

Better Policies Better Lives™

KNOWLEDGE SECTOR INITIATIVE PARTNERS

A Journey of Change



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Foreword

The Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI) is a partnership between the Governments of Indonesia and Australia to promote evidence-based policymaking in Indonesia. Through support for a knowledge and innovation ecosystem and a holistic approach to evidence-based policymaking, KSI partnered with a range of actors and institutions in the knowledge ecosystem including policy research institutes (PRIs), think tanks, and media organisations.

The collection of articles in this book tells the story of their respective knowledge-to-policy journeys in their own words. Each article highlights different aspects of the knowledge-to-policy process, and how each organisation made improvements to their own institution and outreach, as well as making significant contributions to the knowledge and innovation ecosystem in Indonesia more broadly through their research, policy advocacy, and policy dialogue.

PRIs generate independent policy research that provides important perspectives and analysis to policymakers to help inform government policies and programs. KSI has provided long-term support to selected PRIs in Indonesia to strengthen their organisational development, research quality, research communication, and policy influence. PRIs have succeeded in developing clearer 'policy research pathways' by identifying strategic areas of policy research in line with their expertise and mandate, engaging policymakers early in the research process, ensuring high-quality research through peer review and the incorporation of a gender equality, disability, and social inclusion (GEDSI) perspective, and strategically communicating policy research results through policy dialogue and partnership with media organisations.

In addition, KSI engaged with strategic partners committed to research and advocacy on key institutional, funding, and governance issues in the knowledge and innovation ecosystem. These partners developed relationships with key government institutions, policy research institutes, academic associations, civil society organisations, and media groups to promote important reforms in support of independent research and partnerships between research institutes and government in public policy.

Finally, KSI engaged media partners as important intermediaries in the knowledge ecosystem to promote evidence-based public discourse and policy dialogue. These media partners play an important role in countering misinformation, providing the public with quality information, and providing a forum for constructive debate and discussion.

We express our deep gratitude and appreciation to all of KSI's partners and celebrate their respective journeys. Thank you for sharing your experience and for your ongoing commitment to evidence-based policymaking in Indonesia. Thank you as well to all stakeholders involved in the production of this book. We hope it serves as a resource for other policy research institutes, think tanks and media organisations in Indonesia, as well as for any knowledge-to-policy investments in the future.

As the KSI program comes to a close, we hope that our partners will continue to build relationships and networks and work together through collective action to promote evidence-based policy and strengthen the knowledge and innovation ecosystem in Indonesia.

Jana Hertz
KSI Team Leader

Opening Remarks

Over the last decade, the Australian Government and the Government of Indonesia collaborated to revitalise Indonesia's knowledge sector through the Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI). Through KSI, we established a partnership program between the Governments of Indonesia and Australia to strengthen evidence-based policymaking for inclusive and sustainable development. This partnership promotes better use of evidence in policy and practice to reduce poverty in Indonesia, promote democracy and sustainable economic growth.

Revitalising Indonesia's knowledge sector was an enormous effort, well beyond the scope of any one agency or development partner. In implementing the knowledge-to-policy program or the knowledge-to-policy process in Indonesia, KSI partnered with policy research institutes (PRIs) who are reputable, strong, and credible non-government or university-based organisations, experienced in providing high-quality and locally contextualised evidence aimed at improving public policy.

PRIs play a critical role in shaping public policy by providing an informed and independent voice in the policymaking process. KSI has been working with 16 PRIs to increase the quality and policy relevance of their research, improve their practice of evidence-based communication and advocacy for policy influence and strengthen their technical and financial skills, resulting in better analysis, broader networks and profiles, financial sustainability, and ultimately stronger influence.

This book showcases the different approaches of these PRIs in bridging gaps between research and policymaking through strategic efforts in designing and communicating policy research and building relationships with policymakers or policy networks. These include understanding the needs of policymakers regarding evidence, allowing sufficient time and resources for early policy engagement, being flexible in approaching policymakers, engaging with other actors in the knowledge sector, and fostering long-term institutional relationships with government institutions.

In addition to PRIs, KSI also works with strategic partners such as Indonesian Academy of Sciences (APII), Association of Indonesian Policy Analysts (AAKI), Eastern Indonesia Knowledge Exchange Organisation (BaKTI), Centre for Innovation Policy and Governance (CIPG) and University of Indonesia - Center for the Study of Governance and Administrative Reform (UI-CSGAR) to strengthen their institutional governance, as well as to promote awareness and competence on evidence-based policy both within and outside government. Through these partnerships, we have learned that collaboration is important in encouraging the advancement of knowledge-based policy in Indonesia and strengthening the knowledge-to-policy (K2P) concept to turn knowledge into policy-ready recommendations for policymakers.

KSI also invested in partnerships with the media to promote evidence-informed policy discourse. KSI supported media partners to leverage their core strength as a knowledge intermediary in the knowledge and innovation ecosystem, collaborate with other actors, and contribute to high quality policy dialogue. This publication documents how the media shares their learning in producing evidence-based journalism and how they actively promote the importance of the knowledge and innovation ecosystem.

Through KSI, the Australian Government is pleased to have supported the publication of this book to celebrate the strong commitment and hard work of these PRIs and strategic partners, as well as the journey of their robust partnerships with the Knowledge Sector Initiative. We express our highest appreciation and gratitude to all who have contributed and assisted in the preparation of this book. We hope the profiles and stories showcased within can serve as a call and an inspiration for all stakeholders to take part in and contribute to evidence-based policymaking in Indonesia.

Simon Ernst

Counsellor Development Effectiveness and Sustainability, Australian Embassy

Introduction

Strengthening Knowledge-to-Policy Efforts in Indonesia: A Collection of Journey of Change Stories from Policy Research Institutes, Strategic Partners and Media Partners

Primatia Romana Wulandari PhD, Dr Pingkan Umboh and Dr Budiati Prasetiamartati

It has been a quite common perception that how and when evidence is used often depends upon the political agenda and ideology of the government of the day, and oftentimes not on the nature of the evidence itself, however compelling. As the ways in which the evidence is used in the policy process are largely determined by the beliefs and values of policymakers, as well as by considerations of timing, economic costs, and politics, policy networks play a role in shaping policy agenda. Networks can shape the way policy is formulated, and in particular the way in which evidence is gathered and presented in policy formulation.

Communicating knowledge 'outputs' (such as scholarship and teaching, publications, or public, local or indigenous knowledge) and translating these into forms that contribute to evidence-based policymaking requires considerable policy design and coordination, institutional support, collaboration within policy networks and market incentives. How these processes are accomplished within different contexts will be different. Some of the conditioning factors include: national and local politics; national 'endowments' of history, geography and culture; the profile of national and local economies, institutional cultures and histories; existing legislative and regulatory frameworks; and the ways in which different knowledge actors exercise their mandates, individually and collaboratively.

Indonesia has a unique set of circumstances that makes system-wide coordination and cooperation in research and development challenging (Hertz et al., 2020;¹ Aminullah, 2020;² Siregar, 2020;³ Ekatjahjana et al., 2019;⁴ Pellini et al., 2018⁵). This context highlights the importance of a knowledge system approach that acknowledges the dynamic interactions between actors at the system level and how they must work together towards a clear vision and mutual accountability for bringing evidence-based policymaking into the policy process as a mainstream practice. The key elements at the system level in the knowledge sector are the processes, policies, politics, and people that shape its dynamic interactions.

¹ Hertz, JC, Brinkerhoff, DW, Bush, R, and Karetji, P (2020) 'Knowledge Systems: Evidence to Policy Concepts in Practice', Policy Brief, June 2020, RTI Press Publication No. PB-0024-2006. <https://doi.org/10.3768/rtipress.2020.pb.0024.2006>

² Aminullah, E (2020) 'STI policy and R&D governance for the attainment of SDGs: Envisioning the Indonesia's future', *Asian Journal of Technology Innovation*, 28 (2) Routledge, 204-233.

³ Siregar, Fajri (2020) 'Utility over Excellence: Doing Research In Indonesia' in Kraemer-Mbula et al, *Transforming Research Excellence: New Ideas from the Global South* (African Minds, 2020), <http://www.africanminds.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/AMT-Research-Excellence-FINAL-WEB-02012020.pdf>

⁴ Ekatjahjana, W, Heilmann, D & Hauerstein, K (eds.) (2019) *Regulatory Reform in Indonesia, A Legal Perspective*, Hanns Seidel Foundation with The Ministry of Law and Human Rights and Directorate General of Legislation, Jakarta

⁵ Pellini, A, Pramusinto, A & Fatoni, I (2018) 'Brokering Knowledge and Policy Analysis Within the Indonesian Public Sector', in A Pellini et al. (eds.) *Knowledge, Politics and Policymaking in Indonesia*, Springer Nature, Singapore 47-64.

Knowledge system connecting actors in the policy network

A knowledge system is a holistic conceptualisation that specifies a set of knowledge institutions and actors and delineates the interconnections among them (Hertz et al., 2020). The knowledge system in Indonesia is built upon the relationships and actor dynamics among the government, policy research institutes, and media organisations, as well as development practitioners working on knowledge system reforms and initiatives in the Indonesian context. Based on the Knowledge Sector Initiative's work in Indonesia, a knowledge systems model was developed. The model specifies four components and the relationships among them.

The primary components of the model concern the supply of, and demand for, knowledge and evidence. The supply component consists of the universities and policy research institutes that produce knowledge through research in that context; the demand component includes the users who consume knowledge. In Indonesia, these users are government ministries and agencies, policymakers at various levels, and members of parliament.

The other two components of the model relate to those actors that affect the links between knowledge producers and users. These we termed 'knowledge intermediaries' and 'knowledge enablers'. The intermediary component consists of a diverse group of actors—civil society organisations, the private sector, media organisations, and in some cases individual opinion leaders—who interpret, translate, disseminate, lobby, and/or debate knowledge, science, and policy issues.

Working with policy research institutes to improve quality knowledge production

Through the Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI), the Governments of Indonesia and Australia collaborated to support Indonesian policymakers to develop more effective development policies through better use of research, data, and analysis. KSI has been supporting 16 policy research institutes (PRIs) and think tanks in Indonesia to increase the quality and policy relevance of their research, improve their practices of evidence-based communication and advocacy for policy influence and strengthen their technical financial skills, resulting in stronger influence, profile, networks, and financial sustainability.

To meet the social and economic needs of the public, governments need data and analysis from a variety of sources that are timely, relevant and useful in informing their policymaking process. Through research, analysis and advocacy, PRIs and think tanks have been playing their roles in assisting this process by identifying core policy problems, providing evidence-based policy ideas, and promoting policy solutions.

To effectively use their knowledge to influence policy, PRIs need to be able to produce high-quality and policy-relevant research, and strategically engage their networks and advocate their analysis across the policy cycle. To maintain independence and promote its credibility in the eyes of its stakeholders and sponsors, the financial sustainability of a PRI is critical.

In addition to grants, a clear overarching Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) framework for PRI support was developed by KSI and technical support was provided to PRIs to strengthen their M&E approaches so they can monitor and evaluate the quality of their research processes and their progress in influencing policies. KSI also provided technical assistance of various kinds to produce business process tools that

focus on building connections with policymakers and research translation. This included the use of Program Logic, a strategic planning mechanism to design and support implementation and monitor the journey of research findings to influence policies. PRIs also map and analyse key stakeholders, including targeted policymakers, other policy actors or networks, and the media, all of which are important in opening and expanding the path to influencing policy and increasing their technical financial capabilities.

Each PRI chose their own development issues to focus on such as the economy, tolerance, health, human rights, and many others, and decided their own pathways in bringing their knowledge to influence their policy targets. This publication showcases the colourful journeys of the 16 PRIs that partnered with the KSI program.

In conducting their research, the PRIs have followed strict criteria on research quality, ensuring the robustness of their research method and its execution; the quality and influence of their literature reviews; the presence of peer review in the design and reporting phase; the assurance of key users that the results are relevant, timely, and useful; and evidence of uptake among targeted stakeholders. There will be stories about how The Paramadina Centre for the Study of Religion and Democracy (PUSAD Paramadina) collaborated with the Religious Affairs Ministry and their Centre of Religious Harmony (Pusat Kerukunan Beragama or PKUB), how Sajogyo Institute involved farmers' groups, how Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) documented the statements of policymakers, and how The Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta engaged teachers, all to ensure the relevance and timeliness of their research issues, the quality of their data and analysis, and the usefulness of their research recommendations to the policy context.

Most of the PRIs produced research that is sensitive to a gender equality, disability, and social inclusion (GEDSI) perspective, which was judged by evidence that the research seeks to provide recommendations to influence government policy toward improving the status of GEDSI groups; that GEDSI issues relevant to the research have been identified and clearly addressed in the research design, process, and analysis; and that a peer review was conducted of the research design and report to query whether GEDSI concerns were present and adequately addressed at every stage of the research. There will be stories of how Cakra Wikara Indonesia (CWI) was focused on improving representations of women in politics, how SurveyMETER supported the improvement of health services for senior citizens, how AKATIGA drove the increase in access for marginalised communities, women and youth to use village treasury land and how Center of Excellence of Science and Technology in Higher Education HIV AIDS Research Center for Excellence in Health Policy and Social Innovation Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia (PUI-PT PPH PUK2IS UAJ)'s research was conducted to increase health access for people with mental health issues.

PRIs engaged closely with policymakers throughout their research projects, from identifying the development/policy problem, to developing outcomes and the scope of research, to participating in the research itself, to discussing preliminary findings, to developing recommendations for policy and practice. This publication will show how PRIs advocated their research, such as how SMERU advocated for new ministerial policies on distant learning, how the Center For Health Policy And Management (PKMK) Faculty of Medicine, Public Health and Nursing Universitas Gadjah Mada advocated for the revision of the Health Care and Social Security Agency Law, how Institute for Research and Empowerment (IRE) advocated for the representation of village issues in the Medium Term Development Plan at the national

and regional levels, and how the Regional Autonomy Implementation Monitoring Committee (KPPOD) advocated for policy changes to the Job Creation Law and its derivative regulations.

PRIs then produced research reports, policy briefs, infographics and many other forms of knowledge products, and engaged other stakeholders, such as peer institutions, international organisations and the media to assess, analyse, and provide different perspectives on research results so they could be communicated effectively. These connections can be seen in the articles on the National Secretary Indonesian Forum for Budget Transparency (Seknas FITRA), who engaged their network in South Sulawesi, Institute for Policy Research and Advocacy (ELSAM), who engaged with the members of the Joint Secretariat of the National Action Plan for Human Rights, Article 33 Indonesia, who engaged with the Ministry of Education and provincial governments, and Center for Indonesian Law and Policy Studies (PSHK), who engaged with bureaucracies, academics and other civil society organisations, all to ensure effectiveness in communicating their research to address policy issues.

The collection of stories from these 16 organisations showcases the importance of integrating knowledge into policy through the support of PRIs, and shows the approach used by these institutions in producing research that can influence policy decisions. As the world's fourth most populous nation, with its 10th largest economy, it is critical for Indonesia to have well-informed government policies that can address its complex development challenges. It is crucial that strong, independent and sustainable PRIs are provided with the space to participate in public policy processes so they can play their role in informing public policies that are effective, efficient and inclusive.

Working with knowledge intermediaries to promote evidence-based policymaking

KSI works with the media as knowledge intermediaries to promote better communication of research findings and expert analysis to the public and improve the quality of public policy debate. Over the last two decades, media freedom in Indonesia has improved considerably and the number of media outlets has grown significantly. Despite this, there is still a serious shortage of high-quality, evidence-informed analysis on important public policy issues in the Indonesian media.

Katadata pointed out that it took them a decade, starting from their establishment in 2012, to create a general awareness on the importance of evidence-based reporting, both to the general public and policymakers. This is in line with CH Weiss's (1993) argument that it takes 10 years or more before decision-makers respond to the accumulation of consistent evidence. It is commonly understood that some knowledge is not immediately put to use in policies. New information and ideas enter people's consciousnesses and alter the way issues are perceived and framed. It works as knowledge creep, in which instilling knowledge over time is described as a slow trickle that produces slow results.

As observed by KSI's media partners, for decades, conversations between research funders, users, and producers have focused on different aspects of what evidence is, the roles it plays in policy and practice, and the different ways in which those roles can be enhanced and supported. Almost all agree that more attention should be paid to how evidence is discussed, made sense of, negotiated, communicated and eventually used.

Few academics and researchers engage with the public through the media, and researchers and academics who are interested in presenting evidence-informed perspectives on contemporary policy issues have limited space in the Indonesian media. Researchers who do find space often present convoluted arguments riddled with jargon. This is the gap that The Conversation Indonesia is trying to fill as they continue their mission to provide high-quality, evidence-based information sourced from academic experts to the public in the form of popular, digestible language. Using innovative digital technology platforms, the public can access research findings, analysis, explanations, and comments from experts on various important issues and can also engage in quality public debates on public policy issues.

At the local level, the role of knowledge intermediaries is showcased by the experience of the Eastern Indonesia Knowledge Exchange Foundation (*Bursa Pengetahuan Kawasan Timur Indonesia* or *BaKTI*) in implementing a knowledge-to-policy (K2P) process in South Sulawesi. In this pilot program, BaKTI supported the provincial government to identify a policy priority, build relationships with and engage external research providers to conduct research in line with this newfound agenda, and use the findings to inform policy. The pilot promoted a multi-actor and multidisciplinary approach to a knowledge-to-policy (K2P) process, that has the potential to influence future studies and be replicated in other areas. This pilot also acknowledges the existence of local knowledge that influences all components in the knowledge system, where it highlights the importance of explore a region's potential by considering its historical and cultural values.

Working with strategic partners to strengthen knowledge-to-policy efforts

KSI is supporting improvements to Indonesia's research environment by supporting Indonesian academics and researchers to do high-quality research that contributes to shaping public policy. Academics and researchers are central actors in any country's knowledge sector. When they are well-resourced and well-managed, they play an important role in helping to translate evidence into policy-ready advice for government. Thus, they should be seen as an important tool in thinking about the implementation of public policy, because they bring together the best minds on a subject and turn that experience into policy advice (Carden, 2016: 1). A strong research environment supports Indonesian researchers and academics to create knowledge that helps shape public policy and contributes to the public good.

Based on this rationale, KSI partnered with the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (*Akademi Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia* or *AIPi*) from 2014–2019. During this period, AIPi managed to strengthen its institutional governance and expand its network and influence. AIPi also gave birth to the Indonesian Young Academy of Sciences (*Akademi Ilmuwan Muda Indonesia* or *ALMI*), and the Indonesian Science Fund (*Dana Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia* or *DIPI*), the latter being an independent research funding agency in Indonesia that awards multi-year funding on a competitive basis through a peer review process. AIPi and ALMI focused their efforts on promoting and advocating research-based policy and science policy in Indonesia.

Policymakers are commonly aware that they need to use the results of research to achieve evidence-informed policy. This makes the provision of timely policy-relevant evidence and research important. As KSI's strategic partners, the University of Indonesia Centre for the Study of Governance and Administrative Reform (UI-CSGAR) and the Centre of Innovation Policy and Governance (CIPG) have been working closely with key government organisations to provide policy-relevant evidence and research.

UI-CSGAR and CIPG undertook policy research and turned it into policy briefs that summarised key findings, policy options and recommendations. The policy issues were discussed together with key government stakeholders to understand real-world contexts and to use this information to delineate research scope. In this regard, CIPG positions itself as a discussion partner for policymakers and conducts two-way communication to understand their needs. It focuses on an internal policy advocacy process, as a way to complement the external advocacy approach that is opted for by many CSOs and think tanks in Indonesia.

Think tanks can act as knowledge producers, but on many occasions are also knowledge intermediaries. The role of knowledge intermediaries can be taken up by think tanks and policy analysts to close the gap between policymakers and researchers and to develop the knowledge-brokering function within government entities. In Indonesia, the introduction of policy analysts as functional positions in the civil service was aimed at improving evidence-based policymaking and the quality of policy outcomes. Policy analysts also exist in non-government settings such as think tanks.

The Indonesian Policy Analysts Association (*Asosiasi Analis Kebijakan Indonesia* or AAKI) was founded in 2016, and has a membership open to policy analysts working in government (ministries, agencies, and sub-national governments) as well as in NGOs, other civil society organisations, universities, the private sector, and the media. The association is a professional organisation for policy analysts and constitutes a hub for policy analysts from various scientific disciplines to share experience, skills, and expertise. AAKI's story in this book covers the organisation's foundation, and highlights their potential to promote evidence-based policy and shape public policy by contributing their network, knowledge and experience to help ensure that policies are effective and benefit all citizens within the Indonesian bureaucracy.

In conclusion, the journeys of change within this book, written by 23 KSI partners, show that there have been sustained attempts to build communities and networks to help improve Indonesia's knowledge system. Throughout the stories, there is a need for a network which bridges these initiatives, helping them each articulate their key lessons for one another, and progress their conversations about how to do better research regarding evidence production, communication and use in evidence-based policymaking. Our contention is that we should keep this knowledge system vibrant and busy, producing new knowledge together, communicating it effectively to both targeted and broad audiences and learning from each other throughout the process. This requires investment in research on evidence production, communication and use, in virtual and real-world spaces for holding conversations, as well as in capacity and capability. Significant and important gaps have been identified in the Indonesian knowledge system, but identifying the particular and specific agendas to address these gaps must be a collaborative process.



1 The Journey of Strengthening Policy Research Institutes

1.1

Changes from Grassroots



Strengthening Villages Through Sustainable Policy Advocacy

Dina Mariana

Institute for Research and Empowerment (IRE) Yogyakarta

Mbak Cemlon, a mother of one, was confused when the pandemic began to hit Indonesia in March 2020. As a tourism actor in Karangrejo Village, Magelang, Central Java, located around the tourism area of Borobudur Temple, her main livelihood was disrupted.

Since the beginning of the pandemic, the government has gradually restricted tourism activities, starting with the Large Scale Social Restriction (PSBB) during the early stages of the pandemic and following up with the Enforcement of People's Activity Restriction (PPKM). Tourism, as an economic activity that invites crowds, became limited too. People were even restricted from passing through a tourism area unless it was for an emergency.

While tourism activities were stopped, life went on. Mbak Cemlon and the other people of Karangrejo Village were forced to think hard in order to survive in the face of this crisis and still earn an income. She then tried a business she had never thought of before: making instant drinks from spices.

'This village has many natural riches in the form of herbs for medicines, a legacy from our ancestors. This is proven from the sculptures or relief in Borobudur Temple, where someone was explaining medicinal techniques using herbs. I know it from the temple's conservation body, then I thought, why not rebrand this into a product with economic value?' said Mbak Cemlon.

Mbak Cemlon then asked several other women in her village. They were Mbak Mukayah, Bu Daimah, Mbak Lis, Mbak Mutiba, Bu Dasiyah, Bu Mud, Mbak Lia and Bu Wur. They became Mbak Cemlon's partners in revitalising the economy of Karangrejo Village. Together, they called themselves Pawon Rempah (translated literally as Spice Kitchen).

Besides tourism actors, farmers also felt the impact of the pandemic. This could be seen in Sendangagung Village, Minggir Subdistrict, Sleman District, Special Region of Yogyakarta. In this village, farming is the people's main livelihood.

When the pandemic hit, it took a toll on the income of people relying on the agriculture sector. Harvest during the pandemic made rice (paddy) abundant. On the other hand, demand stayed level, or even showed signs of declining, thus making the price fall. For example, per July 2020, wet rice was priced at Rp400,000 per quintal, while dry rice (grain) was Rp800,000 per quintal. Before the pandemic, the lowest price for wet rice was Rp500,000 per quintal and for dry rice it was Rp1,000,000 per quintal. It was even worse for horticultural commodities. The price of chili, which can usually reach Rp60,000 to Rp80,000 per kilogram, fell drastically to Rp6,000 to Rp8,000 per kilogram. This lowered price did not even cover the costs of planting chili in the first place.

Responding to this situation, the Sendangagung Village Government changed its budgeting strategy. As many as Rp600 million or 35 per cent of the Village Fund (DD) budget in 2020 was used to address COVID-19 through Conditional Cash Transfer (BLT). However, the distribution of BLT from this DD was not without its problems. This was because the recipient data based on the Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) was inaccurate. As a result, the BLT-DD program actually triggered social jealousy.

Community groups also tried to rise up by exploring online commerce. The women in PKK Sendangagung tried their luck by becoming 'online women sellers' or 'emak-emak online'. They sold various commodities through online platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp. The women's farmer group (KWT) also reaped the benefits. Their farming products were no longer distributed to middlemen, but to fellow villagers needing spice herbs, both for personal consumption and to be processed into health drinks. This KWT then became one of the economic recovery initiators in Sendangagung Village.

Strengthening village initiative

Stories from these two villages are one of the research findings of the Institute for Research and Empowerment (IRE) related to the response of village government and villagers to the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. The research, which was supported by Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI), was carried out in 2020.

The impact of the pandemic was not only felt by villagers, but also by the village government. In both villages, the village government's perception of the pandemic was similar. They were having difficulties with realising the central government's very centralistic policy, especially regarding budget usage during the pandemic. Fund allocation for BLT and labour-intensive cash programs drained their budget significantly. However, the recipient database was often inaccurate, thus creating conflicts both between villagers and the village government, and among villagers themselves.

This research did not end with findings regarding the pandemic's impact on the villagers' lives. More than that, the research was conducted to encourage people in these two villages to become resilient against the impact of the pandemic. The research's findings became the starting point for IRE to carry out advocacy and assistance to strengthen the community institutions in these two villages.

In Karangrejo Village, which is a tourism village, we consider the existence of the spice business group initiated by Mbak Cemplon as a ray of hope. We also asked them to make some kind of business plan so that they understood the orientation and direction of the spice business' development. Hopefully, this spice business can become an alternative livelihood, not only during the pandemic but also afterward.

Based on the business plan, there was hope that spices could become a tourism icon in Karangrejo Village. This is what we call transformative resilience for villagers during the COVID-19 pandemic.

We communicated this hope from Mbak Cemplon and the others to the Village Government (Pemdes), until eventually Pemdes gave its full support, mainly because Karangrejo had yet to produce a flagship product. Then came the idea of involving the women's farmers group (KWT) to plant spices. Next, the cooperation continued to expand. In addition to the KWT, who guaranteed the supply of raw materials, the Karangrejo Village-Owned Enterprise (BUM Desa) and the Tourism Village Group of Dolan Deso Karangrejo were also involved. BUM Desa helped with the capital side, while the Dolan Deso Group helped to promote spice products as a tourism package of spice education.

Strengthening village institutions has always been one of IRE's focuses. Here, institutions don't just refer to administrative institutions, but also to collaborations between elements in the villages to improve their mutual means of livelihood. That is why we use the social business or sociopreneur concept in this development. Social business is a business concept oriented towards the values of togetherness, caring for other people, and providing benefits for many people, especially vulnerable groups. This concept is more suitable to be developed because the goal is to build the village for the sake of people's welfare.

It was these values and principles that became the agreement between Pemdes and several groups collaborating in the spice-based business development in Karangrejo Village. From there, the concept of Spice Village or *Kampung Rempah* was conceived.

At the village level, IRE encouraged the development of a roadmap to develop *Kampung Rempah*. Pemdes Karangrejo positively welcomed its people's initiative and decided that spice was to become the new icon for Karangrejo Village after the pandemic. Pemdes was then urged to make village planning and budgeting that could support the *Kampung Rempah* roadmap.

Research findings in Karangrejo Village were also rolled out at the district level. IRE conducted a dialogue with Magelang District Government, conveying the research outcome and assistance process they had already done. As a result, the Agriculture Office of Magelang District gave its support for the spice development program in Karangrejo, providing seeds and product legalisation with the license of Household Industry Product (PIRT).

We did similar work in Sendangagung Village. In this village, the KWT had the potential to be mobilised because they got together quite often, and thus we considered them as a strategic group. IRE began by carrying out assistance to develop a road map for a community-based Integrated Agriculture Development, designed to be applicable until 2023. In the early stages, IRE conducted a Focus Group Discussion with the KWT and Pemdes Sendangagung. The main focus in 2021 was strengthening the institution of the KWT through various activities, such as routine meetings, assistance, and developing annual programs.

Alongside this process, the village was urged to facilitate the roadmap development through budget planning. As a result, Pemdes provided stimulus to three KWTs across three hamlets (*pedukuhan*), for the amount of Rp2 million each. This budget was included in the 2021 amendment budget.

At the district government level, despite no special policy or program, the support provided to this initiative was accommodated by existing programs across a number of Local Organisations (OPD). The development of the KWT, especially for Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSME) in the village, was finally accommodated by the Local Mid-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) of Sleman District for the period of 2021–2024. This served as a good start for the sustainability of the integrated agriculture roadmap in Sendangagung.

The experience in both of these villages showed that in a crisis situation like the pandemic, complicated aid bureaucracy forced people to find their own way to survive. If ignored, this could lead to declining solidarity. Therefore, research-based policy advocacy combined with counselling and assistance to community groups became the right approach. People can be encouraged to voice their aspirations and needs to the government, thus urging the government, especially at the village to the district level, to issue relevant and responsive policies.

From the village to the central level

What we did in these two villages was a part of IRE's commitment to strengthening villages, both from institutional and social community perspectives. For IRE, which was established in 1994, this effort began with the good governance program in the context of village autonomy in 2001.

With the support of KSI, in 2020 IRE could focus on conducting advocacy to include the issue of villages and rural areas into the National Mid-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). With our research outcomes for three islands in hand, namely Java, Sumatera, and Sulawesi, IRE proposed 12 rural issues to be included in the national development priority, such as village borders, village authority, assistance, asset management, and budget planning. Due to the difficulty of accepting all of these recommendations, Bappenas ultimately accommodated three issues to be included in RPJMN 2020–2024, namely village borders, strengthening the capacity of village government and community, and village assistance.

For IRE this was a significant achievement, because for the first time, these issues, especially the one regarding village borders, were being included in the RPJMN. Bappenas also conveyed its appreciation of IRE's work and hoped that IRE could scale up the advocacy coverage outside of Java.

In 2020, the second year of our KSI support, IRE tried to penetrate to the local government level. The goal was for the things already mandated in RPJMN 2020–2024 to be responded to by the local government. IRE selected two advocacy areas, namely Sleman District, and Gunungkidul District. The advocacy to the district government was done so that OPD could facilitate the needs of community groups through existing programs to improve the villagers' welfare. To prevent the approach from being a top-down one, we carried out a study at the local level to see which issues were developing there, in relation to the issue of village and rural areas and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic.

In the third year of our KSI support, IRE tried again to conduct deeper advocacy, all the way to the village level. Coinciding with the pandemic situation, IRE decided to assess the impact of the pandemic crisis on the village. Based on field findings, IRE conducted different assistance approaches in Karangrejo and Sendangagung.

Room for dialogue

The advocacy at the national, local, and village levels was successful thanks to KSI support, which enabled a sustainable advocacy process at various policy levels. In the past, IRE conducted most of its advocacy and assistance at the village and local levels. Reaching towards national level policy became the icing on the cake for the advocacy process that has been conducted by IRE all this time, especially because so many issues and policies at the local level are influenced by policies at the national level.

From this experience, it turned out that the biggest challenge in advocating national and local policies was the political aspect, considering that we worked with a development planning document that combined political and technocratic approaches. From the technocratic side, our study result served as a strong argument. But from the political side the challenge was much larger, because every elected head of state or local head could incorporate their vision and mission into the development document, often without any basis in quantitative or qualitative evidence. So far, we have addressed this type of challenge by holding a media campaign and dialogue with the president's staff.

In this context, we feel that KSI support has had a significant influence, because it gave us the flexibility to conduct advocacy at the national level. With our position at the local level (Yogyakarta), conducting advocacy directly in Jakarta would require great expense. KSI opened many arenas that serve as spaces for dialogue between very rich study results from research organisations and organisations with experience conducting assistance with state institutions. Because of this, we got to know BRIN, Bappenas, and so on. For us at the local level, who did not have close ties with the central government, these spaces were very meaningful and helped us to determine our advocacy strategy.

In addition, the long-term grant from KSI is very helpful, because long-term grant models are increasingly rare. With long-term support, we can plan our advocacy stages more flexibly.

This also impacted the knowledge management side. With a clear program plan, we can design our knowledge production according to its goals. These are academic research, policy papers, academic papers, policy briefs, policy memos, and so on. In the second year, taking into account the low levels of reading literacy at the local level, we tried to adapt our approach in terms of design and shape, not only through writing but also using podcasts and graphic video to help people understand our communications more easily.

Looking at the process that we have gone through, successfully advocating an issue using the bottom-up approach can be achieved through research activities, various discussions, and assistance involving many parties, starting from the village to the national level. In this process, besides funding, support in the form of access to spaces for dialogue that enable us to meet with the relevant parties was crucially needed. This experience became a strong foundation for us to implement various studies and subsequent advocacies.

Achieving Prosperity for Marginalised Groups by Giving Access to Village Treasury Land

Nofalia Nurfitriani and Charina Chazali
AKATIGA (Social Analysis Centre)

The village treasury land in Sidomulyo Village, Petanahan Subdistrict, Kebumen District, Central Java, is not only allocated for village officials, but can also be rented by the people, especially the Village Prosperity Land category. With a turn-based rent system and an affordable rental price, the governance of treasury land in this village opens more opportunities for marginalised communities⁶ to access land.

