, and economic decision making. In addition, community requires that members form a regularly interacting system of network (Onyx in Dale & Newman 2010:6). One of the major impediments for the implementation of sustainable community development as many analysts identified is governance, which involve different stakeholder and thus the importance of partnership amongst different stakeholder, including in *PNPM*.

Research Methods

Considering that the questions in this research are typically open and subjective; this research employed a case study research based on a qualitative

approach (Stake 1995, Yin 2003). For a CDD study, particularly, in-depth qualitative analysis will provide a more nuanced picture of the projects, while also yield greater insight, which can be difficult to generate with quantitative approach.

The research relied on a variety of research methods combining semi-structured interviews, observations, and document analysis, conducted over a six months period from February to August 2009. Key informants were chosen by purposive or theoretical sampling, directed toward knowledge of specific aspect of the program, and spread across several sites within district, sub-district, and ward (*kelurahan*) level in order to get a comparative view. As the key informants identified, further informants were identified with a snowball sampling, in which more participants were gained based on the information from the key informants. Data collections were conclude with fourty informants taken from bureaucracies, communities, and facilitators in the program.

Participation/and or observation in a vast range of community or project meetings started at the community, *kelurahan*, *kecamatan*, up to the city level provided an avenue for triangulation of data. This triangulation is augmented by the use of documentary sources drawn from government law/regulation, research reports, and working papers, as well as project guidelines, diaries, journal, reports newsletter articles, and many other secondary data, which offer a more detailed account of the program. Data were then analysed, involving transcription, reduction presentation, interpretation, verification, and lastly conclusion.

Results and Discussion

The Implementation of *PNPM* in Surabaya

The implementation of *PNPM* urban in Surabaya was actually started since the implementation of the *UPP* in 1999. In 2007, as the project was adopted to be the *PNPM*, the program remained to be implemented until the problem of co-sharing funding in 2008 and 2009 arose, which resulted in the project being not implemented fully in Surabaya in these years. The problem was started when *Pemkot* refused to provide co-sharing funding from its local budget, also to appoint a special task force unit (locally *satuan kerja/satker*), who would be responsible for the overall implementation of the project in the city. This co-sharing funding is a pre-request for *PNPM* grants to be allocated. This refusal had caused the

PNPM bureaucracy ceased to involve in the project, and rather waiting for command and order from *Pemkot*. This refusal for co-sharing funding further led to a rumour that *Pemkot* refused to implement *PNPM*. The speculation arose within the community that *Pemkot* was unwilling to support the project for political reasons. Since its first inception, *PNPM* has been suspected as one of the President's campaign programs for winning the second round of presidency, (which he did), and thus rejected by Surabaya government whose mayor came from a highly competitor party.

In addition to the above speculation, which is difficult to verify, there was also a debate that *PNPM* infringed the principles of decentralisation/regional autonomy in Indonesia, also the spirit of bottom-up approach. The claim was that *PNPM* is a centrally designed program which come to the local level with a ready made package and thus has ignored the role/authority of local governments in poverty interventions (thus can be regarded as a top down policy, even though it carries bottom-up initiatives).

In early 2009, there was a clear solution for matching program, so that *PNPM* grants could be allocated, and thus would make *PNPM* to be fully implemented in Surabaya. With the matching program, *Pemkot* will not contribute to the program in the form of fresh grants/funds, but it will contribute in the forms of development projects that would be handled by the relevant city government local bodies (*SKPD/dinas daerah*). Knowing that it is *Pemkot*, which took controls in the proposed matching program, *Direktorat Cipta Karya (DGCK)* later refused matching program, and urged *Pemkot* to provide the co-sharing funding instead. As a result, *PNPM* was deadlock again in mid 2009 in Surabaya, leaving hopeless but eager community and facilitators with questions and uncertainties.

Efforts were intensively sought to solve *Pemkot's* unwillingness and the deadlock of *PNPM* implementation in Surabaya. After several hearings especially with the local legislative body, meetings and negotiations amongst the projects stakeholders, especially bureaucracy, community and consultants/facilitators (at central, provincial and city level), by the end of 2009, *Pemkot's* finally agreed to provide co-sharing funding for the implementation of *PNPM* in 2010 in Surabaya.

