

ROLE OF RESIDENTS, NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS
AND QUASI-PUBLIC AGENCIES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT :
INDONESIAN EXPERIENCE

by

Moeljarto Tjokrowinoto
Gapjah Mada University
INDONESIA

I. Background

Students of development and government leaders have become increasingly aware of the necessity to engage all of the available human resources in development efforts. Participation has now been well-enshrined both in development literature as well as in development practices. It has become more than an instrument of development; it is a myth of development as well. Consequently, every nation, whatever its political system is, seeks to implement the concept somehow in its national development.

In reality, participation is a normative concept. It can only have meaning in relation to a specific contexts and in term of particular sets of values. The concept has been interpreted differently and contextually by different nations, influenced by the prevailing socio-political and socio-economic configuration of the respective country.

In the history of Indonesian national development, participation has been implemented within such a diverse political context, ranging from the so called "Liberal (parliamentary) democracy", "guided democracy", and "bureaucratic polity". The political context inevitably influence how the concept is implemented. It includes such a diverse from of participation as politization, mobilization to a more spontaneous form of participation. However, at the village or community level, traditional notion of participation persists. Villagers have always participated in decision-making process pertaining to their problems, as reflected for instance in the tradition of rembug desa (village deliberation), gotong-royong (mutual help), etc.

The formal basis of participation during the New Order government is stipulated in the Guidelines of State Policy formulated by People's Consultative Assembly five yearly. It constitutes one of the "Principles of National Development" and states as follows:

"The principle of joint efforts and the family system that all efforts to achieve the ideals and aspirations of the nation shall be the combined efforts of the nation and the entire people, carried out in the spirit of mutual cooperation and in the family spirit."

The paper aims at depicting the actualization of the principle mentioned above, in the conduct of local government. Specifically, the paper will address to such questions as what kinds of local government activity are carried out through cooperative participation of the people; what kinds of roles are played by residents, non-government organizations and quasi-public agencies; what techniques and methods are used by local government to encourage people's participation in the process of carrying out its development activities; what are the constraints and potentialities of people's participation, etc.

II. Structural Configuration of People's Participation

People's participation takes place within a structural arrangement, namely, the nature of central-local relations. The arrangement determines level of people's participation. Scholars seem to come to agreement that decentralization will, not only facilitate the articulation and implementation of development policies designed to accomplish growth with equity, but will also encourage people's participation in decision-making and program implementation. It certainly enhances the capacity of local bureaucrats, local elites, and the people to identify their own development problems and potentialities.

Despite of the frequent constitutional changes which occurred in Indonesia -- starting from the Constitution of 1945, the Constitution of Federal Republic of Indonesia, the Provisional Constitution of 1950 and back again to the Constitution of 1945 --, they became somehow the legal basis of various law regulating central-local relations which incorporated the principle of autonomy and decentralization. The implementation of the law, however, was influenced by the prevailing socio-political context resulting in the dynamic interplay between centripetal and centrifugal political values and forces. The interplay was reflected in the dilemma involving the choice between extracting

information and resources and rationalizing resource planning for greater efficiency, and centralization which would deprive lower units of government of their autonomy and alienate those at the bottom of the social pyramid, or the encouragement of the lower level governmental units to participate in planning and setting priorities (Tjokrowinoto, 1985, p.134).

The principle of autonomy and decentralization has actually been ingrained in the political history of the country. The pre-independent Indonesia witnessed the enactment of Decentralisatie Wet (Decentralization Law) of 1903 which provided the opportunity for the Dutch East-Indies government to establish autonomous region called Locale Resorten; Locale Raden Ordonantie (Local Council Ordinance) of 1905 which provided legal basis for the formation of Local Councils; and Provincie Ordonantie (Province Ordinance) of 1924 which became the basis for the establishment of provinces.

The political tradition of autonomy and decentralization continued after independence, at least in legal manifestations. Various laws of local government have been enacted, such as Law No. 22/1948 (based on the Constitution of 1945); Law No. 1/1957 (based on the Provisional Constitution of 1950); Law No. 18/1965 (based on the Constitution of 1945 which had been revalidated by Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959).