AKATIGA found this governance model during its research on the issue of food security and its relationship with job opportunities for young people in 2013. This research was carried out in 12 villages across Central Java, West Java, and South Sulawesi Provinces. One of the research locations, namely Sidomulyo Village, located in Kebumen District, Central Java, provided a significant insight into answering one of the research questions, which was related to the cause of young people's low interest in working in the agriculture sector. A finding from Sidomulyo indicated that the challenge of accessing agriculture land for young people influenced their declining interest in agriculture. Upon realising this problem, Sidomulyo Village implemented the good practice of providing access to village prosperity land so that it can be farmed by young people.

We further examined this finding in the second phase of our research, from August 2019 to May 2020. This time, the research was focused on 36 villages within Kebumen District. In this second phase, we took a closer look at the governance of village treasury land in Sidomulyo Village, because its village treasury land governance could be the solution to the issue of agriculture land access, especially in villages in Kebumen. For us in AKATIGA, access to agriculture land is particularly important, because in addition to being directly related to the issue of food security, it is also closely linked with job opportunities in villages, especially for marginalised poor, women, and youth groups. When land access for these groups is unlocked, they can farm and earn yields from their efforts, both in the form of money from harvests and food stock for their families' food security.

⁶ Marginalised communities are communities that do not have access to the policy to use Village Treasury Land, such as the poor, farm workers, farmers that own small lands, farmers with no lands, women heads of families, and persons with disabilities, both men and women.

The issue of job opportunities for marginalised groups has become one of our main focuses since our establishment in 1991. AKATIGA has been conducting a lot of research and advocacy on the issue of employment in the industrial sector, for example regarding factory workers. However, we also see that the issue of employment for marginalised groups lies in the agriculture sector. Therefore, we have been trying to come in to this sector and connect it with the issue of food security.

From site observations, the village treasury land is divided into three types. First, Tanah Bengkok, allocated for village officials. Second, Village Prosperity Land (*Tanah Kemakmuran*), which is one of the village's income sources, and can be rented to people. Third, the other lands that are generally designated for public facilities such as primary schools, community health centres, and so on.

Of these three land types, the village prosperity land is the only one whose access is open to the people. From a total of 31 hectares of village treasury land, every year Sidomulyo Village allocates 6 hectares of village prosperity land to be rented in turns by the local people. As much as possible, the rental price is set lower than the market price⁷. With this system, everyone has the opportunity to become a renter. In addition, Sidomulyo Village allocates land for youth organisations (*karang taruna*), so that young people can manage their own land.

The treasury land governance in Sidomulyo Village stands out because it is different from any other practices in other villages within Kebumen District. In other villages, the village prosperity land is also rented using a tender system. However, the tender system is based on the highest rent value, thus only people with more money can rent it. With this mechanism, there is little opportunity for marginalised poor people, women heads of households, and youth groups to access the prosperity land. Also, the prosperity land is often rented by the same people year after year, due to their close relationships to village officials. This is not to mention the limited documentation on village treasury land, which results in access to information on village treasury land that can be rented being unavailable to the people.

Based on this research outcome, we have been trying to advocate promoting policies that enable easier access to agriculture land for marginalised poor, women, and youth groups.

Policy advocacy

The findings of this research became material for discussion with various parties in Kebumen District. We found and submitted both good and less-than-good practices during the research to, among others, the Local Development Planning Agency (*Bappeda*) of Kebumen District, the Village Community Empowerment Office (*Disparades*) of Kebumen, the village head representative, the village council (BPD) representative, and the community representative. In this discussion, we conveyed the need for a regulation that can set the rules on the allocation of village prosperity land or treasury land in a better way, based on our research findings, namely a District Head Regulation.

Together with the Civil Community Forum (*FORMASI*) of Kebumen, we advocated this District Head Regulation (*Perbup*) on the governance of village treasury land to the Kebumen District Government

⁷ As an illustration, every 100 tiles (around 1400m²) of land in a fertile area is rented for about 2 million rupiah (compared with the general market price of 2.5–3 million).

through Dispermades. The development of this Perbup began by involving various parties who were involved in the discussion since the beginning.

To gain a more accurate depiction of the aspects that needed to be considered for the District Head Regulation on the governance of village treasury land, we initiated a pilot project on the arrangement of village treasury land in Podoluhur Village and Jatimulyo Village. The goal of this pilot project was to improve village treasury land management by developing a Village Regulation (*Perdes*) on village treasury land, which would also serve as an advocacy strategy for the Perbup. This pilot process provided an important insight into the issue of asset management of the village treasury land, and villagers' aspirations on the management or governance model going forward. This process also revealed an important flow of information in the management process, carried out according to the discussion mechanism at the villages.

From the research and pilot project outcome, the draft of the district regulation on the governance of village treasury land was simultaneously developed by including village treasury land management principles, namely openness, fairness, transparency, and inclusivity, as well as supporting food and environmental sustainability, and empowerment. This environmental sustainability principle is important in Kebumen, because many agricultural lands are excavated as materials to make roofs for houses. If left unchecked, this could lead to the deterioration of agricultural lands, as the area of fertile land continues to decrease.

After the district head regulation draft was developed, we conducted public consultations by inviting a number of offices and village representatives, including representatives from youth and women's groups, to discuss the Perbup draft, article by article. This was done to collect inputs and aspirations for the sake of a better developed Perbup. In addition, we also asked for expert opinions related to the content of the draft, including from Benjamin White, a rural sociology professor at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) Netherlands, and Alamsyah Saragih, a member of Ombudsman Indonesia from 2016–2021.

To ensure that this advocacy was in line with the vision of the District Head, an important stakeholder in the issuance of this regulation, we conducted an audience with the Kebumen District Head and Vice District Head in September 2020 to present our study results and show the importance of village treasury land-related policy for the welfare of poor and marginalised groups. Our presentation received a good response from the Kebumen District Head and Vice District Head, and gained an agreement to support the issuance of this regulation as a development innovation for poverty eradication in Kebumen.

Throughout its journey, advocacy efforts to encourage the birth of this Perbup have faced various challenges from the dynamics resulting from the Local Head Election (*Pilkada*) and the rotation of positions in a number of institutions. However, this regulation was eventually ratified by the Kebumen District Head as the Kebumen District Head Regulation No. 152 Year 2021 concerning the Use and Utilisation of Village Treasury Land. This regulation is expected to serve as the legal umbrella for more transparent, fair, and inclusive village treasury land management in Kebumen.

Inclusive governance

This Perbup was developed as a reference that includes the principles of inclusive village treasury land management, to tackle the issue of how difficult it is for poor and marginalised groups, women, and youth groups from the village to access agricultural lands. The technical implementation of this new

management strategy will be handed over to each of the villages. Therefore, villages are encouraged to create a Village Regulation (Perdes) to regulate the management of the village treasury land, just like in the two pilot villages.

The rules for individual villages are designed to prevent malpractice in managing the village treasury land. Determining the recipients for village treasury land allocation, for example, is based on the open, transparent, and inclusive mechanism of village discussion. The right to rent land is given in turns to the poor and marginalised groups in the village. The rental price is maintained at low levels so as not to become a burden for the renter.

Through these principles, we hope that the village treasury land (especially village prosperity land) in Kebumen District can be more easily accessed by poor and marginalised groups.

Knowledge-based advocacy

Our efforts to open job opportunities in rural areas in connection with the issue of food security have become more possible by making knowledge the basis for our advocacy. We also apply similar patterns in our other work.

An example is in advocating for the Swakelola Tipe III goods and service procurement mechanism. We began this effort in 2015 when, along with a number of other civil society organisations, we collaborated with the National Public Procurement Agency (LKPP) to encourage the issuance of a regulation that clarified the involvement of civil society organisations (CSO) in government goods and services procurement (PBJ). We encouraged adding one new mechanism in procurement through Swakelola, namely the Swakelola Tipe III mechanism, which can engage CSOs with legal entities of foundations and associations as the implementer of the Swakelola.

This mechanism introduces a new paradigm, since it allows civil society organisations (CSOs) to play a bigger role in development. Not only can they assist the government in planning and realising development, this mechanism can also support CSOs to sustain themselves. This mechanism was then successfully added to the Presidential Regulation Number 16 Year 2018 concerning Government Goods/ Services Procurement (PBJ), and continued to be strengthened as the regulation was updated, namely in Presidential Regulation Number 3 Year 2021 concerning the Amendment to Presidential Regulation 16/18 concerning PBJ.

After the Presidential Regulation regulating Swakelola Tipe III was ratified, AKATIGA, along with the National Public Procurement Agency (LKPP), and supported by Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI), encouraged the implementation of Swakelola Tipe III. This effort was done through a series of socialisation activities, including making a video and pocket book on Swakelola Tipe III. In addition, together with a coalition of a number of CSOs in the *LinkLSM* Consortium, we are building a database of competent CSOs that are qualified and able to become implementers of Swakelola Tipe III work.

In the process to promote the scale of Swakelola Tipe III, AKATIGA tried to implement the Swakelola Tipe III mechanism with the Coordinating Ministry for Economics, Finance, and Industry (Kemenkoekuin). During this collaboration, we were asked to conduct a COVID-19 impact study in Bekasi District and Bogor City. This process gave us new insights on the challenges and strategies for implementing

Swakelola Tipe III, material which we can share as part of the process of promoting its implementation across a wider network.

Learning

Going forward, we will still continue a number of activities supported by KSI. One of them is promoting job opportunities in rural areas. In addition, development of the CSO database to promote Swakelola Tipe III implementation will also be continued.

Based on what we have been doing with KSI support, we can learn many lessons. Ever since 2012, KSI has played a strong role in helping us to work on one core issue, namely how to improve or develop job opportunities for young people, especially in rural areas. We experienced the core grant support phase from KSI, which gave us room to build our internal capacity and management, as well as AKATIGA's research quality. Investment in the internal management of policy research organisations, with support provided over a significant period of time, is a mark of KSI's support excellence. In this second phase, we can use what we already have to open more rooms with stakeholders, especially for policy changes or improvements.

Besides funding support, KSI also provides enrichment on policy advocacy strategy. AKATIGA has done policy advocacy, but our advocacy efforts done with KSI support have felt more systematic. The intended target of change becomes clearer. In addition, we also improved our knowledge on policy advocacy strategy, from the village to the national level. All of these stages begin from research as a way to obtain evidence to promote policy change.

In the process, we have collaborated with other organisations, both from the government and non-government. This collaboration process was not easy, because each organisation has its own priorities. In addition, the methods for conducting advocacy also differ across organisations. However, KSI support has enabled us to collaborate to promote policy change. The insights we gained from these activities with KSI will be very useful for our future advocacy efforts.

Promoting Inclusive Agrarian Reform From the Grassroots Level

Maksum Syam and Ahmad Jaetuloh
Sajogyo Institute

The presence of women in community discussions on land redistribution is now common in Bunga Village, Palolo Subdistrict, Sigi District, Central Sulawesi. No fewer than eight women are actively involved in each meeting session.

The involvement of women in these types of forums is crucial, considering women are also one of the main targets of agrarian reform. Previously, the role of women in land discussions was minimal. This cannot be separated from their position in society, which was often placed within the domestic domain. Therefore, Sajogyo Institute, which facilitates community meetings to discuss agrarian reform, always ensures that women are involved.

For Sajogyo Institute, agrarian reform aims to change the existing land control structure so that it can be more inclusive. The targets of our agrarian reform are small-scale rural farmers with limited land, or no land at all. The Basic Agrarian Law (UU PA) Year 1960 was the starting point of these efforts. As the situation developed, we also began to promote agrarian reform for marginal groups in urban areas.

One of the founders of Sajogyo Institute, Pudjiwati Sajogyo, has been observing the role of women in the agrarian sector since the 1970s. Women are important actors in farmers' households. During the green revolution, women were driven away from their farmlands due to emerging agricultural technologies. As a result, they took on greater roles in the domestic domain, where their work was rarely factored into economic calculations. Therefore, revitalising the role of women in the agrarian sector is a matter of great importance.

In the law, the targets of agrarian reform are not differentiated by gender. However, in the field, the division of land is affected by a number of factors that inhibit women's access to land. Because of this, the issue of land redistribution for women in the context of agrarian reform needs to be continuously raised. Women need to be involved in all agrarian reform stages, starting with the Agrarian Reform Object Land (TORA) proposal, TORA's committee membership, and including land inventory taking and data collection. Women need to be present in four agrarian elements, namely ownership, control, use, and utilisation.

In addition to focusing on the role of women in matters of agrarian reform, Sajogyo Institute has also conducted a number of studies into the status of women in the ecological crisis and in concession areas, such as mining, plantation, and so on. These studies used the participatory action research method. Researchers stayed in villages over a long period of time in order to blend in and gain a deeper understanding of the issues faced by the local women. From this activity, we found a number of people with the initiative to change the situation in their neighbourhood.

Eva Bande was one of them. In 2016, she, along with a number of Sigi people, formulated an agrarian reform program in Sigi District. She communicated intensively with the Sigi District Head at the time, Irwan Lapata. Assisted by a number of academics and agrarian reform experts, Eva and her associates formulated a district level agrarian reform program. This effort encouraged the issuance of District Head Decree Number 590–529 Year 2016 on the Establishment of Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA) of Sigi. The task force, chaired directly by the Sigi District Head, then proposed that the conflict lands in Bunga Village be made as TORA.

Eva Bande's role in the establishment of the task force in Sigi is a prime example of the importance of women's involvement in the agrarian reform movement. Since 2014, Eva has been involved in the learning and advocacy process held by Sajogyo Institute. In 2016 and 2017, Eva participated in the study on women's involvement in 11 research locations. In this study, we explored issues facing women, especially in the agrarian sector. In a number of locations, women were able to initiate change despite their difficult circumstances. Eva Bande, who is currently the secretary of the task force in Sigi, has been a collaboration partner of Sajogyo Institute for a long time. In mid-2020, we decided to collaborate with GTRA Sigi to promote the acceleration of agrarian reform in Sigi District, especially in Bunga Village and Balumpewa Village.

Agrarian conflicts in rural areas

Bunga Village is one of a number of villages where the people had been involved in an agrarian conflict. That is why this village became one of the locations we chose to promote agrarian reform from the bottom up. We conducted this effort through a series of participative action studies, collecting stories and data as the basis for proposing a change towards pro-people agrarian policies.

The story of agrarian reform efforts in Bunga Village began in 1996. At the time, Donggala District Government, which included the area containing Sigi District before expansion happened, issued a license to open an area of land of around 107 hectares to PT Tulus Sintuwu Karya (TSK). Based on the data conveyed to Sajogyo Institute by the Sigi Local Office, the license for Business Use Right (HGU) for PT TSK will be in effect until 2033. The land located in Bunga Village was planned to be turned into a chocolate plantation that was promised to bring benefits to the local people, both in the form of opening road access to people's farms and by providing job opportunities. In addition, PT TSK also promised not to cut down the sugar palm trees, which were the local people's most valuable trees.

PT TSK began by clearing the land, cutting down tree species including magnolia, palapi, aghatis, and even the sugar palms that they had promised not to touch. However, after all of the trees were felled, they only planted chocolate trees in 2 of the 107 hectares of land. These chocolate trees were also poorly maintained, and never made it to harvest. Meanwhile, the remaining 105 hectares were left high and dry.

Without any guarantee of jobs from the company, and a lack of access to other agriculture land, the people of Bunga Village decided to take the initiative and claim the land as their own in the 2000s. The peak of this agrarian conflict occurred in 2010, when the villagers conducted *mapalus* (an activity to clear forest land for agriculture), but were reported to the police by an employee of PT TSK. Their efforts to revitalise HGU land that had clearly been left abandoned by the HGU holder were challenged by fellow villagers working for PT TSK. This triggered a horizontal conflict, and a number of villagers from Bunga Village were reported to the police and charged with trespassing.

After more than 20 years without any meaningful plantation activities, the Local Office of the National Land Agency (BPN) of Central Sulawesi sent three warning letters to PT TSK. After receiving no response, they proposed to declare 77 hectares of PT TSK's HGU land as abandoned land. But this information did not immediately reach the ears of the villagers.

In Sigi District, this kind of land distribution chaos has not only happened in Bunga Village. Similar issues were also experienced by the people of Balumpewa Village in Dolo Barat Subdistrict. This situation led to some people promoting agrarian reform in their region.

The agrarian conflicts that took place in the aforementioned villages in Sigi District are just some of the many agrarian conflicts in Indonesia. This type of agrarian conflict has been the focus of Sajogyo Institute's work since it was established in 2005. Through research, education, training, and policy advocacy, Sajogyo Institute develops knowledge to promote agrarian justice and village independence. Besides the work done in Bunga and Balumpewa Villages in Sigi District, Sajogyo Institute has also conducted a similar effort in Bumirejo Village, Dampit Subdistrict, Malang District, East Java.

Strengthening farmer's groups

In agrarian reform efforts, strong farmer's organisations are crucial, in addition to data accuracy and political will from the government. Therefore, our efforts to promote policy change are not only done at the central level. Sajogyo Institute also moves at the grassroots level, because policies at the central level affect the fate of farmers.

The current agrarian reform policy (Presidential Regulation or *Perpres* 86), which uses the scheme of land legalisation or certification, for example, can create new problems instead of providing equitable ownership. Land legalisation without redistribution can reinforce the land control gap. The rich may get richer. Thus, before entering the legalisation phase, land mapping must be done so that we can see who deserves to be the object of TORA. With more accurate land control data, land redistribution will be more correctly targeted, thus reducing gaps in equality.

Sajogyo Institute, like other Civil Society Organisations (CSO) and even the government, cannot carry out research to ensure accurate data alone. Engaging farmer's groups is absolutely necessary to this process, because they are the ones who best understand the situation on the ground. That is why strengthening farmer's groups is key. Besides allowing for more participative land mapping, strengthening farmer's groups is also important for promoting policy change.

With strong organisations, efforts to change the land control structure become more possible. These farmer's organisations will be the ones speaking directly to the relevant government institution regarding their need for land based on the collected data. Sajogyo Institute simply plays a role as facilitator. We did this in Sigi and Malang Districts.

Actively involving Local Farmer's Organisations (OTL) or farmer's groups that are the beneficiary candidates of TORA is also practiced by Sajogyo Institute in other regions. In Malang District, Sajogyo Institute engaged the South Malang Farmer's Communication Forum (*Forkotmas*). In addition, collaboration is always done with local CSOs, university student communities, local academics, and other individuals with the spirit to promote agrarian reform. After processing the data that was collected via participative action, Sajogyo Institute works with OTL and farmer's groups to promote the agrarian reform policy process to the relevant parties, namely the local Environmental and Forestry Office (*LHK*) and Agrarian and Spatial Planning Office/National Land Agency (*ATR/BPN*).

In addition to the involvement of farmer's and marginal groups, including women, efforts to promote agrarian reform also need pro-farmer policies. Therefore, at the national level, Sajogyo Institute, along with the agrarian reform network, are actively and consistently involved in developing the draft of the Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 86 Year 2018 on Agrarian Reform. Even though not all the important issues were included, at least one, namely redistribution, managed to become a mandate in this regulation. We have facilitated efforts to promote this agrarian policy change at the local level, Our work in Bunga, Balumpewa, and Bumirejo Villages were some of these efforts.

The inclusion of Sajogyo Institute's recommendation in this policy is the result of a long journey of campaigning for agrarian reform. Agrarian reform aims to improve people's welfare by rearranging the structure of land ownership, control, use, and utilisation in a fairer manner. As a result, the issue of agrarian reform is closely tied with conflicts of interest between various parties. The government plays a crucial role in reducing the gaps in land control and ownership to create a more just agrarian system, as mentioned in Perpres Number 86 Year 2018 on Agrarian Reform.

To best promote the issue of agrarian reform, agrarian reform campaigns also need to broaden their reach. We tried to engage groups outside of agrarian activists with this issue by targeting young people. Sajogyo Institute collaborated with a number of universities, including Malang State University (*Universitas Negeri Malang*), Brawijaya University (*Universitas Brawijaya*), Diponegoro University (*Universitas Diponegoro*), Pattimura University (*Universitas Pattimura*) and others, to hold a series of public lectures on agrarian reform. The material presented at each of these lectures was adjusted to better reflect the problems facing the local area where the campus was located. We will continue this pattern going forward, and by doing so, we hope the issue of agrarian reform can reach young people. Moreover, in the future, we hope that agrarian reform will be closely related to the issue of farmer regeneration.

Challenges

Although the agrarian reform issue is increasingly accepted by various parties, there are still plenty of challenges in both the regulatory and implementation domains. On the one hand, the government did issue a regulation that could promote accelerated agrarian reform, Perpres Number 86 on Agrarian Reform. However, the government also issued the Job Creation Law, several aspects of which are

contradictory to the agrarian reform mission, for example, the parts related to Land Bank. Therefore, there needs to be a more operational regulation that is in line with Law Year 1960.

Sajogyo Institute collaborated with various intermediaries to propose a revision to the Agrarian Reform Perpres. There are two main points to this revision proposal. The first is to make the president the head of the agrarian reform national team. This is needed so that the president can directly decide on issues related to agrarian reform implementation, something that has been hindered in the past by sectoral issues. The second is related to GTRA membership, in which Sajogyo Institute encourages the inclusion of Farmer's Organisations as part of GTRA membership.

This Perpres revision will remain Sajogyo Institute's primary agenda moving forward. In addition, we will also continue our efforts to engage women, strengthen farmer's groups, and popularise agrarian reform among young people and other mainstream groups.

Strong foundation

Throughout our recent efforts, Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI) has provided the support that has enabled Sajogyo Institute to achieve many things in promoting agrarian reform. KSI's support has enabled Sajogyo Institute to conduct studies that have become the foundation for our policy advocacy. Study results on the land inequality/gap, for example, give an important understanding that every tenurial governance study must always consider the inequality of land control.

With KSI's support, Sajogyo Institute can work freely at the macro, meso, and even micro policy levels. At the macro level, for instance, we try to use the policy change approach through research outcomes with the national government. At the meso level, we conduct critical collaboration and also promote policy change at the regional or local government level. At the micro level, we can build groups at the community level, educating local communities on the definition of agrarian reform and what their rights are. All of these are possible with KSI's flexible support.

In addition, because research and advocacy related to agrarian reform can be a long process, KSI's long-term support has been instrumental in making several achievements possible. During the COVID-19 pandemic, KSI provided opportunities for Sajogyo Institute to develop online forms of data collection and distribution of research outcomes. KSI also supported us in popularising the agrarian reform issue. Cooperation with a number of campuses was only possible thanks to KSI's support. With their help, agrarian reform is now a discourse that can grow not only among activists, but also on campus and among young people, as well as within the government. KSI's support for Sajogyo Institute in promoting agrarian reform has become a strong foundation for us to oversee an inclusive agrarian reform that begins from the grassroots level.

1.2

Guiding Policy Intervention



Promoting Tolerance Through Religious Education

Dita Kirana

The Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta

Many people spoke out about the Student Worksheet (LKS) for the Islamic Education subject for Senior High School (SMA) students in Jombang District, East Java, when it was distributed in 2015. In it, there was an illustration suggesting acts of violence towards people with different religions or faith.

This LKS was developed by the Islamic Education Teacher Forum (MGMP) of Jombang District. They copied the material found in the LKS in its entirety from the *Islamic and Character Education for 11th Grade* textbook, published by the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud).

The widespread response to this LKS content became one of the main reasons for us at the Islamic Study Centre and State Islamic University Community of Syarif Hidayatullah or *Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah (PPIM UIN)* to conduct research into whether similar content existed in other Islamic Education (PAI) books. We carried out this research on PAI books taught in general schools, both books published by Kemendikbud and private publishers. We chose PAI books in general schools because the curriculum in religious-based schools like *Madrasah* had more religious content. We reported the research outcome in two books, namely *The Portrait of Religious Teachers (Potret Guru Agama)* and *Intolerance in PAI Textbooks (Intoleransi di Dalam Buku Teks PAI)*, both published in 2018.

Through this research, we found many PAI textbooks which contained content that did not promote tolerance and appreciation towards differences. In addition to messages allowing violence against people of different religions and faith, they also contained content related to extremism and radicalism. For example, we found both literal translations of Qur'an verses that were presented without any understanding of the context of the era, and solicitation to change the country's system of government by establishing a caliphate-based Islamic country. We found these types of content in PAI books from Kindergarten (TK) to General Senior High School (SMU) levels.

We conveyed these findings to stakeholders. We also presented it in a number of discussion forums attended by government and school representatives. In one of these meetings, we received information from a teacher regarding the reason content related to extremism and radicalism was present in PAI books. We were told to check the content of PAI's Core Competency and Basic Competency (KIKD).

KIKD, which was developed based on the Regulation of the Minister of Education and Culture Number 37 Year 2018, was the reference document for developing PAI books that would become materials to teach PAI in general schools.

We took this advice, and through studying the KIKD we were able to find many examples of ambiguous content, which opened opportunities for extreme and radical interpretations to be included in PAI books. For example, there was a point that linked congregational prayers with communal work without proper explanation, despite the fact that these two things did not have the same exact meaning. This ambiguity could result in multiple interpretations when translating the content into learning materials. There was also a point connecting qurban sacrifice with caring for the environment. The meaning of environment in this context, whether one shared by one particular group or more broadly than that, was not explained.

We continued to explore KIKD further, so that we could carry out advocacy to help correct this issue. The goal was to promote changes to the development process of PAI books, so that they no longer contained content related to extremism and radicalism. For us at PPIM UIN, this step was a part of the broader effort to develop and spread the richness of Indonesian Islamic traditions across various levels to enrich lives and humanitarian values in a wider context. We have been engaged in this effort ever since our establishment in 1994, making progress through various strategic studies on religion and social issues to influence policy changes, especially related to Islamic Education.

Promoting change

To begin the process of promoting an improvement in PAI competency, we conducted research on PAI-related KIKD, cooperating with the Research and Development Agency (*Balitbang*) of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (*Kemenag*) in May 2019. Through this research, we produced a comparison paper (*naskah sanding*) and three policy briefs containing research recommendations.

We conveyed these research findings and recommendations during a meeting with three institutions authorised to revise competency, namely the Directorate of Islamic Education (PAI) of *Kemenag*, The Centre for Curriculum and Books (*Puskurbuk*) of *Kemendikbud*, and the National Education Standards Board (*BSNP*). In this meeting, we underlined the importance of promoting tolerance and respect toward differences in KIKD for PAI. We considered this meeting a crucial step, because for the first time, these three institutions understood that there was a problem with the content of PAI books coming from KIKD.

Regulation-wise, KIKD for PAI was developed by *Kemendikbud*, but developing it required collaboration with *Kemenag*. We needed to clarify the extent of their respective roles to determine at which points KIKD development was experiencing problems. From this investigation, we found that even though according to the regulation *Kemendikbud* needed to cooperate with *Kemenag*, in practice, the former played the larger role in KIKD development, and their discussion and content-checking processes with the latter were less than optimal.

Therefore, we encouraged the Directorate of PAI of *Kemenag* and *Puskurbuk* *Kemendikbud* to revise the KIKD. We also continued our communication with *BSNP*, which at that time was yet to be dissolved.

We tried to encourage BSNP to create a religious education standard to include in the KIKD. Our efforts garnered a positive response from BSNP. The learning focus book issued by BSNP was revised after they accepted our inputs. But, before the content of the book could be published, BSNP was dissolved, leaving the fate of the learning focus book unclear.

Overall, we made two recommendations as part of the revision. In addition to referring back to our research findings on KIKD's contents, we developed these recommendations by asking for input from Islamic education teachers and representatives from parents. The first recommendation was related to the importance of including more content on citizenship education. This was needed as an effort to promote tolerance and respect toward differences. The second recommendation was related to the simplification of competencies. At the time of this investigation, there were 684 competencies in PAI, which was deemed to be too many. We held a discussion about the high number of competencies with Islamic education teachers and found that so many competencies combined with limited teaching time made teaching all of these competencies to students less than ideal.

It was not easy to encourage making these changes to stakeholders. Initially, our findings were often denied, despite clearly being supported by evidence, which made the discussion process quite tough. However, after meeting many times to discuss the matter, communicating with these stakeholders became easier.

We were not working alone during this advocacy process. Besides involving Islamic education teachers, both in the KIKD evaluation stage and during recommendation formulation, we also engaged the Centre for Education and Policy Studies (PSPK). As an organisation focused on education policies, PSPK also produced a comparison paper (*naskah sanding*) recommending the revision of PAI competencies by adding more citizenship education-related materials. We invited PSPK to a number of meetings to present their findings.

From August to October 2020, Puskurbuk and the Directorate of PAI worked to develop their version of the KIKD revision. Some of our recommendations were adopted in this revision. In addition to adding the content of citizenship education, the number of PAI's basic competencies was decreased from 684 to 120. This revision was enshrined in the Decree of the Minister of Education and Culture Number 958/P/2020 on the Learning Achievements of Early Childhood, Primary Education, and Secondary Education, issued on 20 October 2020.

From research to policy

As a research organisation operating under a university regulated by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, at first PPIM UIN was more focused on study and research. Our meeting with Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI) in 2016 led us to take further steps. We were challenged to further use our research outcomes so that they did not end up collecting dust on a bookshelf. To that end, we tried to promote our research outcomes to influence policies in accordance with our focus on religious lives in Indonesia. Since the change, every research activity we undertake must now have the goal of influencing policy, or at least serving as a matter of consideration for policymakers.

The process of shifting from simply being a research organisation to a research organisation that also advocates policy change was not without its challenges. Often, key parties to policy change felt hesitant to implement our proposed changes, thus rejecting our recommendations. To overcome this challenge, we strategised by approaching figures or institutions structurally above the institution we were actually targeting. For example, when we had difficulties communicating with Pusurbuk Kemendikbud during the early stages of our relationship, we instead approached the Centre of Research and Policy (Pusijak) of Kemendikbud, which was positioned a level above Pusurbuk.

In addition to that, we utilised the close proximity of personal relationships to support our advocacy. Thus, building and maintaining personal networks was also key. These types of relationships would make it quicker and easier to open useful opportunities and access advocacy efforts. We undertook various advocacy strategies like these based on input from KSI.

As a part of our efforts to promote research to policy advocacy, KSI also assisted us with monitoring our program implementation, so that we could see how our research and advocacy was contributing to policy change.

Organisational management

The decision to enter into the policy advocacy domain required us to build our organisational capacity. Previously, we had been working with a modest system. We had neither a written vision and mission nor a strategic plan (*renstra*) and planning document. With KSI's support, we were able to introduce and manage these aspects.

Another KSI program that was also very helpful to the organisational sustainability of PPIM UIN was the investment support offered by KSI. As we were one of the leading organisations on social-religious issues, some of our senior researchers had their own activities going on within or outside campus. There were also some who were in structural positions at the university. As a result, the number of researchers at PPIM UIN had been decreasing. In addition, we realised that caderisation was not running for several years, and this could affect our organisational sustainability and the quality of our knowledge production. Through KSI's investment component, we could attempt to fill this resource void, especially in regard to our researchers. We realised that as a research organisation, PPIM UIN couldn't grow if we didn't recruit and retain competent researchers. Therefore, we applied for the researcher capacity-building program.

We allocated this program towards our existing researchers, as well as those who would be needed in the future, in various focus areas of PPIM UIN. This program was divided into three parts. The first was the program for fresh graduates. This program was intended for students who would become PPIM's assistant researchers in the future. The second was the program to build young researchers' capacity in project management governance. The third was the program for young lecturers who had completed their doctoral education overseas with a scientific background not yet acquired by PPIM UIN. So far, the first program has been implemented with 20 participants. Four of them have joined us in our research. The second program has also been implemented. We are currently in the process of implementing the third program. During this process, we prioritised recruiting female researchers, and we now have more female researchers than ever before. Now we can continue to raise gender and disability-related issues in our research.

The investment component program has also led to a significant improvement in the management of our Standard Operational Procedures (SOPs), especially our Employment SOP. In addition, we are making other improvements, including developing PPIM UIN's strategic plan, which will make our future work more organised. We were also introduced to a better financial system, with good audit results earning us the trust of more donor organisations.

The support from KSI throughout the last several years has allowed us to learn many things. We felt that we really needed a program to promote research to influence policy in Indonesia, just like the one implemented by KSI. What we have achieved with KSI's support serves as a great example moving forward, and we will try to do even better in the future.

Providing More Meaning to Evidence-Based Inclusive Policy in Indonesia

Athia Yumna and Ulfah Alifia
The SMERU Research Institute

When schools are closed and learning is done remotely, how do teachers and students adapt?

This question surfaced in a chat among a number of researchers in The SMERU Research Institute as soon as the Ministry of Education and Culture (*Kemendikbud/Kemdikbud*) announced the enforcement of remote learning (*PJJ*) in March 2020, not long after the first COVID-19 case was announced by President Joko Widodo. This question was raised especially because the closing of schools was done simultaneously throughout the country, not just in areas with high numbers of COVID cases. We can immediately imagine the fate of students and teachers in areas with a lack of telecommunication infrastructure.

As an independent organisation that has been conducting policy research and studies since 2001, education issues have been one of SMERU's main focuses, and thus we felt that we needed to immediately respond to the impact of the pandemic on the world of education. Since 2015, for example, SMERU has been managing the RISE Program (Research on Improving Systems of Education) in Indonesia. This is a multi-state research program to support the improvements of student learning all over the world.

Following on from the question about the impact of *PJJ*, we decided to conduct research focusing on learning inequality during the pandemic. The goal was to swiftly capture the adaptation process to this policy, especially by teachers. However, swift research alone was not enough. The researcher team also wanted to produce deep analyses. Therefore, the research was done both quantitatively and qualitatively.

To carry out this study, SMERU regularly communicated with *Kemdikbud*, including the Directorate General of Teachers and Education Staff, Ministerial Special Staff, and Primary Education Working Group (*Pokja*). We were able to obtain data on research respondents more easily through this cooperation.