The three stakeholders consolidate and commit each other, in 2010 the *PNPM* comes into a new phase in Surabaya, that is a phase of implementation with full supports from *Pemkot*. Latest update from previous informants even reveals that there will be

joined community empowerment (*pemberdayaan bersama*) initiatives between *PNPM* and *Pemkot* (read between bureaucracies and consultants/facilitators), aimed to synergize *PNPM* with poverty alleviation interventions initiated by *Pemkot*. Detail explanation on this implementation will be discussed in the analysis.

Partnerships Between Bureaucracy, Community, and Facilitators in *PNPM*

As previously discussed, *PNPM* urban emphasises resource transfer to local community and cooperation among stakeholders for the success of the program. Its long-term goal is that instead of the responsibility of government, attacking poverty is becoming community movements with the assistance of facilitators, as well as the support from the government and/or bureaucracy, and wider stakeholders. Later, it is expected that community or the poor more particularly, can lift themselves out of poverty. For such a long-term goal to be achieved, effective implementation and sustainability of the program are unnegotiable, and so is the partnership amongst the stakeholders, especially amongst the three key stakeholders: bureaucracy, community, and facilitators.

Amongst the *PNPM*-urban goals, there is a goal of building a synergic partnership between bureaucracy and community (with the help of facilitators), supported by private sector and other civil society institutions. This partnership is aimed at encouraging self governing community, by strengthening community/local institutions. This part presents analysis of partnership amongst bureaucracy, community, and facilitator as the focus in this paper. As previously discussed, with partnership defined as a working relationship, characterised by a shared sense of purpose, mutual respect and the willingness to negotiate (Pugh in Crawford 2003:142) analyses will be based on these three indicators. Together these three indicators confirm Beall's (1996) view of partnership, that in partnership each party to help each other to develop. The shared sense of purposes, mutual respect, and willingness to negotiate, indeed, each party will help each other to develop.

Analysis and Findings

A Shared Sense of Purpose

By working and involving in the *PNPM*-urban, bureaucracy, community, and facilitators are bound

with the overall project objective, the promotion of community participation in development planning and management. In this context, a shared sense of purpose is achieved when the three stakeholders working together to promote community empowerment in the planning and management of development and overall, the successful implementation of the program.

The fact that *PNPM* bureaucracy ceased to involve in the program when *Pemkot* refused to provide co-sharing funding, reveals that there has not been a shared sense of purpose amongst the bureaucracy, community and facilitators. Rather than aiming at community empowerment or overall successfulness of the program, the bureaucracy tended to focus on following rule/order/command. In other words, bureaucracy tended to concern more on fulfilling its organisational purposes. In such a case, partnership has remained a challenged and thus the sustainability of the program.

Findings also show the tendency that the involvements of facilitators in the program are merely oriented for fulfilling the targets of the program (project oriented). Rather than having a real interest in community empowerment and/or poverty reduction, many facilitators involve in the implementation of *PNPM* in Surabaya are those who work for their main source of incomes. Accordingly, these facilitators tend to work only for getting their performance evaluation well. By fulfilling the program targets and administrative requirements, means that the facilitators have done their job as required and thus longer contracts in the future. Performance evaluation for facilitators in the program is currently only emphasis on the fulfilment of administrative requirements such as log book and scheduled reports, and yet to incorporate the achievement of the substance of *PNPM* within the community. Although, *Korkot* of Surabaya are occupied also with many team members with high level of facilitation capacity (also idealism), there are many more facilitators, who do not aware with the essence of *PNPM*, and its purpose, while these facilitators are those who directly involve in the daily activities of the program in the community.

Within community itself, rather than emphasising on how they are empowered and later being able to lift themselves out of poverty, most of the time the purpose of community when they involve in the program is for getting the grants only. Thus, when the grants take quite sometimes (8-10 months) to be disbursed, the community is often disappointed

and further withdrawn from involvements in the program.