The present structural arrangement of central-local relations which becomes the structural framework of people's participation is regulated by the Law No. 5/1974 on the Principles of Government in the Localities. There are some important basic ideas of the Laws; (i) the local government is based on the principle of "real, dynamic and responsible autonomy" ; (ii) the weight of autonomy is located at the second level of local government, i.e. the district level; (iii) there are three types of central-local relations applied: "decentralization" which grants local government the authority to conduct its own governmental affairs; "deconcentration", the delegation of authority to field-offices of central departments to carry out certain governmental functions under the coordination of the governor; and "mede bewind" — the right and obligation of local government to help the central government to carry out their functions in their respective region.

Normatively speaking, the adoption of the Law of Basic Principles of Government in the Localities gives ample opportunity for the people to participate in development activities of local government. First, the principle of autonomy and decentralization, as applied side by side with the principles of mede bewind and deconcentration, enables local

government to mobilize socio-cultural resources and encourage peoples' participation. Secondly, the arrangement to place the weight of the autonomy at the district or second level of government, rather than at provincial or first level of government, brings the decision making point closer to the people and, consequently, provides for the people better access to the decision-making mechanism enabling them to articulate their aspirations and interests. In reality, however, some other factors may modify or intervene the normative imperatives.

III. Village Resilience Organization

Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa (LKMD) or literally means Village Resilience Organization, is an organization at the village level through which people participate in the development process. Evolving from Lembaga Sosial Desa (LSD) or social Institution of the Village, the Village Resilience Organization is formed through Presidential Decision No. 28/1980 and regulated further by Minister of Home Affairs Decision No. 27/1984.

Clause 1 of the aforementioned Presidential Decision stipulates that Village Resilience Organization is a social institution at the village level which grows from, by and for the village community and constitutes a means through which people participate in the development process. It integrates the implementation of governmental activities with the community's initiatives and mutual-help (gotong-royong) for the achievement of national resilience in the field of ideology, politics, economics, socio-cultural, religion, and defence and security.

Although it is stipulated that the Village Resilience Organization grows from, by and for the village community, however, it is more appropriate to classify it as quasi-public institution or quasi public bureaucracies rather than as non-government organization. Not only that it is formed by Presidential Decision, but also that it is under the guidance and supervision of the Minister of Home Affairs, which implementation is carried out by the respective governor and district head. Further, the candidates of its leadership (except its chairman which is ex officio the village head) should be approved by the district head.

The main task of the Village Resilience Organization is to help the village government to plan its development through village deliberation; to mobilize people's initiatives and participation to

carry out development, both those initiated by the government as well as by the village community; and to create a dynamic condition for the development of village resilience. The activities of the Village Resilience Organezation includes : (a) to act as a mechanism for people's participation in planning and implementing development; (b) to socialize the state philosophy, Pancasila; (c) to mobilize community's potentialities and encourage self-help for development; (d) to act as channel of communication between government and the community, as well as among members of the community; (e) to enhance people's knowledge and craftsmanship; (f) to mobilize youth's potentials for development; (g) to enhance women's role in family welfare; (h) to promote cooperation among village institutions for development; and (i) to undertake other activities to help village government to achieve village resilience.

The leadership of the Village Resilience Organization consists of a chairperson (which is ex officio the village head); deputy chairperson I (an informal leader of the village); deputy chairperson II (which is the chairperson of Family Welfare Movement); a secretary; a treasurer; and 10 sections encompassing religion; socialization of the state philosophy, Pancasila; order and security; education and information; environment; development, economics and cooperatives; health, population and family planning; youth, sport and art; social welfare; and family welfare. Except the chairperson of the Village Resilience Organization, the incumbents of aforementioned leadership are elected through a village deliberation and approved by the district head.

The role of the Village Resilience Organization in mobilizing people's participation is reflected clearly in the process of development planning. The process of development planning in Indonesia is characterized by the combination of two planning methods, top-down and bottom-up planning. The top-down component of the planning system is initiated by the central government departments and crystallized in an indicative-blue-print plan after a complex deliberation with the National Planning Board (Bappenas). In the Process of adapting development activities to socio-cultural variations of the localities and in the process of involving wider participation in development, the government gives bigger role to local government, specifically to Provincial and District Planning Board, to coordinate and integrate all planning efforts of the central as well as the regional sectoral agencies at their spatial level (van den Ham and Hadi, 1988, P. 73-74).