The first step of the quantitative analysis was performed through an online survey from 15 April–10 May 2020. This survey involved teachers who registered for the Subsidised Pre-service Teacher Certification Program (*PPG*) for the Primary School Education study program (*PGSD*) in 2017. We sent the survey via email to a total of around 4,000 teachers. Of this number, only around ten per cent of teachers replied. Next, the qualitative research was conducted through interviews via telephone with teachers, principals,

and students' parents or caretakers. Respondents for this research stage were selected by considering diverse locations (inside Java and outside Java), type of school (private and public), and schools in urban and rural areas.

Increasing inequality

The initial research findings indicated that the negative impact of the school closure policy during the COVID-19 pandemic was felt more by students outside of Java, due to factors including ineffective learning processes due to limited facilities and teachers' lack of creativity and competency to adapt.

During this research, teacher competency was measured based on the pedagogic ability test, which was one of the components tested in the selection exam to join the PPG PGSD program in 2017. Looking at the respondents' places of residence, most of the highly competent teachers lived in Java.

High competency teachers generally made greater efforts to improve learning quality than low competency ones. At the same time, most of the low competency teachers only used one approach in teaching. There were even teachers who did not teach at all once the PJJ policy was enforced.

Outside of the teachers' competency factor, infrastructure inequality was also a challenge. Not all students got the opportunity to regularly learn amid the pandemic. This was because of the unequal access to communication tools and infrastructure.

To deepen the PJJ impact analysis, we conducted a PJJ practice mapping study in various regions in Indonesia from April–June 2020. The results indicated that PJJ activities made the existing inequality gap even wider. Students without highly competent teachers teaching them, access to devices with sufficient features, internet access, parents' assistance, and facilities for online learning would lose the learning opportunity they used to receive in normal conditions. On the contrary, students in high-quality schools, with wealthier families, and more caring parents could continue to learn optimally during the pandemic.

If these conditions persisted, students stuck in an unfortunate situation could potentially suffer from declining learning ability. Learning inequalities or gaps between students with different social and economic backgrounds would get worse. The same goes for inequalities between students in the same class. Students with low academic ability could potentially get left further behind than their classmates with higher academic ability. Therefore, teachers could use the same way to teach materials to students, even if these students were in the same class.

Timely policy

Based on this research, SMERU recommended systematic efforts to improve the quality of learning from home during PJJ. This was important to ensure that lower-achievement students would not get left even further behind. One of these efforts was through diagnostic mapping of students to examine their loss of learning time. From this diagnostic mapping, teachers could learn the extent of the learning loss so that they could adapt and respond accordingly.

However, writing recommendations was not the endgame of our research. These recommendations needed to be converted into policy changes as soon as possible to prevent long-term negative impacts on students due to the enforcement of simultaneous PJJ, which was widening the inequality gap even further.

To this end, we conveyed these findings and recommendations to stakeholders in Kemdikbud, including the Directorate General of Teachers and Education Staff, Ministerial Special Staff, and Primary Education Working Group (Pokja). We also presented these recommendations in a webinar entitled 'Learning from Home: Challenges and Strategy to Overcome Learning Inequalities during the #Covid19 Pandemic' on 16 July 2020, involving the Directorate General of Teachers and Education Staff of Kemdikbud and teacher representatives from Enrekang District, South Sulawesi.

On 4 August 2020, the Minister of Education and Culture (Mendikbud) issued Ministerial Decree No. 719/P/2020 on the Curriculum Implementation Guideline in Education Units in Special Conditions. In this decree, the diagnostic assessment was used as a special assessment to identify students' competencies, strengths, and weaknesses. This created a clear basis on which to promote learning that considered the students' condition. Through diagnostic assessment, learning design could be improved and adapted to students' competence and condition. Students whose development or learning outcomes were determined to be most behind based on the assessment results could be given affirmative learning assistance.

This Mendikbud Decree was a cause for relief because it was issued within several months of PJJ's implementation. For us, it showed that a rapid study on a policy with wide impacts could be performed without sacrificing quality. In addition, the recommendations produced through the study could be promoted to enact policy changes rapidly as well, making it relevant to the changing needs of people affected by the original policy.

Promoting inclusive economic policy at the local level

For SMERU, the adoption of research recommendations on learning inequalities in the Minister of Education and Culture Decree was only a part of our efforts to promote inclusive policy through evidence-based research. Previously, we also made efforts to advocate for inclusive policy in development by developing an inclusive economic development index (IPEI). This index was adopted in the National Mid-Term Development Plan (RJPJMN) 2020–2024.

IPEI is a national-scale index specifically measuring inclusive economic development, tailored to the Indonesian context. This index was launched in July 2018 in the Indonesia Development Forum (IDF) 2018. IPEI can be used to measure the inclusivity of economic development, both at the national and subnational (province and district/city) levels, and thus can influence the development of economic development policy, in order to make it more inclusive. This development inclusivity is measured through the aspects of economic growth, inequality and poverty, and access and opportunity.

The development of this index started with SMERU's engagement in developing policy measures and guidelines for inclusive economic development to be included in RPJMN 2020–2024. In this process, SMERU collaborated with the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) and Central Statistical Agency (BPS).

Looking back on the process, the idea for IPEI started with Bappenas wanting to promote quality economic development. The high economic growth that we have been experiencing is considered key to improving people's welfare. This is because increasing and stable economic growth tend to go hand-in-hand with declining poverty. However, at the same time, economic growth also goes hand-in-hand with income inequality. That is why economic growth is not enough. The equality aspect also needs to be included.

In fact, the idea of economic growth that also emphasises the equality aspect is already enshrined in RPJMN 2015. However, the definition of quality economic growth has not been described in detail, making its implementation hard to measure. Looking at the term more closely, quality growth is generally defined as growth that is inclusive, widespread, and based on excellent human resources. The word 'inclusive' is in the definition. In recent years, the concept of inclusive economic growth has become one of the main talking points in development literature and political-economic discourse in many countries. However, there has yet to be a standard method to measure it.

With this in mind, Bappenas had the initiative to develop indicators to measure this quality of economic growth. This measurement tool was developed to provide a clear description and calculation regarding economic growth and its benefits for all layers of the community. It was in this development process that SMERU was made a partner by Bappenas. SMERU participated by carrying out a background study to identify strategic issues through joint studies and discussions with relevant stakeholders.

Since the launch of this index, SMERU has collected data in a number of districts and provinces to examine the implementation of inclusive economic development in each of these regions. This study was made possible through the support of Bappenas and Ford Foundation. In 2018, this process continued with a study to provide policy guidelines on how to strengthen inclusive economic development as a recommendation in developing RPJMN.

SMERU also conducted study cases in West Java, East Kalimantan, and Aceh. In West Java, for example, SMERU was asked to develop an inclusive economic index, focusing on the poverty eradication issue. The results of this study served as a reference to encourage districts/cities in West Java Province to design and realise the Governor of West Java's poverty eradication programs.

Through this effort, SMERU played a part in introducing inclusive economic development, both within Bappenas and other institutions. Bappenas used this study to advocate the inclusion of inclusive economic development as a priority in RPJMN 2020–2024. In addition, Bappenas and SMERU also tried to get the Inclusive Economic Development Index included in RPJMN's target. However, this could not be achieved yet, due to the limited time to prepare a concept that could be in sync with the character and goals of each ministry.

Based on this experience, we saw that the implementation of IPEI at the local level depended on the local leadership's direction, vision, and mission. Only the regions whose leaders were interested in inclusive development would prioritise implementing this index in development planning in their region. At the national level, there is still work to be done to mainstream IPEI to all sectors. There are technical challenges in the process, including data availability and cross-sectoral coordination.

Internal commitment

At the same time that SMERU tries to promote inclusive policies, we also try to apply inclusion as one of our organisation's internal principles. This is done, for example, by ensuring gender equality in recruiting researchers or members. In addition, across all of SMERU's activities and work, we try to ensure there is no gender-based discrimination. These efforts have been one of SMERU's commitments since our establishment, and thus their internal implementation has not met many challenges.

This is a bit different from our efforts to mainstream GEDSI (Gender Equality, Disability, and Social Inclusion) perspectives in the research we continue to do. There are a number of challenges to this process, including the challenge of collecting gender-based data, and the limitations of researcher capacity due to not all researchers being equipped with GEDSI analysis tools. As a result, analysis of our research from the GEDSI perspective is sometimes not sharp enough. In this context, studies done with KSI's support have encouraged us to continue to internalise GEDSI issues as an analysis tool.

Meanwhile, from the activity management side, the funding support from KSI has been very helpful due to its flexible nature. The study on learning inequalities in the enforcement of PJJ policy, for example, was able to be well conducted because of this flexibility. We had the opportunity to propose actual research topics that needed to be done quickly. When proposing these types of topics, we could immediately gain support approval, and thus we could conduct research and promote policy change in a timely and effective manner.

Outside of funding, the support from KSI was also felt on the policy communication side. With KSI's assistance, we felt more focused when it came to communicating our study results. Previously, upon completing studies and writing reports, we did not design clear follow-up measures. KSI's assistance made us understand the importance of promoting research outcomes into policies, as well as how to do so. We are no longer walking in darkness because there are steps to communicate policies to policymakers or the public. Communicating research to the public to increase public concern and awareness on issues we are working on is also a valuable lesson we have learned through our relationship with KSI. This two-way communication is important because even the public can promote policy change. Everything can be done in a more systematic way.

This experience has shown us that flexible funding support, along with the opportunity to build organisational capacity, can have a very positive influence on our organisation's performance. Ultimately, all of these factors will influence the success of our studies, and how those studies are promoted to influence policy development. This will be an important asset for us to continue to conduct research and advocacy regarding various development issues in the future.

Improving the Quality of Education to Reduce Unemployment

Safira Ryanatami
Article 33 Indonesia

In 2011, the Indonesian government issued a policy enacting a moratorium on accepting teachers into the Civil Service (PNS), in the hope of saving the state budget and increasing the effectiveness of PNS performance. Without evaluation, this policy would have hindered the delivery of quality education, considering that one of the obvious determining factors for the quality of education is the presence of professional teachers.

This conflict between budget-saving policy and the needs of teachers created a complicated and ongoing problem. To tackle this problem, Article 33 Indonesia, along with the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) conducted a study to calculate the need for teachers.

Article 33 Indonesia is a policy research institution that conducts evidence-based advocacy focused on inclusive development issues, such as extractive sector governance, mining, forestry, and climate change adaptation and mitigation to ensure sustainable development. We also carry out policy research for social development issues to make sure that, as much as possible, economic resources are used for the prosperity of the people.

One of the areas of policy research focused on by Article 33 Indonesia is education. The range of subjects we explore includes the mandatory learning program, access to quality education, financing for education, and calculating the need for teachers.

Calculating the need for teachers

In response to the moratorium policy, Kemendikbud conducted an internal calculation on the number of PNS teachers they needed. As a result, Kemendikbud proposed to recruit one million new teachers between 2018 and 2022. However, this number was considered too large and would put a significant burden on the state budget.

With this in mind, Article 33 Indonesia helped Kemendikbud to calculate their need for teachers while continuing to take budget-saving measures into account. After we presented our findings, Kemendikbud requested for us to continue the study deeper, providing access to a larger database. Kemendikbud also

provided a research team and the support of the Planning Division of Kemendikbud to help re-calculate the number of new teachers needed.

Kemendikbud's focus at the time was recruiting PNS teachers according to needs, without disregarding their quality. Stopping the recruitment of PNS teachers was seen as risky for education. Of course, if we only looked at it from the perspective of numbers, the need for teachers could be addressed by recruiting non-permanent teachers. However, that solution raised questions regarding the quality of the recruited teachers. In addition, in the past the management of non-permanent teachers had been very dependent on individual schools, making it difficult to oversee and control. The solution of recruiting PNS teachers was considered more effective in ensuring the presence of quality teachers, because their management would directly follow the mechanism of the State Employment Agency (BKN).

Drawing from the study we conducted with the assistance of the Kemendikbud team, we were able to offer some recommendations related to the PNS teacher recruitment scheme that wouldn't burden the state budget. For example, the proposal to use the comparison between retired teachers and teachers who would be recruited. The budget for retired teachers would decrease, but it could be used for newly recruited teachers. Another offered alternative was the teacher saving scheme. The example is as follows:

In remote areas the number of students tends to be fewer, one teacher can teach more than one class. At the primary level, for example, one teacher can be in charge of two classes at the same time, for instance, the 1st and 2nd grades.

Some of the proposed simulations could reduce the need for teachers by up to 50 per cent. This would significantly impact savings. Together with Kemendikbud, Article 33 Indonesia then presented these study results to the Office of the Vice President.

Based on our study results, Kemendikbud revised the number of new teachers that needed to be recruited between 2018 and 2022 from one million down to around 600,000, using the gradual recruitment scheme. At the end of 2018, Kemendikbud stated that the Vice President, along with the Minister of State Apparatus and Bureaucracy Reform (Kemenpan) had approved their proposal to loosen the new teacher recruitment moratorium. In the same year, the first 100,000 new teachers were recruited post-moratorium.

We also faced a number of challenges during this moratorium study process. The weight of the work was quite high for researchers because the issue was quite sensitive. Article 33 Indonesia had to manage big data to produce detailed recommendations backed by clear, accountable evidence. In addition, since this was related to management and budgeting, Article 33 Indonesia had to follow the budget cycle, and thus needed to produce accurate analysis within a short period of time. These challenges were overcome, and we were ultimately able to produce the appropriate recommendations.

Advocacy for Vocational High School (SMK) revitalisation

Besides the teacher moratorium issue, Article 33 Indonesia also conducted research into other education issues, focusing on the policy to revitalise Vocational High Schools (SMK). In Indonesia, vocational education is expected to generate skilled workers needed by economic sectors such as industry, retail, and service. The government also gradually increased the proportion of vocational schools, from 26 per

cent in 2006 to 50 per cent in 2010, and 70 per cent in 2015. However, many of the SMK graduates, who are expected to be immediately absorbed into various economic sectors, ended up unemployed instead. SMK graduates have actually become the highest contributors to the open unemployment rate, namely 8.49%, exceeding General High School (SMA) graduates and graduates from other education levels.

One reason for SMK graduates' high open unemployment rate is the quality of the schools. The massive increase in SMK openings was not followed by an improvement in education quality, particularly in areas where large numbers of SMK were opened without a clear management standard. This issue resulted in a renewed discourse around SMK revitalisation, for which the President issued Presidential Instruction (*Inpres*) Number 9 Year 2016 on SMK Revitalisation. In the *Inpres*, it was mentioned that the provincial government must make an SMK revitalisation roadmap as the basis for Kemendikbud to develop a national program on SMK Revitalisation.

Seeing the importance of this issue, Article 33 Indonesia conducted a study and advocacy related to the SMK revitalisation issue. As the first step, Article 33 Indonesia attempted to identify the main issues facing efforts to revitalise SMK at the national level with a study carried out in three provinces, namely DKI Jakarta, West Java, and Bali. DKI Jakarta was selected due to it being the centre of administration, business, and commerce, while West Java was selected because of its creative industry's contribution to the Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP). Finally, Bali was selected because most of the province's GRDP was supported by the tourism sector.

Then, Article 33 Indonesia reviewed various aspects of the SMK system as part of the problem identification process, which were as follows:

1. The performance of SMK graduates;
2. The supply side of SMK in terms of SMK management policy;
3. The demand side from the business world and their perspective on the quality of the current SMK;
4. The vocational education practices from other relevant countries, and;
5. The SMK's position from the perspective of the local government's authority.

Based on the results of the data analysis, it was concluded that the quality of a school contributed more to whether or not graduates were getting jobs; the type of school, whether SMA or SMK, did not have a significant influence. SMK graduates had the same opportunities as graduates from SMA or vocational higher education in obtaining jobs. In addition, academic achievement and economic background became the deciding factors for salary. Graduates with higher academic achievements would receive higher wages or salaries.

Considering the importance of school quality, strengthening a number of aspects in the management of SMK education, as the supplier of the workforce, is crucial. This includes aligning curriculum, providing long-term education for productive teachers, increasing the duration of Field Work (*PKL*), and so on. SMK management also needs to be strengthened by the presence of the local government. At the same time, documents for labour market mapping need to be improved and provided in sufficient quantity, both by the education office and other local officials. From the employment demand side, it was found that the largest workforce absorbers for SMK graduates were the trading/commerce, restaurant, and accommodation sectors.

Based on these findings, we offered a number of recommendations for the SMK revitalisation program, which were communicated to Kemendikbud, as follows:

1. First, improving the quality of vocational education. This could be done by providing industry-supported facilities and infrastructure, providing resource pools or learning sources that could be used by two partnering schools, and improving the education of vocational school teachers.
2. Second, ensuring the alignment between competency and needs. This could be achieved through closer cooperation with the business world to ensure that the competency of graduates matches the available job requirements.
3. Third, making a revitalisation roadmap for each province. The accelerated efforts to develop these SMK revitalisation roadmaps need to be done under the supervision of the Directorate of SMK Development and industry associations such as the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN) as well as the local vocational committee and all relevant parties.
4. Fourth, ensuring program alignment with competency goals through linking and matching between the competencies of SMK graduates and the industries' needs. This can be done by increasing the graduates' working power through the process of career counselling while they are still at school and providing labour market outlooks for the purpose of anticipation and planning.
5. Fifth, producing workforce needs analysis that is updated regularly. This can be achieved by agencies at the national or local levels conducting analysis to promote alignment between providing training and education and fulfilling workforce requirements.

In addition to our communications with Kemendikbud, we also collaborated with local governments to support them in producing SMK development programs to fulfill the demands of the workforce. These efforts were carried out in Central Java due to its strategic position regarding Indonesia's economic growth, and in South Sulawesi, which was expected to become the strategic catalyst for the development of the eastern parts of Indonesia. Together with the Central Java and South Sulawesi Provincial Governments, Article 33 Indonesia formulated several recommendations that could be referred to by each local government to help them increase the absorption of the SMK workforce. These recommendations included developing partnership guidelines, creating information on the labour market, and cooperation between SMK and Job Training Centres (BLK).

The recommendations were followed up with the initiation of an assistance program and technical assistance to Central Java and South Sulawesi provinces. The result was two SMK and industry guidelines in Central Java and South Sulawesi, four collaborative Memorandum of Understandings between SMK and companies, BLK mapping, and a technical partnership guideline between BLK and SMK.

Collaboration between stakeholders

During the guideline development and trial process in Central Java and South Sulawesi, Article 33 Indonesia involved key stakeholders, such as the Education Office, Manpower Office, SMK Principals Discussion Forum (MKKS), BLK, the private sector as represented by the Indonesian Employers' Association (APINDO), and other individual business actors.

One of the emerging challenges related to the collaboration was the quick rotation of Local Official (SKPD) positions, such as the Office Head. This type of leadership change could push the advocacy process back to the beginning. Therefore, Article 33 Indonesia tried to build relationships not only with the Office Head but also with the staff, especially the people in charge of fields related to the issue of SMK revitalisation. Thus, we were able to avoid repeating the advocacy process from the beginning.

In addition to cooperation with stakeholders at the local level, Article 33 Indonesia also ensured that the ongoing advocacy process was made known at the national level. That was why we collaborated with Kemendikbud in our advocacy for SMK revitalisation. The intention of this collaboration was for Kemendikbud to understand our study findings and recommendations to improve the quality of SMK graduates to address the needs of the labour market in Indonesia.

We always collaborate with stakeholders, both at the national and local levels, in conducting our various studies and advocacy efforts. Article 33 Indonesia believes that advocacy efforts to promote policy change require cooperation with many parties, not only to make sure that the policy change actually happens, but also so that the policy produced as a result is of the highest quality, because it considered perspectives from various parties and stakeholders.

Future research and advocacy

We understand the importance of collaboration even more thanks to the support provided by Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI). In our KSI-supported activities, Article 33 Indonesia has received valuable input on the importance of involving stakeholders, both policymakers and civil society groups. KSI also supported us in conducting policy advocacy in a more systematic, measured, and reflective manner.

KSI's support didn't just enable Article 33 Indonesia to continue our studies and advocacy efforts on education issues. More than that, the flexible pattern of KSI's support, from the early planning stages up to the implementation of our activities, was very inspirational. Our research team was free to decide on as creative an idea as possible, enabling us to develop a sustainable research and advocacy agenda.

Financial sustainability is another of KSI's key support areas. Article 33 Indonesia used the investment component support from KSI to manage its finances and develop alternative funding sources. This support brought about an important change to our organisation regarding financial sustainability. First, regarding financial intelligence, KSI's support contributed to our whole financial and administrative governance. Article 33 Indonesia could then make short-term, mid-term, and long-term strategies with the aid of this platform, including how to manage projects efficiently. Technical, administrative, and strategic decisions could be made in response to the information provided by our improved financial intelligence. This was a systematic change to our financial management, which could support the organisation's strategic decision making.

Second, related to alternative funding sources, through KSI's investment component support we were able to establish the A33 Research Academy, an online platform to build research capacity in Indonesia. Through the development of this service, Article 33 Indonesia was able to dive into more professional business management, including more deeply exploring business plans, identifying communication strategies, discussing target markets, and applying business logic. This newfound scope has improved our professionalism in managing research and advocacy. This is because financial sustainability does

not only refer to reducing dependency on donors, but also adopting professional culture in managing an organisation. For us, the implementation of research-based policy advocacy supported by KSI taught us many lessons that will be useful for Article 33 Indonesia's work going forward, especially for policy advocacy regarding education.

Advancing Human Rights Protections in Current Issues

Wahyudi Djafar

Institute for Policy Research and Advocacy (ELSAM)

Even though Indonesia has a National Action Plan of Human Rights (RANHAM) to measure the government's commitment to human rights, its effect on the implementation of human rights protections is not optimal. The contents of the evaluation report on the government's obligation to protect human rights have not changed much from year to year and seem to have been reduced to a work of mere obligatory routine.

For us at the Community Study and Advocacy Organisation or *Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat (ELSAM)*, this type of report is unable to depict the real situation regarding human rights protections in Indonesia. Ideally, the RANHAM document would enable us to see if human rights protections were moving forward or even backward from year to year. This evaluation would become the basis for the next steps that are required to enhance the performance of human rights protections.

RANHAM is a document that translates human rights principles and standards from international human rights instruments to national policies. The development of said document, which was recommended by the United Nations (UN), was conducted based on the realisation that urges from the international community alone were not enough to improve human rights protections in a country. Human rights implementation within a country needs to be carried out by that country's government.

The basic objective of this action plan was to increase the advancement and protection of human rights worldwide through the implementation of national policies. The RANHAM concept was developed during the World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna, Austria, in 1993. This document was developed as a reference for governments from the local to the national level in carrying out their obligation to uphold human rights by ensuring they are respected, protected, and fulfilled.

Indonesia introduced its own RANHAM document in 1998. Through the Presidential Decree Number 129 Year 1998, the president at the time, BJ Habibie, stipulated the first RANHAM for the period of 1998–2003. After the stipulation, Indonesia ratified a number of international agreements on human rights, including the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment in 1998, and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in 1999.

RANHAM is stipulated every five years. The implementation of this document during its first period was considered highly influential and demonstrated the commitment of the Indonesian government to human rights. However, during subsequent periods, the implementation of RANHAM has stagnated. This can be seen in the decision by the government to ignore the plan to ratify international agreements on human rights, which is one of the mandates of RANHAM. During the RANHAM period of 2011–2014, the government changed the focus of RANHAM to only four vulnerable groups, namely women, children, persons with disabilities, and indigenous people.

Observing the suboptimal function of RANHAM in Indonesia, ELSAM attempted to identify the contributing factors. This research effort started us on our journey to promote the optimisation of RANHAM. Since our establishment in 1993, we have always been focused on the issue of human rights. Our mission is to foster, advance, and protect civil and political rights, as well as economic, social, and cultural rights, as inseparable entities, as mandated by the 1945 Constitution and Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Research for evaluation

One of the findings of our research to evaluate the effectiveness of RANHAM in Indonesia is an issue we identified with its result-based evaluation model. An area will be considered successful, for example, if it has issued information on providing facilities related to the fulfillment of rights for the four RANHAM target groups. Let us consider the example of a policy related to cases of violence against women. With the result-based evaluation model, an area will be deemed successful if it has issued a regulation on providing support facilities for women suffering from violence, when a more important result would actually be a measurable reduction in the number of cases of violence against women in the area.

Without clear indicators of progress, human rights implementation is a mere formality. Besides, the evaluations become almost the same year after year. Results that have already been mentioned in the evaluation document for the previous period are mentioned again in the evaluation for the period that follows.

Our research also showed gaps in civil society engagement in RANHAM implementation between some areas and others. We examined this finding in greater depth to determine what was causing it. On the one hand, we found that the local government didn't know that they should have been involving civil society organisations. On the other hand, we found that civil society organisations also didn't know that they should have been involved, and thus didn't attempt to get involved themselves. At this point, we must admit that even though it has existed in Indonesia for more than 20 years, the knowledge on RANHAM is still very limited and scattered.

In addition, in the past stakeholders at the local level often just viewed RANHAM as a presidential regulation that they needed to implement, without fully understanding its meaning. Then, because the title involved human rights, the document was considered the responsibility of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights and similar local agencies. In reality, human rights enforcement touches all aspects of society, and thus needs to be the focus of all ministries as a form of state responsibility in protecting human rights.

These findings served as the basis for us to conduct an intervention. The monitoring and evaluation pattern needed to be changed to improve its effectiveness. In addition, there needed to be a socialisation and knowledge-sharing process between the stakeholders responsible for implementing RANHAM, both at the national and local levels.

To encourage the optimisation of this national action plan, we conducted advocacy at several levels, from civil society groups to local governments to the national government. There were two main ideas we promoted to these stakeholders. The first was to socialise the RANHAM document. The second was recommending a change to the evaluation method used by RANHAM, from result-based to impact-based evaluation.

Involving civil society groups in the implementation of RANHAM, especially at the local level, was quite important, because in the past not many of them had been involved. During this effort, we, along with a number of civil society organisations, developed a knowledge portal called *ranham.id*. We hope this portal can open and expand access to information related to RANHAM, especially for civil society groups, so that they can oversee its implementation.

As for our advocacy to the government, we began by collecting data and information on RANHAM issues at the local level from 2015–2019. We also re-mapped RANHAM implementation in areas such as Aceh, Central Java, and West Nusa Tenggara. One of our findings was that there was often a mismatch between the strategic issues established nationally and the issues faced on a local scale. Therefore, local governments (*pemda*) hoped that strategic issues related to human rights could become more tailored to the local level going forward.

To tackle this problem, we assisted *pemda* in strengthening their capacity to uphold RANHAM, including how to implement it within the context of their areas/regions and making versions of the document aimed at the local level. Through this training, we managed to encourage Palu City in Central Sulawesi and Sikka District in East Nusa Tenggara to make their own RANHAM documents.

Based on these efforts, we then developed a policy brief to bring to the national level as an advocacy-supporting document. We conveyed this policy brief in a meeting with the RANHAM Joint Secretariat (*Sekber*), consisting of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs, and Ministry of National Development Planning (*Bappenas*). In addition, we engaged several relevant ministries and agencies, such as the Presidential Staff Office (*KSP*), Coordinating Ministry for Politics, Law, and Security, Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture, National Commission on Human Rights, National Commission on Violence Against Women, and Witness and Victim Protection Agency. This meeting served as our opportunity to present RANHAM implementation notes and our projection of the RANHAM document going forward, including our recommendation regarding the need to change the evaluation method of this national action plan.

We also proposed to the Ministry of Law and Human Rights to open a consultation process with stakeholders, especially those groups who are targeted by RANHAM. With these processes in place, RANHAM could really become a strategic document that could oversee the fulfillment of human rights in Indonesia.

Protecting personal data

In addition to overseeing RANHAM so that evaluation on human rights enforcement can be optimised, we also understand that human rights issues continue to develop in response to ongoing changes in society. Therefore, we try to give our attention to current issues. One of these is the rapid development of information and communication technology. There are many aspects of this development that intersect with human rights issues, especially related to the use of personal data.

In response to this developing situation, we focused our efforts on strengthening the protection of personal data. This issue has become a part of one of ELSAM's key strategic issues, namely technology and human rights. Within this issue, we examine the many impacts of the speed of digital technology innovations on human rights. For example, the impact of surveillance and the threat it poses against personal privacy, and the risk of personal data exploitation, both for economic and political purposes. With these risks in mind, we feel that it is imperative that we oversee the Draft Bill of Law on Personal Data Protection (*RUU PDP*), so that this legislation can better ensure the protection of the rights of citizens.

As an initial step, we developed our first article specifically discussing the aforementioned issues in 2015, entitled 'Personal Data Protection in Indonesia: Proposal for Policy Institutionalisation from the Perspective of Human Rights'. This article contained the study results of 30 legislation products related to regulating data protection. We found that there were many overlaps between one regulation and another.

We continued to conduct these types of studies to provide a sufficient foundation of knowledge for establishing personal data protection policies. We also produced a number of policy briefs and proposed an Issue Inventory List (*DIM*) of *RUU PDP*, referring to various studies done by ELSAM.

Advocating for data protection regulations in Indonesia is no walk in the park. In addition to the different understandings of the issue between the ministry and agency levels, there is also disapproval of these regulations, especially within institutions that are focused on dealing with personal data. However, we encountered a moment of support when, on his State of the Union Address on 17 August 2019, President Joko Widodo conveyed the importance of strong data protection regulation in Indonesia. We used this moment to promote the acceleration of *RUU PDP* discussion. The President reiterated how important it is for Indonesia to have a sound *PDP* regulation during his speech to commemorate International Human Rights Day on 10 December 2021.

We prepared a number of documents to oversee the *RUU PDP* process at the House of Representatives (*DPR*), like the Issue Inventory List (*DIM*) and policy briefs for several specific issues in *RUU PDP*. These documents served as the main references for a number of factions in *DPR* in creating their version of *DIM*. From there, we earned the trust of various parties, both in *DPR* and the government, during the *RUU PDP* discussion process.

It has not been easy to foster trust from policymakers, especially considering that ELSAM is not known as an organisation that focuses on 'technology'. However, our diligence in conducting and conveying studies related to the relationship between human rights and technology has gradually built this trust. One of the results of this trust was when the Ministry of Communication and Informatics, through the Directorate

General of Informatics Application (Ditjen Aptika), invited ELSAM to attend a press conference on the submission of the RUU PDP draft by the government to DPR on 28 January 2020.

However, by the end of 2021, the RUU PDP still hadn't been ratified. There was still some disagreement on the position of authority that would oversee the implementation of personal data protection. The government, represented by the Ministry of Communication and Informatics, was adamant that this supervisory body be under their authority. Meanwhile, the majority of factions in the DPR wanted to establish an independent personal data protection authority.

To tackle this issue, we conducted a comparative study on the existence of authoritative bodies that supervise personal data protection in various countries. The results of this study highlighted the importance of including regulation by an independent supervisory authority, free from any outside intervention and individual, business, or organisational interests from other countries, in RUU PDP. This authority body would act as an independent state institution in carrying out its function, duties, and authority accordingly in supervising the implementation of personal data protection. We included the result of this study in a policy paper, and this became the basis for the DPR to promote an independent authority body.

Besides our advocacy at the national level, we also promoted strengthening the local government's understanding of the consequences if this Draft Bill was ratified. For this, we conducted training in a number of areas. We selected these areas based on two criteria, namely which areas best represented Indonesia as a whole, and which had declared themselves as smart cities. We think it is important to provide training to local governments whose areas have become smart cities because without an understanding of personal data protection, there is huge potential for the people living in those areas to have their data exploited. Areas that were involved in this training included Padang City, West Sumatera; Denpasar City, Bali; Surabaya City, East Java; and DKI Jakarta.

Overseeing human rights

The support from Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI) all this time has increasingly helped us understand the importance of evidence-based policy advocacy. Together with KSI, we learned how to provide accurate and credible evidence before starting the advocacy process. KSI also highlighted the importance of incorporating peer review into the research process before the results are conveyed to policymakers. We also learned a lot about how to establish relationship patterns and partnerships with policy stakeholders. As a civil society organisation that has been established for a long time, in many ways we were still using a conventional approach when engaging in a partnership process with stakeholders. But with KSI, we were encouraged and assisted with capacity building related to diversification and intensification in the context of partnership, and policy communication with stakeholders. On the communication strategy side, we learned to not just produce study results or policy briefs, but to also package them into videographics, infographics, and other succinct forms, without losing their essence.

In addition, KSI also supported us in the context of organisational strengthening. During the core grant phase, KSI helped a lot with ELSAM's organisational development, especially regarding how ELSAM could become a credible and accountable policy research organisation, with a high capacity for conducting studies and policy advocacy. KSI also ensured ELSAM's sustainability going forward by supporting the creation of various schemes and innovations for organisational development. One of the key lessons

we learned during our partnership with KSI was how ELSAM could meet the requirements for good organisational management as a non-government organisation.

Going forward, RANHAM and RUU PDP will remain on our agenda. The implementation of RANHAM still needs to be overseen, and RUU PDP will remain ELSAM's advocacy focus, at least until the RUU is ratified and able to be implemented. In the future, ELSAM will also focus on four strategic issues, namely technology and human rights, business and human rights, strengthening basic freedoms, and ecosocial justice as a response to the impact of climate change. For us, the support and capacity building that KSI has provided for ELSAM and other policy research institutions was the starting point of the development of the knowledge sector in Indonesia, which now needs to be supported by meaningful participation from all stakeholders in the knowledge sector.

