

Transforming Grassroots Movements in Seizing Space for Public Accountability

SPARK Indonesia's experience in strengthening the capacity of urban poor and traditional fisherfolks in advocating for social protection and subsidised fuel



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This learning note is produced by IBP Indonesia within the project Strengthening Public Accountability for Results and Knowledge (SPARK).

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GLOSSARY

AJI (Aliansi Jurnalis Independen) : independent Journalist Alliance

APBD (Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah): Local income and spending planning document at municipal, city and provincial level

BAPPEDA (Badan Perencanaan Daerah): Local / Regional Planning Agency

BPNT (Bantuan Pangan Non Tunai): national non cash food aid/ assistance

BP MIGAS (Badan Pelaksana Kegiatan Usaha Hulu Minyak dan Gas Bumi): Executing Agency for Upstream Oil and Gas Business Activities

BUMN (Badan Usaha Milik Negara): National/ state owned company

DTKS (Data Terpadu kesejahteraan sosial); Integrated data for social welfare programs

DPP (Dewan Pengurus Pusat): National executive board of organisation, for example DPP KNTI

DPD (Dewan Pengurus Daerah): Local Executive Board of organisation, for example DPD KNTI

KKP (Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan): Ministry of marine and fisheries of Indonesia

KNTI (Kesatuan Nelayan Tradisional Indonesia): National Union of Traditional Fisherfolks

KPK (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi): national corruption eradication committee

KSP (Kantor Staf Presiden): Presidential Staff Office

KRPS (Koalisi Rakyat untuk Perlindungan Sosial): People's Coalition for social protection advocacy

KUSUKA (Kartu Pelaku Usaha Kelautan dan Perikanan): Maritime and Fishery Business Actor Card.

ORI (Ombudsman Republik Indonesia): National Ombudsman of Indonesia

PERTAMINA (Perusahaan Tambang Minyak Nasional): National company for oil and gas mining

PKH (Program Keluarga Harapan): Family Hope Program, a national social protection program covering household with certain degree of vulnerability

SILADU (Sistem Informasi Layanan dan Pengaduan): Information System for Services and Complaint, allowing people in Jakarta to check and register for social protection beneficiaries

SPRI (Serikat Perjuangan Rakyat Indonesia): Indonesia People Struggle Association, a grassroots organisation with majority members of women in poor areas.

SOLUSI (Solar untuk koperasi): fuel for cooperative, a program to work with cooperative in distributing fuel in Indonesia

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CHAPTER 1. FOREWORD

Our Goals and Theory of Change:

The Strengthening Public Accountability for Results and Knowledge (SPARK) program aims to support civil society organizations, especially grassroots organizations or marginalized community organizations, to influence public policy and the general budgeting process. Grassroots organizational actors involved in SPARK first identified weaknesses in the public service process, which then became the entry point for the advocacy process for service improvement and budget governance accountability. SPARK assumes that marginalized groups have less influence on budgeting decision-making. As a result, public budgets and services do not reflect the needs and priorities of marginalized groups. With this hypothesis, the SPARK program aims to strengthen the capacity and political position of the collective movement of marginalized communities to influence the budgetary decision-making space and accountability institutions, formally and informally. SPARK mobilizes the political power of organized marginalized groups to influence government decisions to produce budgets and public services according to the needs and priorities of marginalized groups.

The theory of change introduced by SPARK stipulates that making public policies more accountable and pro-poor requires strengthening the capacity of grassroots organizations to be involved in the budget process and policy advocacy. However, the process of building grassroots capacity is not an instant process that will directly contribute to change. Other strategies and efforts are needed to form a capability space with a strong impetus for this change, such as:

- Actively encouraging and facilitating the formation of coalitions for change by networking, building friendships with the same fate, and seeking champions in the government for coalitions of change (reform coalitions)
- Pro-actively directing and designing the patterns of actor relationships involved in the existing accountability ecosystem (accountability ecosystem)
- Using and strengthening the current space for participation and accountability (enabling environment)
- Participate in building/shifting discussions and discourses related to the issues that are being advocated for (norms and discourse)

Image 1.
SPARK Partner and Theory of Change¹



¹ Cited from SPARK concept note, 28 February 2018.

SPARK Partner – “Agency Partner and Technical Partner”

The SPARK Indonesia program began at the end of 2019 with a process of assessments and identification of grassroots organisations to become the program’s main partners. SPARK used the following selection criteria:

Organizational internal capacity	Identifying whether the organization is a well-organized mass-based organization and represents marginalized/poor communities
Issues or problems encountered	Does the organization have any causes to fight for and face systematic public service issues?
Underlying budget issues	Is there or how does budget governance affect or contribute to the public services issues faced?

In early 2020, SPARK appointed two grassroots organisations to become the main partners — often called “agency partners” — namely the Indonesian People’s Struggle Union (SPRI) and the Indonesian Traditional Fisherfolk’s Association (KNTI). The two organisations have met SPARK’s criteria and succeeded in determining entry points for their respective public service issues. SPRI has an entry point to the issue of low access to social protection programs in Indonesia known as the Family Hope Program (PKH). The preliminary analysis showed that the PKH program has not been able to effectively reach the poor due to two major reasons; limited budget allocation for the

PKH program and poor registration process of the beneficiaries. Meanwhile, KNTI has an entry point to the issue of low access to subsidised fuel, notably due to the complexity of the administrative process to obtain subsidised fuel and a lack of credibility of the subsidised fuel budget for the fisheries sector.

SPARK also believes that the collective agencies of the grassroots movements must consider support from a combined civil society force, for example related to technical capabilities. Accordingly, SPARK is partnering with Seknas FITRA and Inisiatif, which has a long relationship with IBP, to strengthen the Agency Partners’ technical capacity in conducting public policy and budget advocacy. At the same time, Kota Kita joined the internal coalition with a specific task to oversee and facilitate the learning process as the Action Research Lead (ARL). Inisiatif is an organisation with a strong technical capacity to analyse and oversee public policies to encourage social accountability. Inisiatif plays a role in supporting an evidence-based advocacy approach through social audit and data-collection methods. Fitra is plotted in specific roles to provide technical capacity for budget analysis and advocacy techniques. Fitra is a technical partner in budgetary data and analysis, as well as helping with advocacy tools based on ‘budgetary’ evidence. Inisiatif and Fitra also play the roles of mentors in helping SPRI and KNTI with community organising skills, and peer-to-peer knowledge sharing. Both Fitra and Inisiatif also worked collaboratively on the ground with members of SPRI and KNTI in advocacy and capacity-building processes. Finally, Kota Kita is the third technical partner organisation that supports the “learning”

process by facilitating review and reflection, as well as drawing notes to inform future strategy adaptation and improve project delivery.

Learning questions

SPARK has a monitoring-evaluation system that regularly records the achievements and challenges faced by the program and provides a reflective and deliberative learning space by accommodating adaptation space in encouraging change. The evaluation and learning process focuses on exploring program development and achievements on five main strategies: bolstering agency, reform coalition, accountability ecosystem, and enabling space and norms discourse. The notes obtained from these two processes are the main source of data in compiling this learning note.