A new system of bottom-up planning has been developed to complement the existing top-down planning system at the beginning of the eighties. The adoption of the new system provides local government an opportunity to mobilize local human resources for development by involving the local people in the formulation of proposals for development programmes and projects at the village level. Village Resilience Organization constitutes an institutional framework through which residents participate in the planning process. Theoretically speaking, villagers' needs and aspirations are articulated through the bottom-up planning mechanism and integrated into the local and/or national plan.

The bottom-up planning procedure is depicted below :

- (i) In a village deliberation for development (Temu Karya LKMD), the village Resilience Organization (LKMD) and the village officials (Pamong desa) discuss project and programme proposals proposed by the ward (Rukun Tetangga) and neighborhood (Rukun Wilayah) members. The meeting may be attended also by the subdistrict head (camat);
- (ii) After the crystallized proposals are accepted by the Village Resilience Organization and politically approved by the Village Community Council (Lembaga Musyawarah Desa or LMD), they are forwarded to the subdistrict (Kecamatan);
- (iii) In a deliberation for development (Musyawarah Pembangunan) at the Kecamatan or subdistrict chaired by the subdistrict head, attended by representative offices of local government apparatus (Dinas) and all village heads in the subdistrict, and under the guidance of the District Planning Board (Second Level Bappeda), all programme or project proposals coming from various villages are thoroughly discussed, screened, and integrated into the subdistrict proposals;
- (iv) The prioritized subdistrict programme and project proposals are forwarded to the District or Kabupaten to be discussed in the coordinative meeting on development (Rapat Koordinasi Pembangunan Tingkat II or Rakorbang tingkat II). The Rakorbang II is chaired by the District Head (Bupati) assisted by the District Bappeda, and attended by the district government apparatus (Dinas) and representatives of sectoral departments at the district. Provincial Bappeda Team of Assistance helps the meeting to decide what programme or projects are to be undertaken in the district on the basis of the villagers' list of needs and aspirations and within the framework of the regional development plan. This is also the first opportunity for all sectoral agencies to add

- their own proposals to the list that is going to be submitted to the provincial authorities after being approved by the District people's Representative Council (van den Ham and Hadi, 1988, p. 74). By bringing the proposals from below in line with the national and provincial policies and available budget, in fact the meeting is linking top-down and bottom-up planning system;
- (v) The provincial government holds a provincial coordinative meeting on development (Rapat Koordinasi Pembangunan tingkat I or Rakorbang tingkat I) chaired by the Governor and the provincial Bappeda and attended by representatives of sectoral agencies in the region (Kepala Kantor Wilayah or Kakanwil) and heads of provincial governmental units (Kepala Dinas) etc. It is quite possible that in the process some modifications are made. Before forwarding the proposals to Jakarta, proposals of mutual interest are discussed at a regional consultative meeting (Rapat Koordinasi Wilayah or Rakorwil) of neighboring provinces;
 - (vi) Those proposals that have cleared all the hurdles are forwarded by the provincial governor in the form of a List of Suggested Provincial Projects of Daftar Usulan Project Daerah (DUPDA) to be discussed in the National Coordinative Meeting or Rapat Koordinasi Nasional held by the Bappenas involving sectoral departments and provincial governments. The approved DUPDA will finally become Daftar Isian Project Daerah (DIPDA) or a List of Approved Provincial Projects ready for implementation.

The planning process depicted above, shows how an organization which is quasi-public in nature, can serve as a channel for residents' participation in decision making process on matters that will bear most directly on their lives.

Village Resilience Organization plays another role in encouraging people's participation, i.e. as mobilizer of people's resources for development. This is in line with the new development philosophy emphasizing more on encouraging and facilitating the poor to do more for themselves rather than orienting government's action to do things for the poor (Korten, 1981, p. 179), and hence institutionalizing self-reliant development.

There are two approaches applied by Village Resilience Organization in mobilizing residents' resources; (i) Swadaya Murni - i.e. residents identify their own problems, plan and implement their own projects, and provides the project funding themselves; (ii) Swadaya gotong-royong

masyarakat - i.e. residents mobilize their resources as counter-funding of a trigger figure allocated by the government for building village infrastructure. In both instances, Village Resilience Organization plays an active role as resource mobilizer.