1.3

Network Engagement



Building the Critical Engagement of Think Tank Organisations for Transparent Budgeting

Misbah Hasan and Badiul Hadi

The National Secretary Indonesian Forum for Budget Transparency (Seknas FITRA)

The success of development relies heavily on the quality of planning and budgeting. However, development plans in Indonesia are often not accompanied by synchronised budgeting. As a result, the implementation of these development plans is not optimal.

Unsynchronised planning and budgeting are routine findings in the studies that we at FITRA carry out on budgets at the national and local level every year. The frequency of these findings shows that the development planning process still has a number of issues to solve, despite the fact development planning is the crucial first step in ensuring that development can run according to its objective of improving people's prosperity and welfare. Good development planning requires aligned budget planning to prevent plans from overlapping, which ultimately results in a waste of budget.

Through Law Number 25 Year 2004 on the National Development Planning System, the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) is given the mandate to oversee development planning and produce long-term, mid-term, and annual development plans. At the local level, this function is embedded in the Local Planning Agency (Bappeda).

If Bappenas and Bappeda are authorised to oversee development planning, the authority to determine the budget plan rests in the hands of the Ministry of Finance (Kemenkeu). Herein lies the problem. Often what was designed by Bappenas is not synchronised with the budget developed by Kemenkeu. This has impacted the planning of various ministries/agencies, both at the national and local levels. This situation is what prompted us to conduct advocacy so that the planning and budgeting processes could be integrated.

Since our establishment in 1999, we have dedicated ourselves to overseeing a transparent and accountable budgeting process, and ensuring the people feel its impact. FITRA was established right after the power shift from a closed New Order system to a democratic and open system. At the time, we saw the need to oversee the budgeting process, which was once closed, to be more open, while the

political democratisation process was underway. We dedicated our work to issues of budget transparency and accountability, including corruption prevention. Now, we want to promote improvements on budget governance and planning at the central, local, and village levels to deliver positive impacts for vulnerable groups, such as poor people, marginalised women, persons with disabilities, elderly people, children, and other vulnerable groups.

Planning and budgeting integration

In our efforts to oversee budget transparency and accountability, we carry out an Open Budget Survey (OBS) every year. In addition, we conduct a Local Budget Study (LBS) and Local Budget Index (LBI) every two years. From the results of both of these surveys, we almost always find a lack of synchronisation between planning and budgeting, both at the central and local levels.

Based on this finding, we have also conducted advocacy on the planning and budgeting process. One of the results of this advocacy was the issuance of Government Regulation (PP) Number 17 Year 2017 that regulates the Synchronisation of the National Development Planning and Budgeting Process. However, this regulation did not automatically overcome the issue. In the field, we still found a lack of synchronisation between planning and budgeting.

With support from Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI), we then conducted research on the effectiveness of the implementation of PP 17/2017 in 2020, and found a number of challenges in the implementation of this regulation. Among other issues, we found that efforts to synchronise must be more strongly encouraged between ministries in the national planning and budgeting system. Bappenas, for example, has developed an information system called the Planning Collaboration and Information on Budget Performance (KRISNA) to make development planning more transparent. Even though this platform has updated the national development planning, this system still needs to be synchronised with the Financial Application System for the Institutional Level (SAKTI) owned by Kemenkeu. These systems need to be connected to one another to answer the need for synchronisation.

In addition, within the context of transparency and accountability, the political dynamic process of planning for the Special Allocation Fund (DAK) remains the biggest challenge in the development planning synchronisation process. Spaces for political negotiation of program budget proposals by the People's Representative Council (DPR) at the central and local levels, especially through the DAK post, are still open. This political process then poses a challenge to optimising the development planning and budgeting synchronisation process in Indonesia, because the mindsets of the members of the DPR impact the changes to the development planning and budgeting system.

At the local level, the implementation of this PP is not effective due to the challenge of coordinating multiple proposals. Each Local Government Organisation (OPD) has its own coordination line with its technical ministry, so they each convey their program proposal directly to the technical ministry above them. As a result, various proposals from the local level are likely siloed, not reflecting well-coordinated local planning.

We submitted this research finding to relevant stakeholders, specifically Bappenas, Kemenkeu, and DPR. In addition, we also published this finding through the media as a part of our public literacy effort. This

advocacy was aimed at changing the policy, to make the implementation of PP 17/2017 more effective. For KRISNA and SAKTI, for example, we encouraged Bappenas and Kemenkeu to sit together to discuss the data-sharing mechanism between these two applications. Finally, in early 2021, Bappenas and Kemenkeu made a memorandum of understanding to share data. Meanwhile, as a result of our advocacy at the local level, a number of Bappeda had tried to coordinate so that proposals from OPDs could be in line with local development goals. In addition, a number of Bappeda also conducted training for KRISNA application managers in their respective areas.

Regarding the negotiation space in determining DAK, we strengthened the study on DAK in three regions, namely Jepara District, Central Java; Riau District and Riau Province; and Pontianak City and West Kalimantan Province. We found that the presence of KRISNA was very helpful for local governments to monitor the progress of their submitted proposals. While in the beginning the application process was heavily dependent on the political lobby in DPR, now local governments can directly see how far their proposals were being processed, approved, how they must be corrected, and so on. However, the space for DAK discussion by involving DPR was still open.

Besides that, transparency was still at the level of the relationship between the national government and local government. In this context, civil society has no space to monitor planning and budgeting, because this platform only accommodates the national–local bureaucracy process. The question of whether the proposed DAK really represented the voice of the people, especially poor and vulnerable groups, for example, still could not be answered.

Our study on DAK generated positive responses from stakeholders. During the research process, we were invited by Bappenas to present a better DAK proposal mechanism in a meeting that was also attended by DPR representatives. We were also invited to present our findings to the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). Going forward, the mechanism to determine DAK still needs to be overseen, however, including making sure that it accommodates the interests of marginalised groups.

Promoting Swakelola Tipe III

In addition to highlighting the development planning mechanism and its budget, we also saw how the plans were implemented. In the past, the government had achieved its development plans by collaborating with program implementing partners. In this context, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) were also involved, but only indirectly; usually, individuals from CSOs were involved as program consultants. As it turns out, there are many CSOs that institutionally have the capacity and extensive experience to be made full development partners, thus improving the quality of the implementation of development programs.

With the issuance of Presidential Regulation (*Perpres*) Number 16 Year 2018 on Swakelola Tipe III as one method of public goods/services procurement, we saw a space to push the involvement of CSOs in implementing development plans. In the *Perpres* in question, it is mentioned that the government can fulfill its goods or services needs through civil society organisations or non-government organisations, all funded through the National Budget (APBN) or Local Budget (APBD). For CSOs, *Perpres* 16/2018 provides an opportunity to be more involved in implementing development programs, while simultaneously receiving a source of funding that will help with their sustainability.

In order to promote the implementation of Swakelola Tipe III, FITRA, along with Yayasan Swadaya Mitra Bangsa (YASMIB) Sulawesi, carried out a pilot project in South Sulawesi (Sulsel). The main objective of this project was to prepare the government and civil society organisations to implement the Swakelola Tipe III scheme in goods and services procurement. Sulsel Province was selected as the pilot project area based on a few factors. First, based on the mapping result, the Sulsel Provincial Government was ready and committed to implementing this program. Second, based on our experience conducting activities in Sulsel, the local government was open to cooperating with non-government organisations. In addition, we had had a number of good experiences with previous programs in Sulsel, thus making it an important laboratory for FITRA.

This pilot didn't just provide us with an opportunity to work together with the government. More than that, this cooperation model enabled us to encourage other CSOs to delve deeper into the budget advocacy issue. In the process, involved CSOs would develop an understanding of planning and budgeting governance, and learn to see the potential of implementing Swakelola Tipe III in every program or activity.

From a participation and inclusion perspective, this cooperation model would also enable CSOs, especially those who have been assisting vulnerable groups, to encourage the government to allocate more budget towards helping vulnerable people. At the same time, the government would benefit from the presence of competent organisations to assist with the implementation of empowerment programs suitable to marginal groups and their individual needs.

We began this pilot by making a list of CSOs based on their area of competence. For the local government, this list can serve as the 'yellow pages', containing information about CSOs that are competent in their fields. From the total of 49 CSOs that we mapped, we were able to gather information about 30 of them. From there, we found 15 CSOs already meeting the requirements to implement Swakelola Tipe III.

On the government side, discussions with Sulsel Provincial Government managed to, among other things, urge the issuance of a technical guideline for implementing Swakelola Tipe III. In addition, the Local Development Planning, Research, and Development (Bappelitbangda) of Sulsel tried to implement Swakelola Tipe III with Yayasan PINUS Sulsel in a training program concerning poverty alleviation in the region in November 2020.

Going forward, we will encourage a replication of the Swakelola Tipe III pilot project from Sulsel to another area. We will do this replication effort through the LINK LSM network. Besides the National Secretariat of FITRA, this network also includes Yayasan Swadaya Mitra Bangsa (YASMIB), AKATIGA and Konsil LSM.

Strengthening research and collaboration

Besides helping us carry out studies and advocacies, KSI contributes significantly to strengthening FITRA as an organisation. With KSI's support, we have been able to better regulate the organisation by introducing various specific Standard Operational Procedures (SOPs), such as human resources SOP, finance SOP, goods/services procurement SOP, information technology and data security SOP, and research SOP. These documents have helped us a lot in undertaking organisational work in a more organised way.

With our research SOP, for example, we now have a document to refer to in order to conduct a study that meets the principles of research. We recruited a peer-reviewer to ensure all of our study stages are scientifically sufficient. The peer-reviewer assisted us with making research instruments, writing reports, and reviewing research reports. Thus, the quality of these research reports is guaranteed and they can continue to the policy advocacy stage.

KSI has played a crucial role in strengthening our organisational network within the last few years. KSI often facilitated our meetings with policymakers using a more constructive approach. In the past, we had the tendency to be critical because, during the early stages of the reform era, the government still had the tendency to be closed off from the input of civil society organisations. Now the government is increasingly open, thus enabling a dialogue process to formulate policies. This is what we call an implementation of the 'critical engagement' strategy.

In 2020, Seknas FITRA was trusted by Bappenas to carry out joint research with the theme of Evaluation of Local Adaptation in Handling COVID-19. This research studied the response of the central government, local government, and civil societies in facing the pandemic through planning and budgeting. This research reached all provinces, districts and cities in Indonesia, and contributed to policymaking related to budget reallocation and refocusing to better handle COVID-19 at the local level. In addition, since 2019, Seknas FITRA has also been trusted as one of the Independent Assessor Teams for the Local Development Award held every year by Bappenas.

During our journey with KSI, we have learned many lessons on how policy research organisations can promote reform in the knowledge sector. One important issue is that we have to understand the development priority that is currently being undertaken by the government. With that understanding in mind, our research can really contribute to the policy that is being or will be implemented in a certain year.

The organisational and network strengthening we have obtained thanks to the support from KSI will serve as an inspiration that we will continue to build upon. As a civil society organisation, going forward FITRA will be more critically involved in the government administration process, especially related to planning and budgeting.

Maintaining Local Authority and Sustainability

Herman N Suparman

The Regional Autonomy Implementation Monitoring Committee (KPPOD)

The shift from centralisation to decentralisation in Indonesia's political system, through an increase in local autonomy, brought about significant political impacts, including an impact on managing the balance of authority between the central and local levels. This shift in authority must continue to be supervised by the public to prevent power from once again gathering at the central level.

The fact is, ever since Law Number 22 Year 1999 on Local Government was enforced, there have often been attempts to pull local authority back to the central level, for example by issuing new regulations. Therefore, the Local Autonomy Implementation Monitoring Committee or *Komite Pemantauan Pelaksanaan Otonomi Daerah (KPPOD)* continues to oversee local autonomy implementation, including by assessing various new laws and regulations.

One such example was when Law Number 11 Year 2020 on Job Creation was drafted. Since the draft development, this Law has attracted public attention because it has been deemed to have a destructive potential for the growth of democracy, economy, and citizens' rights as a whole. Dozens of demonstrations to refuse the ratification of this Law went on in Jakarta and other cities.

KPPOD was also actively involved in assessing this Law. We had been following the discussions surrounding it since its drafting process in 2019. We requested a copy of the draft document from the People's Representative Council (DPR) for us to review and oversee. Our focus in the development of this bill draft was the simplification and ease of business licensing, as well as local government administration clusters. These clusters have been the focus of KPPOD since we were established in 2000.

As our name suggests, KPPOD aims to monitor development progress in the context of local autonomy. Reflecting a little on our past, the idea to establish KPPOD cannot be separated from the context of the 1998 reforms that changed the political system in Indonesia. There was a shift from centralisation to decentralisation and local autonomy that changed the relationship pattern between the central and local governments. This system change must be supervised and overseen by the public. For this purpose, a number of academic groups, such as those from the Community Service Institution (LPM) of the Faculty of Economy of the University of Indonesia, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), and Prasetya Mulya Business School, as well as entrepreneur representatives from the National Economic Recovery Committee (KPEN)/Indonesian Employers Association (Apindo), and finally civil society, especially media outlets including Jakarta Post, Bisnis Indonesia, and Suara Pembaruan, all agreed to establish KPPOD.

Decentralisation and local autonomy are issues with a very wide scope. KPPOD is focused on studies and advocacy related to Local Economic Governance (TKED). There are ten variables that must be examined in TKED, namely business licensing, transaction fees, local fiscal, tax, restitution, employment, access to land, cooperation between the government and private sector, and local regulations. We categorise these issues into three main focuses, namely business regulation reform, business bureaucracy reform, and local fiscal capacity. These three focal issues serve as our guide in overseeing local autonomy implementation. In this context, the Job Creation Law is closely linked to our three main focuses.

Monitoring authority sharing

For the government, the Job Creation Law was developed to create a quality business and investment climate for businesses, including Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprise (MSME) owners, and foreign investors. However, its content needed to be tested to check whether the wording of the articles was aligned with their goals.

One of the issues growing in the community during the drafting of the Job Creation Law was that the license to construct a building and the environmental license would be erased to create an easier business and investment climate. We checked the truth on this issue.

Based on our study, the Job Creation Bill Draft did change a lot of the nomenclature about licensing. The location license, for example, was changed to an agreement on spatial use suitability. The license to construct a building (IMB) was changed to a building agreement. Meanwhile, the environmental license was changed to an environmental feasibility license. We also saw that these licensing nomenclature changes were followed by several other substantial changes.

From the perspective of local autonomy, we formulated a number of critical notes related to the aspect of maintaining easy access to business in the Job Creation Bill Draft. The first was in regards to the location license. The approval to use spaces in the Bill Draft fell under the authority of the central government. All aspects concerning space management, including planning, use, and controlling the use of spaces were handled by the central government. The local government was only given the authority to be included in developing the spatial plan. The second was in regards to the approval for building construction. The local government was still given the authority to manage its licensing. However, if there was an extension or even function conversion of the building, this would become the authority of the central government. The third was related to government administration. The power to implement local government administration was placed in the hands of the president.

These three points in our critical notes show a tendency to recentralise government authority from the local level to the central level or even the president. This is not in line with the spirit of authority sharing between the central and local levels in the constitution, especially regarding local autonomy.

We think that the effort to recentralise is a form of impatience about waiting on the processes at the local government level. We do have to admit that local development still faces several problems. However, these problems are not because of the local government's authority. Actually, with decentralisation, effective institutions can be built. If the authority returns to the central level, the local government will not have breathing room to manage its own development.

Role of the local level

As an organisation established to oversee the implementation of local autonomy, we cannot just make critical notes about the Job Creation Bill Draft, we also have to urge its contents to be amended. Based on these critical notes, we developed an advocacy and policy intervention plan.

In the advocacy and intervention phase, we prepared a Background Note and Issue Inventory List (*DIM*). We submitted these two documents to the DPR and the ministries relevant to said issues. The goal of this advocacy was to oversee the local authority in the amendment of the Bill Draft's content so that it would not go back to a centralised system.

In any case, the implementation of local autonomy faced a serious challenge when the Job Creation Bill Draft stated that the president could delegate authority to the local level. This authority delegation from the president to the local level risked creating uncertainty among business owners regarding the unclear rights and authority portions in issuing licenses at the government level. We recommended that three clauses related to the president's authority delegation to the local level in the Job Creation Bill Draft be erased. Our recommendation was partly approved, leading to the deletion of one of the three clauses that, according to us, were problematic.

Next was business licensing, where the Job Creation Bill Draft emphasised the central government's authority to issue basic licenses for doing business, like spatial management, environmental, and building, as well as sectoral. This clearly was not in line with the position and authority of the local government as enshrined in Article 18, 18 A, and 18B of the 1945 Constitution and Law Number 23 Year 2014 on Local Government, which granted authority to the local level to regulate and manage their administration affairs pursuant to laws and regulations, including capital investment affair (business licensing).

To overcome the chaotic nature of the relationship between the central and local authorities regarding business licensing in the Job Creation Bill Draft, we recommended government authority sharing according to the principles of efficiency, accountability, and externality. For example, the central government would issue licenses to businesses operating on or having an external impact across different provinces. The Provincial Government would have the authority to grant licenses to businesses having an external impact across different districts/cities. Then the district/city government would issue licenses to businesses whose operations did not have an external impact on another region. This recommendation was accepted and adopted into the Job Creation Bill Draft.

Our other recommendation that was adopted by the government was about restitution from business licenses. The early draft of the Job Creation Bill Draft granted a right to the central government to receive restitution from business licenses issued for buildings (IMB restitution). KPPOD thought that this regulation took away the revenue of the local government and was not in line with the new business licensing nomenclature. Therefore, we advocated that the local level (district/city) remained authorised to issue and receive restitution from business licenses.

Furthermore, the Job Creation Law also affected the Norm, Procedure, and Criteria (*NPSK*) of business licensing service delivery. The Job Creation Bill Draft highlighted that *NPSK* could be delegated to the local level. For us, this showed a misunderstanding regarding *NPSK*. It should be kept as a national

standard, while the local level had a measure to develop NPSK in line with its national reference. This was what we recommended. In the end, this recommendation was partly adopted in the Job Creation Law, namely that the central government would issue NPSK based on the local government's best experience.

Besides the business licensing authority, the tendency to recentralise in the Job Creation Bill Draft could also be seen from the president's authority to amend the Job Creation Law. For us, this was a serious issue that needed to be improved. The reason was that an amendment to a Law should only be eligible to be done through the parliament, by revising or making a new Law.

Ease of doing business

Before advocating the Job Creation Law, KPPOD also advocated policies related to ease of doing business. We try to always move dynamically according to the development of government policies. We oversee, criticise, and try to provide alternative solutions.

One of our efforts was to initiate a one-stop integrated service for the ease of business in 2005–2006 with other civil society groups. We once knew about the one-stop service. But it was not really effective, because the one-stop licensing service still had to go through a lot of doors. Therefore, by encouraging a one-stop service, the licensing process could really be taken care of by going through just one door.

Next, in 2007–2008 we were involved in fighting for a closed list in the development of Law Number 28 Year 2009 on Local Tax and Restitution. Prior to 2009, the local government was free to decide taxes and restitution. As a result, business owners had a lot of tax burden at the local level. Thanks to the closed list system, the district/city, and provincial governments could have a reference on the minimum and maximum tariff for the district/city and provincial taxes.

However, having a closed list was not the final achievement. In 2018, the central government, along with the DPR, included a plan to revise the Tax Law in the national legislation program (*prolegnas*). In response to that, we immediately developed a study and created DIM. In that process, we also went into the field to learn about the response of the local government and business owners in six provinces, namely East Java, Riau, East Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, East Nusa Tenggara, and West Papua. We found that the local government and business owners felt the amendment to the Tax Law had the potential to create a new problem regarding the tariff, which would place a heavy burden on the local government and businesses. We immediately brought this finding to the DPR. As a result, the process to develop the Tax Law revision was stopped.

We also evaluated economic policy packages related to licenses issued by the central government in 2015. For this, we conducted a study on the ease and certainty of doing business in 10 main business cities. At the time, World Bank had already carried out research with the same topic in Jakarta and Surabaya, so our study could complement it by examining the other eight cities. Ultimately, we had completed the report on the ease and certainty of doing business in 10 business cities in Indonesia by 2017.

Another example was when the government issued the Presidential Regulation Number 91 Year 2017 on Accelerating the Ease of Doing Business. KPPOD worked on this issue as part of a team with the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs. Subsequently, the government issued a policy, namely

Government Regulation Number 24 Year 2018 on integrated licensing based on electronic or Online Single Submission (OSS).

KPPOD saw this as a positive development to accelerate the business licensing service. However, a study needed to be carried out to examine its effectiveness. In 2019, we reviewed the one-year implementation of OSS from three aspects: the regulatory side with the deregulation aspect, the bureaucracy side with the de-bureaucracy aspect, and the service model or format with the digitalisation aspect.

From this study, we found that OSS only interacted with the digitalisation dimension, and still faced a number of technical and regulatory challenges. In one year of its implementation, OSS did not run optimally, because it did not interact with the regulatory and bureaucracy aspects. Therefore, we recommended that OSS implementation be included in a Law that regulates all business licenses.

Cooperation for advocacy

We realise that in overseeing local autonomy, KPPOD cannot work alone. Therefore, from the time of our establishment to the present day, we have cooperated with many other parties, from civil society and academics, to government and legislative institutions. This type of cooperation has enabled KPPOD to find important gaps in conducting advocacy, allowing us to promote policy change.

In this context, for example, we seriously considered the position of the DPR's expertise agency. This agency has a number of study centres, including a study centre for Bill Drafts. Thus, we often begin the first steps of our advocacy with support from the People's Representative Council's (DPR) expertise agency. We also conduct regular discussions by inviting stakeholders. With the support of Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI), we try to maximise discussions like this by inviting the media. Media publication is able to enhance public attention over an issue.

We realise that without cooperation advocacy is exhausting work. Therefore, maintaining good relationships and working together with various sectoral associations, such as the Association of Indonesia Municipalities (APEKSI), Association of Indonesia District Government (APKASI), Indonesian Employers Association (APINDO), Indonesian Association of Hotels & Restaurants (PHRI), Association of Indonesia Municipality Representative Council (ADEKSI), and Association of Indonesia District Representative Council (ADKASI), has always been our priority. This cooperation is an important strategy, one that has proven to be effective in the advocacy process.

When KPPOD goes to local areas, we also try to meet with the local government, business owners, and civil society components there. We have partners in 33 provinces from various backgrounds. Their voices are important and serve as the basis for KPPOD in conducting policy analysis.

Sustainability

The support from KSI really helped us in promoting evidence-based policy change. KSI's vision regarding evidence-based policy is truly in line with the work we do. During our ten years alongside KSI, they have not only provided financial support, but also built our capacity in promoting reforms in regulation, bureaucracy, and local fiscal capacity.

Our three main activities, research, advocacy and technical assistance, can now run more systematically because of KSI's assistance. Under their guidance, when we formulate program proposals, we are required to not only formulate activity achievement targets, but also identify possible policy proposals that require our intervention, as well as identify relevant stakeholders. In addition, KSI encouraged us to do monitoring and evaluation (monev) every three months. This process is making our work more effective.

Over the next five years, we hope KPPOD will continue to grow. Many advocacy agendas are still waiting on the horizon, such as the Job Creation Law. Even though the Constitutional Court has declared this law unconstitutional, that was only in relation to the formal aspect. Therefore, we will continue to oversee the material aspect.

In addition, there are two other focuses we want to develop. First, on the fiscal capacity side, KPPOD is trying to oversee the Bill Draft on the Financial Relations between the Central and Local Government (HKPD). Second, we want to emphasise our commitment to maintaining local autonomy by focusing on overseeing inter-regional cooperation.

Local authority is a force that can ensure the sustainability of local governance and its resilience in the future. Thus, efforts to return said authority to the central level or recentralisation will threaten the very sustainability of this governance, including local environmental, social, and economic sustainability. Our process of conducting evidence-based policy advocacy, which has been supported by KSI for the last ten years, has been a valuable experience, inspiring us to continue various research and advocacy efforts in order to oversee local autonomy going forward.

Encouraging Regulatory Reform as a Joint Agenda

Rizky Argama and Gita Putri Damayana

Center for Indonesian Law and Policy Studies (PSHK)

In 2020, the discussion of the Bill Draft of the Job Creation Law, better known as the Omnibus Law, received a very harsh reaction from the public. The public eye was focused on the House of Representatives (DPR), the legislative institution that passed this law.

The efforts from various parties to oversee the establishment of this Job Creation Law in the legislative domain were very important. This is not only true of the Job Creation Law but also other bill and regulation drafts. However, overseeing the development of Bill Drafts in the legislative domain is just one step in the process. After that, a number of provisions in a law still need to be derivated to various regulations in order to be implemented properly. The process to develop these regulations also needs to be overseen to ensure that its contents are synchronised and do not go against the rules above them. There is an English idiom for this, the devil is in the details, meaning that even small things can have a huge influence or cause problems.

However, despite needing a number of improvements, the process to discuss Bill Drafts in the DPR is relatively open and transparent compared to the establishment of implementing regulations in the executive domain, the latter of which often escapes the public eye. This is because in practice, despite the mechanism to develop implementing regulations requiring transparency, it is often more closed off than the process in the DPR. Ironically, the operational aspect of a law is enshrined in these implementing regulations. If public supervision is allowed starting from the law to the implementing regulations level, the rules will be much more in alignment with each other.

The fact is, there are many overlapping rules in Indonesia. In the early days of the Centre for Indonesian Law and Policy Studies or *Pusat Studi Hukum dan Kebijakan Indonesia (PSHK)*, which was founded in 1998, there were many rules that contradicted the spirit of reformation, thus overlapping with each other. We conducted studies on these rules and conveyed our findings to stakeholders. As a result, a number of presidential decrees were revoked during the era of President BJ Habibie.

Having said that, this does not mean that the issue of overlapping rules has been resolved. To this day, there are still many rules whose contents are not in sync with one another, impacting Indonesia's overall development plan. In the middle of a given year, for example, many regulations are often proposed. The presence of new regulations amid the ongoing year can affect the workplans of relevant government institutions. Many development programs end up not running optimally due to disruption from the regulatory side.

The lack of monitoring in the implementation sphere related to various overlapping regulations occurs because of our incomplete knowledge about how laws are made. Therefore, it is important to raise the discourse surrounding regulation reform to the surface.

Regulatory reform

The importance of regulatory reform came to PSHK's attention as a result of reflecting on our efforts to review issues related to regulatory management in Indonesia. At first, we focused only on the regulation maker side, both in the legislative and executive branches of government. However, as time goes by, we increasingly understand that the establishment of laws and regulations involves many stakeholders. Focusing only on legislative institutions provides an insufficient overview of the legislation process, which should involve a number of other parties.

For us, regulatory reform is an effort to create and supervise the management of the regulatory establishment in a comprehensive manner. In the past, there has been a perception that law forming entities only include the executive and legislative branches. In reality, laws and regulations carry social and political impacts for all sectors. Therefore, all parties should be involved, from the legislative, executive, and judiciary branches, to the public.

Based on this thinking, we began to promote the regulatory reform agenda by engaging various cross-sectoral stakeholders. Regarding the public's role, for example, public involvement should not just be limited to knowing that there is a Bill Draft being discussed by the DPR. More than that, the public must be able to participate in the whole process. Therefore, there needs to be a mechanism that can ensure public participation in the creation of regulations.

This is why we need to make the knowledge of how a law is made more readily available. Through the regulatory reform agenda, we want to complement this knowledge by encouraging the involvement of all parties, especially civil society.

Working together to promote change

Over time, our efforts to promote the regulatory reform agenda have gained momentum. Since the beginning of his administration, for example, President Joko Widodo has often mentioned overlapping regulations. With this tone, the President is indirectly speaking about the regulatory reform issue.

To promote regulatory reform, we have conducted a number of studies. We've tried to involve relevant stakeholders in every study we have done, from bureaucrats, to academics, to civil society. We understood that we could not complete these efforts alone. Therefore, we also tried to advance the legal ecosystem with civil society networks. We strived to build a cross-sectoral study and advocacy network to make regulatory reform a joint agenda.

Our study plan was responded to by, among others, the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas). Specifically, Bappenas provided input that this study should be based on the four national strategic aspects on regulatory reform of 2015, so that the analysis and recommendations produced by it could be linked with an existing policy. These four aspects consist of simplifying regulations,

reconceptualising regulatory establishment procedure, restructuring regulatory management institutions, and strengthening the capacity of regulation makers.

At the time, Bappenas was also in the midst of initiating regulatory reform as a translation of the vision of President Joko Widodo regarding the overlap of various regulations. Furthermore, Bappenas wanted to include the regulatory reform agenda in the National Mid-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020–2024.

From our discussion with Bappenas, we learned of the difficulties faced in implementing the regulatory reform agenda, and having found a mutual objective, we began working together. Throughout 2018–2019, PSHK and Bappenas collaborated to produce a background study on regulatory reform. The results of this study became one of the input materials during the development of RPJMN 2020–2024.

Based on the results of the joint study conducted by PSHK and Bappenas, there are a number of problems related to regulatory management in Indonesia. For example, development planning not being synchronised with regulatory planning, non-compliance of regulation makers with provisions regarding the content and hierarchy of laws, no monitoring and evaluation (monev) mechanism integrated with the legislation process, and no special authority at the national level to handle the whole process and regulatory management. These findings have underlined our belief that the main issue related to regulatory management in Indonesia is not just about hyper-regulation or too many regulatory products designed to regulate too many things.

From these findings, we understand that efforts to promote regulatory reform must be done through multiple pathways. Not only through the House of Representatives (DPR) but also through the executive domain, including various ministries and other state agencies that have the same authority, but who, in the past, have escaped the attention and participation of the public. Oversight of regulations at the executive level should not only be focused on development and planning details, but also on their implementation. By doing this, we try to achieve our regulatory reform vision as an effort to both unpack and complement knowledge on how laws are made.

In addition, we held a series of discussions in a roadshow format across a number of areas, including areas outside of Java Island, such as Aceh, West Sumatera, and South Sulawesi. This was necessary to ensure that the regulatory reform agenda would not just remain the idea of academics from Java. The enthusiasm for this idea from academics and civil society outside of Java was huge. They also had ideas and solutions for the regulatory reform agenda.

Ultimately, we were able to complete the study by including input from various parties and submitting it to Bappenas. One of the recommendations was the need for better monev activities to support systematic regulatory reform.

We found another crucial moment of momentum during the presidential debate in 2019. One of the questions asked to candidates in the debate at the time was about the solution to the problem of so many overlapping regulations.

We responded to this momentum by moving quickly. Together with Bappenas, and supported by Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI), we gave a presentation to the media regarding the regulatory reform agenda in RPJMN 2020–2024. After that, we held a series of seminars following a similar theme.

Through these efforts, we helped ensure that for the first time RPJMN would include a plan to manage regulations by building a regulatory management institution or agency. The inclusion of the regulatory reform agenda in RPJMN 2020–2024 was a success. This proved that civil society could become more involved in the regulation development process. This was a good start for the development process of various other regulations in the future.

Challenges

The success of conducting advocacy to include the regulatory reform agenda in RPJMN 2020–2024 cannot be separated from our cooperation with various parties. However, establishing this kind of cooperation is not without its challenges.

Our cooperation with civil society networks and academics ran smoothly and produced a lot of valuable input. However, we had difficulties in coordinating with government agencies, especially with agencies outside of Bappenas. Despite this, we managed to gradually overcome this challenge. We believe that this process will create a wider network and increase the level of public involvement.

Internally, the challenge for us was not just about how to formulate PSHK's internal agenda but also how to respond to external dynamics. Priority regulations must be formulated accurately and precisely. If they were not, the regulatory reform agenda would only reach as far as simplifying the number of regulations.

Another challenge surfaced recently when President Joko Widodo issued Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 68 Year 2021 on President's Approval to the Bill Draft of Ministerial/Head of Agency Regulations. Starting from 6 August 2021, every regulation draft initiated by ministries/agencies must obtain approval from the president before it can be enforced.

At a glance, the issuance of this Perpres sounded like a solution, and even more so when we learned that there are a large number of regulations at the ministry/agency level, compared to other types of regulations. In 2019 alone, we found 8,311 ministry/agency level regulations established during the first period of President Joko Widodo's administration. However, the content of this new Perpres also has the potential to make the bureaucracy surrounding formulating regulations longer and more complicated.

We believe the government has made a strong commitment to continuing the regulatory reform agenda. This is in line with our agenda on regulatory reform. However, as stated in the long-term vision of the regulatory reform agenda, which aims to unpack every process involved in establishing and implementing regulations, this good intention needs to be constantly scrutinised.

Currently, the most important thing for us in the regulatory reform agenda is institutionalising *monev*. This was almost realised with the issuance of Law Number 15 Year 2019, which revised Law Number 12 Year 2011 on the Establishment of Laws and Regulations. Article 95A of the revised regulation includes a provision on monitoring and evaluating laws. With this article, the concept of *monev* was regulated in the legislation system in Indonesia for the first time. Unfortunately, the article only mentions that the government and the DPR must conduct *monev* on laws, when in fact, *monev* is needed for all regulatory instruments in Indonesia. All regulations issued by the president, ministers, local leaders, and agency decrees should be subject to the regulatory *monev* process.

Long term legacy

Regardless of the various challenges, the advocacy process to promote regulatory reform agenda in RPJMN 2020–2024 was finally successful. In this context, the support from KSI was very important to us. With their support, ideas that were initially difficult to realise began to come true.

The flexibility of KSI's support also enables us to improve the quality of our staff by encouraging staff to both continue their studies and participate in seminars and training held by various organisations, including KSI. All of this will eventually improve our capacity as an organisation. For us, the resource strengthening process supported by KSI is a legacy that will have a long-term impact for the regulatory reform agenda.