In Indonesia, SPARK practices have shown a prominent strategy at the two entry points. The first strategy is the use of a structured capacity-building approach with direct knowledge transfer (in-class training), and direct peer-to-peer pedagogic experiences (technical assistances). Encouraging the capacity to grow is considered a strategic step to form agency and capability for SPRI and KNTI in carrying out actions. The second underlined strategy is coalition building by forming internal and external partnerships followed by several other SPARK strategies such as encouraging and creating the accountability ecosystem within the governance system, pushing the using existing participation spaces, and building discourse and counter-discourse around the advocated issues.

Based on that, this learning note deliberately focuses on analysing capacity strengthening and

reform coalition building as the basic foundation for building the success story of SPRI and KNTI within the SPARK program. For this reason, two fundamental questions are raised:

- To what extent are the grassroots organisations — SPRI and KNTI — capable of mobilising, organising and representing the interests of their constituents in improving public services, policies, fiscal governance and public accountability?
- To what extent does the reform coalition build an accountability ecosystem and contribute to improving services and fiscal governance?

Apart from that, this learning note will explore the gender perspective, especially on how Indonesia's SPARK process has considered a gender mainstreaming approach in the organisation and policy advocacy. The baseline analysis used in integrating a gender perspective into the two entry points certainly has a specific context. For example, SPRI has a strong base of women members in the organisation as PKH issues closely relate to women's daily lives. However, SPRI has existing gaps regarding women's leadership at the national level. KNTI, on the one hand, focuses on an issue that has been considered to be dominated by men, namely fuel subsidies for sailing and fishing to the sea. However, there is an intersection with women's issues that is very promising, especially in fish processing after the catch, in which women actors dominate. KNTI finally established a wing of the coastal women's organisation called KPPI. For this reason, the learning process will question the extent of SPARK's contribution to gender mainstreaming at the agency partner institutional level and program implementation.

CHAPTER 2.

GENERAL ACHIEVEMENT OF SPARK INDONESIA

In general, within a period of three years, SPARK Indonesia has succeeded in bringing about change on the issues it intervenes on. Related to the PKH program, SPRI — supported by technical partners from Perkumpulan Inisiatif and Seknas Fitra — succeeded in changing the enrollment process for program beneficiaries. The mechanism for PKH program participants has become more open on a regular basis through an online system called SILADU, which allows citizens to register independently and is equipped with a complaint mechanism. In Jakarta, SPRI has also managed to join the DTKS (Integrated Social Welfare Data) team. Through the data advocacy movement, SPRI has influenced budget allocations for the beneficiary data collection sector itself; for example in the emergence of budget priority in the APBN to improve the existing national data system. At the local level, SPRI succeeded in encouraging the emergence of allocations to improve beneficiaries' data for 2023 in the APBD DKI Jakarta and Kota Tasikmalaya. Systemic changes have also occurred in terms of accessing

services, where more than 4,000 households of SPRI constituents are registered in the DTKS and have successfully obtained the PKH and BPNT social assistance programs.

Institutionally, SPRI shows that their political power has grown stronger, which is marked by SPRI's involvement as the Jakarta TKPKD (Poverty Coordination Team) team and wider media recognition. SPRI has grown as a grassroots organization that is able to consolidate its organizational capacity in an effective manner to carry out change actions. SPRI was able to conduct intense meeting forums in various cities, encouraging continuous advocacy agendas so that many of their constituents and allies could support them in advocating social protection issues. In multiple review and reflection (R&R) sessions, SPRI has shown great transformation into an organization with solid militancy, a reputation as a defender of the poor and marginalized, recognition from other actors, and the ability to expand (reach) on broader issues.

<p>Militancy</p> <p>Strong member loyalty and has the power to move and mobilize their members voluntarily to support the cause</p>	<p>Reputation</p> <p>SPRI is increasingly recognized, has a strong brand, and SPRI is quality assurance on dealing with social protection issues at the grassroots level.</p>
<p>Recognition</p> <p>Sympathy from the community and received strong support for being able to help solve problems related to social protection services</p>	<p>Expansion</p> <p>SPRI's advocacy space expanded to other issues such as health and education. SPRI is better able to respond to different challenges and develop its organizational wings wider.</p>

Systemic changes have also occurred in the issue of fisherfolk's access to subsidized fuel. In the first year of SPARK, KNTI succeeded in convincing the government to integrate overlapping policies regarding the recommendation letter for fisherfolks to collect subsidized fuel. KNTI succeeded in pushing for the simplification of the regulation by the repeal of Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Regulation No. 13 of 2015 concerning Implementation Guidelines for Issuing Recommendation Letter to Purchase Certain Types of Fuel for Fisheries Business. KNTI, in collaboration with the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (KKP), the Presidential Staff Office (KSP), the Ministry of Cooperatives and the Ministry of BUMN succeeded in facilitating better access to subsidized fuel. Furthermore, KKP has trusted KNTI in the regions to become operators in accelerating the data collection of KUSUKA cards in the regions. Together with KSP, KNTI also initiated a pilot project using the KUSUKA card to access subsidized fuel. In the latest development, the Subsidized Fuel distribution through Fisherfolks Cooperatives has been initiated by the Minister of Cooperatives and the Minister of BUMN after attending the KNTI national fisherfolks meeting. There are 5 KNTI fishing cooperatives that will join the pilot, which will be scaled up in all regions if successful.

Another systemic change at the regional level is the emergence of regional policy initiatives to protect traditional fisherfolks. In Central Java, the government issued a regional regulation on protection for fisherfolk, including access to fuel. In Gresik, East Java, the government has also submitted a draft regulation similar to that in Central Java.

KNTI's political position has also grown stronger, as shown by the bargaining power and recognition of the role of KNTI in the advocacy process. For example, KNTI succeeded in pushing for an MoU with the Ombudsperson in the form of cooperation to oversee state service programs for fisherfolks. The MoU begins at the national level with document Number 25/MoU/DPP-KNTI/XI/2021, followed by MoUs at the regional level, West Nusa Tenggara, East Java and North Sumatra. The Ombudsperson provided reinforcement for the KNTI POKO as a channel for fisherfolks to submit complaints. Another important milestone is an MoU with SPBUN (Fuel Filling Station for Fisherfolks), through letter number 001/spk/pt.Tuah/x/2021, which allows 200 traditional fisherfolks in Tanjung Balai to access BBM every day.

KNTI Received

2,826

Fishers received KUSUKA

1,100,000

Fishers received
COVID-19
social aid

10,800

Fishers received
fuel vouchers

IDR 15,000,000

Budget allocation for
KUSUKA in north Lombok

1.7 Million

Fishers received
direct cash transfer

14,375

Fishers received
fuel subsidy in
Central Java

14,375

Fishers received
fuel subsidy in
East Lombok

SPRI Received

4000

Food Package

200

Students from
SPRI Received
cash transfer

209

HH received
cash transfer
in Bogor

3,140

HH verified &
registered
into DTKS

4,424

HH received
regular social
assistance

1,522 BNPT •

2,102 JKPBI •



CHAPTER 3.

BOLSTERING COLLECTIVE AGENCY OF THE ORGANIZATION

The choice between a compromise and a confrontation is not a logical path, but rather as a direct or indirect product of action and struggles. For example, the choice of a compromise occurs when the two main forces of legality and legitimacy meet and compromise. If legality takes care of the validity in front of the law, while legitimacy is related to the moral basis and political influence. In SPARK Indonesia's experience, the struggle to encourage political and public budget policy change has led to the choice for "organizing" which relies on the power of mass, agency of the grassroots and the people's organization. In this case, "organizing" is all the efforts made to open

up the possibility for people to bring about change consciously and in an organized manner.