In the first instance, the Village Resilience Organization takes an initiatives to convene residents to discuss problems faced by the village, encourages them to seek ways to solve the problem, and mobilizes their contribution to fund the projects. A kind of community information planning system might be applied in this process. The project identified may vary from building new village hall, irrigation rehabilitation, building rural road, water catchment, mosque rehabilitation to repairing home-garden fence. The number of swadaya murni projects and the resources mobilized in each province have been well-recorded by the Directorate of Rural Development in the respective province. The table belows shows swadaya murni in Yogyakarta special province.

Table 1.
Swadaya Murni in Yogyakarta Special Province (1989-1990)

District/ Municipality	1989/1990		1990	
	Projects (n)	Total Budget (Rp)	Projects (n)	Total Budget (Rp)
Yogyakarta	1,118	955,137,275	370	272,638,220
Bantul	2,702	2,409,924,750	2,168	1,378,909,096
Kulonprogo	624	4,949,961,950	158	171,595,250
Gunungkidul	3,462	5,023,780,050	530	1,034,937,000
Sleman	786	615,062,200	579	603,381,875
T o t a l	8,692	13,953,865,225	3,705	3,461,465,341

Source: Directorate of Rural Development, Yogyakarta Province

In the second case, the Central Government allocates a certain amount of trigger figure based upon the presidential Instruction or Instruksi Presiden (Inpres). Consequently, the subsidy is known as Inpres Desa or Village Inpres. The amount of the subsidy is steadily

increasing. In the budget year of 1990/1991 the amount of the subsidy for each village is Rp. 2,500,000. It is specified that Rp. 1,800,000 should be spent for building village infrastructure, Rp. 500,000 for family welfare movement which will be discussed later, and Rp. 200.000 for Bulan Bakti LKMD or dedication month of the Village Resilience Organization. During the fourth Five Year Plan (1984/1985 - 1988/1989) the amount of the Inpres Desa is Rp. 1,500,000 annually per village.

Within the framework of project purposes specified by the Inpres mentioned above, the Village Resilience Organization discusses what kind of project will be undertaken and how to mobilize the counter-funding. The counter-funding is not necessarily in the form of cash, but it can also in the form of labor, materials, etc. The table below shows the amount of trigger-figure subsidy known as Inpres Desa for all villages in Yogyakarta special province, and the counter-funding generated from the village communities as a reflection of residents's participation through Village Resilience Organization.

Table 2.
Swadaya Gotong Royong Masyarakat, Yogyakarta Special

Province, Fourth Five Year Plan 1989/90

A. Central Government Subsidy (INPRES DESA)

Year	B U D G E T I T E M				
	V.I	F.W.M	V.C	C.A	Total
84/85	438.000.000	109.500.000	34.500.000	431.350.000	1.013.250.000
85/86	438.000.000	109.500.000	34.500.000	254.200.000	836.200.000
86/87	438.000.000	109.500.000	34.500.000	254.200.000	836.200.000
87/88	438.000.000	109.500.000	34.500.000	243.250.000	825.250.000
88/89	438.000.000	131.400.000	34.500.000	298.000.000	901.900.000
Total	2.190.000.000	569.400.000	172.500.000	1.481.000.000	4.412.800.000
Pelita V	438.000.000	131.400.000	34.500.000	298.000.000	901.900.000

B. Community Resources Generated

B U D G E T I T E M

Year	V.I	F.W.M	V.C	C.A	Total
Pelita IV					
84/85	471.753.780	46.648.000	19.826.350	66.601.500	604.829.630
85/86	814.523.685	25.073.450	17.756.300	130.160.500	987.513.935
86/87	542.705.791	29.572.000	17.171.272	40.057.500	629.506.563
87/88	427.914.055	25.195.000	19.252.000	70.125.375	542.486.430
88/89	509.436.241	34.411.500	26.082.000	82.543.000	649.731.241
Total	2.766.333.552	158.158.450	100.087.922	389.489.875	3.414.067.799
Pelita V					
	607.610.058	34.411.500	36.705.000	88.615.000	767.341.558

Note:

V.I = Village Infrastructure F.W.M = Family Welfare Movement

V.C = Village Competition C.a = Critical Areas

Pelita = Five Year Plan

The case of Village Resilience Organization described above shows that a government-sponsored structure superimposed into traditional institutions has been able to generate residents participation in national development. Although residents' participation is partly explained by the provision of trigger-figure in the form of village subsidy and extension works, the success would not be as great if it is not accompanied by mobilization of socio-cultural resources as community feeling, village solidarity, paternalism, etc, — socio-cultural traits that are missing in many other developing countries. Although those socio-cultural traits might influence the kind of participation they engage in, it is beyond doubt that residents participation through such quasi-public institution has contributed to the achievement of national development.