In addition, we are fully aware that these are years full of uncertainty. Acting idealistic in these conditions is difficult. But thanks to our cooperation with various other civil society organisations, we can stand strong. KSI played a major role in opening the space for this cooperation, allowing us to connect with organisations working in very different fields, such as SMERU, SurveyMeter, PKMK UGM, PPH Atma Jaya, and so on. This will become a very valuable legacy.

The inclusion of the regulatory reform agenda in RPJMN 2020–2024 was only the first step. There are still various objectives in the regulatory reform agenda that need to be completed. However, our experience promoting regulatory reform in RPJMN is an important asset for us to promote the larger regulatory reform agenda going forward.

Cross-Cutting Issue Policy Advocacy to Manage HIV

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In their daily lives, people living with HIV in Indonesia face complex issues. In addition to facing the impacts of HIV on their body, they also face the social stigma and discrimination that has come with the virus ever since the first case occurred in Indonesia more than 30 years ago. The complexity of this issue triggers psychological problems in people living with HIV. This shows that prevention and treatment for people with HIV requires a comprehensive biopsychosocial approach, incorporating not only medical treatments but also psychological support and social changes.

Awareness of the importance of integrating a comprehensive approach when providing treatment and support for people living with HIV (PLHIV) has encouraged us at the Centre of Excellence for Health Policy and Social Innovation, Indonesian Catholic University of Atma Jaya (PUI-PT PPH PUK2IS UAJ) to start looking into the issue of mental health. Building on our knowledge and experience with the HIV issue, we tried to examine mental health policies related to providing services to vulnerable and marginalised people. It turned out that mental health issues were yet to be made a priority in Indonesia, and thus mental health services were scattered, with not many people being aware of the services available in their areas. Specifically, PLHIV only accessed mental health services through the support groups available in their communities. We decided that inequality in mental health service availability and access was an important matter deserving further review.

Data from the Basic Health Research (*Riskesdas*) in 2018 shows that 7 out of every 1,000 households contain people with mental illness (*ODGJ*). This research also shows that the prevalence of emotional distress among members of the population that were over the age of 15 in 2018 had reached 9.8%.

From this data, we can see that in terms of prevalence, the number of cases of mental illness far exceeds that of HIV. In people over the age of 15, the number of PLHIV is less than 1%, while the number of ODGJ can reach 9.8%. This shows that mental health is an important matter that needs to be handled seriously, as has been the case with the HIV issue. Same as HIV, handling mental health problems can also last a lifetime. If mental health services are scattered, individuals with mental illness will not be the only ones who suffer. Various studies that we have examined indicate that mental health issues are not only detrimental to individuals and families, but also to the general public, and create a social and economic burden for the state.

With this information in mind, we thought it was important to conduct advocacy related to the issue of mental health through a series of studies that could provide input for mental health policy development in Indonesia. Initially, we only discussed this issue as it pertained to the handling of PLHIV. However, we understand that mental health issues have a wide scope and are interrelated with each other. Therefore, we agreed that the mental health issue for PLHIV was only a small part of the mental health issue as a whole in Indonesia. Thus, we decided to discuss mental health issues more broadly, not only those related to HIV.

Our advocacy process was conducted through a series of studies aimed at producing scientific evidence-based recommendations. In 2019, we started the process by conducting a situation analysis on the performance of mental health service delivery at community health centres (*puskesmas*) as primary health facilities in Indonesia. This early step was intended to identify how mental health services were delivered to people with mental illness (ODGJ) and people with mental issues (ODMK) in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Palu, and Denpasar. These four locations were selected based on Riskesdas 2018 data that showed that these four cities had a high incidence of mental health issues.

Through this research, we began to expand our scope and contribution to the mental health issue as a part of the discussion on HIV. We focused on how mental health policies and their implementation in Indonesia became the basis for efforts to achieve a proper mental health system as an integral part of PLHIV management.

Excellence centre

Since its establishment in 2010, PPH UAJ has been intended to serve as a platform for the contribution and collaboration of HIV observers across disciplines and professions to overcome issues of HIV/AIDS, drugs, psychotropics, and other addictive substances (*napza*) in Indonesia through research, capacity building, and community service. Our work program revolves around policy and social behaviour research related to HIV/AIDS, reproductive and sexual health, and civil community participation in developing the health sector and HIV program.

The existence of PPH UAJ cannot be separated from the cooperation of the Indonesian Catholic University (UNIKA) of Atma Jaya and the University of Illinois Chicago (UIC). Through the support of the Global Partnership of AIDS and Social Science Research – US National Institute of Health (US NIH), the cooperation between these two institutions produced a project intended to build research capacity related to HIV/AIDS in 2007. Three years after that, in 2010, our organisation was established as a concrete form of this collaboration, with the initial name of HIV/AIDS Research Centre of UNIKA Atma Jaya, (PPH UAJ).

However, our ongoing existence also cannot be separated from our strong collaboration and ties with the community (including the civil society community working on the HIV issue) in the years since PPH was established. Our excellence compared to other centres is reflected through our synergistic ties and collaboration with the community. The community is involved in research and non-research programs, not just as research 'subjects', but as community researchers, who are active participants in the research process itself.

HIV prevention and management programs need to consider various interrelated aspects. Collaboration with various communities really supports us in promoting this. One example is the link between drug users and HIV transmission. The prevalence of crystal meth users with HIV is higher than needle users. Thus, we encouraged that crystal meth users be made a priority group in the eradication of HIV. Another example was when we conducted advocacy to the National AIDS Commission, which at the time had yet to be dissolved, and the Ministry of Social Affairs regarding the closure of prostitution complexes that were not decreasing HIV/AIDS transmission. These closures could potentially cause new problems, because health services such as Puskesmas would have difficulties conducting consultations and tests (voluntary counselling and testing [VCT]) for sex workers because they were no longer gathering in one location. It was this linkage of various aspects related to the management of PLHIV that drove us to expand our current focus to the issue of mental health more broadly.

As a research institution within a university, the knowledge products we produced needed to be disseminated to promote policy change. However, disseminating knowledge products to shepherd the process of policy transformation needs high-quality advocacy. For that, we are trying to gradually build our advocacy capacity. This process starts with us developing and establishing a policy advocacy roadmap each year. While previous dissemination of our research outcomes was still limited to socialisation to determine the direction of policy recommendations, now policy briefs have become one of the main outputs of our research. To further this end, we are fully aware of the need to recruit advocacy and media staff members, considering that most of PPH UAJ's current staff are researchers and academics.

Building our organisation's capacity for advocacy indirectly improved our internal capacity as well, both from the administrative and management sides. With increased internal capacity, research performance, and advocacy processes, our organisation will be better structured and have a clearer direction going forward. The improvement to our organisation's internal capacity building as a whole also helped with networking, both regarding research and non-research cooperation, and at the national and international scale.

The significant improvements to our organisation, especially regarding its governance capacity and expanded network of collaborations has garnered positive results for us. Through the academic excellence and commercial capacity evaluation process conducted by the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) in 2019, we were considered as a potential candidate to become one of the centres of excellence for science, technology, and higher education science (PUI-PT) in Indonesia. After the selection and evaluation process was conducted on one hundred study centres in universities across Indonesia, finally, PPH UAJ was established as a PUI-PT by Kemendikbud on 14 July 2020. Since then, our name has changed to PUI-PT Centre of Excellence for Health Policy and Social Innovation for the Indonesian Catholic University of Atma Jaya or PUI-PT Pusat Unggulan Kebijakan Kesehatan dan Inovasi Sosial, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya (PUI-PT PPH PUK2IS UAJ).

Strengthening policy advocacy

Our status as a PUI-PT gave us a more strategic position from which to advocate research to policy. We continued to carry out studies and advocacy related to the HIV issue and its intersection with other mental health issues. Specifically, we focused on how existing regulations could be practically implemented.

In the context of the link between PLHIV and mental health issues, for example, we saw the role of puskesmas as an accessible first-level mental health service provider. However, in the past, puskesmas have failed to fully live up to this role.

Based on our research findings from 2019, one of the reasons for this was a lack of reference documents regarding operational policy. There were also only a few programs and not much funding dedicated to the mental health issue. Despite the existence of Law Number 18 Year 2014 on Mental Health, the implementation of the regulation was not complete. This was causing unequal levels of mental health service to be provided at different puskesmas. There were puskesmas with great mental health service in all aspects, but some could only refer to other health facilities.

Looking at this situation, we recommended the need for an operational policy in the form of a technical guideline (*juknis*) related to primary mental health service at puskesmas. Without a detailed reference document, it was hard to realise any resource support for providing mental health service at the local level, especially at the puskesmas level. We presented this recommendation to relevant stakeholders. After that, we followed up on the recommendation by urging for an operational policy related to mental health service. To achieve this, we have been working together with the Health Office of DKI Jakarta Provincial Government since 2020 to conduct research in order to develop the technical guideline for mental health management in puskesmas, both in normal conditions and during the COVID-19 pandemic. During this research, we engaged relevant stakeholders, both from the health office and puskesmas, from early on. We also made an online survey to obtain input regarding this technical guideline.

The process we used to engage relevant stakeholders in DKI Jakarta finally resulted in the creation of the technical guideline document for mental health service. We then held training for staff at the health office so that they could understand the content of this technical guideline and facilitate puskesmas staff members in implementing it. We also conducted this training for the health office's staff so that health officials could continue to mentor puskesmas to implement the technical guideline.

At the same time, we continued to try to promote a similar policy on *juknis* at the provincial level. One of the positive outcomes of this effort was an agreement between the Ministry of Health and DKI Jakarta Provincial Government to prepare a memorandum of understanding regarding a technical guideline on mental health service, to be implemented by 40 puskesmas across DKI Jakarta. We did not stop at the provincial level either, as we also promoted *juknis*-related policy to the national level. During this effort, we conveyed our study results to the Presidential Staff Office (KSP) and received a positive response.

From these efforts, we increasingly understood the process of promoting knowledge to policy. The engagement of relevant stakeholders at all levels, from the national level to people in the field, at every research and advocacy stage, was key to the success of this effort.

Investment

Advocacy on HIV-related regulations and other issues intersecting with HIV management will continue to be our focus going forward, including the promotion of technical regulation implementation in the field. In the past, we have often seen gaps between the contents of the law and its technical implementation in the field. With our new status as a PUI-PT, we will utilise our networks and experiences to conduct advocacy towards closing these gaps.

In all of these processes, study and research remain the foundation. We will continue to innovate in developing new knowledge products, for example, research-based technical guidelines and modules, developed through a peer review process so that they can be used openly by the community.

The support from Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI), which started in 2014, helped us set out on our journey to conduct advocacy on knowledge to policy. Prior to that, we had not compiled our research into any policy papers, even though in conducting the research, we collaborated with stakeholders. The partnership scheme designed by KSI indirectly became a long-term investment scheme for the organisations they supported. This was apparent with the foundation strengthening support for research organisations through the core grant scheme, which freed the supported organisations to map their needs, from basic needs such as better governance, to strengthening quality human resources.

This strategic partnership scheme also provided valuable lessons for us in relation to the importance of engaging relevant stakeholders and policyholders to synergise in conducting policy transformation. For us, KSI has committed to a complete 'investment' since its initial partnership, strengthening our organisation's foundations, and thus strengthening our networks and strategic partnerships with various parties. This investment has become a major asset for us to continue to contribute to managing HIV-related issues in Indonesia.

1.4

Data for Change



Overseeing the Strengthening of the Interreligious Harmony Forum

Ihsan Ali-Fauzi and Husni Mubarak

The Paramadina Centre for the Study of Religion and Democracy (PUSAD Paramadina)

A worship activity in a Christian church in Gunung Kidul, DI Yogyakarta, was ceased by force. The local people refused the presence of the church and any worshipping activities associated with it. In Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara, construction of a mosque was also stopped. The trigger was the backlash from people living in the area around where the mosque was being constructed.

These cases both appeared in the media in 2011 and are only two of the many cases surrounding the rejection of places of worship in Indonesia. Every year, these types of cases continue to happen across different regions, potentially triggering conflicts between communities.

The frequency of these cases provokes many questions regarding the role of government in mediating religion-related problems and preserving tolerance. In the two cases above, both in Gunung Kidul and Kupang, local governments failed to position themselves as mediators. Efforts to conduct interfaith dialogues and the presence of the institutions responsible for interfaith dialogues seemed pointless in the face of these cases.

The endlessly repeating nature of these situations has encouraged us at the Centre for Religious and Democracy Studies or *Pusat Studi Agama dan Demokrasi (PUSAD) Paramadina* to conduct research into the issue. One of our research efforts was a study on the role of the Interreligious Harmony Forum (FKUB) in resolving the aforementioned conflicts in Gunung Kidul and Kupang. One of the results of this study was a research report entitled 'Disputes over places of worship in Indonesia: evaluating the role of the Interreligious Harmony Forum', which was completed in 2019.

This research concluded that in these two conflicts, FKUB, which was supposed to promote dialogues to find solutions to interreligious conflicts, was not performing its role at an optimal level. At the same time, these cases also showed that the forum's role in resolving disputes was only marginal, as it was limited to merely issuing recommendations. However, the fact that these two disputes were able to be settled, regardless of the minimal role played by the local FKUB, showed the possibility for change in the relationship between the FKUB, local governments, and civil society organisations moving forward.

With this in mind, we reflected on the role of the FKUB in promoting interreligious harmony, and how the FKUB should be the front line of preventing the occurrence of sectarian conflicts. The question we sought to answer was whether the FKUB was working optimally and carrying out its mandate as the gatekeeper to interreligious/interfaith harmony in Indonesia.

Reviewing the establishment of the FKUB

The combination of widespread interreligious conflicts across Indonesia and the FKUB's limited power to intervene in those conflicts encouraged PUSAD Paramadina to conduct research on the FKUB. We wanted to examine how the Joint Ministerial Regulation (PMB) of 2006, which served as the basis for the establishment of the FKUB, had been implemented over the last 15 years. We began this effort by looking back at the original goal for the FKUB's establishment.

During the New Order (Orba) era, interreligious harmony, religious preaching, and religious practices including constructing places of worship, were regulated through the Joint Decree (SKB) of the Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Religious Affairs No. 1/Ber/MDN-MAG/1969 on the Duties of Government Officials in Ensuring Orderly and Smooth Religious Practices and Worship by their followers. This policy placed a great emphasis on order, using a strong approach to security. This was shown from how constructing places of worship had to be greenlit by the Local Special Implementer (Laksusda). However, despite a strong approach to security, vandalism against places of worship continued to happen, especially to churches. The research of Melissa Crouch, published in 2007, mentioned at least 1,000 conflicts surrounding places of worship from 1969 to 2006.

Entering the reform era, a discourse to revise the 1969 SKB began to surface because it was no longer deemed relevant. After coordinating with various religious councils, in 2006 the government, through the Minister of Religious Affairs and Minister of Home Affairs, issued a Joint Ministerial Regulation (PBM) Numbers 9 and 8. The FKUB was the product of this 2006 Joint Ministerial Regulation.

The FKUB was born to be the bridge between followers of different religions, and provide a link between them and the government in order to maintain harmony. The FKUB was established at the provincial and district/city levels. This forum was tasked with conducting dialogues with religious figures and communities, accommodating and channelling aspirations from religious CSOs and communities, and carrying out the socialisation of laws, regulations and policies on religious affairs related to interreligious harmony and community empowerment. Specifically, at the district/city level, the FKUP was also tasked with issuing recommendations on constructing places of worship.

In practice, we found that the FKUB's performance was still a long way from what it was intended to be. The FKUB seemed to have lost its power to manage interreligious harmony. In 2018, the FKUB was established in nearly all districts/cities and provinces across the country. However, several districts in West Sumatera and Papua consistently rejected the establishment of a local branch of the FKUB.

Even 15 years after the issuance of PBM 2006, there are still huge challenges in establishing interreligious harmony. Religious-based violence and other conflicts still occur in several areas.

Measuring performance with database

Based on our research findings, we concluded that the performance of the FKUB as an organisation mandated to maintain interreligious harmony needed to be monitored regularly. However, this monitoring was hard to do because there was a lack of data or supporting evidence to serve as the basis of this assessment. Studies regarding the FKUB were done separately at the local level and in limited numbers. Therefore, we had the idea to build an FKUB database. This database would be established to combat data scarcity related to the FKUB and PBM 2006 as a whole.

Through this database, we could monitor the FKUB's performance in carrying out its four main duties, including the performance of individual district/city branches of the FKUB in conducting their additional duty, namely providing a written recommendation for requests to build places of worship. The joint regulation implied that the FKUB's recommendation had the same weight as the approval requirement from 90 users and 60 supportive communities living around the area. This meant that the 90:60 requirement could go hand-in-hand, and was not a requirement for the issuance of FKUB recommendations.

We initiated the FKUB database in 2019, beginning with data covering 167 FKUBs (consisting of 24 provincial FKUBs, 33 municipality FKUBs, and 110 district FKUBs). As time went by, this number increased to 237 FKUBs (consisting of 14 provincial FKUBs, and 233 municipality and district FKUBs). We still continue to work on completing this database.

In developing this database, we cooperated with the Research and Development Division (Litbang) of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kemenag) and the Centre for Interreligious Harmony (PKUB). In the three years since its creation, our database has received positive responses, with Kemenag expressing their appreciation of it and joining in to promote it. Currently, we are at the second stage of developing the database.

To ease and speed up the process of updating the database, Kemenag asked PUSAD Paramadina to change its data collection method from sending letters and visiting FKUBs one by one, to using the survey monkey tool.

In the second stage of our database development, we have three targets. The first is to add to and expand the scope of the FKUBs included in the database. We hope to cover all 548 FKUBs across Indonesia.

The second is to expand access to the database. Up to this point, the FKUB database has only been accessible by the government. We hope to make the database available online, thus providing access to anyone who needs it, including stakeholders, researchers, or the general public.

The third involves continually updating the database, in order to bring the content in line with the latest developments of existing FKUB profiles and performances. Updated data is more helpful for developing policies. For example, the government can use this updated data to develop an interreligious harmony index or as the basis for granting the Harmony Award.

Promoting policy change

Besides monitoring the FKUB's performance, our research findings also encouraged us to look at the policy aspect. The fact was, despite the issuance of the PBM in 2006, which served as the basis for the FKUB's existence, violence and discrimination against religious minority groups were still happening. This included the rejection of places of worship for certain religious minority groups, such as churches in the western part of Indonesia or mosques and Buddhist monasteries in the eastern part of Indonesia.

Since its creation, both the President and Minister of Home Affairs have always underlined that the FKUB is the front line in maintaining interreligious harmony. However, the government's support of the FKUB's work is still very lacklustre, especially on the budget side.

To implement their activities, FKUBs at the district/city level only receive 40 million rupiahs each year, while FKUBs at the provincial level receive 50 million rupiahs. This budget is distributed by the central government through PKUB. At the local level, there is no budget nomenclature for the FKUB, so local governments are not obligated to prepare a budget to support FKUBs. This hinders the FKUB's performance in making programs to promote dialogues among religious figures, communities, and young people.

We conveyed our research findings to various relevant parties, starting with Kemenag, the Executive Office of the President (KSP), and so on. These findings showed that the policy aspect was crucial. At this point, there was an idea to change PBM 2006 to a Presidential Regulation (*Perpres*). This *Perpres* was needed so that the FKUB's existence had greater legal powers.

We facilitated various meetings between PKUB, the FKUB, and religious councils related to upgrading the PBM to a *Perpres*. The existence of a *Perpres* on the FKUB felt essential so that the FKUB could obtain more support from the government in its work. Going forward, this would allow the FKUB to work optimally in carrying out its tasks. Currently, the *Perpres* is being developed. Moving forward, we will continue to oversee this *Perpres*, because its ratification is quite pivotal to the FKUB's institutional improvement.

In addition, we also encouraged the process to improve the institutional aspect of the FKUB at the local level. We assisted four cities with institutionalising mediation as a way to build the FKUB's capacity. Hopefully, they will be able to manage religious conflicts through mediation. In relation to that, we also plan to develop a Standard Operational Procedure (SOP) on conflict management for FKUBs in four cities.

Inclusive FKUB

Another research finding was that the current condition of the FKUB is not ideal for achieving what it set out to do in the beginning. Internally, for example, the FKUB's management and membership are not inclusive, because they are still dominated by men. Women only make up 8 per cent of the personnel within the FKUB.

In many regions, it is still difficult for women to become FKUB officials. These challenges come from internal issues. When the FKUB was established, the local government followed a regulation asking religious councils to send their representatives to become the FKUB's officials. Thus, it was the religious councils who had the right to decide on their representative, and with religious council often not being inclusive themselves, most of the representatives they sent were men.

Looking at this finding, we tried to push for a strengthening of women's representation in the FKUB. This was done by implementing the Gender Equality, Disability, and Social Inclusion (GEDSI) perspective in the cooperation between PUSAD Paramadina and the FKUB. When carrying out a joint activity, for example, 30 per cent of the participants must now be women.

We also urged the FKUB to embrace believers of unofficial religions. This was because the majority of the FKUB's officials came from six religions recognised by the government, when in fact there existed many believers of religions that were not officially recognised. However, this effort was not easy, because many people considered the FKUB to only be for believers of religions, and unofficial religions were not considered to be religions.

Organisational sustainability

Our efforts to promote improvements to the FKUB's institutions, both at the local and central levels, were only possible because of the support from Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI). KSI's assistance and flexible funding gave us more freedom to plan accurately targeted activity programs, both at the local and national levels. Besides providing funding support for operational purposes, KSI also urged us to consider GEDSI perspectives in all of our activities.

Through KSI's investment component support, our organisation experienced a few changes that supported our financial sustainability. The first change was related to knowledge. Previously, we only focused on implementing programs, but now we understand that this is not enough. We need to diversify funding sources for organisational sustainability to reduce dependency on donor agencies funding our focus area. The second change was related to attitude. With KSI's support, we continued to carry out capacity building to be able to implement various programs and needs, according to our organisation's vision and mission. The third change was related to practice or action. Now we are refining our organisation's business model and branding to support the organisation's financial sustainability. Hopefully, with all these changes, we will have more opportunities to carry out research and advocacy work in line with our organisation's vision and mission.

Going forward, we will continue to oversee the Perpres that will replace PMB 2006. In addition, we will begin research on human rights, freedom of practising religion, and so on. We hope these research efforts will provide useful findings, both for policy development and capacity building, as needed by the FKUB and other community groups in addressing conflicts in order to achieve harmonious interreligious lives.

Overseeing Women's Representation in Politics

Anna Margret and Yolanda Panjaitan
Cakra Wikara Indonesia (CWI)

After the number of women among government officials in Canada increased, data shows that the country's mortality rate decreased. This reduced mortality rate applied not only to women, but to the whole Canadian population.

A number of studies reveal that the declining mortality rate in Canada occurred because women tend to be more focused on allocating their budget towards the health and education sectors. Besides the impacts on health, women's involvement in politics has also proven to provide opportunities for introducing inclusive policies in various other fields. This has not only happened in Canada, but also in a number of other countries such as New Zealand, Germany, Sweden, Finland, and so on.

The experience in these countries shows that women's representation in politics is important. Numbers do matter.

With this in mind, we at Cakra Wikara Indonesia (CWI) went on to examine the situation in Indonesia. Law Number 2 Year 2008 concerning Political Parties includes an article promoting a 30 per cent quota of women in the membership and management of a political party. This was even reinforced by the issuance of Law Number 2 Year 2011 concerning Political Parties. Despite that, today the representation of women in the political domain in Indonesia still falls short of what is needed to promote a substantial change.

Our research results, which were made into a book entitled *About the Data on Women's Representation in Five Domains (Menyoal Data Representasi Perempuan di Lima Ranah)* in 2018, show that since the rule about women's representation was introduced, the number of women sitting at the legislative branch has never reached 30%. During the period from 1999–2004, the percentage of seats filled by women on the People's Representative Council (DPR) only reached 9.09%. Then, during the period from 2004–2009, the number increased to 11%. Only during the 2009 election was there significant progress, with an increase to 18%. However, this number declined once again during the 2014 election, to 17.32%. A small increase occurred during the 2019 election, which resulted in women's representation in the DPR reaching 20.5%.

The situation at the local level, the Regional Representative Council (DPD), shows similar tendencies. Among the management of political parties, women's representation has fulfilled the administrative requirement of 30%, but not when it comes to strategic leadership positions. The percentage of local government heads that are women is also very low. Meanwhile, in the ministry's bureaucracy, the

percentage of women in the Civil Service (ASN) in general continues to increase, but very few fill high leadership positions.

In conducting this study, CWI compiled previous research results to determine the availability and accessibility of political representation data regarding women. In the process, we found that theoretical analyses on women's representation in politics, and feminist studies on the gap in women's representation, are lacking in details on cross-time data. Based on these findings, we conducted further research to promote the strengthening of women's representation, which can begin with a commitment to meet the minimum 30 per cent women's representation quota.

Critical mass

One of the key ideas underlying CWI's efforts to promote the strengthening of women's representation is the concept of the minimum of 30 per cent representation, or critical mass, based on affirmative policy. The critical mass concept offers an explanation as to why women (and other minority groups) are fighting for change in various dimensions within the political realm. A study from the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (UNDAW 1995) shows that the voice of women in politics, especially in showing and fighting for unique women-related values, priorities, and characters, will only be considered by the public if it reaches a minimum representation threshold of 30 per cent. In the above context, we try to understand the concept of critical mass and affirmative policy comprehensively, rather than focusing solely on the causal relationship between the number of women and the impact on policy development. The critical mass and affirmative policy concept is more of an argument based on the principle of equality, with an expectation based on empirical experience that when the percentage of women increases, the policies produced will be better, because they will be more inclusive. The experience of Nordic countries shows that countries with high prosperity often have a significant percentage of female leaders among their policymaking institutions (UNDAW 2001).

However, it is also important to underline that the efficacy of this minimum threshold is not based solely on the presence of women in politics, but also on their individual capacity to influence policy. Not all women have an equality-based perspective, and thus when sitting in strategic positions, some may very well perpetuate existing gaps in women's representation. Therefore, CWI views the success of this 30 per cent threshold as contingent on the need to promote women with equality and social inclusion perspectives.

CWI wanted to examine the women's representation gap in Indonesian politics in greater detail, with the aim of promoting an increase in women's representation. To this end, CWI assessed the phenomenon of women's representation in politics across five formal institutional domains, namely legislative agencies, the management structure of political parties, election implementing agencies, ministerial bureaucracy, and local leaders.

Joint work

To promote women's representation in these five domains, we conducted a series of studies focusing on each domain. Of course, we could not work alone. We cooperated with various parties, from the executive and legislative branch to civil society organisations and the media.

As part of a study aiming to examine gender and bureaucracy, for example, CWI established a relationship with the State Employment Agency (BKN) and supported the agency in addressing the women's representation data issue. CWI's research in this area also enabled BKN to strengthen its network with the State Administration Agency (LAN).

As part of an electoral and democracy study, CWI established an alliance with a number of organisations with similar focuses, namely the Association for Election and Democracy (*Perludem*), the Centre for Constitutional Studies (*PUSaKO*), Constitution and Initiative Democracy (*KODE Inisiatif*), Indonesian Voters Committee (*TePI*) and Indonesia Corruption Watch (*ICW*). This alliance was aimed at preparing a policy brief that could open channels for the people to provide input into the vision and mission development process for candidates running for the general election (*pemilu*). This alliance recommended an amendment of the provisions of the Regulation of the General Election Commission (*PKPU*) Number 3 Year 2017 concerning the Candidacy and Election of Governors, District Heads, and Mayors, and *PKPU* Number 4 Year 2017 concerning Campaigns. Through this advocacy, CWI also built relations with the General Election Commission (*KPU*) and its commissioners, with *KPU* inviting CWI's input into the public trial process for the *PKPU* draft several times.

In 2020, we conducted research and advocacy for the General Election Law Draft (*RUU*), focusing on the issues of simultaneous election, the 30 per cent threshold, and women's representation. In this effort, we established a joint working network with a number of organisations, such as *Kalyanamitra*, *Maju Perempuan Indonesia*, *Fatayat NU*, and *Aisyiyah*. This network actively participated in designing CWI's recommendation regarding the 30 per cent women's representation clause in legislative candidacy. We also established a network with the Parliament Women Caucus of the Republic of Indonesia (*KPPRI*).

Monitoring data

Our research experience shows very minimal pre-existing segregated data on women's representation in politics. Therefore, we initiated the establishment of a spatial-based database, presenting cross-time, segregated social political data that can be found at www.dataspasial.id. Even *KPU*, as the election organiser, has yet to be able to provide comprehensive segregated data from election results at the district, province, and national level. The existing election data should have been better managed, so that it could serve as a reference for policymakers, academics, and the general public.

The development of the spatial database was based on three principles, namely accessibility to the public, ongoing updates, and data segregation. To achieve the first principle, the database can be accessed free of charge. To provide a better understanding of how to access it, CWI made a tutorial video and organised a workshop on how to use the database. We also regularly update the data, including the data on the simultaneous general election and local election, which is officially released by the General Election Commission.

The segregated data found at www.dataspasial.id is presented in three formats, which are maps, tables, and graphics. As the database includes geospatial data, users can access certain kinds of data based on area, such as party base area, areas with certain female candidacy rates, and so on. The area-based segregated data will also be useful for policymakers in designing gender-responsive programs and policies. The provision of segregated data is a part of CWI's efforts in advocating for increased women's representation in politics.

Data for change

We realise that ensuring data availability is not the end goal. This data needs to be managed and conveyed to the relevant parties to promote change. We have launched the database centre and organised a workshop, as well as provided a tutorial. We also brought this data to a number of political parties by targeting the head of women's empowerment in each party.

In the domain of political party management, we see that KPU is quite progressive in overseeing the 30 per cent women quota rule. When there is a political party at its central level that does not meet the 30 per cent women quota, for example, KPU will ask the party to revise the list of proposed officials as a part of the administrative completion requirement. However, based on our research, some political parties participating in the election tend to reduce the number of women in their central management as soon as they are done with their national congress.

In the local government domain, the trend of women's representation at the local head and vice head positions is generally improving. The candidacy rate continues to rise, despite the elected number being slow to move up, namely sitting around 11 per cent in the Local Head Election of 2020. This situation needs to be examined further to reveal the causes.

In this context, the quality of a woman running as a local head candidate is often questioned. Some of the questions asked are, for example, whether this politician is the wife of the previous local head, or a daughter of the local elite group? To discuss this fairly, the same question also needs to be asked of male politicians, because the fact is that many male local heads are sons of the local elite. For us, dynastic or familial politics is an inherent problem in the political recruitment process in Indonesia, and is not a problem exclusively for female politicians.

In the bureaucracy sector, we conducted research on the ministerial bureaucracy. The most interesting finding was, in 2020, the number of women accepted into the Civil Service (ASN) was higher than men. However, looking from the leadership structure, the high leadership positions (*JPT*) were still mostly held by male ASN members. The percentage of women in these roles was very minimal, despite female ASN members having the same capacity and competency as their male counterparts. Our research found that many female ASN members refused when offered a high position. The reason was not because of any competency crisis, but because of invisible barriers, such as the domestic role that still places a disproportionate burden on women in households. In the promotion process at the office, female ASN members must consider many things before deciding to take a step toward advancing their career to a leadership position at the ministerial bureaucracy. Statistical data and qualitative analysis concerning women in bureaucracy provide an explanation on the lack of female ASN members in leadership positions.

We had a more intensive discussion with the Ministry of State Apparatus Empowerment-Bureaucratic Reform (PAN-RB) to convey our research findings on bureaucracy and gender. In the context of the pandemic, the data we submitted made KemenPAN-RB consider implementing a flexible working hour policy, by recognising the special needs of female ASN members. Furthermore, we encouraged KemenPAN-RB to officially institutionalise the option of working from home for ASN members. During the development of this article, this regulation was still in the discussion process.

So far, we have garnered positive responses to the spatial database development, especially from bureaucrats and academics, including students. However, there is a small difference in response from executive and legislative agencies to the data we have shown. Executive agencies tended to respond in a more serious manner, wanting to know more and seeing that this database could be used for something significant. Meanwhile, despite their positive responses, legislative agencies seemed to lack a sincere willingness to really use the database to increase women's representation in a substantial manner. Therefore, we will continue to oversee this issue in legislative agencies and political parties.

Looking forward

With the 2024 general election approaching, CWI will still oversee the advocacy for the Election Law revision. Our focus is to urge the strengthening of the women affirmative article in the Election Law, considering the current provision is merely a suggestion. Currently, the regulation that mandates the affirmation of 30 per cent women's candidacy is only included in PKPU technical regulation for legislative election.

Our commitment in overseeing the direction of the Election Law revision does not stop at ensuring that women have been nominated, but also ensuring the presence of women in every policymaking process, from upstream to downstream. This means that we want to ensure the presence of women in political parties' internal processes, starting from their institution, recruitment, caderisation, and candidacy, to competing either in the local or legislative election.

Specifically, we will oversee the strengthening of the affirmative article regarding 30 per cent women's candidacy in the candidate list, placing women as at least one of three candidate names in the legislative election. We also recommend that the first name on the lists in 30 per cent of the total election areas is a female candidate. This is based on our study results that shows that the sequential number is still significant. Within the context of a proportional election with open lists, voters still prioritise the names of candidates sequentially listed as number one.

Expanding networks

Looking back, one of the reasons why our efforts in research and advocacy were possible was thanks to the support from Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI). With a flexible funding scheme, we could design and conduct various research and advocacy efforts to strengthen and institutionalise participative, fair, and equal political governance. With KSI's support, we were able to expand our network of strategic partners and produce cross-time data on women's political representation across strategic domains.