Who is the mass or the grassroots in SPARK Indonesia? There are 2 main partners selected representing the grassroots and marginalized people organization with specific works and action for change in their mission. How they are selected has been explained in the previous chapter of this note. The short profiling below explains further how the selected two organizations (KNTI and SPRI) represent their grassroots constituents and their causes.

Image 2.

SPRI, a mass-based organization of urban poor is having a rally for better social protection services



KNTI is a membership-based organization of traditional fisherfolks and fish farmers in coastal areas of Indonesia. Its formation was motivated by the First Congress of Indonesian Traditional Fisherfolks on 11-12 May 2009 in Manado. Through the congress which was attended by at least 100 fisherfolk leaders from various regions in Indonesia, a need and urgency were generated for a forum to fight for the fate and future better life of traditional fisherfolks displaced or threatened by industry and mining. KNTI already has several strong community bases, and people support in North Sumatra (Belawan, Tanjung Balai, Asahan), West Java (Indramayu) and East Java (Surabaya and Gresik).

SPRI is an organization for the poor, both in urban and rural areas. The SPRI network works in 6 provinces: North Sumatra, Lampung, Banten, DKI Jakarta, West Java and Central Java. SPRI's main strength is in mass mobilization and advocating for the rights of the urban poor to gain access to various social protection and assistance programs from the government. SPRI views that the main problem with the current government's social protection program is due to inaccurate/invalid data. Inaccurate data lead to problems and failure to achieve poverty alleviation targets by the government. For Indonesia's poor households, access to government's social assistance is seen as a vital safety net.

“Equalizing Denominator”; From Case to Case Litigacy to Policy Changes

Like adding fractions in a math exercise, aggregating the interests of members or

constituents in people's organizations requires a process of “equalizing the denominator”. In an organization, “equalizing the denominator” is a process to form a shared identity or define the direction and agenda of a common struggle. The success of strengthening this aspect will fundamentally affect other aspects of the organization. In this context, KNTI and SPRI are formed from various organizations or groups developed in various regions. Each region has its background, context and dynamics. Of course, it is not easy to consolidate and aggregate common interests at the national level.

As is generally the case with people's organizations in Indonesia, the two main partner organizations tend to operate sporadically based on the cases faced by their members/constituents, varying from one region to another. Leadership level or administrators work like ‘firefighters’ who must race against time, moving from one case to another. This pattern of movement is normal; people's organizations must be able to respond to the dynamics of members or constituents, which can be very diverse. However, a unified agenda for struggle is needed in the context of strengthening unity. In this sense, through the SPARK program, both KNTI and SPRI have been facilitated in formulating a unified change agenda, which is the focus of their struggle. This change agenda is formulated based on a documented analysis process, starting from a political-economic analysis, an analysis of the main and derivative problems faced by each of its members, an analysis of actors and their power relations, and an analysis of space or organizational struggles. Referring to the formulation of this focus, more systematic stages (theory of action) have been developed as a guide in determining priorities

(entry points) and strategies for managing organizational resources. Each agenda has been defined more clearly regarding the change markers (indicators) and how to measure and verify them. The formulation of various documented analyses and theories of action is considered to have contributed significantly to guiding the steps for administrators and members in all regions to have a more massive change impact. This is evidenced, among other things, by the implementation of agendas for economic programs in SPRI and KNTI more systematically. Economic institutions at the base level, such as cooperatives, were initiated and restored the previously ineffective old ones.

The Impact of Strengthening Organizational Constituencies

As organizations that already have leading positions in their respective focus areas, KNTI and SPRI have massive members but are still limited in some regions. The strength has not been evenly distributed throughout their area of work as the relationship between the members and leaders is akin to the relationship between defenders and those being defended. Thus, the members at the grassroots level are more similar to supporters, rather than active members who determine the direction of the organization's movement. Furthermore, It is not yet accompanied by good governance in areas where the community members are considered strong. An accurate members' database has also not been developed in all of their areas.

Such characteristics are the common challenges faced by grassroots organizations, which is an

inseparable phenomenon in the history of the advocacy movements and people's organizations in Indonesia. Advocacy movements often start with the educated middle class, generally from urban areas, who fight on behalf of people as the victims of development or policies. The main strategy chosen heavily relies on the litigation approach, where victims are mobilized to strengthen the legitimacy of the case being defended. Along with the capacity-building approach, the people being mobilized later became the forerunners of the grassroots organizations or members of people's organizations.

Through the SPARK program, some schemes have been developed to improve database system development and the participation of KNTI and SPRI members or constituents. Through the development of community information centers and complaint service posts, community members who have been the organization's constituents are better recorded. Through a series of community consultations, understanding of the substance being fought for and the steps chosen by the organization became more divided among wider constituencies. The opening of these more massive dialogue spaces contributes to the strengthening and awareness of constituency positions and relations within the organization.

The strengthening of the organizational constituency is no less important because members of both organizations who are located in many areas have directly benefited. So far, more than 3,444 KNTI members have been registered on fisher cards through the government data system. In Central Java, a total of 10,692 fisherfolks have received fuel vouchers. In addition, hundreds of fisherfolks from KNTI members across many

regions have received letters of recommendation to access fuel subsidies. Among them are 100 fisherfolks in Tanjung Balai, 22 people in Gresik, 56 people in East Lombok, 20 people in Semarang City, 215 people in Bireun, 97 people in Pematang, eight people in Demak and ten groups of fisherfolks in North Lombok. In turn, the real benefits felt directly by this base have added to the attractiveness of expanding constituencies. This is shown by what happened in Tanjung Balai, North Sumatra, where coastal communities from three villages expressed interest in becoming members of the KNTI.

Tangible benefits have also been felt directly by SPRI members as a result of SPRI's involvement with stakeholders. It is recorded that around 200 students from SPRI member families in DKI Jakarta, Bogor Raya, Tasikmalaya and Lampung have received PIP (Smart Indonesia Program), which is a government cash transfer program for students from low-income families. In addition, during the COVID-19 pandemic, SPRI also managed to fight for its 1,200 members to receive social assistance in the form of necessities.

Strengthening Evidence-Based Power of Change through Social Audits

SPARK has increased KNTI and SPRI's capacity to understand the issues and capacity to develop strong evidence for their advocacy. Apart from that, there has also been a strengthening of the communication capabilities of the leadership level from the national to the local of both agency

organizations. This capability further strengthens the role and transformation of the partner organizations. This, in turn, opens up spaces for public participation and improving public service governance.

Through the social audit process facilitated by the SPARK program, KNTI and SPRI have strengthened the argument for their advocacy and constituency. With support from technical partners in preparing and using social audit instruments, the agency partner organizations activated and mobilized their cadre members to collect and analyze information systematically and scientifically. The findings provide authentic evidence regarding the chaos in implementing the fuel subsidy program for fisherfolks and social protection for the poor.

“Social audits held by KNTI in several places have helped us to better understand the issue of subsidized fuel services for fisherfolks” (Saif, KNTI Semarang, 22 June 2021 in the FGD Online Capacity Assessment of SPARK Partners).