IV. Family Welfare Movement

The discussion on residents' participation will not be sufficient if it does not take the participation of Family Welfare Movement or Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK) into consideration. The success of national development, in particular social development, is attributable to its participation. The drastic decline of infant mortality rate, or substantial increase of life expectation, for instance, will not happen as fast without the participation of the Family Welfare Movement. Their participation in the improvement of family health and health program has led to the decline of infant mortality rate from 117 (male) and 98 (female) per thousand birth to 78 (male) and 64 (female) per - thousand birth in 1985 and even to less than 60 at the late 1980s. In 1988 its achievement was internationally recognized as manifested in the grant of Sasakawa Health Prize from the World Health Organization and the Maurice Pate Award from UNICEF, symbolizing the recognition of its achievement in motivating the participation of families in development program implementation, in particular in the field of health care, in the framework of decreasing infant mortality rate. Although it is stated in the formal document that the Family welfare Movement (PKK) is a subsystem of the Village Resilience Organization as reflected in the fact that Village chairperson of the PKK ex-officio becomes chairperson of the Village Resilience Organization, its distinct role and activities deserve a separate exposure.

Starting as a pilot project of family welfare education initiated by Office of Social Education in Magelang, Central Java, the project was then adopted as a province-wide project, implemented in all villages based upon the Instruction of Central Java Governor No. 23/1967 of August 22, 1967.

A governors' meeting held in 1971 recommended that the family welfare education should be carried out in all provinces in the country. And in December 27, 1972 the Minister of Home Affairs changed the concept of Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK) or family welfare education to Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK) or family welfare development. And through his letter No. DD.121/PMD 111.2/73 the Minister of Home Affairs stated that Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK) was a movement to promote family welfare which, in turn, support the realization of social welfare.

The Minister of Home Affairs' Decision No. 28/1984 of April 4, 1984 defines Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK) or Family Welfare

Movement as

"... a social movement for development which grows from below, having woman as its prime mover, aiming at the development of family as the smallest social unit, through the development, mobilization and guidance of family for the realization of family welfare."

The Family Welfare Movement aims at a universal appeal based on the dual premises, first, that all individuals are members of a particular family; and second, that every one seeks welfare (Department of Information, 1989, p.39). As such, family as the basic and fundamental unit of the society becomes the primary target group of PKK programs, and since mother performs central role in the family, the programs are focused on mothers in particular, and women in general.

As the case of Village Resilience Organization (LKMD), the status of the Family Welfare Movement is ambiguous too. As stated in the Decision of the Minister of Home Affairs mentioned above, the Family Welfare Movement is basically is a movement of residents on a voluntary basis; it is not a formal organization with registered membership. However, there is a kind of extra-bureaucratic structure consists of managing board of officers which is called Tim Penggerak PKK or Team of PKK Motivators at all governmental levels chaired by the respective wife of each head of local government such as the wives of governor at the provincial level; bupati or district head at the district level; walikota or mayor at the Kotamadya or municipality level. Meanwhile, the first lady becomes its primary curator, and the wife of the Vice President becomes its curator. The Team of PKK Motivators at each level of government is responsible for motivating the implementation of the PKK program and coordinating social movement at the grassroots level in carrying out the PKK program. Its activities consists of:

- (a) Plan and implement PKK working program;
- (b) Organize, motivate and develop the potentialities of the society, particularly the family, to implement PKK programs;
- (c) Give guidances to the lower level Team of PKK Motivators;
- (d) Report to the higher level Team of PKK Motivator on the implementation of the programs.