KSI support has enabled us to present our research on bureaucracy, which was first carried out in 2017–2018, at the Indonesian Development Forum (IDF). This research was still ongoing until 2021 and the result has been published. From this research, we realised that studies on bureaucracy within the ministerial environment are still few and far between. This is despite the ministry having a strategic position because it has access to promote policies and budget for policy implementation.

In addition to funding, KSI also supports institutional strengthening. They have provided space for us to strengthen our internal institutional capacity, both in terms of strengthening and improving our internal management and achieving institutional sustainability. From this process, we understood that advocacy

efforts need to be done hand-in-hand with efforts to build and develop institutional management capacity. Our experience in the last few years in promoting women's representation has become a good take-off point for our future research and advocacy.

Overseeing Health Services for Senior Citizens

Ni Wayan Suriastini, Dani Alfah and Endra Dwimulyanto
SurveyMETER

Even though the percentage of Indonesia's population that is considered to be senior citizens reached 10.8% in 2021, and the number of senior citizens in the population is estimated to reach 42 million by 2030, the senior program at community health centres (*puskesmas*) is not currently considered an essential program, but rather is still a development program. However, senior citizens, who, according to Law Number 13 Year 1998, are people who have reached the age of 60 years or older, have the same rights as the rest of their community, people, and nation, including the right to improve their social welfare, which includes their health. The World Health Organisation (WHO) also indicates that seniors deserve to receive good health services so that they can be prosperous in their later days.

The lacklustre health service for seniors, with its various challenges, has become the main focus of SurveyMETER. Through a number of studies, SurveyMETER has attempted to trace the causes of this issue and formulate policy recommendations to improve it.

One reason why health service delivery is not optimal for seniors is that the senior issue has yet to be made an essential program in *Puskesmas*. In the Special Region of Yogyakarta, which has been our main area of study since 2013, for example, one *Puskesmas* can serve people in three villages (*kelurahan*) or more. This is the case with Pajangan *Puskesmas*, Bantul District. One of the villages Pajangan *Puskesmas* serves is Guwosari Village, with a senior population of 1,563 people. This means the number of seniors in three villages can reach around 4,500 individuals. However, despite the large number of seniors relying on their services, the senior program staff at these facilities have other duties and responsibilities besides seniors. This has made the senior program less than ideal.

Increasing the number of senior program staff and/or making the senior program an essential program in *Puskesmas* could be the solution to this issue. But this is not easy, because the senior program has not yet been included as an essential program in the Minister of Health Regulation (PMK) Number 75 Year 2014, but rather still as a development program. The Minister of Health Regulation Number 43 Year 2019, which was a revision of PMK Number 75 Year 2014, also explicitly failed to mandate it as an essential program.

Based on the Population Census in 2020, the Special Region of Yogyakarta is the province with the largest proportion of seniors in Indonesia, namely 15.75%. This data is what made us focus on conducting study and advocacy in the region, so that the senior issue could become an essential program at the *Puskesmas* level.

Nationally, the senior population in Indonesia reached 18 million people in 2010. This number is estimated to increase to around 30 million people in 2025 and 42 million people in 2030. If this prediction holds true, by 2030 the number of people in the senior population will exceed those under 15 years old. This prediction shows that the senior issue needs special attention. Therefore, we have also promoted the senior issue in a number of other regions besides Yogyakarta Province.

Conditions for seniors can generally be grouped into three levels, namely levels 1, 2, and 3. Level 1 refers to seniors who are still well and active, level 2 refers to seniors who are beginning to have health and social issues, and level 3 refers to seniors who have a major functional issue, making it difficult to perform activities. The proportion of seniors in level 1 is estimated to reach 70 per cent. Those in this category need to be encouraged to engage in activities to prevent them from rapidly entering levels 2 and 3. As for the proportion of seniors in level 3, it is estimated to reach around 10 per cent. Seniors in level 3 need to receive proper long-term treatment.

Seniors deserve to receive good health services, just like any other citizen. They must regularly receive health check-ups, from the cognitive health aspect, for example, whether they suffer from dementia, psychological or physical health, and so on. If health services for seniors are not improved, various problems will surface in the future. This is because the senior issue affects many aspects of our lives. If seniors are not supported with the right policies in terms of time, target, and intervention, this can cause a burden for families, communities, and the state.

Diving deeper on the senior issue

SurveyMETER is an organisation that originally conducted various surveys related to various subjects. The common thread of what we do is promoting sound policies. In our journey, we have increasingly dived into the senior issue alongside other subjects related to health that we are still working on.

Our focus on the senior issue began in 2010, after SurveyMETER attended a conference which discussed many issues regarding seniors. However, for most of the staff in SurveyMETER, the introduction to the senior issue started when we were involved in the Indonesia Household Lives Aspect Survey (SAKERTI) in 1993. SAKERTI is a 21-year longitudinal study that was held until 2014. During this long study, we interviewed individuals in the same households, following respondents for years. When they moved, we tracked them down and followed their development, including their age. For some respondents that were in their 50s in 1993, by 2000 they had entered the senior category. Thus, the questionnaire was adjusted to include senior-related components, for example, measuring the respondents' cognitive level, including psychological and physical health.

In November 2012, we held a seminar related to the senior issue. In the seminar, entitled 'Aging Population and Development: Documentation, Challenge & Follow Up', we invited experts on the senior issue. This seminar became a space for further learning for us in terms of senior issues.

The senior or aging theme may have been raised quite often in previous seminars or discussions. But, in this seminar, we discussed various topics rarely talked about, including the employment aspect for seniors, especially related to the labour market in Indonesia, the Social Insurance System for seniors, and the socio-economic implications of the aging population in Indonesia. This socio-economic aspect also includes the funding source issue. We published various articles and discussion summaries from

this seminar or workshop into a book entitled *Humanising Seniors: Population Aging & Development in Indonesia* in June 2013.

This seminar enabled us to expand our network of connections related to the senior issue. One of these connections was with Centre for Aging Studies Universitas Indonesia (CAS UI). Thanks to our shared vision, we were able to conduct a study on Senior-Friendly Cities with CAS UI in 2013. This study was intended to promote public policies that are friendly towards seniors and sustainable at the city level in Indonesia.

Initially, this study covered fewer than 100 respondents in five locations. However, with support from Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI), we were able to expand the study scope to around 2400 respondents in 14 locations, which consisted of both large and small cities. These cities were Jakarta (DKI Jakarta), Bandung (West Java), Semarang (Central Java), Yogyakarta (Special Region of Yogyakarta), Surabaya (East Java), Medan (North Sumatera), Makassar (South Sulawesi), Payakumbuh (West Sumatera), Depok (West Java), Surakarta (Central Java), Malang (East Java), Denpasar (Bali), Mataram (West Nusa Tenggara), and Balikpapan (East Kalimantan).

Our study results received many positive responses and provided an opportunity to network with more groups that were focused on senior issues. We were also invited to participate in a senior conference in Canada. There, we met with the Alzheimer's Disease International organisation, which then introduced us to the management of Alzheimer Indonesia in Jakarta.

Promoting policy at all levels

Previously, our efforts to conduct surveys never went beyond the stages of data collection, report writing, and developing recommendations. With the senior issue, however, we used our study results to promote policy change. We felt that if we wanted to improve the quality of life of seniors, our survey work must be carried on to the next level, namely, figuring out how our survey results could be turned into knowledge and how our condition portrait could be used to promote and change policies.

Through this advocacy, our study results on Senior-Friendly Cities were used by local governments in developing policies. One of them was in Yogyakarta City. Specifically, the Mayor of Yogyakarta issued Mayor Regulation Number 38 Year 2019 and Mayor Decree Number 450 Year 2019 on the Roadmap of Yogyakarta City in Becoming a Senior-Friendly City by 2030, on 30 October 2019. In these regulations, the indicators used to identify Senior-Friendly Cities came from our research. These regulations had also been equipped with our proposed action plan. We continued to advocate these regulations through the Health Office Head in other districts and cities throughout the Special Region of Yogyakarta.

At the national level, we were entrusted by the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) in 2019 with the implementation of a pilot project on Long-Term Treatment for seniors in Bali and DIY. These long-term treatments were sorely needed by seniors whose condition was designated as level 3. Previously, we were also entrusted by Bappenas to develop a Senior Information System called SILANI. In 2019, this system was implemented in seven villages (*kelurahan*) in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, Bali, and DKI Jakarta. SILANI adopted a system that was implemented in 2018 in Nganjuk, East Java, namely the Integrated System to Handle Stunting based on Household and Individual Data (*SI TEPAT RAMAH*).

SI TEPAT RAMAH included the updated comprehensive data regarding stunting from 11 villages in Nganjuk. The data collectors were health cadres going straight into the field, with the editors coming from among Puskesmas staff. They were trained by SurveyMETER in proper interviewing and editing skills in order to obtain accurate and valid results. SI TEPAT RAMAH was another one of our study results outside of the senior issue, namely a study focusing on the issues of health, especially the health of mothers and their children, which we continued to develop in order to meet local government needs. After two years, SI TEPAT RAMAH was replicated and its scope expanded to become the Kelurahan and Local Data Integration System (SIDKD). The study expanded into other fields beyond the health sector, including the citizenship, education, economic, and social sectors.

In addition to the local government level, we also conducted advocacy at a lower level by building the capacity of senior Integrated Health Post (Posyandu) cadres in relation to the senior issue. In September 2021, we trained 900 senior Posyandu cadres online. There, we discussed dementia issues and online screening, starting with identifying symptoms, and how to check the cognitive health of seniors. Then, at the Puskesmas level, we encouraged improving the quality of health examinations and standardising the examination data as well as using online screening forms.

In addition, we also tried to increase public awareness of the issue of dementia in seniors with a public campaign through the AYO KITA CAKep poster we spread in Puskesmas across Yogyakarta. CAKep is an acronym of the steps for assisting seniors, starting from health and cognitive function checking, to taking seniors to senior Posyandu/Puskesmas/health facilities, to paying attention to symptoms of dementia. This poster also included an explanation of the importance of cognitive screening. Our study shows that 60 per cent of seniors do not check themselves into Puskesmas to do a cognitive test.

Gaining trust

Through a series of studies and policy advocacies from the lower level to the national level, SurveyMETER has gained the trust of various parties, especially related to the senior issue in Indonesia. We also continue to expand our network surrounding the senior issue at the local, national, regional, and international levels. This trust drove us to remain focused and increase our capacity so that what we do will continue to deliver positive impacts for the people, relevant OPDs, and local and national government.

KSI was one of the parties that had given us their full trust from the beginning, so that we could develop ourselves from an organisation that was initially focused on conducting surveys, to an organisation focused on promoting policy change based on research. From early on we were asked to reflect on how to become an influential actor in the knowledge sector, how to inspire and strengthen policy, and how to support other organisations in using the knowledge that we have produced for the welfare of the people. We were also helped by using program logic to think about the implementation of knowledge to policy from our studies.

Our interactions with KSI made us even more focused on the senior issue. KSI gave us the flexibility to support our organisation in moving towards the focus we wanted to work on. Our ideas on the study of the senior issue were supported by KSI, not only from the financial side but also in terms of planning, so that we could expand the scope of the study. In addition, we also obtained support to publish research

outcomes, increase capacity in developing policy drafts, and be inspired about the process to push knowledge to policy. KSI was very flexible in following our needs in implementing the program on the ground, ensuring that we always felt fully supported.

In the context of promoting policies in the future, in addition to continuing our ongoing advocacy, we will also promote the Long-Term Treatment System that will be closely linked to the Social Insurance System, Old Age Insurance, BPJS Health and BPJS Employment for seniors. New things we have learned and implemented with KSI's support will serve as references in implementing our programs going forward, especially related to efforts to promote knowledge-based policies related to the senior issue in Indonesia.

1.5

Knowledge Management



Managing Knowledge, Answering the Challenge of Time

Medelina K Hendytio

Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Prior experience in handling disasters does not automatically prepare parties to face the impact of future disasters. Disaster-related knowledge management is vital to preserving existing knowledge and experiences so they can be used by the relevant parties to overcome the impact of new disasters.

Reflection on the lack of knowledge management related to the handling of disasters has seen greater focus in Palu and Donggala, Central Sulawesi, since the region was struck by an earthquake, followed by a tsunami, in 2018. At the time, disaster mitigation and the region's preparedness to face the impacts of disaster was lacklustre. This was in contrast to some of the other nearby regions, which had prepared assembly points, evacuation signs for when disaster occurred, and public socialisation on potential disasters and what to do if a disaster really happened. This shows that knowledge and capacity in handling the impacts of disaster exist, but their distribution is unequal. As a result, there are often many casualties when disasters strike. From this, we at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) see the need for efforts to align knowledge on disasters with disaster management capacity, especially at the local level.

To promote these efforts, we gathered disaster experts, both from government agencies such as the Meteorology, Climatology, and Geophysics Agency (BMKG) and universities, for several workshops to discuss what had been done about the situation, including types of studies, data, and information as well as the implemented handling program for when disasters happened and the mitigation plans, as well as future disaster handling plans. This series of meetings produced a roadmap for problem identification, which we communicated to various stakeholders, including submitting the draft to the Minister of National Development Planning/Head of National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas).

Furthermore, internally we deepened the study regarding knowledge management for disasters by developing a special research unit. This unit became the platform for collecting relevant insights from multidisciplinary actors, producing policy recommendations, and maintaining critical thinking on disaster management.

We expanded the study field to not only cover natural disasters, but also non-natural disasters, such as diseases/pandemic. When the spread of the COVID-19 virus rapidly increased, we received a request to provide the results of relevant studies, data, and information. For this, we collaborated with policymakers

and stakeholders in handling COVID-19, including with National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) and then with the COVID-19 Task Force at the national and local level. Internally, we encouraged researchers to make analyses on the pandemic from different perspectives, considering that CSIS has a large focus on the perspectives of the economy, social change, and international relations.

From there, CSIS produced policy research analysis on COVID-19 from various perspectives. In April 2020, CSIS established a partnership with Facebook to use its big data in the Data for Good program. This data supported us in developing analysis and insights on human mobility during the pandemic, so that it could be analysed to develop recommendations and evaluations of regulatory policy. Since accessing this data, CSIS researchers have published many articles and studies to evaluate various policies during the pandemic, such as the mobility restriction policy, vaccination policy, and also the economic impact during the pandemic. Not only that, CSIS researchers have also produced several disaster-related studies by utilising the data available from Facebook.

We also developed the COVID-19 dashboard, accessible through www.COVID19.csis.or.id, on 28 July 2020 by utilising mobility data and other available public data. The one-door portal on these COVID-19 research findings contains various indexes, matrixes, and transmission maps, and includes CSIS Commentaries⁸ and webinars. During its development, this dashboard was made into an evaluation instrument by regional heads by comparing the achievements of their region with other regions. This could be done because the portal contains the Economic and Health Condition Matrix, which compares the changes in the economic and health conditions of each region since 4 June 2020, when DKI Jakarta announced the cessation of Large Scale Social Distancing (PSBB). Additionally, this portal also contains data on the food inflation rate, the prices of various food commodities, such as sugar, rice, chicken, beef, eggs, and other staple foods.

One of the aspects that has not been explored much in the pandemic handling process is the social-cultural side. Therefore, CSIS conducted a behaviour survey of the perception, effectiveness, and application of COVID-19 health protocols in DKI Jakarta and DIY Yogyakarta in early 2021. CSIS also published a book entitled *Indonesia and COVID-19: Multi Aspect and Sectoral Perspective*, which analysed the efforts to handle COVID-19 in Indonesia from various perspectives. The launching of this book marked the inauguration of the Memorandum of Understanding between BNPB and CSIS to institutionalise cooperation in knowledge production and management in the field of disaster management in Indonesia.

Opening our eyes and ears

For CSIS, which celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2021, natural and non-natural disaster management is a relatively new issue. However, CSIS is sincere in working on this new issue due to its importance for the future.

As an organisation that is half a century old, our concern is maintaining the relevancy of our work. Thus, we strive to continue to develop ourselves so that we can continue to exist. For us, remaining relevant means we can continue to carry out contextual studies, the results of which can continue to serve as references for policymaking.

⁸ A platform for university graduates and researchers to write strategic issues

We undertake several strategies to sustain this relevancy. One of these is to always be monitoring the development of important issues, both at the national and international level. We do this through study or assessment activities. We also document policy statements, both in the form of policy documents and direct statement from policymakers, as a way to track relevant issues. During the period of presidential succession, for example, there will usually be both official and unofficial statements related to things that will become the focus of the new government for the next few years. In addition, we try to follow global developments, through joint researchers, by attending seminars and meetings, and by networking. All of these pathways become our eyes and ears to continue to obtain new information.

Opening our eyes and ears has enabled us to focus on new issues within the last five years. For example, issues related to the environment, climate change, public health and the economy, and the development of China. At first, these issues came in through other departments in CSIS. However, as they continued to develop, we decided two years ago to design new units dedicated to them.

Promoting policy change

The presence of new issues within our study focus enabled us to provide policy recommendations for those issues to the relevant stakeholders. These include recommendations on knowledge management related to disaster management and COVID-19.

All this time, preparing policy recommendations and promoting policy change have always been the goal of our study efforts. We try to convey recommendations that we view as good to key stakeholders. To support this, mapping out the key actors that can implement changes related to these recommendations is a crucial first step. Within the fields that have long been our field of expertise, we have thus built long-established lines of communication with the relevant stakeholders.

For new fields or areas, we also cooperate with relevant policymakers. The cooperation with BNPB is one example. The memorandum of understanding with BNPB started from our involvement in meetings held internally by BNPB, and CSIS activities related to disasters, including a study about COVID-19, which needed the cooperation of BNPB, both as a resource and data supplier. From there, we agreed to formally establish cooperation, especially in knowledge production and disaster management in Indonesia.

In our experience, not all communicated recommendations automatically lead to changes in policy. This is partly the result of other actors, who are trying to influence policy according to their own, separate interests. So, we are not the only ones providing policy recommendations. In addition, the political context is very influential, especially when our advocacy is intended to influence the Law or a specific legal product. Therefore, we cannot always claim that a policy change takes place only thanks to us.

When advocating policy in the context of handling COVID-19, for example, our study on behavioural change is recognised as important, and as having contributed to the formulation of a number of COVID-19 handling policies. However, when the government issued new regulations, both in the form of a Decree (SK) and a guideline on health procedure behaviour, we could not claim that it is solely because of CSIS, because there were so many other actors also advocating about COVID-19.

A similar outcome also occurred in our response to the crisis in Myanmar. CSIS provided a large portion of its attention to the development of the crisis in that country, discussing it extensively with policymakers. However, of course the policy that was conceived to respond to that crisis did not only contain our input. The internal discussion process on the policymaker side was also very influential on the outcome.

In addition, based on our experience, changes to policy often fail to happen as soon as the advocacy is done. The opportunity for this change can emerge a few years later, for example, when stakeholders and policymakers have been replaced and their replacements agree with our recommendations.

Institutional memory

In an effort to remain relevant when it comes to developing issues, we have gained new study focuses. We are in the process of developing these new study focuses, after previously focusing on three departments related to economic issues, international relations, and social change. The support from Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI) helps us a lot in this process.

Of course, as an organisation that has been operating for 50 years, CSIS has accomplished many achievements, with the support of many different partners and donor agencies. The same goes for our seven years with KSI, during which we have gained many opportunities to develop ourselves, both in work related to promoting policy change to external parties, and in terms of strengthening our organisation and building research capacity internally.

We understand that to remain relevant we have to increase our organisational capacity. KSI's Core Grant supported us to develop our organisation. We were able to develop no fewer than 11 Standard Operational Procedures (SOPs), including SOP to analyse human resource personnel down to their job division.

As a research organisation, building our researchers' capacity is absolutely necessary to ensure the quality of our research analysis, the formulation of our policy recommendations, and our oversight of policy changes. KSI's support has enabled us to do this. In addition, we have also been able to improve the quality of our knowledge production, from organising seminars and publishing books, to improving the look of our website as a window to display our work. We have also been able to conduct change in packing knowledge into various attractive products, according to needs. KSI helped us to lay the foundation for this knowledge management effort.

Next, the Strategic Partnership Grant from KSI contributed a lot to promoting our cooperation with the government. As an experienced organisation, we had already been cooperating with the government to some degree, but with KSI's support, we are able to open relationships with ministries we were not close to before. This gives CSIS a huge opportunity to strengthen our relationship with the government, which will be beneficial when we want to push certain policies forward.

In addition, KSI also introduced a logical framework that can serve as an important tool to see what we have achieved so far, and remind us of the research objective that was set at the beginning of a project. The implementation of this logical framework can also predict challenges and risks we may face during the research. We have to recognise that this logical framework is KSI's footprint that we can always use to improve our research quality.

CSIS's approach throughout its history has been focused on neither program level advocacy nor advocacy on the field. Instead, we are more focused on policy advocacy at the macro level, thus requiring us to use the approaches of public discourse, public opinion, and so on. Therefore, the experience of promoting policy change with the support of KSI has enriched what CSIS has been doing and will be useful in our program going forward.

There are not many donor organisations that operate on as long a timeframe as KSI. This long period of time is crucial when hoping to enact substantial changes, which KSI have more than proven in the context of strengthening the knowledge sector in Indonesia in order to promote higher quality policies.

For us, KSI's involvement for the past seven years, both on the program implementation side and the organisational strengthening side, has become an institutional memory. The good practices they have introduced to our organisation in the past seven years will allow us to continue to remain relevant when it comes to answering the challenges of time.

Becoming a Water Tower for Health Knowledge

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At the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, many parties were not well-prepared to respond to the situation, thus leading to the large number of cases and the high mortality rate. Lack of information regarding the nature of the virus and how to prevent or overcome its transmission were some of the factors.

At the time, many healthcare staff, like the ones on the front line to combat COVID-19, fell victim to this lack of understanding. For us at the Centre for Health Policy and Management (PKMK) of the Medical, Public Health, and Nursing Faculty of Gadjah Mada University, this moment made us realise that as a nation, we did not know what COVID-19 was at all. This reminded us of the importance of knowledge management related to health issues.

In the context of COVID-19, research on the virus and information regarding its spread was not completely non-existent. In the third trimester of 2020, we recorded over one million scientific publications regarding COVID-19. This number was not really a surprise. As an emerging infectious disease, it was completely understandable that so many people were trying their hardest to gain a better understanding of COVID-19.

However, while these publications flooded the scene, the information they contained was not automatically accessible to everyone. Not because access to the information was restricted, but because not everyone had the time to sift through and understand all of these scientific publications. Healthcare staff fighting the virus in the field, for example, did not have time to read these scientific journals one by one. Their energy was already spent. But even so, the development of research on COVID-19 was very important for their treatment of COVID-positive patients, as well as protecting themselves from its transmission.

Looking at this situation, we tried to promote knowledge management related to COVID-19. We cooperated with a number of hospital libraries to build a knowledge management system that could help with the pandemic management process. Perhaps not many people knew that hospitals had libraries, because the existence of libraries and their librarians had been deemed of lesser importance in supporting the work of hospital staff. We took advantage of this opportunity to embrace hospitals in building a knowledge management system.

We asked these librarians to manage knowledge by collecting literature related to COVID-19 and processing it with competent parties. These materials were then developed into summaries regarding the latest knowledge on COVID-19. These summaries were then distributed to healthcare staff at their respective hospitals, thus helping the COVID-19 knowledge management process at hospitals.

In addition to knowledge management at hospitals, we also initiated three knowledge management platforms, namely Health System Dashboard (DASK), www.manajemencovid.net, and www.sistemkesehatan.net. DASK, which can be accessed at dask.kebijakankesehatanindonesia.net, is a reference portal for healthcare system data in Indonesia. This portal contains data on healthcare development indicators and the results of research and policy recommendations on various healthcare system issues in Indonesia.

The www.manajemencovid.net website was designed as a source of learning for healthcare staff and COVID-19 prevention staff in Indonesia. This website contains a voluntary and open COVID-19 Management Forum for all healthcare staff. This forum aims to increase the ability of the healthcare system in Indonesia to handle COVID-19 patients, including increasing knowledge, spreading science, implementing knowledge to prevent the spread of the pandemic, increasing the surge capacity of hospitals and areas facing COVID-19, and activating the disaster management system in hospitals and the healthcare system.

Meanwhile, the www.sistemkesehatan.net channel is a platform that contains special knowledge on the healthcare system. This website is connected to the Health Crisis Centre managed by the Ministry of Health. The Health Crisis Centre discusses the Global Health System as a reference for the healthcare systems of each country in the world, the National Health System (SKN) in Indonesia, and how the SKN adapted when facing natural and non-natural disasters.

Flowing knowledge

Knowledge management related to COVID-19 is a part of our broader efforts to manage knowledge in healthcare. We believe that without knowledge of a subject, the policy created regarding that subject will not be good. Our measures to promote healthcare knowledge management cannot be separated from our background as an organisation under a university. If we do not participate in developing knowledge, universities will only ever be audiences, not active participants.

One of PKMK's visions is to become a reference for other organisations in terms of healthcare policy and management. Therefore, we have to begin by developing ourselves internally. We started this knowledge management effort internally first before spreading it outside.

Since January 2013, PKMK has developed and maintained a website-based activity called Knowledge Dissemination Program. This activity is an effort to create sufficient healthcare knowledge governance. Using efficient technology, such as websites, we try to gather knowledge within a platform that can be used by various parties. This way, campus organisations like us will no longer be an 'ivory tower'; instead we will be a 'water tower' that contains water according to its capacity and flows it to various locations. PKMK wants to be a water tower that can contain knowledge and distribute it to interested parties.

The water tower concept is also manifested in a number of knowledge channels we have initiated. So far, we have developed at least 15 websites on management and healthcare priority issues.

Changing name, shifting focus

When it was established on 5 February 1998, this organisation was given the name of the Centre for Health Service Management (PMPK) under the Medical, Public Health, and Nursing Faculty of Gadjah Mada University. After a long journey, PMPK changed its name to the Centre for Health Policy and Management (PKMK) in 2013.

This change signified a shift in the focus of our organisation, from research, training, and assistance to policy study and advocacy. With this change, knowledge management and our research would no longer end up as mere activity report documents but would become our primary weapon in advocating to promote healthcare policy changes.

This change in focus occurred as a result of our cooperation with Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI). In a capacity-building meeting organised by KSI, we obtained a new understanding of the organisational typology of research organisations, with a focus on three organisation types. The first type is an organisation that purely conducts research. The second type is an organisation that focuses on policy advocacy but relies on research results from the first type of organisation. And the third type is an organisation that combines research and advocacy.

Looking at what we had been through, we did not hesitate to choose to be the third type of organisation. We don't simply want the research we have produced to become stacks of articles in academic journals or seminar materials, but to also serve as consideration for policymakers. By doing so, our research results can be useful and bring a positive impact to the community.

Following this change, we conducted a number of steps to ensure that our organisation's structure and management could support our new focus. Besides learning from other KSI partners that had advocacy experience, we also engaged in an intensive discussion with our colleagues at the Social and Political Faculty (FISIPOL) of UGM. The need for a team that understands how advocacy is done made us decide to recruit several members from FISIPOL UGM.

Promoting policy

Before shifting our focus to policy advocacy, we conducted various studies on healthcare issues as a research organisation. One of the studies that continued until we finally brought it to the policy advocacy phase was our research on the National Health Insurance (JKN) managed by the Social Security Implementing Agency (BPJS) Health. Every year from 2014 to 2019, we conducted a study on the implementation of JKN.

In this research, we collaborated with several universities in a number of provinces. In 2014, there were seven campuses in seven provinces monitoring the implementation of JKN in their respective region. By 2019, the number of collaborating universities had increased to 13 campuses in 13 provinces. The research data obtained from these regions were then analysed and served as a reference for making

policy recommendations, both at the national and local levels. Here, we shared roles with the collaborating universities. PKMK took the advocacy role to the national level, while engaged universities conducted advocacy in their respective regions.

Based on this study, the issues of equity and equality of healthcare service in the implementation of JKN always surfaced from year to year. One of the causes was the implementation of the single pool system in managing the premium of BPJS Health participants. This policy was detrimental to poor participants, especially from regions with a lack of health facilities. The funds that should have been used to provide health access for them were instead used to cover the deficit. In other words, participants from the poor category in remote areas were covering the needs of more fortunate groups in urban areas.

In addition, our research showed an issue with centralistic governance. Up to that point, the local government's authority was limited only to premiums and enrolment. The local government was only required to increase the enrolment of its citizens in the JKN program. In fact, it was very likely for the local government to be involved in covering the JKN financing for poor families, which had been covered by the National Budget (APBN). The local government could also control the deficit of BPJS Health according to the deficit in their region.

Based on this finding, we recommended revising Law Number 40 Year 2004 on the National Social Security System (SJSN), Law Number 24 Year 2011 on Social Security Implementing Agency (BPJS), and a number of the technical regulations derived from them. In relation to this, we made the Issue Inventory List (DIM) in 2020, including the aspects of governance, health service equity/equality, and JKN quality. In addition, we highlighted the data and information sharing process in the JKN ecosystem, which had not been interactive, the limited nature of local government's roles and responsibilities in the JKN program, the unclear enrolment concept in BPJS Law, weak supervision and accountability to the JKN program, and the lack of JKN implementation.

In March 2021, we conducted an audience meeting with Commission IX of the House of Representatives (DPR-RI) to present the findings of our study, along with 13 universities. During the same month, we also met with representatives of BPJS Health, the National Social Security Board (DJSN), the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Finance, the Presidential Staff Office (KSP), and the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) to convey our study results.

Our presentation received positive responses. Policymakers agreed to revise a number of problematic articles based on the DIM we had formulated. In addition, Commission IX DPR-RI and the government agreed to include the revision of SJSN Law, BPJS Law, and a number of technical policies regarding JKN as priority discussions during 2021 and 2022.

However, in several cases, the government did not budge regarding existing regulations. This means that the intervention that we can achieve at this time is limited to the technical regulation domain.

At the local level, advocacy by our partner universities is more focused on increasing the local government's awareness of things potentially burdening JKN financing. One of these is catastrophic illnesses that can cause complications and need high costs to treat. In North Sumatera, for example, thanks to the advocacy done by the North Sumatra University (*Universitas Sumatera Utara*), the local healthcare office

began to respond to catastrophic heart-related illnesses and related them to JKN. This became one of the success stories of the healthcare policy advocacy initiated by PKMK. Ultimately, collaboration with a number of universities allowed their research to go beyond ending up as mere reports, and instead reaching policymakers at the local level.

Strengthening networks

Collaboration with various parties, especially universities, has expanded the reach of our advocacy. PKMK is no longer alone in conducting advocacy because it has networks in a number of regions. Network expansion and strengthening are crucial in the policy advocacy process.

In this context, KSI's support has expanded and strengthened our networks. As one of KSI's partners, we are linked to KSI's other partners. We learn a lot from them, especially about how they conduct policy advocacy.

In addition, for JKN advocacy at the national level, KSI facilitated our meetings with policymakers, such as Bappenas and various other ministries/agencies, so that we could directly convey the research findings and policy recommendations we had developed to them. These types of meetings are essential for advocacy efforts and expanding our networks.

KSI regularly holds events to connect research organisations and their primary stakeholders, such as KSIxChange. These events provide space for us to present thinking, ideas, and concepts, and advocate our research results more informally. Previously, research organisations like us were familiar with more academic ways of networking, through journals, seminars, and conferences. KSI provided a new way that enabled us to flexibly interact with policymakers, thus allowing for many ideas and ways of thinking to be captured and developed.

KSI not only provide funding support, but also ensure their supported partners are developing. This is something we felt as KSI's partner. The flexibility of KSI's support not only enabled us to conduct advocacy work more intensively, but also allowed us to increase our capacity, either through training, advanced education, or KSI-supported discussion forums. These allowed our staff and organisation to continue to grow. KSI helped us develop a good system of our own, which will enable us to work in the knowledge sector independently in the future, without having to rely on KSI.

The increased capacity of our organisation, staff, and networks, which we were able to achieve as KSI's partner, has served to create a strong foundation for us. This will be very beneficial in supporting our research and advocacy work going forward to promote better healthcare policies.



2 Strategic Partner Strengthening Journey

Managing Organisations to Promote the Development of Science

Prof. Satryo Soemantri Brodjonegoro
Indonesian Academy of Sciences (AIPI)

Indonesian researchers contribute fewer articles to peer review journals compared to researchers from other Southeast Asian countries, like Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. The number of patents registered by Indonesian researchers also lags behind other countries. Because of this, efforts need to be made to improve the quality of research in Indonesia as a whole.

The number of publications in credible journals and the number of patent registrations are two key indicators of the advancement of a country's research and innovation ecosystem. Looking at the low number of publications and patent registrations in Indonesia, we at the Indonesian Academy of Sciences or *Akademi Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (AIPI)* feel the need to play an even more active role in improving the quality of research in Indonesia.

Established in 1990 as an independent organisation that brings together prominent scientists in Indonesia, AIPI carries out two main functions. First, providing opinions and suggestions on issues related to science and technology to the government and the Indonesian people. Second, supporting the development of science in Indonesia through conferences, scientific forums, and publications, as well as building scientific networks at the national and international levels.

Since our establishment, we have consistently strived to contribute to the development of science and technology in Indonesia. We regularly organise symposiums aiming to connect communities and scientific networks in Indonesia. In 2011, we developed a white paper on the establishment of the Indonesian Science Fund (*DIPI*), which would function as the main driver of research and development. Two years later, we began initiating the national agenda for science. Both of these initiatives were designed to seed change in the science ecosystem in Indonesia.