For members of KNTI and SPRI, social audits, surveys, and participatory data collection have helped them understand the problems of marginalization and poverty they are currently facing.

By being involved in the data collection process and in various discussions about the data analysis, fisherfolk constituents and women from poor families have also gained knowledge on how the problems they face daily are linked to policy and budget issues that are working in their interests. Furthermore, the social audit and participatory data collection had an impact on expanding SPRI and KNTI constituencies and increasing support from other community groups experiencing similar problems.

Strengthening the Collective Leadership

Solving problems needs the central role of a leader in the organization. Of course, the central role lies within the dynamics of connectedness to other important actors. Various strategies and tactics are continuously expanded, enriched, and complemented by various routes of struggle that are achieved dialectically from the results of struggle experiences. In the previous sections, we have learned about: first, how the value of the organization is continuously articulated, internalized and transmitted; second, how the aspirations of members are managed to strengthen mandate from members and third, how the right strategies and tactics chosen and implemented in every momentum amidst social, economic and political interests. In this section, we will learn how leadership is practiced, making sure of the democratic process in the organization, and how leadership maintains discipline and faith in the organization's mission and values.

Leadership should be understood as an integrated role and function in grassroots organizations

regardless of the individual figure associated with the organization. Indeed, sometimes it is difficult to separate the leadership function from individuals in leadership positions in grassroots organizations today. However, building a more functional approach to organizational leadership can improve the boundary between leadership functions and individuals. The organization has to develop clear mechanisms and regulations regarding organizational leadership. One example is to plan and create mechanisms to promote future leaders from the organization's cadre.

The practice carried out by KNTI and SPRI through the SPARK program shows the process of transmitting leadership. KNTI and SPRI have relied more on the roles of a few leaders, particularly at the central level. There are several potential individual leaders at the local level. However, they have limited capacity to support the movement, particularly as the role typically requires a balance between physical intensity and skills on the ground. In general, the local leaders focus on handling the daily problems of their members. Through SPARK, KNTI and SPRI have grown their leadership capacities in the local regions and areas they work. For example, some regions that were previously dormant, have reactivated their leadership roles.

The development of leadership capacity can also be seen from the increased capacity, role and influence of KNTI regional leadership. Executives at 21 local branches of KNTI now have stronger influence and have gained the trust of local governments as well as the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, universities and the mass media. They have become a strategic partner of the government to operate the input for fisher

cards data at the local level. Similar progress has occurred in SPRI through the establishment of Posko at kelurahan level; SPRI uses Posko as an information center and public campaign, whereby loyal and militant organizational cadres and organizers have grown. Their leadership capacity to organize and engage in dialectics with local government has also strengthened. In Bandar Lampung City, Posko has been activated in 10 urban villages with a total of 55 activists; in DKI Jakarta, Posko is active in 24 urban villages with a total of 100 activists; in Bogor City, ten urban villages with a total of 50 activists, in Bogor Regency 5 urban villages with a total of 28 activists and Tasikmalaya City with 18 kelurahans with a total of 90 local activists.

Using knowledge gained from SPARK capacity building activities, the future might be brighter for KNTI and SPRI. However, they must be aware of the future challenges accompanying the current progress. One of the challenges is developing a more sustainable cadre system. In theory and practice, ideology and organizational politics always accompany the organization's capacity to regenerate systems. Ignoring ideology and politics in grassroots organizations can lead to a misunderstanding of the importance of regeneration. Ideology is the mainstream idea that grows among many actors in the organization. Ideology becomes a marker or denomination of organizational ideals and vision, while politics describes the arrangement of power and interests within the grassroots organization. Politics drive the power of organizational resources and assets to achieve goals — an important aspect that contributes to building leadership regeneration.

The Importance of Collaboration

SPARK Indonesia has shown a model of collaborative work initiated and implemented by agency partners with the support of IBP and technical partner organizations — Inisiatif, Seknas Fitra, and Kota Kita. This collaborative work was carried out in a framework of evidence-based public budget advocacy and the promotion of community involvement. This is a new experience, especially for SPRI and KNTI and, to some extent, for the supporting partner organizations. Each organization has a substantial role guided by a commitment to change. Regular check-in and coordination have exposed them to learning from each other and, simultaneously, building chemistry to define ways of achieving results of advocacy. Collaboration has also resulted in gaining positive responses and trust from national and village government institutions.

The first step in collaboration is to develop synchronized views toward issues they face as the entry points to join forces for change. Of course, the most important thing is the agenda that the organization generates from their people/members. In SPARK Indonesia, a series of discussions on defining the theory of action was conducted with a participatory approach involving members of the grassroots organization, and it has been able to create common views and strategic avenues for the actions. Another crucial step in collaborating is conducting evidence-based budget advocacy that relies on community (members) involvement, guided by easy and handy data collection instruments.

In this aspect, the roles of the technical partners

are crucial. Technical partners also provide training to community cadres regarding the use of the instruments, assist in the data analysis process and provide assistance in preparing campaigns in the form of policy briefs, infographics and videos. Meaningful collaboration has supported the ability to accelerate work and impact.

The main challenge in collaboration is adapting promptly to the rhythm and dynamics of the grassroots organization. For example, the planned agenda needs to adjust with the common centralized decision-making structure in each people's organization. Often, centralized decision-making has caused a lack of capacity among locals in deciding to move forward with necessary collaboration. Another challenge is in developing a deliberative process within the organization that responds to the political interests and actors surrounding them. Each organization should have careful consideration in deciding whether to collaborate and connect with other organizations, given possible political interests in SPRI and KNTI.

SPARK Future Challenges Facing the Reverse Flow of Democracy in Indonesia

The SPARK program has transferred new experiences to the actors and organizations. Many changes have been made, from enriching skills and knowledge, strengthening and expanding power, opening up spaces for participation, and improving public service governance on a piloting scale. Those achievements are well recorded. But what is the next after SPARK? How is the

collective movement (inspired by SPARK) positioned within the wider social change movement and current and future political trajectory?

Specifically, with the current potential of big organization membership, quantitatively and qualitatively, grassroots organizations will always be a magnet for any political interests, especially approaching electoral political contestation. The position of the people's organization holds a considerable risk; notably, the risk of being shallow and short-term when change happens. This is because the commitments are not secured, especially for those who have received political benefits from the grassroots organization. Even if commitments are kept, they last temporarily until the power changes hands. In addition, the risk of being partisan and too political is that government bureaucracy often has suspicious responses.

The above challenge would be quite tricky homework for SPARK in the future. It will require more work on empowering and organizing people's agency rather than mobilizing people's power to pressure policymakers, which is often short-term in terms of impact. Capacity building to bolster the agency needs to be strengthened with targeted measures. The organizing and empowering work must return to its basic function to steer a movement for social change. Therefore, the grassroots organizations, the main partners of SPARK, become a common home and a consolidation space of values, methods and practices of socio-economic-political advocacy actions.

CHAPTER 4.