The financial resources of the PKK come from National, provincial and district budget and from other legal sources. Meanwhile, the Minister of Home Affairs Decision No. 28/1984 mentioned above also set a nation-wide, stereotypical basic programs of PKK which consist of: (i) socialization of the state philosophy, Pancasila; (ii) mutual-help

or gotong-royong; (iii) food; (iv) clothing; (v) shelter and home economics; (vi) education and craftsmanship training; (vii) health; (viii) development of cooperative life; (ix) environment; and (x) health planning.

To increase the coverage of family groups and intensify their guidance and supervision, the "Dasa Wisma" (Ten Houses) approach is developed. This is the development of groups of families; each group consisting of 10-20 families. In each group of ten families, a leader is selected. The leader supervises and knows the condition of the member families. This Dasa Wisma approach is effective in the efforts to motivate the families, monitor and evaluate their conditions. These leaders form the Dasa Wisma cadres and their role therefore is important (Department of Information, 1990, p.41).

Observing the structural and working arrangement described above, it is rather difficult to classify PKK's participation as genuine residents' participation. It is probably more appropriate to classify it as mobilized or engineered participation of residents through quasi-public institution.

The type of participation by no means lessens its contribution to the achievement of national development performance. By building linkages with supra-local entities having resources and power, this base-level movement is able to participate in carrying out, if not in formulating development programs. Through cooperation with department of Health and Family planning coordinative Board, for instance, the Family Welfare Movement participates in the activities of primary health care, weighing group, institutionalization of clean and healthy life, family planning, etc. Similarly, through cooperation with the Department of Education and Culture, the Family Welfare Movement engages in such activities as Kelompok Belajar (KEJAR) -- a non-formal education program which combines a curriculum to combat illiteracy with courses of primary health care, family planning, environmental management, agriculture, civic education, etc. To understand the scope of activities of the Family Welfare Movement, the activities of the four Working Group or Kelompok Kerja of the PKK at the village level is described here:

Working Group I: (i) Socialization of the state philosophy; (ii) religious meetings; (iii) encouraging mutual help (gotong-royong); (iv) coordinating and motivating various social-groupings; (v) coordinating speeches and extension on general knowledge, e.g speech on marriage law, etc;

Working Group II: (i) engaging in non-formal education through Package A program which combines literacy program with other knowledge as agriculture, health, environment, etc; (ii) craftsmanship training on skills useful for family welfare; (iii) initiating cooperatives; (iv) managing village library, etc;

Working Group III: (i) encouraging the full-utilization of home-garden; (ii) encouraging and monitoring home-economics; (iii) encouraging the use of domestic products, such as clothing, etc; (iv) stimulating the development of home industries; (v) stimulating the use of appropriate technology, etc;

Working Group IV: (i) managing the activities of primary health care; (ii) extension work on health; (iii) advocacy on family-planning; (iv) socializing clean and healthy life; (v) building positive self-concept among women; (vi) environmental health and sanitation; and (vii) socializing such economic traits as propensity to save, hard-work, efficiency, etc.

Through those activities the Family Welfare Movement contributes to the success of national development through community-based activities emphasizing upon collective work based on the tradition of gotong-royong or mutual-help which ingrained in its socio-cultural environment. The Family Welfare Movement defines its participative role in the capacity of peran bantu or supportive role in development, meaning that the Family Welfare Movement's activities are intended to support the development of program implementation through motivation and stimulation, within the framework of carrying out its 10 development programs mentioned above. While the funding as well as ultimate responsibility stay on the hand of supra-local agencies concerned. The success or failure of its participative role should, therefore, be judged within the context of its self-defined concept of participation mentioned above. And no doubt, seen from this perspective its participatory role has been very successful.

V. Non-Government Organization

In the early eighties, there was a growing awareness that top-down strategy and growth-oriented development have been less successful in trickling down the fruit of development to the people at the grassroots level. And that the participatory strategy carried out so far had been so structured that people's participation is confined to a predefined narrow sphere of the communities as has been indicated by the Report on a Southeast Asian Colloquium: "Voluntary Associations and People's

Participation in Development". These motivated policy-makers and scholars to seek for alternative development strategy which, in turn, gives birth to the so called Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) or Non-Government Organization.