However, AIPI's existence and work have only been recognised within the academic community. Outside of the academic community, not many people know of AIPI. This ultimately affects how AIPI can promote the use of research for development, including evidence-based policymaking. In the policy domain, there have not been many demands for public policy to be based on science. Even when using recommendations from outside parties, the government relies more often on international consultants

than domestic universities or think tank organisations. This situation makes us aware that AIPI has a lot of work to do, both related to the internal function of our organisation and in promoting a more effective research policy to develop the knowledge ecosystem in Indonesia.

Organisational governance

Internally, we needed to improve our organisational governance, because throughout our history, AIPI had not had a good infrastructure and management system. Hence, AIPI needed to evolve with the new era, re-evaluate the goals of our organisation, and redefine our primary functions. On the managerial side, AIPI has always been led by an active academic with a tight research schedule. Therefore, we needed to undertake capacity building in program planning and implementation, and in managing external funds obtained for the organisation's sustainability.

We initiated efforts to improve our organisational governance in 2014 when AIPI first began receiving support from the Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI). KSI's vision to promote evidence-based policy in Indonesia was in line with AIPI's goals, and thus we felt like we gained the perfect supporter.

We began the improvement efforts by developing an organisational governance document with the help of a consultant. This included a code of ethics, an organisational structure guideline, an internal communication strategy, a knowledge product guideline, and a human resource development guideline. The process of strengthening our organisational governance was not without its challenges. There were many things that AIPI had to consider because they would affect our approach to the organisation's values and practices. For example, in relation to human resource competency, AIPI Secretariat did not previously have a standard on staff competency. There were also no standards related to work hours and staff output targets. However, we realised that having a competent and professional staff would improve the success of our organisation. Therefore, we decided to recruit financial staff, program managers, and a human resource division. In addition, we invested in SDM by conducting capacity building programs. This decision has proved fruitful, as the organisation's productivity has improved significantly since 2016.

This improvement in governance also encompasses our sources of funding. In the past, we depended entirely on government funding. The amount of funding available was limited and its provision was tied to the budget cycle. As we made improvements to our organisational governance, we were able to diversify our sources of funding so that we weren't solely reliant on funds from the State Budget (APBN). In 2016, our non-APBN funding, especially from donor organisations, increased significantly and enjoyed a period of becoming AIPI's main funding source.

Boosting influence

With improved organisational governance, we had a stronger foundation to be more actively involved in formulating the national research agenda, which included promoting more suitable research policies. Thus, AIPI released a series of products to influence the development direction of science and technology, and innovation in Indonesia. One of them was SAINS45, a comprehensive and innovative research agenda to realise a new era of prosperity in Indonesia before the centennial celebration of Indonesia's independence in 2045. AIPI also published two white papers, namely *Science, Technology,*

and *Higher Education Toward Indonesia 2045* and *Disruption Era: Opportunities and Challenges for Indonesia's Higher Education*. We submitted these two books to the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) and the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education (now the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology) to support science-based policymaking.

AIPI also actively advocated and provided input for the new Bill Draft on the National Science and Technology System (Law on *Sisnas Iptek*), which was ratified on 16 July 2019. For this advocacy, we focused on strengthening existing organisations, and clearly differentiating the focus areas of these organisations, as well as improving coordination and supervision across organisations, instead of establishing a new agency. However, a new agency was eventually established, namely the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN). Currently, the structure, role, function, and scope of BRIN's influence are still being developed. Therefore, AIPI is committed to continuing to play a role in providing strategic recommendations on the best course going forward for the research and innovation agenda in Indonesia, including through BRIN.

In addition to these various efforts, we also continued to expand partnerships to communicate science and science policy to the public. We did so by cooperating with media partners and maximising the use of popular social media to expand our networks as well as bring scientists closer to the public, making their existence more relevant to people's everyday lives.

Expanding networks

We realise that improving the quality of research and innovation absolutely requires a productive innovation ecosystem. That is why there needs to be a scientific community whose members support each other in conducting research, and exchange and test ideas to see whether they are viable or not. In any case, no ideas can survive on their own. In addition, the best research is often research that is done collaboratively.

Thus, we also feel responsible for developing the scientific community in Indonesia. We do this by expanding and strengthening the relationships between the scientific community in Indonesia and others at the international level, including through the Australia–Indonesia Science Symposium held for the first time in 2016. This symposium convened around 120 prominent scientists from Australia and Indonesia, becoming the largest scientific forum held by these two nations.

Not only that, AIPI also supported and guided young Indonesian researchers to establish the Indonesian Young Academy of Sciences (ALMI) in 2016. The goal of this initiative was to help the science community become more inclusive in their work to promote innovation. When it was established, ALMI's first generation consisted of 40 members. They were a group of young scientists selected from around 200 alumni from AIPI symposiums, including Kavli Frontiers of Science Symposium, Indonesia–United States Symposium, and Social and Humanity Symposium. ALMI's membership continues to grow as time goes by.

ALMI is expected to become a platform that inspires and supports young Indonesian scientists in advancing science and technology. In the past, it has been an open secret that seniority has become a dominant culture in Indonesia, including in the academic and research domains. This condition is a challenge for young scientists because it is as if they have to obtain permission from the senior researchers

to conduct research. ALMI is here to address this challenge. It serves as a space for young scientists to work, conduct research, and present the results of their research.

After it was established, ALMI got to work right away, starting with organising public discussions and seminars, as well as reaching the mass media to make the research world better known to the public. ALMI also actively played a part in AIPI's efforts to advocate the Law on Sisnas Iptek.

Research fund

Another important issue in the effort to improve the quality of research and innovation in Indonesia is funding. As we mentioned at the beginning of this article, in 2011 we developed a white paper on the establishment of the DIPI. The main idea echoed by the DIPI was the importance of the existence of independent research funds separate from the state's funding cycle. A policy study we conducted underlined that the problems of research governance and funding also include challenges regarding the government's budget cycle, the high dependency on government funding, and the lack of contribution from the private sector. These challenges resulted in the absence of long-term strategic research planning due to the uncertainty of budgetary sustainability.

We continued to develop and socialise the DIPI idea, thus gradually gaining responses from various parties. On 7 August 2015, AIPI signed a memorandum of understanding with the Endowment Fund for Education Agency (LPDP), the party providing funds for DIPI. LPDP would provide five years' worth of funding to support DIPI's work in the early years of its establishment. The establishment of DIPI was finally ratified through a Presidential Decree signed on 29 February 2016. In this Presidential Decree, DIPI was placed under AIPI.

In addition to the funding from LPDP, DIPI also received funding support from KSI to help cover their operational and staff costs. Not only that, but KSI also helped develop its internal organisation system, including developing its Standard Operational Procedure (SOP) and policies on research grant payment, finance and accounting, fund management, and procurement. With these policies and internal SOPs, DIPI quickly became a trustworthy organisation that managed research grants using the principles of good governance.

DIPI is the first independent research funding organisation in Indonesia. DIPI provides research grants through competition/tender using a peer-review process. This is in line with internationally recognised research funding practices. Peer review is a general mechanism done to decide the quality of proposals and research outputs.

DIPI's presence has been greatly welcomed by the scientific community in Indonesia. Soon after its establishment, DIPI announced a research funding tender to the scientific community by highlighting two themes in line with SAINS45, namely Focus 1 (Identity, Diversity, and Culture) and Focus 3 (Life, Health, and Nutrition). This research grant tender was launched in April 2016. At the same time, DIPI also launched a research grant with research funding organisations from England, namely the Medical Research Council (MRC) and Research Council UK (RCUK), under the partnership of the Newton Fund. This program aims to support bilateral research projects between England and Indonesia related to communicable diseases, air pollution and human health, peat and mangrove land management, and astronomy.

The call for proposals received a positive response from researchers, indicated by the large number of proposals we received, numbering 467 in total. This showed that DIPI's existence was warmly welcomed and demonstrated that many Indonesian scientists wanted to do research once opportunities for funding were available.

After going through a tight selection process, DIPI selected nine research proposals from DIPI's independent tender and 11 proposals from the tender with Newton Fund. However, along the way, there was a challenge regarding fund availability, although it was resolved thanks to the support of the Ministry of Finance and LPDP.

Since 2018, DIPI has been trusted as the secretariat regarding calls for proposals for South East Asia – European Union Joint Funding Scheme (SEA-EU JFS). This shows DIPI's good reputation in the eyes of international research funding organisations. In addition, DIPI became LPDP's strategic partner and since 2019 has managed LPDP's calls for proposals, especially for International Collaboration RISPRO.

Strategic partnership

Slowly but surely, we have conducted various efforts to promote the improvement of research and innovation, both at the internal organisation level and by promoting better research policies, as well as by promoting the rise of the broader scientific community. Currently, AIPI, together with ALMI and DIPI, continue to work according to their respective mandates.

AIPI's development to date and its success in promoting the establishment of ALMI and DIPI only happened because of KSI's support. Throughout 2014–2019, KSI not only provided financial support but also oversaw the changes to our process by giving relevant input to promote improvements in our internal governance and our efforts to promote the knowledge and innovation ecosystem, including through policy advocacy.

For us, the partnership between AIPI and KSI is a strategic partnership to promote the advancement of science in Indonesia. In a relatively short time, AIPI has successfully strengthened its organisational governance. Now, the communication and collaboration channel between policymakers and non-government research organisations is more open. On the research implementation policy side, there have not been many significant changes. However, at least two important actors in the knowledge sector, namely research policymakers and researchers, including think tank organisations, have come to know each other better and better understand what each party can contribute to the other.

For five years, AIPI's efforts, supported by KSI, have been a story of challenge, perseverance, and achievement. The support from KSI gave us many valuable lessons. Going forward, we will continue the good practices we developed during the period when we were receiving KSI's support so that we can continue contributing to the development of science and technology in Indonesia.

Applying Research to Handle Corruption and Administrative Reform

Prof. Dr Eko Prasajo, Mag. rer. publ.

University of Indonesia Centre for the Study of Governance and Administrative Reform (UI-CSGAR)

Indonesia's corruption perception index post-New Order has been stagnating at a low point, meaning that Indonesia's position when it comes to reducing corruption is consistently placed among the lower ranks of the global community. From the bureaucracy and administrative side, reform efforts have also yet to show a significant result.

Looking at this situation, we at the University of Indonesia Centre for the Study of Governance and Administrative Reform (UI-CSGAR) intended to contribute our thoughts on handling corruption and administrative reform. Therefore, in 2016 we expanded the focus of our study and advocacy so that we could target these two issues.

UI-CSGAR was established in 2009, originally under the name of the University of Indonesia Centre for the Study of Governance (UI-CSG). Our institution was established by a number of national figures from various backgrounds, including academia, civil society, and the private sector. During the early days prior to changing its name, UI-CSG focused on conducting many studies related to corruption and government administration to promote a clean and good government. In 2014, a number of new faces with new visions joined and strengthened UI-CSG. In response, we agreed to expand our institution's focus by also studying government administrative reform. Thus, in 2016, we changed to our current name, UI-CSGAR, and refocused our studies on the issues of corruption and administrative reform.

In conducting studies on corruption and administrative reform, we engaged researchers from various relevant faculties within our university to gain perspectives from multiple disciplines. In addition to our partners from the Administrative Faculty, these studies also involved partners from the Faculties of Law, Economy, Psychology, Social and Political Science, and so on. Through multidisciplinary studies, we hope to produce findings that are relevant to the policy development process.

UI-CSGAR is a research institution at the University of Indonesia (UI), directly reporting to the UI Rector. With this status, we position ourselves as a university institution that conducts applied research. The results of our research do not just end up in scientific papers, but in policy briefs that can serve as input in the policymaking process, including in making policy norms. Therefore, in addition to conducting

research, we also conduct policy advocacy and promote the development of various systems within the government that are useful for preventing corruption and promoting efficient, accountable, and effective administration.

Influencing policy

Since taking on the name UI-CSGAR, we have conducted a number of studies, especially related to administrative reform. In this context, we established cooperation with the Ministry of State Apparatus and Bureaucratic Reform (Kemenpan-RB) and the State Administrative Agency (LAN). In addition, we also established relationships with other relevant ministries and agencies, namely the Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency (Kemen PPN/Bappenas) and the Ministry of Health.

One of the studies we conducted was a study into the development of policy recommendations to revise the Regulation of the Ministry of State Apparatus and Bureaucracy Reform Number 46 Year 2013 concerning Lecturer Functional Position and its Credit Score. We think this Regulation (Permenpan-RB) needs to be revised in order to expand the scope of community service activities conducted by lecturers, thus increasing the quality of such services. The role of universities has long been enshrined in the Three Principles of University, namely teaching, research, and community service. Teaching staff and lecturers have a strategic position to promote the realisation of these Three Principles (*Tri Dharma*). This is also regulated in, among others, Permenpan-RB No. 46/2013. To optimise the contributions of lecturers in the community service domain, we have developed a policy recommendation focusing on a change to the community service credit score and activity component. This is also one way to meet the demand of downstream research outcomes to improve the welfare and competitiveness of the nation.

Still related to the university world, in 2018 we conducted a diagnostic study on the transformation of research governance at universities. In this study, we explored factors that can improve research governance quality in universities by comparing between the governance of public and private universities at the *Mandiri* and *Utama* levels. From the results of this study, we were able to provide our views on the current situation of research governance at universities, and the recommended development strategy going forward. One of these views was the need to make it easier for lecturers to conduct result-based research by reducing complex administrative requirements.

We are also involved in the discussion of the Government Regulation Bill Draft (RPP) on Civil Service (PNS) Management, which is one of six implementation RPPs from Law Number 5 Year 2014 on the State Civil Apparatus (ASN). The RPP on PNS Management is a government regulation on the rights that PNS members can receive, consisting of salary, benefits, leave facility, pension, and retirement insurance, as well as competency protection and development. In general, through this involvement, we want to make sure that the content of RPP on PNS Management is developed according to its fundamental goal.

In addition, we developed a policy paper based on a study on the KRISNA application as an instrument of the policy on strengthening bureaucracy reform. The existence of the KRISNA application is important to oversee the government's performance-based development planning and budgeting in order to increase their accountability. Despite having answered some of the needs it was designed to address, our study shows that KRISNA is still lacking in supporting performance-based learning, control, promoting planning

approaches, and ensuring planning data integration and synergy. Therefore, we recommend the need to strengthen KRISNA's role and optimise the KRISNA Dashboard. The Directorate of Development Funding Allocation of the Kemen PPN/Bappenas needs to promote the use of the KRISNA Dashboard throughout those organisations to build a sense of ownership. Kemen PPN/Bappenas needs to strengthen KRISNA's system and interoperability, and continue the development of the KRISNA Dashboard to ensure its use and sustainable future through the expansion of its users and access to other ministries/agencies.

We also have other study results beyond this example. Throughout this process, we have also been developing our study results into policy briefs that we then advocate to relevant ministries/agencies in order to promote policy changes or the development of new policies. We can also process these study results into other products, for example into training modules for policymakers. One of which is the training module regarding evidence-based policy development for policymakers at the Ministry of Health.

Specific study focus

As a research institution at a university, we view our study focus as very specific, namely limited to how to deal with corruption and promote administrative and bureaucratic reform. In Indonesia, there are only a few institutions focusing on bureaucratic reform and government administration. We consider this specific study focus to be one of the main factors that leads to our study results being so strongly accepted. This in turn has a positive impact on our policy advocacy efforts.

In addition to the strong specificity of our studies, the response to our policy advocacy is also affected by other factors. One of these is access to policymakers. Based on our experience, this access is very important to influencing policymaking. So far, our proximity to policymakers has made it easier to influence the changes happening in bureaucracy. We are lucky to have a good relationship with many ministries/agencies, thus granting us strong access. At UI-CSGAR, this access exists because the founders of our institution, who are also our current management, are national figures with ties to many networks.

Given its relatively young age, the presence of leadership figures with strong networks has been really helpful for UI-CSGAR in conducting studies and policy advocacy. These figures are seen as champions with a lot of credibility in the eyes of many people, and thus can earn trust in the institution from both ministries/agencies and donors. This is of course different from research organisations with long track records, which have institutionally earned the trust of many parties.

Other than our various efforts to advocate policies, efforts to change policies are also highly influenced by decisions from policymakers. The priority scale dynamics from policymakers are a deciding factor, too. Hence, not every study result we have advocated has ended with a policy change in the short-term, because some require a longer process. Therefore, we will continue to oversee these processes for as long as necessary.

Growing together

The process we have gone through in the effort to influence evidence-based policies since we changed our name to UI-CSGAR in 2016 has given us many lessons. We have grown both as individuals and as an institution, and this process will continue.

Internally, from 2016–2020, the process of developing ourselves happened in large part thanks to the support from Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI). We believe that the collaboration between UI-CSGAR and KSI has allowed both parties to learn from each other and grow together. Besides providing valuable funding, KSI also gave us the space to build our own capacity.

We see that KSI has been successfully promoting awareness and competency regarding the importance of evidence-based policy, and therefore current officials and leadership in the government are aware of this issue. Since their establishment, KSI has promoted the strengthening of the knowledge-to-policy (K2P) idea as a method to change knowledge to policy. Not only that, KSI has made bureaucrats more willing to accept the substance of evidence-based policy by involving universities to promote this idea. Now, the awareness within universities of the importance of producing policy briefs is stronger, in addition to the importance of academic journals, considering that the Directorate General of Higher Education (DIKTI) is still currently oriented on the publication of international journals. From the bureaucracy side, KSI has also strengthened the important position of Policy Analyst Functional Position (JFAK), making this role, which was previously overlooked, a favourite. Now, it can be said that policy analysts have become the epicentre for policy change. All of the processes that KSI has conducted have given us many lessons.

We also learned a lot from KSI's other partners on how to conduct policy strengthening, starting from the knowledge creation process all the way to transforming the knowledge into policy. Meetings with KSI's partners have allowed us to establish new networks. We have also gained knowledge on effective and efficient management processes in managing activities, and methods to influence and strengthen the policy development process. As a result, UI-CSGAR has become well-known to more stakeholders, both at the national ministry and agency level and at the local level. This also increased the confidence of donor institutions in us, enabling us to receive the necessary resources to continue to conduct studies and promote policy advocacy.

The process of learning and working together with KSI has created a wealth of new knowledge for UI-CSGAR. With this knowledge, we hope that going forward we can be even better at promoting policy changes to administration systems.

Knowledge Platform for Policy Analysts

Riyadi Santoso and Totok Hari Wibowo
Association of Indonesian Policy Analysts (AAKI)

After the establishment of the Policy Analyst Functional Policy (JFAK), which was a new functional position within national and local government institutions, the number of policy analysts has continued to increase. The presence of these policy analysts needs to be overseen to promote public policy improvement in Indonesia.

JFAK was established based on the Regulation of the Minister of State Apparatus and Bureaucratic Reform (Permenpan-RB) Number 45 Year 2013 on the Policy Analyst Functional Position and its Credit Score. With this regulation, a number of Civil Service Apparatus (ASN) members in ministries and agencies both at the national and local levels started to shift into roles as policy analysts. This shift could be achieved through three pathways, namely training potential policy analysts held by the State Administrative Agency (LAN), passing through the competency test held by LAN, and bureaucratic simplification, for example by transferring administrative/structural officials to functional positions. Specifically for the third pathway, the Ministry of State Apparatus and Bureaucratic Reform (Kemenpan-RB) has full authority to conduct bureaucratic simplification without needing to coordinate with LAN, the institution responsible for JFAK.

After the first generation of JFAKs was born, there was an idea to gather all of the policy analysts into one platform. This idea was supported by, among others, the first-generation policy analysts and the Centre for Policy Analyst Development (Pusaka) under LAN. The process to realise this platform for policy analysts began in 2015. After going through the preparation stage, finally, the Indonesian Policy Analyst Association or *Asosiasi Analis Kebijakan Indonesia* (AAKI) was established on 9 September 2016.

Simply put, this professional association was established due to a number of concerns regarding how to best develop the policy analyst profession in Indonesia. One of these concerns was the importance of capacity building for newly inaugurated policy analysts. Many ASN members were not familiar with studies or analyses because they previously worked more with technical aspects. The process of shifting the roles of ASN members from structural positions to functional positions that require specific expertise has not been easy. There needs to be a way to increase the capacity of policy analysts, specifically regarding how to conduct studies for policy recommendations and advocate them into policies.

Another concern is professional ethics. In carrying out their tasks, policy analysts will come in contact with many parties. Hence, there needs to be a regulation concerning the professional ethics of the policy analyst profession. This, for example, is linked to the relationships between policy analysts and the people

who use their analysis, as well as institutions, and fellow policy analysts. As a professional organisation, AAKI intends to build professionalism and professional ethics in the form of a code of conduct, which will serve as a standard to become the guideline for policy analysts. The fundamental values that must be maintained are professionalism, integrity, responsibility, accountability, and independence.

AAKI's vision is the realisation of quality and accountable policies oriented towards the interest of the people and the advancement of Indonesia. Starting from the early years of AAKI's journey until today and into the future, we understand there are many steps to take to achieve this vision.

Capacity building

Since the preparatory stage of our organisation, we have engaged many parties to obtain a wide variety of input. We conducted, among other things, dissemination and public testing at universities, one of which was at the Administrative Faculty of Brawijaya University. This provided a lot of input from academics that helped us to determine our steps moving forward.

After finally being established in 2016, we continued to be open to input related to developing our programs, both from academics and other organisations. Knowledge sharing with other organisations is very important because we can learn a lot from this process. Knowledge sharing at a number of universities in many areas has supported AAKI's efforts to develop policy analysts who are not only centred at the ministry, agency, and local levels but also at universities.

This type of knowledge-sharing activity also became one of the ways we promoted our members' capacity building. We have positioned AAKI as a kind of hub that enables, as well as promotes, knowledge collaboration. We want to make AAKI a community of practice so that members can share knowledge and experiences and collaborate to promote evidence-based policy.

In this context, AAKI has organised a number of training programs for its members. One of these is the training program to develop the Credit Score Assessment Proposal List (DUPAK). A credit score is a score unit of each activity or an accumulation of several activities that must be achieved by a functional official to advance their career as a policy analyst. The credit score that serves as the basis for assessing the performance of said functional official is determined by the authorised official. This DUPAK development training aims to achieve human resources with a high level of competency and integrity.

In addition to the scheduled DUPAK training, we design the capacity-building activities needed by our members, including training programs to develop policy briefs, policy impact analyses, policy communications, and policy advocacy. The types and themes of these training programs will continue to expand moving forward, according to our members' needs.

Besides training, we also form policy expertise groups in various ministries, for example, policy expertise in religion, the economy, health, and so on. The function of these policy expertise groups is to resolve specific issues in their corresponding areas. Even though these groups are formed within their respective ministries, different ministries and agencies are open to implementing inter-expertise collaboration, especially since many activities are already conducted across different sectors, disciplines, and fields of expertise.

Other than developing the capacity of each of our members, we strive to promote organisational change to cement the position of policy analysts in their respective institutions. Therefore, we coordinate with LAN to promote the capacity-building aspect, performance improvement, and institutionalisation of JFAK so that it has a stronger position at ministries/agencies.

AAKI was also involved in the study for the Indonesian National Job Competency Standard (SKKNI) for the public policy analyst position, cooperating with Pusaka LAN, the Local Autonomy Monitoring and Implementation Committee (KPPOD), SMERU Research Institute, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Diponegoro University, and Gadjah Mada University. This study resulted in the production of the Minister of Manpower Decree Number 106 Year 2018 on the Stipulation of Indonesian National Job Competency Standard (SKKNI) for the Category of Professional, Scientific, and Technical Activities at the Primary Rank of Science Research and Development at the Public Policy Analyst Position. Nationally, this decree became the reference for developing national qualification levels, implementing professional education and training, testing competency, and providing certification for the public policy analyst profession, including the competency testing standard for policy analysts from non-Civil Services (PNS). This SKKNI was also used as a reference in developing the competency testing materials for professional certification organisations (LSP).

Through these various programs, we hope AAKI can provide benefits for its members, especially in improving personal capacity and strengthening the policy analyst position in their respective work units. Thus, policy analysts can become confident in their own capacity.

Openness and diversity

We hope that the various benefits we are trying to gain for our members can attract the interest of more policy analysts to become members of AAKI. As the number of policy analysts grows, we believe that the number of AAKI members will continue to grow as well. We also target member growth, but we want to make sure that this growth is driven by members' needs to build their capacity.

Currently, the rotation of echelon III and IV structural officials in Indonesia is continuing through the bureaucratic simplification policy. The majority of these officials are more interested in becoming policy analysts than any other functional position. We see that this conversion process has increased the number of AAKI members. In the current period, there are 785 AAKI members. Even though this is not a large number, it has easily surpassed the number of members during the previous period, which was around 200. However, 785 members is less than a fifth of the total number of policy analysts formalised by LAN. Therefore, we are aiming to increase the number of members to around 2,000 people by the end of 2022.

In addition to members from the ASN, AAKI is also open to non-ASN members. Currently, 70 per cent of our members are ASN and 30 per cent are non-ASN. AAKI's current management also comes from both ASN and non-ASN sources. This openness is important because the policy analyst profession does not only exist in ministries or agencies. That is why we also have members from universities, civil society organisations, consultants from international organisations, and industries such as the State Electric Company (PLN) and Kawasan Berikat Nusantara.

Since the beginning, we have encouraged member diversity to expand our reach and enrich our knowledge. This diversity can provide access to policy analysts in the study process, which often needs data and information regarding practical things. In addition, with this diversity, members can have the space to develop their capacity according to their area of interest. Therefore, the policy development process will be better because policy analysts from various backgrounds can collaborate.

Collaboration efforts among policy analysts across different sectors are also being attempted by our friends at the branch level. They are trying to link practice and community knowledge to address issues at the local level. Currently, AAKI has branches in a number of areas, such as in DI Yogyakarta, East Java, Bali, South Sulawesi, and Bangka Belitung.

Challenge

As an independent organisation that was only recently established, AAKI faces a number of challenges in our efforts to develop ourselves. One of these challenges is related to resources. We still have limitations in ensuring the required funding support to organise our various activities.

LAN, as the closest government institution to AAKI's existence, cannot be expected to support our funding. As a government institution whose status is not a full ministry, LAN neither has the resources nor budgetary authority to provide our funds. Despite this, LAN supported AAKI so that we could work to train, test, and certify policy analysts from non-governmental institutions.

To address this funding limitation, we tried several approaches. One of these was cooperating with partners that needed to build policy analysts' capacity in their respective institutions. Hence, we have reached out to ministries/agencies to cover the cost of building the capacity of their policy analysts. Even though so far these efforts have yet to show results, we have continued to reach out to ministries/agencies. In addition, we have also encouraged the private funding option from policy analysts wanting to join AAKI's training programs. So far, policy analysts' enthusiasm to increase their capacity is quite high, even when they have to use their own money, because they really value the training.

Besides the lack of funding, another challenge is the unwillingness of the majority of AAKI members to be involved directly in the policy development process. There are several reasons for this, one of which is an incomplete understanding due to only being used to dealing with their own areas, making it difficult for them to open up. At this point, we think that establishing a community of practice becomes very relevant. Therefore, we have conducted trials to this end. After receiving a grant from the Ministry of Research and Technology (now the National Research and Innovation Agency/BRIN), we engaged 15 members to manage the fund to promote studies for evidence-based policymaking with the following keywords: 'women', 'COVID', and 'SMEs'. These three keywords produced many derivative studies. We have presented the results of these studies to the relevant ministries and agencies.

Going forward

As a newborn organisation, at this time AAKI is still learning to walk. We accept criticism as the motivation to keep improving ourselves. We understand there are many stages that we have to go through to achieve AAKI's vision. Therefore, we need to develop a roadmap to gradually build the discourse on

the importance of evidence-based policy, and the strategic role of policy analysts in the development process.

In this context, since its beginning AAKI was established as a knowledge platform that served as a means for the knowledge interaction process for all relevant actors, not only those from the ASN but also those from non-ASN sources. The various activities that we have conducted and planned are a part of our efforts to realise this knowledge platform. The support from Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI) has been really helpful for us to go through these stages. KSI has placed the foundation for AAKI's organisational development. In addition to providing funding, KSI has played a part in conceiving AAKI's establishment since the beginning. KSI also oversaw the development of our Standard Operational Procedures (SOP), Articles of Association (AD), Bylaws (ART), and so on. Not only that, but KSI also played a role in building the capacity of AAKI's organisation and management, including involving AAKI in networking activities with other organisations, conducting socialisation to various areas, and opening collaboration potential with various universities. KSI has been so helpful to us, from AAKI's conception to our establishment, and has held our hands as we learned to walk. Therefore, KSI has become a part of AAKI's history. What KSI has given us has become a strong legacy that will inspire us to further develop AAKI in the future, in order to sustainably develop the policy analyst profession. Ultimately, AAKI's ongoing existence will truly provide benefits in shaping confident policy analysts, both in terms of the quality of their work and their networks.

The Journey of Yayasan BaKTI to Become an Intermediary Actor in the Knowledge-to-Policy Cycle in South Sulawesi

Rahmad Sabang and Zusanna Gosal

Eastern Indonesia Knowledge Exchange (BaKTI) Foundation

In 2019, BaKTI Foundation (Yayasan BaKTI) initiated a Pioneering Program for Knowledge-Based Policy Development in South Sulawesi, which aimed to support the priorities of the local policy agenda through applied studies that informed the basis of those policies. With support from Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI) through the knowledge-to-policy program, we supported the South Sulawesi Provincial Government in reviving the glory days of silk in South Sulawesi.

In the 1970s and 1980s, South Sulawesi was an important area for the silk industry in Indonesia. The province accounted for 70–80 per cent of the national production of silk thread. Silk production in South Sulawesi during this period was supported by as many as 3,556 farmers across 13 areas in several districts in South Sulawesi (*Balai Persuteraan Alam*, 2010). Since then, silk has become the icon of South Sulawesi.

However, that wonderful story is slowly fading away. The number of silk weavers in South Sulawesi has drastically declined within the last 20 years. Official data shows that while previously there were thousands of silk weavers, there are currently only 151 left. This is not to mention the rise of synthetic silk clothing on the market and various other upstream and downstream problems. So, where did all of those silk weavers go?

Various problems in the silk value chain mentioned above were identified as part of a study facilitated by Yayasan BaKTI. The silk value chain study involved a number of institutions and was held from August 2020 to January 2021. Besides Yayasan BaKTI, with support from KSI, the study also involved the Local Development, Research, and Development Planning Agency (*Bappelitbangda*) of South Sulawesi and Payo-Payo Civil Society Organisation.

Through this study, we found a number of issues along the silk value chain, from the upstream, manufacturing, to the downstream side. We also found a discrepancy between the findings of our study and the data issued by the local government, in relation to actors and producers in the silk value chain. There was also the sectoral ego problem within the local government institution itself. Business actors, one of the key factors in the silk value chain in South Sulawesi, were also a part of the problem. Many weavers left the silk commodity chain as a result of poverty, with business actors failing to pay them decent wages.

The intermediary role

With support from KSI, Yayasan BaKTI, cooperating with the Bappelitbangda of South Sulawesi Province, held a workshop to map and identify priority issues in South Sulawesi. These priority issues would then be studied in greater detail for the purpose of producing knowledge to promote policy change.

This workshop, which was held in May 2019, produced three priority issues, namely socio-economic inequality, integration between planning and budget, and the need for commodity governance regarding local economic development. The study on these three priority issues was actually in line with other KSI partners also undertaking programs in South Sulawesi, such as Sekretariat Nasional Forum Indonesia untuk Transparansi Anggaran (Seknas FITRA), The SMERU Research Institute, and Komite Pemantauan dan Pelaksanaan Otonomi Daerah (KPPOD).

After these three priority issues were identified, the Bappelitbangda of South Sulawesi Province, together with BaKTI, carried out an agenda-setting process to identify strategic issues needing a policy study. During this agenda-setting process, which convened parties such as academics, local officials, and the private sector, including non-profit organisations, we collectively decided to review the silk commodity value chain. Silk was chosen, out of the various commodities in South Sulawesi, because it was an important product icon and had its glory days in South Sulawesi between the 1970s and 1990s.

The silk value chain can also be considered complex. From the upstream to the downstream, there are many stakeholders involved. In addition, of course, the development of silk commodities is included in the Provincial Government Strategic Program document according to the Local Mid-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) of South Sulawesi, 2018–2023. The inclusion of silk commodities in the South Sulawesi RPJMD is very important since, no matter who the local head is, the development of silk commodities will still have to be implemented.

There were also agreements to involve civil society organisations (CSO) in the implementation of the study of the silk value chain in South Sulawesi. The perspectives that needed to be framed in this study were the community empowerment aspect and the gender equality, disability, and social inclusion (GEDSI) aspect. This agreement was the one Bappelitbangda South Sulawesi had been waiting for since they began to long for innovation and collaboration in developing strategic policy studies in South Sulawesi.

Yayasan BaKTI and Bappelitbangda of South Sulawesi then identified which parties must be involved. In the process, Yayasan BaKTI approached several CSOs that had the capacity to be the study implementer. The involvement of local CSOs was necessary to gain a complete perspective on this policy study program and we hoped that there would be a local organisation with experience in conducting a collaborative

study on the commodity value chain. After doing our due diligence, we selected the Farmers School (SRP) of Payo-Payo to be involved in implementing this silk value chain study. SRP Payo-Payo had experience conducting studies at the grassroots level, carrying out the census, and presenting their study results in popular language that the public could easily understand. Hence, you could say that our silk value chain study team was the complete package, consisting of researchers who were academic experts in silk commodity, policy, commodity value chain, economy and environment, researchers from a CSO that practiced community empowerment and GEDSI, and researchers from the government who understood various policy aspects.