BUILDING REFORM COALITION FOR IMPROVING PUBLIC SERVICES AND BUDGET

Reform Coalition in SPARK refers to a group of actors from various civil society organizations who work together to achieve advocacy goals². The intended purpose of advocacy is to solve practical and systemic problems in public services faced by poor and marginalized groups. Two coalitions were formed during the three years of implementing the SPARK program. First, the Social Protection Reform Coalition (KRPS), which fights to improve social protection for poor urban families. Second, the Coalition for Fisheries and Fisherfolks Business Resilience (KUSUKA), which fights for the rights of small and traditional fisherfolks to get subsidized fuel. In their respective development, the coalition also works on other issues faced by the urban poor or small and traditional fisherfolks, such as economic livelihood, sanitation, waste, floods, fishing areas, etc.

Core members or coalition initiators are organizations that establish or initiate the formation of coalitions. KRPS initiators include SPRI, Seknas FITRA, Inisiatif, KotaKita, and IBP. Meanwhile, the initiators of the KUSUKA coalition consisted of the Central Executive Board (DPP), of KNTI, Regional Executive Board (DPD) of KNTI, the FITRA National Secretariat, the regional FITRA, Inisiatif, Kota Kita (as the Action Research Lead),

and IBP. The formal initiators of the coalition are the organizations that receive technical assistance and funding from SPARK. IBP's involvement as a coalition initiator is necessary to help accelerate its work agenda by utilizing its network resources and capacities. Initiators usually play a significant role in formulating agendas and strategies, managing various activities, developing partner networks, and regularly evaluating the achievements of advocacy work.

A coalition approach was implemented in the second year of the SPARK program targeting the two entry points. The coalition, which required the contributions of many parties, was urgently needed to accelerate advocacy work, particularly as the first year focused more on collecting evidence and strengthening SPRI and KNTI institutions. Lessons related to coalitions can be seen from how coalitions are managed and developed in line with advocacy efforts. The learning notes outlined below are based on the subjective experience of those directly involved in developing the two coalitions. Some of them can be seen from the aspects of resource utilization, internal management, and the approaches and strategies implemented by the coalition.

² This definition is translated from the document "Learning Note 2: Learning with Reform and accountability allies to secure fiscal governance change" published November 2021. The learning notes refer to the documentation produced by various learning activities in the SPARK component as well as routine monitoring activities carried out until the end

Resource Sharing Modalities

The two coalitions in SPARK utilized a model of cooperation that provides relatively equal footing for every organizational actor involved. The model of cooperation among fellow initiators or core members is based on the strengths or competencies of each organization. In KRPS, SPRI was chosen by another member to lead the coalition. Meanwhile, KNTI was chosen to lead the KUSUKA coalition. SPRI and KNTI acted as focal points in the coalition because the coalition's agenda refers to the problems faced by their constituents. The voice of the members at the grassroots level is the coalition's main force and energy. The involvement of members in direct advocacy activities is considered effective in influencing policymakers. As technical partners, Inisiatif and Seknas FITRA – including FITRA's regional units – provided evidence that will be used in advocacy activities, such as field studies, policies, and budget analysis. Inisiatif and FITRA actively provided assistance and training to the leaders and members of SPRI and KNTI, both at the national and regional levels.

Another model of cooperation is related to how each core member of the coalition shares the network resources they have. The sharing of resources means sharing network information and relations, ranging from NGOs, media actors, government actors and public service providers. The coalition needs the involvement of other partners to strengthen and accelerate the achievement of the advocacy agenda. This working model has helped the coalition grow and develop.

At the entry point for access to subsidized fuel for small and traditional fisherfolks, the KUSUKA

coalition gained a solid support due to strong relationship between the KNTI (DPP) and the Deputy 1 for Economic Affairs, the Presidential Staff Office (KSP), the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (KP), the Ministry of BUMN, and the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs. The support has helped accelerate the achievement of the coalition's advocacy targets. For example, intensive interaction between the KUSUKA Coalition with Deputy I KSP has successfully encouraged the establishment of a memorandum of understanding (MoU) between the Ministry of KP, BPH Migas, and PT. Pertamina to the ease of procedures for purchasing subsidized fuel for small and traditional fisherfolks.

At the regional level, the KUSUKA Coalition utilizes networks of each coalition member in the regions to maximize impact of their advocacy. The coalition has received support from the DPD KNTI and FITRA networks in the local government and regional ombudsman representative offices. It contributes to the acceleration of improved access and oversight of public services for fisherfolks. For example, access to making PAS, recommendation letters for purchasing subsidized fuel, KUSUKA cards, and social assistance budget allocations for small and traditional fisherfolks.

At the PKH entry point, previous or existing relationships of coalition members with several actors in the government have accelerated the achievement of advocacy goals. SPRI's relations with key persons at the Ministry of Social Affairs, the DKI Jakarta Social Service and Social service offices in other regions have benefited the coalition to gain easy access to social protection beneficiaries enrollment process. The registration can go directly to the Ministry's Data Center in

each regions. At the same time, the relationship of Seknas FITRA with Bappeda DKI has opened space for the coalition to involve in policy and budget discussions related to social protection and poverty alleviation programming. Inisiatif's close relations to the heads of the ombudsperson in DKI Jakarta and West Java have contributed to the making of collaboration with SPRI; for example, in using Posko as ombudsperson partners to oversee public services. Mutual relations between coalition members and the journalist actors have also increased public exposure. Finally, good relations with the KPK (Corruption Eradication Committee) and BPK RI (Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia) have proven to be effective in strengthening cooperation in supervising the implementation of social protection programs, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Cooperative-Collaborative-Confrontative Approach

The KUSUKA coalition prioritizes a cooperative-collaborative approach in carrying out its advocacy agenda. For example, DPP KNTI communicates informally with several contact persons at Deputy 1 KSP to encourage better access to subsidized fuel for small and traditional fisherfolks. This has also been reinforced through various formal activities organized by the KUSUKA Coalition, such as seminars, workshops, hearings, and discussions which involve KSP and other government actors. This strategy has successfully encouraged a memorandum of understanding between the parties involved.

“KNTI’s field knowledge has helped us. KNTI has also communicated with the leaders through Mas Riza (General

Chair of KNTI) and Mas Dani (Executive Director of KNTI). KNTI has been involved in dialogue with the Minister and Director General at the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries. They have presented the results of their field data collection. The information from KNTI can be used as inputs or ‘second opinion’ for the government.” - Dr Adi Chandra, S.Pi, M.Sc, Head of Fisheries Port Sub-Directorate, Director General of Capture Fisheries-Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, 6 July 2021, MEL SPARK interview.

The DPP KNTI and the KUSUKA Coalition carried out the same strategy when convincing the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries to revise policies to simplify subsidized fuel access procedures for small and traditional fisherfolks and accelerate KUSUKA card distribution. The coalition utilizes the KNTI network and key persons in the ministries to become champions in convincing policy-making actors.

On the other hand, the coalition organises formal activities and media campaigns to attract public support. In the regions, the KUSUKA Coalition held a fisherfolks’s forum (Rembug Nelayan) as a space for interaction for fisherfolks with related stakeholders. This was considered successful, given that it has resulted in commitments and solutions to improve the life of fisherfolks. For example, the Mayor of Medan’s promise during his attendance at a fisherfolks’s forum resulted in concrete steps from relevant government agencies to open small outlets for fuel and provide

recommendations for purchasing subsidized fuel. Similar to the KUSUKA coalition, the KRPS coalition (People Coalition for Social Protection) applies an advocacy strategy that prioritizes informal communication and formal activities. Slightly different from the KUSUKA coalition, which is more prominent in its cooperative and collaborative approaches through dialogue activities, KRPS combines dialogue with mass mobilization through rallies which are subsequently followed up with informal communication to stakeholders. The protest was considered effective in putting pressure on the unresponsive government actors. For example, a demonstration in Tasikmalaya followed by giving social audit results to the government has influenced the local Office of Social Affairs to accommodate and revise the DTKS or integrated social welfare beneficiaries data.