Learning from past conflicts and failures, since the co-sharing funding from *Pemkot* was agreed, *PNPM* has been implemented fully with full support from *Pemkot*, especially bureaucracy, and the wider stakeholders. With many improvements in the concept/design and policy implementation of the project, as well as the full commitment from all stakeholders, especially the three key ones: bureaucracy, community, and facilitator; it can be confirmed that there have been a shared sense of purpose between the three key stakeholders.

As previously discussed, there is now a joined community empowerment initiative in Surabaya. *Bapemas*, the leading executing agency for *PNPM* in Surabaya, has a program, which aimed to train a total number of 15.000 poor women in the city, so that the target group is equipped with skills such as sewing, gardening, and many others, needed for setting up small/household industries. It is expected that *PNPM* will carry out the post-training intervention, such as by providing micro-credit for them to set up a new small businesses, or for buying sewing machine for example. In such a case, there has been a shared sense of purpose amongst the three, that is, empowerment of poor women in Surabaya. Based on a shared sense of purpose, partnership has been built amongst the three *PNPM* key stakeholders in Surabaya.

Mutual Respect

The implementation of *PNPM* in Surabaya has been largely determined by the implementation of the *UPP* since 1999. An interview with a senior facilitator reveals that there are many problems in the implementation of *PNPM*, and this is inherited since the implementation of the *UPP*. In the early *UPP* implementation in 2000, the World Bank or the central government once warned that if the project implementers failed to absorb the *UPP* grant in the calendar year; they would withdraw the grant. Accordingly, the project implementers especially the facilitators responded to the threat by instantly forming *BKMs/KSMs*, aimed merely at getting the grant to be disbursed. This is worsened by the apathetic bureaucracy -who did not want involvements in the *UPP* because the project had deliberately excluded bureaucracy from its process and mechanism.

Within the reform euphoria in Indonesia, governments and bureaucracies (both at central and

local levels) experienced significant lost of trust from the wider society (both locally and internationally). This is driven especially by rampant corruption, collusion and nepotism (*KKN*) during 32 years of Suharto's authoritarian regime. Amongst the consequences, is that many grants/foreign assistances have been channelled directly to the civil society, primarily to NGOs and community; in order to cut the long and rigid bureaucratic procedures as well as minimise corruption by bureaucracy in the programs as previously prevailed. This also happened in the first design of the *UPP*, which sought to bypass local government. Considering there are many problems which arose later, the *UPP* design was then improved, incorporating more partnership between community and local government in the *UPP* II and III.

Unfortunately, this instant formation has further caused some long-term problems, affected the projects up until when the project has been adopted as *PNPM*. An evaluation of the overall implementation of the *UPP/PNPM* in Surabaya, especially the implementation in 2007, found that there are lacks of transparency and accountability in financial management of the *LKMs/BKMs*, which has led to corruption or misuse of the project funds by the members (read the community). Further, this has caused apathy within community as well as jealousy amongst other community institutions in the *kelurahans* (such as *lembaga ketahanan masyarakat kelurahan [LKMK]*), which has long been set up as a part of the country administration system.

Meanwhile, the case that *BKMs* could not work in synergy with the *kelurahan* government and other existing local institutions is also found. This leads to a finding that *BKMs/LKMs* have become an exclusive institution, with members who feel that their institution was independent from the (*kelurahan*) government. Another finding confirms the fact that *Pemkot* received many complaints and reports from the community about negative conducts of *BKMs/LKMs*, including conflicts within the organisation, which potential to disintegrate *BKMs* and the communities. For instance, there has been a *kelurahan*, with two *BKMs* (the *PNPM* only allows one *BKM* in a *kelurahan*), which have been in conflicts since 2007. Up to this paper is written, *PNPM* cannot be implemented in the *kelurahan*, since the conflict has not yet come to a solution.