The study results identified a number of issues related to the silk commodity value chain in South Sulawesi. In the upstream sector, the fading silk commodity was caused by a dependency on imported silk seeds. If the supply of imported silk seeds decreased, the weavers' productivity and sales also declined. Another factor was the consecutive failures that led to the spread of pébrine disease, causing farmers to lose all of their hard work and profits. When too much hard work was required for too little profit, farmers shifted their investment to another commodity or changed into other jobs.

Meanwhile, in the manufacturing sector, which was the midground between the upstream and downstream sectors of the silk value chain, it was found that the production quantity of cocoons had decreased, the quality of produced threads tended not to meet market expectations, and thread-spinners had not received any modern technology. In the meantime, the aid of looms provided by the local government was not accompanied by a management model that could ensure sustainable operations for farmers. On the weaving side, low wages had reduced interest in becoming weavers.

The issues identified within the downstream sector of the silk commodity value chain in South Sulawesi were declining demand for real silk sarongs, pattern plagiarism, and inequality between actors in the downstream sector. The specifics of that last finding were that there was a gap between small-scale weaving businesses and large-scale weaving businesses. A larger capacity to produce silk-woven clothing allowed these large businesses to minimise their production costs. They could then afford lower price tags, which of course made it difficult for small-scale businesses to compete with them.

Based on all of these findings, the research team facilitated by BaKTI then developed a policy brief related to the silk value chain in South Sulawesi. One of the recommendations in the policy brief related to the downstream sector, for example, was that there was a need for regulations mandating labels for locally made real silk products. Meanwhile, in the upstream sector, quality local silkworm egg production was needed to reduce dependency on imported silkworm seeds. This would be achieved through cooperation with the Forestry Research and Development Agency at the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK), to test the adaptation of silkworm strains most appropriate to be farmed in South Sulawesi. Finally, in the manufacturing sector, in addition to paying higher wages to weavers, we felt it was necessary to establish an organisation that could manage looms so that production quality and quantity could be better maintained.

After we conveyed our policy brief to the relevant parties, the recommendation to make a policy regulating the labels of real silk products received a positive response from the Industrial Affairs Office of the South Sulawesi Provincial Government. This proves that a knowledge-based policy built on comprehensive research can really answer problems in the field. The study model conducted by Yayasan BaKTI and the rest of the team was even replicated by the South Sulawesi Provincial Government on another

commodity, namely satoimo taro, in 2021. In addition, the status of this collaborative study approach is in the process of being elevated from a Decree of Head of Bappelitbangda of South Sulawesi Province to a Government Regulation, to expand its scope to other districts/cities and Local Officials (OPD) within South Sulawesi.

KSI's support

Yayasan BaKTI believes that all of the evidence-based policy development processes we conducted in South Sulawesi Province were achieved thanks to KSI's support. During these processes, KSI regularly provided input to Yayasan BaKTI through weekly meetings. One example of this input was related to the approach we should use if program implementation came to a dead end. Despite sounding simple, this was an important input from KSI, which proved to be useful for program implementation. We have always worked together as a cohesive team.

KSI also managed to link Yayasan BaKTI with various parties at the national level, such as other KSI partners including SMERU, Seknas FITRA and KPPOD, as well as the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas). In terms of our relationship with Bappenas, as facilitated by KSI, we obtained input on the importance of commodity governance in Indonesia through a comprehensive value chain study from upstream to downstream, and learned how our program could be promoted for replication at the national level. By facilitating at the national level, KSI is even in the process of making the collaborative study on the silk value chain of South Sulawesi a material for the revision of the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 17 Year 2016 on the Research and Development Guideline at the Ministry of Home Affairs and Local Governments.

The support provided by KSI and its partners continues to raise our awareness of the importance of advocating the policy development process from beginning to end, based on studies that are supported by valid evidence and data. We have also been trying to disseminate the approach tested in the knowledge-based policy development program in South Sulawesi so that it can be replicated in other areas in Indonesia. For instance, when the Bappelitbangda of South Sulawesi Province shared the good practices and lessons learned from the knowledge-to-policy program at a Forum for Head of Provincial Bappeda across all eastern parts of Indonesia that was facilitated by BaKTI, there was a representative from Balitbangda of North Maluku who wanted to learn further about this approach.

Based on our experience with the knowledge-to-policy process, we realise that this model study doesn't just apply to commodities but can also be applied to other priority issues. The important thing is how the business process is consistently carried out at each stage, from the agenda-setting process involving multiple parties, to preparing to conduct the study, including establishing the study implementing team and quality control team, to implementing the collaborative study, including a comprehensive review by the quality control team, to policy development. The key lies in collaborating to generate a comprehensive perspective and involving an intermediary actor as a catalyst and connector.

Another lesson learned by Yayasan BaKTI is how to maintain a good relationship with an institution that has experienced several changes in leadership and engage with each new local head in a way that does not affect the processes and studies that have already been conducted. The key is to keep coordinating with and regularly providing updates on programs to the heads of institutions, as well as working intensively with champions within the government to always build ownership in the program.

With a multi-party and multiple-perspective approach, this program managed to demonstrate a knowledge-based policy development cycle in South Sulawesi. Through this approach, a priority policy agenda of the South Sulawesi Provincial Government was supported through an applied study, which became the basis for developing a policy, namely a Decree on Collaborative Study and Governor Regulation on Labelling Silk Clothing with Patterns unique to South Sulawesi Province. The process and stages of implementing this approach yielded a policy and important lessons for relevant stakeholders, especially for the South Sulawesi Provincial Government. Hopefully, the policy produced from this collaborative study can be implemented by the local government and other relevant stakeholders, and its implementation can be monitored so that this evidence-based policy is effective in promoting changes in society.

Building Need-Based Policy Advocacy from Within

Irsan A Pawennei

Centre for Innovation Policy and Governance (CIPG)

Science and Technology (*iptek*) and innovation hold a vital role in the development progress of a country. The right science and technology policy can create a conducive science, technology, and innovation ecosystem that is able to contribute to the advancement of a nation's development and competitiveness.

This is the reasoning behind the establishment of the Centre for Innovation Policy and Governance (CIPG) in 2010. CIPG is a think tank organisation focusing on innovation, policy, and governance issues. This organisation was established by several Indonesians with educational backgrounds from the Manchester Institute of Innovation Research (MIIIR), which excels in science technology innovation policy and management.

CIPG conducts research focusing on issues such as the national research agenda, research funding, the science and technology landscape, the knowledge and innovation ecosystem, and research and innovation talent management. This is one of the forms of CIPG's commitment to supporting the strengthening of Indonesia's science, technology, and innovation ecosystem. With this commitment, CIPG has the vision to bridge research and policy.

To achieve this, CIPG not only engages in the research process but also advocates their research to stakeholders and collaborates with various national and international institutions. This mutual collaboration enables us to carry out a number of research efforts and be involved in various advocacy activities.

In policy advocacy, CIPG was involved in a series of discussions on the Bill Draft (RUU) on the National System for Science and Technology (*Sisnas Iptek*). The discussion on RUU *Sisnas Iptek*, which was initiated by the government, started in the House of Representatives (DPR), and led to the formation of the leadership of Special Committee (*Pansus*) of RUU *Sisnas Iptek* in May 2017. Various parties were hopeful about the results of this RUU.

Momentum to improve research and innovation ecosystem

CIPG's involvement in the discussion of RUU *Sisnas Iptek* began in January 2018, when we were formally invited to convey our opinions at the Public Hearing Meeting (RDP) on RUU *Sisnas Iptek*. We still have no clear idea why CIPG was included on the list of invitees for this limited RDP, but we feel honored because we were considered to be equal with various institutions with decades of experience in the science and technology world, like the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI), the

Indonesian Academy of Sciences (AIPI), and so on. We believe that the inclusion of CIPG in the official invitation to the RDP was the fruit of our labours. Therefore, even though the invitation was given on such short notice, we attended anyway because we did not want to lose the momentum it gave us to convey various recommendations based on the knowledge that we had accumulated. This knowledge was a result of nearly eight years of conducting studies, cooperating with various parties, particularly the National Research Board (DRN) and the Ministry of Research and Technology (Kemenristek).

Based on the articles in RUU Sisnas Iptek, we thought that it placed more emphasis on regulating the upstream research domain than downstream innovations. Our main concern was the continuity of science and technology and innovation from upstream to downstream. In addition, we were also concerned with various other issues, including: the institutionalisation of science and technology and innovation, in particular the importance of a multi-year funding mechanism for research and the importance of the role of research funding organisations; science and technology and innovation resources, in particular the private sector's involvement; policy research, in particular the use of research as a consideration in policy formulation; must save research; and objections to criminal sanctions.

After this RDP meeting, CIPG was asked to help Pansus RUU Sisnas Iptek in the DPR to develop the Issue Inventory List (DIM). However, there was no special budget post for this activity. As a result, our cooperation with Pansus RUU Sisnas Iptek in the DPR could not be formalised. Fortunately, this was not an issue because, in April 2018, we began to receive support from the Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI), which also had a major investment in the research and knowledge ecosystem in Indonesia. KSI's vision aligned with ours, especially in promoting evidence-based policymaking. With KSI's support, we could unpack this RUU and conducted advocacy with other policy research institutes (PRIs) partnering with KSI.

We strived to optimise this support by allocating the time of a number of CIPG personnel to conduct studies, organise a series of public discussions with various parties, including the media, and interact with the government and DPR members, both directly and through their expert staff, to monitor the dynamics of the RUU Sisnas Iptek discussion, so that we could provide recommendations based on needs. The Head of Pansus, for example, asked us to examine and develop science policies in various countries. This effort was also supported by The Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education (Kemenristekdikti). After the study was ready, we presented it to the DPR and Kemenristekdikti.

We provided input on a number of aspects of RUU Sisnas Iptek throughout the 18 months of the discussion process, as well as after it became Law Number 11 Year 2019 on Sisnas Iptek, which was ratified on 16 July 2019. Some of these were declined, some were accepted and included in the DIM, but were not included in the final formulation of the Law on Sisnas Iptek, and some were accepted and included in the final formulation of the Law on Sisnas Iptek.

One aspect of our input that was accommodated was related to the position of science and technology. In the initial design, there was the following sentence: 'Science and Technology is an asset for the national development'. We think this sentence is not accurate as to the role of research. Therefore, in the RDP, we conveyed that science and technology are often considered to be a cost. In reality, Science and Technology is an investment. Hence, the position of research needed to be made clear by the statement 'Science and Technology is an asset for the national development as an investment'. This input was accommodated in the final formulation of Article 6 of the Law on Sisnas Iptek: 'Science and Technology is an asset and investment'.

With a statement on science and technology as an asset and investment in a Law, which is the highest legal regulation, it has now become more strategically positioned to attract various sources of funding. This includes a new funding source initiated by the Law, namely the Endowment Fund on Research, Development, Study, and Application.

This science and technology position is cemented by Article 5, which includes science and technology's role as the foundation for national development planning. We, alongside the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (AIPI), the Indonesian Young Academy of Sciences (ALMI), and other PRIs, also advocated the importance of using research outcomes as a consideration in policy formulation. This was accommodated in the special section of Article 41 on Science and Technology-Based Policy, which mandates the use of the results of research, development, study, and application as a scientific foundation in formulating and stipulating national development policies. This position was also adopted in Law Number 11 Year 2020 on Job Creation, which mentions that one of the Law's objectives is to 'adjust various regulatory aspects related to the improvement of the investment ecosystem, and the ease and acceleration of national strategic projects oriented on the national interests, based on national science and technology'. This Omnibus Law impacted on Law No. 23/2014 on Local Government, because the local level also needs to plan development based on research and innovation, which is mentioned in Article 176, stipulating that 'The local level, according to its authority, develops the Local Development Plan as a unity in the national development planning system in all aspects of life based on national research and innovation'.

Advocacy dynamics

Despite finally managing to be ratified, the discussion of the Law on *Sisnas Iptek* was very dynamic. When it was still a Bill Draft (RUU), the content attracted international attention because of a provision that gave a direct criminal sanction to researchers or foreign institutions conducting research without the government's permission. Indonesian researchers consider this provision to be counterproductive to Indonesia's efforts to promote research collaboration at the global level. Looking at this, CIPG also strived to lessen this sanction by promoting the consideration of unintentional behavior due to limited information or administrative issues. This input was finally accommodated in Article 92, which states that foreign researchers conducting unpermitted research will receive an administrative sanction. However, if this mistake is made a second time, the researcher will receive a criminal sanction.

Based on what we went through in the policy advocacy process for the Law on *Sisnas Iptek*, we noted at least five important lessons. First, RUU *Sisnas Iptek* is an elitist issue, and thus it is hard to relate it to people's daily lives. This became a challenge during the advocacy process. This is in contrast to issues related to health insurance, workers' wages, or food security, which are directly related to people's daily lives, thus making it easier for them to attract the mass media's attention. Second, fully understanding the advocated issue and topic is absolutely necessary. Not having a wide or deep enough knowledge of the advocacy topic means not having enough material to present to stakeholders. In addition, how information is packaged is also crucial. For the DPR, for example, it is really helpful if written inputs are conveyed in a format that can be used immediately, like in the form of the DIM. In any case, in a short meeting with several DPR members, a position paper or policy paper containing important points is more helpful for making the discussion run smoothly.

Third, mapping actors and their respective interests helps us to understand their positions. In the RUU discussion, there were many actors involved, each with their own interests. Fourth, networks and personal

contacts are important. Without having networks and personal contacts, it would have been difficult to obtain information on the dynamics of the discussion of RUU Sisnas Iptek. In addition, networks with various stakeholders are proven to help us gain different perspectives on science and technology and innovation in general. Fifth, advocacy needs flexibility. Interacting with various stakeholders requires flexibility in communicating, starting from beginning the conversation to asking about the development of the RUU discussion. In this context, choice of words when communicating with DPR members, government, or other research institutions needs to be carefully considered.

Formulating evidence-based policy

Throughout its history, CIPG's efforts in bridging research and public policy have been able to run smoothly thanks to the support from various parties. One of our main supporters is KSI. CIPG and KSI share the same vision in promoting evidence-based policymaking. With its flexible funding, KSI plays an important role in providing human resources and facilitating meetings that can help the government in conducting various studies based on its needs as a policymaker.

For us, KSI's contribution is not only limited to funding. KSI also became the catalyst that introduced CIPG with many parties to expand our knowledge network. We have carried out a number of joint actions with KSI and their other PRI partners to promote policy advocacy on specific issues, for example the implementing regulation of Law on Sisnas Iptek, especially related to research permits and ethical feasibility.

In addition, KSI provides a platform to its partners, including CIPG, to disseminate research outcomes via various forums, such as through the KSIxChange events, discussion forums, or via direct audiences with the government. KSI also facilitated CIPG conducting media visits to voice specific issues, for example regarding the ratification of Law on Sisnas Iptek. In terms of the importance of media engagement, which has always been promoted by KSI, we even obtained tips and tricks on how to write opinion articles in nationally printed media. As a result, there were three articles published in both the printed and online versions of Kompas within the last three years, entitled 'Towards a Recognised Research and Development' or 'Menuju Litbang yang Dipandang'⁹, 'The Pandemic and Trust on The Innovation of our own Nation' or 'Pandemi dan Kepercayaan Inovasi Bangsa Sendiri'¹⁰, and 'Investment over Innovation' or 'Investasi di Atas Inovasi'¹¹.

CIPG will continue the legacy of KSI in supporting policymakers in Indonesia to use research and data to produce better analyses. In this care, CIPG positions itself as a discussion ally for policyholders by upholding two-way communication and understanding their needs. This advocacy process uses the 'working from within' approach and complements the external advocacy approach, which is the preference for many CSOs and think tanks in Indonesia.

⁹ Pawennei, I. A. (2019, 19 November). Menuju Litbang yang Dipandang. Kompas. Retrieved from <https://www.kompas.id/label/penerapan-litbang-jirap>

¹⁰ Pawennei, I. A. (2020, 3 Mei). Pandemi dan Kepercayaan Inovasi Bangsa Sendiri. Kompas. Retrieved from <https://www.kompas.id/baca/opini/2020/05/03/pandemi-dan-kepercayaan-inovasi-bangsa-sendiri>

¹¹ Pawennei, I. A. (2021, 11 Mei). Investasi di Atas Inovasi. Kompas. Retrieved from <https://www.kompas.id/baca/opini/2021/05/11/investasi-di-atas-inovasi>



3 The Journey of Strengthening the Media as a Knowledge Intermediary

Data Journalism, a Breath of Fresh Air Amid the Flood of Information

Ade Wahjudi
Katadata

Aiming to be more than just a platform for packaging and disseminating information to the public; that was the intention of Katadata, an online media outlet focusing on the economy and business. Established on 1 April 2012, Katadata wanted to grow strong and stand out by presenting news and information based on evidence and in-depth research to business leaders and policymakers.

This goal was especially important because in the early years of Katadata's existence, there were many mainstream media outlets, with their various platforms, that mostly presented news based on quotes from experts. A single expert's perspective on a matter was often deemed to be sufficient to be packaged as news by itself. We did not want to position ourselves merely as a funnel for the voices of experts. Readers should be given multiple perspectives on every event through supporting data or research findings.

The name of our organisation combines the terms 'kata' or 'speaking' and 'data'. So, true to our name, every news story that we develop must be supported by data or research. We have been following this ideal consistently since Katadata was established in 2012.

In an effort to avoid boring readers, news stories should be packaged in straightforward and attractive ways to make them easy to understand for the public. Thus, Katadata's news stories always include attractive visuals in addition to the text. In other words, we want to simplify complex issues without eliminating their essence. As Leonardo da Vinci once said, 'Simplicity is the ultimate sophistication,' a sentiment which we have taken as our company motto.

In addition to presenting high-quality news stories with attractive visuals, Katadata also provides regular deliveries of breaking news to business leaders and policymakers via email. We are also open to cooperating with various parties in developing economic and business research. To support our news and research products, Katadata has also launched its newest product and service, called 'Databoks'. This statistics data portal is intended to be an effective platform for publishing and presenting data to the public and serves as a means of searching for data that can be easily used by readers.

Supporting research development

Why do we always want to put forward data and analysis as a part of our news stories? Because we want to invite readers to obtain comprehensive facts about the issue at hand, based on data and research. For example, many economic cases also intersect with political issues. One such example was Bank Century. This issue practically reached all the way to Senayan, the location of the House of Representatives (DPR), the political pull was so tight. But, at the time, no one had unpacked the data on Indonesia's condition when the bailout was disbursed to prevent banks from failing to pay. Was the bailout really necessary when Indonesia's economy was in the midst of a crisis? We presented the data surrounding this issue.

Another example is the recurring debate surrounding whether fuel (BBM) prices should be raised or not. This issue has always gravitated towards the realm of politics. But no mass media outlets have actually unpacked the reasons why BBM prices should go up. How can subsidies be well-targeted if they always go to fuel? What about subsidies for education? What about subsidies for other, more deserving, sectors? Katadata focuses more on the underlying roots of these problems. We want something new for our readers. When they read our news stories, there is always supporting data and research included in them.

Having said that, Katadata recognises that there are some other mass media outlets that include research as a part of their journalistic products or other communication products. This is important because it demonstrates the validity and credibility of their content by showing that it is not based on mere assumptions, but on data and research. Besides enriching the content, this model is also in line with one of our core principles, which is speaking with data.

When interpreting an issue or problem for an audience, it is very important for us to always use data as the basis for our stories. By processing and using data, we can describe facts and real conditions, or identify hidden phenomena that will be interesting when put into the context of a story.

These efforts are made by Katadata in part to support the promotion of literacy in Indonesia. According to a survey from the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) released by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 2019, Indonesia was ranked 62nd out of 70 countries in terms of literacy. Katadata wants to help improve the literacy levels of the Indonesian people by providing them with better quality readings.

Meanwhile, when creating communication products designed to target stakeholders or policymakers, Katadata will process research and collect the necessary data, both primary and secondary data. Katadata is also used to cooperating with the relevant parties to produce reports or surveys. Through this process, the communication products we produce can be more credible and serve as a mindful contribution to policy formulation.

For example, Katadata conducted a survey on the condition of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) in Indonesia during the COVID-19 pandemic. We published this survey so that stakeholders could obtain an accurate depiction of the condition of MSMEs in Indonesia. In addition, the results of the survey can be used as the basis for making a well-founded policy that tackles the real issues faced by these MSMEs.

Knowledge ecosystem

Speaking about the knowledge ecosystem, Katadata firmly believes that science is very important. One of the benefits of the media's role in improving the literacy of the people is to minimise misinformation. As we know all too well from the COVID-19 pandemic, misinformation can spread among the general public at an alarming rate. People can easily swallow misinformation whole without checking if its source is credible or not.

To promote the development of the knowledge ecosystem and improve public literacy, we strengthened our collaborations with stakeholders. For publication content, for example, we conducted interviews with parties that were relevant to promoting collaboration within the knowledge ecosystem, both at the national and local levels. In the process, we held public discussions that tried to align the knowledge ecosystem with Indonesia's overarching agenda. We involved stakeholders like the Head of the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), Suharso Monoarfa, and the Managing Director of World Bank, Mari Elka Pangestu. When it comes to initiatives involving these influential parties, we are not only trying to echo issues with publications, we also hope that ideas around collaboration can continue to develop and attract attention from stakeholders.

However, we admit that efforts to build the knowledge ecosystem in Indonesia are not easy. We have been undertaking initiatives to further this goal since 2012, and only now are people starting to talk about data journalism. Before, no one spoke about data journalism; whatever the news, the discussion was only ever about traffic. The process of changing this mindset will take time, but we are making gradual progress and the public is beginning to understand. Once they do, it will be easier for Katadata to establish cooperative relationships with other parties. We are backed by data science and we can cooperate with various government institutions.

In relation to cooperation with other parties, it is not just a one-way street, where we provide data to clients who need it. Katadata also helps to increase the internal capacity of other parties, in terms of how they can process data and present it to the public.

We are optimistic that this process is already beginning to be understood by policymakers. The media industry is also beginning to understand the importance of data and research. When there are many mass media outlets and government institutions processing data from research, their communication products will really be science-based. Information conveyed by the mass media will have been processed from data. The same goes for policies made by the government, which will have gone through a series of data and research-based analyses.

Internally, Katadata conducted the relevant training to strengthen the capacity of our editorial team in research and data analysis. In addition, we also strengthened our research and data division. For this division, we did not recruit journalists, but experts in research. This division worked in unison with our editorial division to publish the data to the audience in the form of interesting and accurate news stories.

The role of the media

One of Katadata's most crucial experiences has been the opportunity to work together with Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI). Having collaborated with them since 2019, we have received sound support from them on how the knowledge ecosystem should work. In our discussions with KSI, we have talked a lot about how all policies, decisions and information must be based on science. On this topic, we agreed and felt completely aligned with KSI's vision. Also on this topic, Katadata wants the public to receive information based on facts and research.

In addition, our cooperation with KSI to campaign for the importance of knowledge-based policymaking has been a very strategic advantage to us from a mass media standpoint. KSI has always reached out to a broad audience, focused on interesting issues, and selected high-quality experts. We have also received new information and insights from every event we have held together with KSI. Some of these are related to how we can learn to understand the knowledge ecosystem in more detail, including exploring Katadata's role as a knowledge intermediary.

Within the knowledge ecosystem, Katadata plays an important role in knowledge sharing, bridging the gap between researchers and the general public and policymakers. Many research outcomes are only shared around within the networks of fellow researchers. We try to establish connections to those networks and translate scientific language so it can be conveyed to the general public and policymakers. We also understand the important role we play as a repository of information when it comes to sharing knowledge. So, to aid with this, Katadata has grouped the strategic issues that we have covered within a microsite platform that makes it easier for readers to find content centred around the same issue.

Katadata understands that Indonesia's knowledge ecosystem must continue to be echoed by all actors. Not only by us as an intermediary, but also by all relevant stakeholders from upstream to downstream. Borrowing from a term used frequently by KSI, there are many inter-actor silos within the knowledge ecosystem. Katadata's role is to penetrate those silos and help form connections between them.

Enhancing the Impact of Research Through Evidence-Based Collaborative Journalism

Prodita Kusuma Sabarini
The Conversation Indonesia

In 2011, an online non-profit media organisation called The Conversation was established in Melbourne, Australia, with a mission to present high-quality, evidence-based information from academic experts in language that the general public could understand. Providing an innovative digital technology platform, it allowed the public to access research findings, analyses, explanations and comments from experts on various important issues, and to be involved in high-quality public debates on public policy issues.

Over the course of its first five years, The Conversation grew into an international network of independent media platforms, closely collaborating with the research and higher education sectors. The Conversation UK was launched in England in 2013, followed by The Conversation France and The Conversation USA in 2014, and The Conversation Africa in 2015.

Despite this expansion into multiple continents, at the time The Conversation had yet to establish a local edition in any Asian countries, including Indonesia, the country with the largest economy in Southeast Asia. In 2014, The Conversation Media Group, operator of the Australian edition of The Conversation and developer of the technology platform used by The Conversation's international network, appointed a Jakarta-based editor to curate research regarding Indonesia from Indonesian and international researchers. With the presence of an editor in Jakarta, The Conversation Media Group began their efforts to establish The Conversation Indonesia in 2015. They formed an Advisory Board whose members would become the original founders of The Conversation Indonesia, and initiated efforts to obtain funding by reaching out to international philanthropy organisations.

In 2016, The Conversation Media Group received a grant from the Open Society Foundation Program on Independent Journalism to launch a pilot project aimed at communicating research outcomes and knowledge from Indonesian lecturers and researchers to the public using lay language, as well as strengthening the culture of public engagement among Indonesian researchers by increasing their communication capacity. The Conversation Media Group partnered with the Indonesian Academy of

Sciences to manage this grant. The Conversation Indonesia (TCID) launched its website on 6 September 2017, with four core team members. Around the same time, The Conversation Indonesia Foundation was established to ensure the sustainability of TCID's future efforts to disseminate knowledge and strengthen policy.

Promoting public communication from academics and enhancing research impact

Four years since its launch, and two years since the completion of its 'pilot' phase, TCID has successfully promoted the culture of public communication among Indonesian academics and has made contributors to its online platform into useful references for the public.

By the end of 2017, with a staff of only four people (three editors and one audience development manager), TCID had produced 223 articles from 203 academics, which were read a total of 1.14 million times. We also gained 1,414 social media followers. In 2018, these yearly figures increased to 685 articles from 606 academics and researchers, which were read a total of 4 million times. Our number of followers also went up, increasing to 6,580. We also began conducting popular writing training for the first time for academics, successfully training 29 lecturers and researchers.

In 2019, The Conversation Indonesia Foundation started to manage the operational activities of TCID entirely by themselves. With the support of grants from Knowledge Sector Initiative (KSI), Ford Foundation Indonesia, David and Lucile Packard Foundation, and Tifa Foundation, the TCID team grew to 11 people (seven editors, one audience development manager, one business development and partnership manager, and two finance and administration staff). In 2019, TCID published 890 articles from 859 researchers, which were read a total of 5.9 million times. Our number of social media followers increased to 25,400 and we trained 308 researchers in popular writing.

In 2020, we appointed a multimedia producer, bringing our total number of personnel to 12 people. We published 932 articles from 865 authors, which were read a total of 22.2 million times. Our number of social media followers increased to 55,300 and we trained 92 academics and researchers in popular writing.

It was also the year that marked the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, which infected millions of people globally and hundreds of thousands in Indonesia, significantly disrupting our daily lives. During that year, we saw a spike in interest from academics wanting to contribute explanations and analysis regarding the situation in the community, resulting in us receiving more article offers from authors compared to the previous year. We also saw an increased number of readers, demonstrating the public's clear desire for authoritative information based on science and research from relevant experts.

Our readership rose significantly in 2020. The average number of TCID readers throughout 2018 was 147,006 users per month, contributing 336,776 monthly views. In 2019, this achievement grew almost 50%, to an average of 219,583 users per month, contributing 489,151 monthly views. In 2020, our average monthly users and average monthly publication views increased around 300% compared to 2019's figures.

This significant increase in readership in 2020 could be linked to the public's changing behaviour patterns in terms of how they searched for and consumed information. Due to the worldwide impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, including the restricted mobility resulting from the social restriction policy aimed at slowing down the spread of the virus, many more people were looking for and consuming pandemic-related information through their devices, such as smartphones or laptops. TCID responded to these growing requests for information by providing explanations, analyses, and comments from experts regarding COVID-19.

The publishing of popular articles by experts has demonstrated immediate positive impacts related to connecting researchers with the public. For example, in June 2019, SMERU researcher Goldy Fariz Dharmawan wrote an article for The Conversation on the impact of a school zoning policy for teachers and students. This article was republished by other media platforms, such as Vice and Beritagar, and had been read more than 50,000 times as of May 2021.

Another example happened in March 2020, when Goldy reported, through our post-publication impact monitoring tool, that Sleman and Bantul District Governments, DKI Jakarta Provincial Government, and Bandung City Government all requested the results of his research for use as study materials in their respective areas. This showed that policymakers used SMERU's research as a reference. Goldy also reported that local researchers who were also studying the zoning policy had contacted him to collaborate by sharing new findings and data.

Another positive impact was an increase in researchers' confidence to write for the general public. Yulia Sofiatin, an epidemiology and biostatistics lecturer in Padjadjaran University, Bandung, participated in a writing workshop held by TCID at Bandung Institute of Technology. Since the workshop, she has become one of TCID's most productive writers. In the space of two months, she wrote an explanation about cancer, which was also translated into English, and another article about blood donors. Her articles were widely read, garnering more than 25,000 views. Readers also shared their thoughts about her writing. Unlike social researchers, medical researchers are often reluctant to write in a popular way to a general audience. Yulia's participation showed that with support from TCID's editors, it was possible to encourage non-social researchers to write for general audiences about scientific, but popular themes.

Support from KSI

KSI's support was fundamental to TCID's success in transforming from a pilot project managed by The Conversation Media Group, in partnership with the Indonesian Academy of Sciences, into an independent pioneering media platform managed by The Conversation Indonesia Foundation. The establishment of this independent non-profit organisation in Indonesia to oversee TCID's activities was essential to the sustainability and independence of its mission to disseminate knowledge to strengthen policy in Indonesia. KSI's support was intended to build TCID's profile and capacity as a credible and sustainable source of information and analysis on public policy issues. Their support was also meant to improve TCID's policy research communication to the general public.

The Conversation received support from KSI in the following forms:

1. Facilitation support for consulting management to develop Standard Operational Procedures (SOPs) on finance and accounting, as well as management for human resources affairs.

2. A grant for TCID to implement better financial and human resource management (SDM) systems, produce and distribute policy research contents, train and mentor academics in popular writing, conduct outreach to build partnerships with universities and research organisations, and develop a popular writing curriculum online and train editors as trainers (ToT) in a workshop.
3. KSI's trust in TCID as a vendor.

With KSI's support, we developed an SOP to prepare The Conversation Indonesia Foundation to run TCID independently. The grant from KSI continued to strengthen TCID's capacity in implementing our financial administration and human resources management so that we could begin to apply the SOP and manage our operations independently. TCID's increased capacity to implement our financial administration and human resource management was a key component in our success with securing further donor funding in 2019 and 2020.

For the period of 2019–2020, we managed to obtain two-year funding support from David and Lucile Packard Foundation to expand the scope of our ecosystem, train academics in communicating their research, and strengthen our capacity to generate a sustainable income. In addition, David and Lucile Packard Foundation also funded the consultant who helped us with the strategic and business planning process. During the funding period, we were able to develop a recruitment and new staff orientation process, and expand our team from four people to 13 people by December 2020. We began to independently manage the payroll and benefits for staff. We were also able to complete the staff manual, detailing the policy regarding human resources. We also received funding support for one year from Ford Foundation Indonesia to curate research content about promoting inclusion in Indonesia, as well as provide high-quality journalism to promote a better understanding of complex issues. We also secured funding for 15 months from Tifa Foundation to expand and deepen the engagement of our audience.

The support from KSI also accommodated our efforts to collaborate with researchers to produce evidence-based content in popular forms. We also conducted writing training for academics. And in 2020, with KSI's grant support, we held training for trainers of TCID's editors and prepared an online training module to serve as TCID's learning materials for academics and researchers joining its popular writing training program.

Reflecting on the partnership between KSI and TCID, we have benefitted greatly from their support. They have given us the opportunity to improve our internal operations, allowing us to operate more effectively. This was the basis for our ability to gain trust and funding from the various aforementioned sources. KSI facilitated our management and the development of our finance and accounting SOP, in addition to supporting our implementation of a better finance and human resource management system.

Besides providing a grant, KSI opened another funding source to us through the service procurement scheme mechanism, which could become an important source of revenue for TCID in the future. In 2020, for example, KSI involved TCID as a vendor in several projects. These included making videos for the Ministry of Research and Technology on the importance of a gender equality, disability and social inclusion (GEDSI) perspective in research, and for the Indonesian Young Academy of Sciences on the grant design for research, as well as organising a book launch event for the Indonesian Academy of Sciences.

KSI's support enabled TCID to reach a wider audience and publish higher quality articles, thus supporting its mission to provide high-quality evidence-based information to improve the quality of public discourse. KSI also involved TCID in multi-party meetings for KSI programs, especially in the public discussion on gender equality, disability, and social inclusion (GEDSI).

Overall, KSI's support has changed TCID for the better as an organisation, facilitating our transformation from a novice media organisation to an established organisation serving an increasing number of readers, academics, policymakers, and media professionals in Indonesia.