However, the above strategy has also led to unsuccessful stories. In DKI Jakarta, demonstrations and hearings against the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta still need further efforts to meet the expectations, with the replacement of government officials alleged to be one of the contributing causes. Likewise, the approaches taken by the KUSUKA coalition to BPH Migas could have been more successful in convincing the government side to address the coalition's demands. The government counterpart constantly shifts responsibilities to one another and avoids criticism, especially in the context of subsidized fuel which is incredibly complex and involves many institutions.

Image 3.
National Seminar held by SPARK coalition on Grassroots Movement in Strengthening Public Accountability,
9th November 2022



Nurturing Informal, Fluid, and Egalitarian Interaction

Neither the KUSUKA nor the KRPS coalitions have a formal work structure; the coalition members appointed SPRI and KNTI to lead and coordinate the respective alliances. The working system tends to be informal, fluid, and egalitarian. Each member contributes to the coalition according to the resources and competencies associated with their respective organization. Communication built internally in the coalition is very flexible and not hierarchical through regular online meetings and Whatsapp groups. Meanwhile, for external communication, the coalition leadership or appointed coalition members act as spokespersons for the coalition. The leaders of SPRI and KNTI typically become the primary liaison to communicate with the policymakers and the mass media for a public campaign.

The coalitions maintain their internal decision-making process through a deliberative mechanism. Regular meetings are conducted online, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. All representatives of the coalition members attend almost every session. Decisions are usually related to advocacy agendas, strategies, and evaluation of the achievements. The coalition has an annual plan as a reference for coalition members in carrying out their work. Meanwhile, the monitoring and evaluation instruments designed by IBP are used as a reference in the coalition's annual evaluation process. The instrument is intended to measure how the advocacy work has achieved the planned targets, including in identifying important lessons learned during advocacy implementation over a certain period.

The Power of Evidence-based Advocacy

Evidence-based advocacy is a vital strength of the SPARK program, in addition to the constituency power and collaborative work through collaborative work of coalition members. Social audits, surveys, and participatory data collection carried out by the two coalitions are necessary capital for the alliance. The results of audits, surveys, and data collection are valid and reliable evidence because accountable methods of data collection and analysis support them. Evidence from the ground is a weapon that can be used to negotiate with the government counterpart.

“The role of SPRI and the civil society coalition is essential to accelerate poverty reduction in DKI Jakarta. Coalition findings and their advocacy can strengthen the technocratic decision in Bappeda when developing the RPJMD_mid-term planning document. If it is successfully accommodated, it will be easier to scale it down to the RKPD (annual planning) and APBD (annual budget)”
- Agnes PB Ginting, Social Sector-Bappeda DKI Jakarta, 9 July 2021, MEL SPARK interview.

The coalitions have succeeded in taking advantage of the momentum and issue of unreliable beneficiary data from the government.

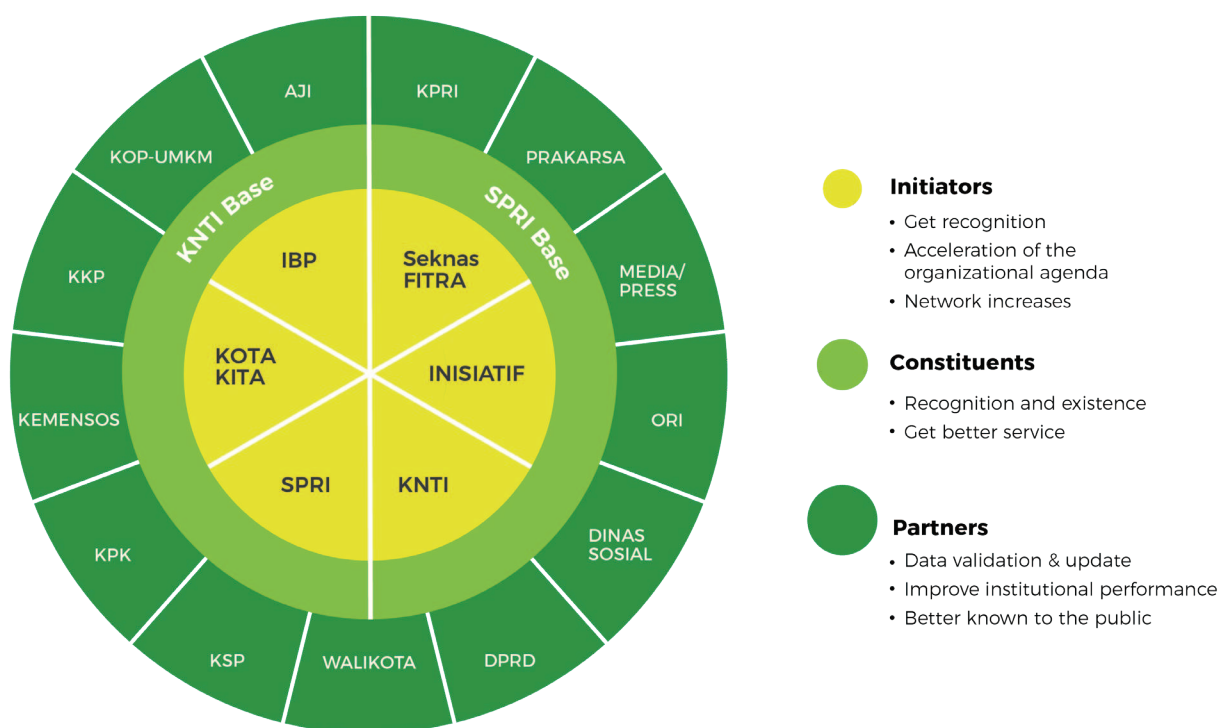
On various occasions, the government admitted that their data still needs to be completed to become accurate. Therefore, data generated from social audits, surveys, and participatory data collection (by name by address beneficiaries) have produced alternative data for the poor and fisherfolks, which are used to improve the weaknesses of the government's database.

The Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) has also used the social audit results as a reference in the national fuel subsidy pilot project for fisherfolks. KNTI has often been invited to coordination meetings or stakeholder discussions held by the government to discuss government

programs or regulations for fisherfolks. KNTI is selected to run fuel subsidy pilot projects and government programs for fisherfolks. For example, the local government invited the KNTI Semarang to discuss the construction of container shelters to protect fishing vessels and the involvement of KNTI in monitoring and evaluating the distribution of KUSUKA Cards. Currently, KNTI and the coalition are involved in creating a draft for local regulation on the protection of fisherfolks in Central Java.