The data also demonstrated that city government was disappointed by the performance of consultants/facilitators in assisting the project in Surabaya. These development leavens had been unprofessional and unable to monitor effectively the disbursement

of the grants, so that many funds were disbursed without proposal while there were no reports of accountability after completions.

All the above findings reveal that mutual respects between the three key stakeholders remains a challenge. Schubert (2010), access to partnership is somehow assumed to be a form of access to power. She further maintains that cross-sectorial partnership (her words to refer to partnerships, which involve state, private sector and civil society) often masks the reality of various stakeholder groups holding greater power over others.

In response to the above problems, *Korkot* of Surabaya and its teams -as the consultants in the program- have made many improvements both internally (relates to their performance) and externally i.e. negotiating and working in more partnership with both bureaucracy and community.

Willingness to Negotiate

Efforts to gain a solution for the deadlock implementation of *PNPM* (through hearing and negotiation), which later successful in obtaining *Pemkot's* agreement to provide co-sharing funding have demonstrated that the willingness to negotiate amongst the three key stakeholders is exist. As previously discussed, several hearings especially with the local legislative body, discussion, and negotiation between the projects stakeholders, mainly bureaucracy, community, and consultants/facilitators (at central, provincial and city level) were initiated to get the full implementation of *PNPM* in Surabaya. An interview with staff in *Bapemas* and *Korkot* revealed that the joined community empowerment initiative is also an instance of the result of negotiations between bureaucracy and facilitators.

Negotiations with community have also been sought to make *LKMs/BKMs* are now working in closer relationship (partnership) with the local government, especially with *kelurahan* government and *PJOK* and its community counterpart. Currently, the legal structure of *LKMs/BKMs* have been changed gradually from an independent foundation (*yayasan*, as in the *UPP*) to become a collective leadership (*dewan pimpinan kolektif* and thus more accountable, transparent and responsible to the community and *KSMs*)

In 2009, there are 157 *BKMs* in Surabaya, 14 *BKMs* were categorised as very good, 42 *BKMs* as good; 57 *BKMs* as moderate and the rest, 57 *BKMs* as poor. From this figure, over 50 *BKMs*, which categorised as very good and good respectively (much

more if we include the moderate), have established and become so powerful in the community because they managed the grants since the implementation of the UPP in early 2000. In such a case, it is not easy to ask these already established and powerful *BKMs*, which often dominated by community elites, to change their legal structure as required in the *PNPM*. Only with approaches and negotiations from *Korkot* and bureaucracy that the legal structure of *BKMs* in Surabaya can be gradually changed. This represents the strong evidence for partnerships between the three stakeholders

Conclusion

This paper has sought to analyse the partnership between bureaucracy, community, and facilitators- the three key stakeholders- in the implementation of *PNPM* urban in the city of Surabaya. Findings reveal that before *Pemkot* agreed to provide co-sharing funding for the implementation of *PNPM* in Surabaya, the implementation resulted not only in unsuccessful partnership between bureaucracy and community, but also problems within communities and amongst the three stakeholders. All were surrounding around the issues of struggle over power and capital. This has further threatened the achievement of good civil society and sustainability that seek to be realised in the program.

Fortunately, since *Pemkot* agreed to provide the co-sharing funding, there has been a more promising partnership between bureaucracy, community, and facilitator in the program and thus the achievement of good civil society and sustainability of the program. With such full commitments from these three stakeholders, however, continuous improvements in the program and within the three key stakeholders remain significant. In order to promote more (genuine) partnership amongst the three key stakeholders, more frequent scheduled meetings, both internally and externally are suggested, so that there are more opportunities for the stakeholders to sit-down together to strengthen their shared purposes, mutual respects, and effective negotiations.

Genuine partnership contributes to the achievement of the program's success. The successful implementation of *PNPM*, community, accordingly, will be self-regulating and empowered using their knowledge, skills, and values, source for the achievement of good civil society. Meanwhile by emphasising on *TRIDAYA*, means that *PNPM* has sought to incorporate the principles of sustainable

community development that is by reconciling three aspects development: ecological, social, and economical imperatives.

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