These are some common characteristics of the Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat which, somehow, enable them to reach the grassroots people: (i) As they are founded by non-government initiatives, they are themselves expressions of community participation in decision-making and in implementing development programs; (ii) They are free in setting their priorities and in recruiting their personnel, independent of government or other organizations; (iii) They are basically non-profit oriented; (iv) They focus their activities mainly in social development, such as social welfare, health, education, and community development; (v) They usually have various funding sources such as donations from supporters, foreign embassies, donor agencies, etc; (vi) They generally have legal status of yayasan, i.e. a non-profit-making organization registered with public notary; their board members usually receive no remuneration, but they may employ salaried staff to carry out their programs; (vii) Most of them are affiliated with a certain religion; (viii) Most of the Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat, however, are at great pains to stay completely independent of government and other political organizations (Williams, 1980, p.20-21).

Besides the common characteristics among the Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat mentioned above, they seem to face some common problems. First of all, all Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat are facing a dilemma between building good cooperation with the Government hoping to be able to influence government's policies and to have greater access to resources, and risking cooptation which might lessen their independent or losing their identity. And secondly, to avoid the danger of cooptation, they may rely on foreign resources. But overdependence on foreign donors may also degrade their existence as mere a part of the strategy of capitalist penetration. They may have to balance between the danger of cooptation and over dependence on foreign resources. The way the Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat respond to the challenges may characterize their mode of participation.

At one extreme pole, there are Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat which may be characterized as Government Organized Non-Government Organization (GONGO) -- referring to the term used by Kothari (1986). This particular kind of non-government organization is very much influenced by government policies and dependent on government resources. Representatives of

sectoral departments or the dominant party may become member of their board of management, resulting in some kind of mobilized participation. Yayasan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (YKTI) or Indonesian Man-power Non-profit Organization founded by the Department of Manpower in 1959 exemplifies this category of Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat.

At the other extreme pole, there are Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat which emphasize on the quality of swadaya or self-determination. But even this kind of non-government organization is not homogeneous, Eldridge (1989) identifies three variants of the Organization. The first one is, "High-Level Cooperation: Grassroots Development"; the second one is "High-Level Politics: Grassroots Mobilization"; and the last one is "Empowerment of the Grassroots".

The first and second variants are trying to involve participation in bureaucratic polity, by influencing the policy-making and policy implementation processes. Their participation in the policy-making process is expected to bring them to the achievement of their objectives which include: focusing the policies' benefit to those underprivileged, involving them and other social-groupings in government's programs, and to provide opportunities for them to formulate their own development programs. However, there is a remarkable difference between the first variant of non-government organization and the second one. The first variant works within the framework of government policies and does not go beyond development goals set by the government. The second variant of non-government organization goes further, by trying to emphasize on consciousness raising, engaging in structural analysis, and raising people's awareness on their rights. The "High-Level Cooperation: Grassroots Development" variant of non-government organization takes the political structure for granted, works within the framework of the existing bureaucratic polity and consequently, does not have any interest in structural transformation. The "High-Level Politics: Grassroots Mobilization" variant of non-government organization engages in active interactions with the bureaucratic polity in its effort to advocate, to influence the policy-making process and, if necessary, to challenge the government to accept its ideas. The "Empowerment of the Grassroot" variant of non-government organization seeks to empower people by minimizing its mediating role, minimizing their interactions with the government. The distinctions between the three variants of non-government organization is presented in matrix below:

Matrix 1.
Variants of Non-Government Organizations

Orientation	Variants of NGOs		
	High-Level Cooperation: Grassroots Development	High-Level Politics: Grassroots Mobilization	Empowerment of Grassroots
Cooperation with Government	Yes	Limited	No
Development or Mobilization	Development	Mobilization	Mobilization
Penetration of Bureaucracy	Medium	High	Low
Relations with Social Groupings	Partly dependent	Mutual support	Autonomy
Orientation to the Structure of State	Accommodative	Transformation	-

Source: Eldridge, 1989, p. 41

The three variants of Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat are found in Indonesia, resulting in the variation of the mode of NGO's participation. The "High-Level Cooperation: Grassroots Development" variant, is exemplified by Bina Swadaya (Development of Self-Determination) and Yayasan Indonesia Sejahtera (Welfare Indonesia Non-profit organization). The "High-Level Politics: Grassroots Mobilization" is represented by Lembaga Studi Pembangunan (Institute of Development Studies), Yayasan Lembaga Konsumen Indonesia (Institute of Indonesian Consumers), Lembaga Penelitian Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial (LP3ES) or Institute for Economic and Social Research, Education and Information, Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (WALHI) or Indonesian Environment Forum, Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (YLBH), etc. And last but not least, the "Empowerment of Grassroots" variant of non-government organization INSAN (Study and Information on Fundamental Rights), Kalyanamitra, an NGO works on women studies, etc.