Meanwhile, the social audit results from SPRI have been used as a reference for registering and updating data at DTKS in DKI Jakarta, Bogor City, Bogor Regency, Tasikmalaya City and Bandar

Image 4.
Relationship within Reform Coalition (Initiator, Constituency, and Allies)



As explained in the previous section, core members or initiators are a group of organizations initiating coalitions at the two entry points. Referring to their strength, coalition initiators fall into two categories. The first is the budget experts, organizations with technical competence in conducting policy and budget analysis and advocacy, including expertise in various research methods and participatory planning. These organizations include Seknas FITRA, Perkumpulan Inisiatif, and Kota Kita. The second is the mass organizations with constituencies/members of poor and marginalized groups. In this case, urban poor families are SPRI's constituencies, and small and traditional fisherfolks are members of KNTI. Core members are essential in formulating advocacy agendas and strategies, developing networks, media exposure, and relations with government and public service providers.

Meanwhile, constituents are the main force of the masses supporting the coalition. The term constituent refers to grassroots groups from poor families and small and traditional fisherfolks who are assisted, organized or recruited to become members of SPRI and KNTI. The term "constituent" is typically preferred over the term "members" as accurate data has not yet been established to justify how many SPRI and KNTI members. Membership data refers to verified information based on membership card ownership, as is usually the case with mass-based organizations.

As their constituencies are still shaping, SPRI and KNTI have consistently maintained their respective community organizing activities. SPRI and KNTI have succeeded in involving their constituents in

organization and coalition activities. In addition, SPRI and KNTI have received recognition and trust from the community (public in general) due to their success story in delivering their aspirations to the government.

“We have also gained the community’s trust since they realized that SPRI was able to influence the decision-making process. Several people came to me to ask questions and say thank you because we have helped them with their problems and communicated it to the government.” - Mulyanah, SPRI Kramat Jati activist, East Jakarta, June 24, 2021, in the FGD Online Capacity Assessment of SPARK Partners.

Constituents have a significant role in providing data support, testimony, and presence in every coalition activity. This support provides the primary energy for the coalition negotiating and confronting policymakers. It is common for constituents to be involved in formulating advocacy agendas and strategies. On the other hand, the core members of the coalition, especially Seknas FITRA, Inisiatif, and IBP, have been active in providing technical assistance and capacity building for constituents.

In its further progress, the two coalitions received support from several actors and institutions categorized as allies. The allies are government

and non-government actors who support the coalition's advocacy work. The support can be in the form of encouragement, facilitation, mediation, or exposure to the public.

On the issue of social protection, the first non-government actors to support and get involved in coalition activities were KPRI and Prakarsa. Both institutions have the same interest in the issue of social protection reform. Although the idea of "universal basic income" they are campaigning for goes beyond the coalition's agenda. KRPS coalition also received support from other actors, such as student and youth organizations, women's organizations, and organizations of people with disabilities (HWDI Jakarta). Such support occurs not only in DKI Jakarta but also in other regions. Several national media actors also became the coalition's main allies, including Tempo, Kumparan, and the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI). AJI is even actively involved in providing citizen journalism training for SPRI cadres.

The Jakarta Raya and West Java Ombudsperson Representative Offices are also KRPS allies. They are considered strategic partners in contributing to political pressure on policymakers. In addition, the Ombudsperson also provided training for managing public complaints and managing Posko administrators. Several key strategic persons in the DKI Jakarta, Bappeda of the Social Sector, have become strategic allies by opening space for involvement in policy and budget formulation discussions related to poverty alleviation. Meanwhile, several actors at the DKI Jakarta Social Service and the Ministry of Social Affairs Pusdatinjamsos became key contacts in ensuring the status of the proposed coalition data

in the DTKS. In Tasikmalaya City, the coalition has gained support from the legislative board (DPRD) members, the general secretary of the city, and the Social Service department. Likewise, the coalition advocacy activities in Bogor City received the mayor's support. Meanwhile, the Coalition hopes that Deputy II KSP and KPK can help accommodate policy proposals, including following up on the coalition's findings on updating data and distribution of social assistance.

“SPRI and the coalition have become strategic partners of the Ombuds, especially since we have many limitations. Many issues (public services) are the responsibility of the Ombudsman, but only a small number are taken care of. There is a need to understand all of these issues. It will be easier for us if civil society brings up issues and we are ready to follow up, such as the issue of the Local PKH Program. They can pass it on to us, and we pass it on to the governor or provincial government. And the concept idea is like a joint product between civil society and the Ombuds, so it becomes the government's obligation to carry it out.” (Teguh P. Nugroho, Head of Jakarta Ombuds Representative Office, 30 June 2021, MEL SPARK interview)

In the KUSUKA coalition, support from non-government actors is more at the regional than at the national level. PP Pemuda Muhammadiyah is one of the organizations involved in several coalition advocacy activities at the national level. Meanwhile, support from non-government actors in several regions included NGOs, mass organizations and religious organizations. Like KRPS, media actors are the main allies of the coalition in carrying out public campaigns at both the national and regional levels.

Meanwhile, the KUSUKA Coalition has received support from allied government actors in various important positions. The Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs, and Deputy I KSP are the main allies of the coalition. They have supported the coalition in facilitating and mediating with other government institutions, such as Pertamina, BPH Migas, and Banks. Support from these three national institutions has influenced the coalition's relationship with the regional-level institution. Often the ministry, for example, assists KNTI at a highly technical level on the ground, such as implementing the pilot project to manage subsidized fuel by fisherfolks' cooperatives.

Then, what are the benefits for the actors involved in the coalition? For SPRI and KNTI, the existence of other actors involved in the alliance has become an additional force in accelerating the organizational agenda, which needs to be improved due to limited competence and resources. In terms of relations with their constituents and the government, the success of the coalition's work has strengthened recognition over the public.

For technical partners, working with mass organizations and their constituents has grounded their technical capacity by applying it to collaborative work with more tangible targets. Meanwhile, the benefits for constituents are as simple as solving public service problems that were previously difficult for them to solve on their own. For non-governmental allies, their involvement in the coalition has strengthened their network of partners and their presence in concrete advocacy work.

The government allies have benefited both technically and politically. Technically, the government's weakness in data collection and monitoring of public services have been solved with field evidence brought by the coalition with reasonable accuracy and validity. This, of course, can help improve the performance of government institutions. Meanwhile, politically, government actors will become better known to the grassroots community, especially coalition constituents, and receive a positive evaluation of their performance.

How Far Can The Coalition Grow?

Until approximately two years after the coalition was formed, the KRPS and the KUSUKA Coalition were still conducted in an exclusive rather than inclusive manner, according to the different actors involved. This can be mainly seen in the dominant role of initiators at the national level, especially in meetings to formulate advocacy agendas and strategies. Even so, there are still a few new actors in each of the core members involved in coalition activities. On the other hand, there needs to be a more desirable effort to invite other actors to be involved in the coalition. The involvement of non-initiator organizations from non-government

circles is still limited to the presence or attendance in coalition activities. Meanwhile, the involvement of allies from government actors is limited to following up on initiatives or aspirations brought by the coalition.

Why does this condition occur? The funding support provided by SPARK to the four initiator organizations may be one of the obstacles to why other organizations or actors are “reluctant” to be intensively involved in the coalition. These supports have created a gap between the initiator and other actors regarding speed in understanding the problem map and insensitivity in accelerating advocacy work.