VI. Concluding Remarks

The preceeding chapters have described the state of the art of people's participation in Indonesia. A conclusion can be drawn that participation has become a well-accepted myth of development. How far it is instrumental in articulating people's needs and aspirations, depends upon the mode of participation which prevails in a given society.

The cases described above shows that quasi-public institution's participation as exemplified by Village Resilience Organization and Family Welfare Movement overshadows residents participation. Residents' participation tend to be articulated through a well-structured participation channel established by bureaucratic decision. Formally speaking, residents' needs and aspiration are channeled through bottom-up and top-down planning mechanism which combines upward articulation of people's needs and aspirations and downward development framework originating from sectoral agencies. In reality, the upward articulation of people's needs and aspirations is less effective in influencing policy-making process as reflected by the quantity of projects that do not exactly suit the needs of the intended beneficiaries, or even in conflict with them. Top-down sectoral planning prevails over bottom-up and regional planning. However, the quasi-public institutions described above is more effective in mobilizing people's participation in implementing development programs. Development projects in agriculture, small-scale industry, health, community education, public works carried out at the grassroots level will not be as successful without people's participation.

The ineffectiveness of people's participation in policy formulation seems to be attributable to the cultural, rather than structural factor. The structural mechanism for people's participation in decision making has been laid down by various governmental decisions. The problem lies in the inertia of bureaucratic reorientation. A planning philosophy as stated by Y.C Chen depicted below might have to be socialized among bureaucrats, local bureaucrats in particular

Go to the people
Live among the people
Learn from the people

Plan with the people
Work with the people
Start with what the people know
Build on what the people have
Teach by showing, learn by doing
Not a showcase, but a pattern
Not odds and ends, but a system
Not piecemeal, but integrated approach
Not to canform, but to transform
Not relief, but release

In short, government's function have to be interpreted as facilitator and enabler. Such a responsive adaptive atmosphere has to be created at the lower levels of administrative hierachy.

Non-government organizations seem to have better bargaining position in participating in development. The most remarkable achivement of non-government organizations is their success in presenting grassroots issues they undergo to the macro-policy level. They have been relatively succesful inarticulating common concerns on ecology, fundamental rights, marginalization, etc. The fact that non-government organizations works much closer to the poor segment of the society than the government and the fact that their decentralized nature of decision making-structure makes them more adaptive to the specific conditions of the localities, place them in a better position to articulate people's needs and aspirations. The policy of privatization and debureaucratization should give them better chance to optimize their achievement. However, their ability to broaden their base depends upon various factors that have to be considered, such as their ability to escape from their ambivalent attitude towards the existing structure, their ability to synthesize development and mobilization, their ability to bring the micro-level experience into macro-level decision making configuration, etc. The emerging political climate of Keterbukaan or openness should give them better chance to participate in development.

Bibliography

- Eldridge, Philip
1989 "LSM dan Negara", Prisma, No.7 Tahun XVIII,
1989 pp. 33-55
- Department of Information
1989 The Women of Indonesia, Jakarta: Department of
Information in Cooperative with the Office of the
Minister of State for the Role of Women
- Korten, David C and Felipe B.Alfonso
1981 Bureaucracy and the Poor, New York: McGraw Hill
International Book Company
- Kothari, Rajni
1986 "NGOs, the State and World Capitalism", Economic and
Political Weekly, Vol. XXI No. 50, December 13 pp.
2177-2182
- Tjokrowinoto, Moeljarto
1985 "Provincial Development Programme in East Java: Focus
on Small Scale Village Credit", in G. Shabir Cheema,
Rural Development in Asia, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers
Private Limited, pp. 137-172
- van den Ham Allert and Hariri Hady
1988 "Planning and Participation at Lower Levels in
Indonesia", Prisma No. 45, pp. 72-83
- William, Glenn
1980 "Community Participation and the Role of Voluntary
Agencies in Indonesia", Prisma, March,, No. 16