What should be done for it to develop? Taking into account the limited resources that SPARK has, there are at least three things that the coalition can do. First, the initiators choose a specific issue or agenda, considering that not all organizations or actors are interested in the entire coalition advocacy agenda. Second, coalition initiators conduct intensive roadshows to potential organizations or actors to disseminate ideas and works and invite them to join coalition meetings. Finally, the coalition expands campaign activities in the mass media to expand public support and awareness of the issues raised by the coalition.

CHAPTER 5.

ADOPTING AND ADAPTING A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

Critical education of urban poor women and coastal women: efforts to end inequality

Critical education and capacity building for agency partners in the SPARK Program (KNTI and SPRI) are among the main priorities to be achieved in the SPARK Program. In the past three years, capacity building and critical education for the two agency partners have focused on budget analysis and advocacy. Since the second year of the SPARK program, critical education for gender integration in budget analysis and advocacy has been intensified. This critical education aims to increase the knowledge capacity of women members of SPRI and KPPI, especially in issues of gender justice and social protection for the urban poor and coastal women, as well as increasing their critical mindset in analyzing social reality and also implementing social protection programs. Ultimately, they are expected to be able to effectively and actively engage and lead budget advocacy processes conducted by SPRI and KNTI/KPPI.

Since its first year, KNTI Semarang has been encouraged to work with coastal women's organizations in Semarang. Furthermore, in the second year, KNTI initiated the establishment of KPPI (Indonesian Coastal Women's Coalition) as

the organizational wing of KNTI, and in the third year support for capacity building and critical education regarding budgeting with a gender perspective was provided through the SPARK program to KPPI administrators and members in 5 pilot locations: Gresik, Semarang, North Lombok, East Lombok, Surabaya. The budget analysis training with a gender perspective was attended by around 90 people, followed by an intensive workshop facilitated by FITRA to analyze budgets for coastal women.

Similarly, women's critical education for SPRI members, who are mostly women, is recognized as one of the significant contributions of the SPARK program. It is true that before the SPARK program was implemented, the majority of SPRI members were women. However, issues of gender equity, including gender responsive budgeting and gender integration in social protection programs in Indonesia, have only become an intensive discussion during the implementation of the SPARK program. Women's critical education is carried out through various approaches, such as direct assistance, writing practice, experience sharing, and most of all through training facilitated by IBP and technical partners (FITRA and Inisiatif). For example, in the Jan-June 2021 period alone, there were 21 capacity building activities that had been carried out through the SPARK program for

SPRI members, such as gender training, gender responsive budgeting, the importance of women's participation in decision making, imbalances in power relations, data collection and field evidence, women writing (citizen journalism), social protection for urban poor women, budget advocacy, and social media as an advocacy tool. About 158 participants attended the training sessions, most of which were women.

Meanwhile in 2020, capacity building was focused on through advocacy and lobbying with decision makers at the provincial and national levels. In addition, intensive assistance, especially in terms of budget advocacy strategies for social protection (both through formal and informal mechanisms), village discussions related to social protection budgets, and organizational capacity building in many ways: strengthening posko management as information and complaint centers, strengthening administration, documentation, monitoring and evaluation, as well as organizational finance.

Capacity building, as a result of the training sessions provided, can be seen in many ways. For example, in terms of managing posko, which is the center for information and complaints from the community, they have become much more systematic. The Posko established by SPRI at 35 points currently has a reporting system and report analysis that is far more systematic and complete with tools. For example, in 2021, the SPRI Posko received approximately 1,227 complaints. They also refer to the reports they receive and forward them to the formal reporting system owned by the government and other accountable institutions. In 2021, the reports received by SPRI were forwarded to the KPK Social Assistance Watch and also the DKI Jakarta social service. For KPPI, the increase in the capacity of its members can be seen in many

ways: the consolidation carried out and KPPI's area which continues to increase. At that time, KPPI already had 15 assisted areas, from previously 5 assisted areas. The role of coastal women is increasingly being recognized and involved in KNTI's work in the SPARK program: as organizers, movers, and also as speakers.

From Knowledge To Skills And Real Action

This increase in knowledge has developed into a real implementation of the knowledge they acquired during the previous period. For example, during the FGD to monitor the progress of SPRI capacity building after the SPARK intervention (June 2022), most of the participants thought that SPRI as a community-based organization, especially one that is women-based, had increased their knowledge, particularly on issues of social protection services/budget from the beginner stage towards a more advanced stage, as stated by one of the FGD participants.

“Now that SPRI women are more confident in their knowledge, especially about PKH, including the definition of PKH, we already know the strategic ministries and institutions that we need to target to improve PKH services, the causes of service delays, including the financing process/PKH program budget. ”, Desi Arisanti, SPRI Village Cadre, June 24 2022 in a face-to-face FGD.

On another occasion, Puspa Yunita, Indonesian Province SPRI Cadre also stated:

“Currently, we are far more capable of making speeches conveying our aspirations as urban poor women, including holding discussions with officials who have an interest in the PKH program for the poor” (Puspa Yunita, July 2022)

Mrs. Suryati, said that she is increasingly confident in carrying out advocacy actions to fight for the rights of urban poor women:

“We are also confident in doing advocacy because we get positive results from our advocacy. For example, many SPRI members have received PIP assistance. In addition, there are around 4,240 members whose data from SPRI have entered the government’s DTKS. What they get grows their confidence in SPRI’s work.”
(Suryati, 2022)

The increased capacity of the urban poor also enabled them to actively participate in advocacy to improve basic services. Prior to the SPARK Project, poor groups, particularly women, had limited space to engage with key government

decision makers and make their voices heard. Current evidence suggests that members of poor communities, urban poor women, have been actively involved in evidence-based monitoring, campaigning and advocacy. Data on the level of women’s participation in advocacy confirms this. For example, the involvement of SPRI members, especially SPRI women cadres, in discussions with key government stakeholders is quite significant. In every street demonstration, as well as face-to-face village discussions with stakeholders, at least around 300 female SPRI cadres are actively involved in these activities. SPARK also encourages women to engage in discussions, engagement with government, and decision-making processes, as well as advocacy activities. We prioritize women to give statements and statements, become speakers, orators in SPRI street actions, etc.

The bargaining position of SPRI female cadres in front of the local government has also increased significantly. This was conveyed by many SPRI members in various reflection meetings, one of which was Mrs. Mulyanah (41 years).

“Now the head of the RT really feels that SPRI’s work is helping, even if there are residents who come who have problems related to government services and programs, they will be directed to the SPRI post to be documented and recorded” (Mrs. Mulyanah, June 2022).

Designing Women's Leadership: Increasing Women's Involvement In Decision-Making

The training provided is also designed to increase women's capacity and leadership skills in these 2 partner agencies. At SPRI, available evidence indicates that the number of female leadership at both the local and national levels of SPRI organizations is increasing. There were around 164 women leaders recorded as a result of the training conducted by the SPARK program in 5 SPRI assisted areas. Their role is also very significant in SPARK's work. They become leaders and orators in SPRI actions, organize members to be involved in SPRI work, express their opinions and views in discussions with the government, and organize citizens in the field. They can also be said to have internalized a gender perspective in their work. In every advocacy action carried out by SPRI, they have always voiced the importance of women having a voice. Slogans such as "tough women" and "marginal women speak out" indicate the internalization of a gender/female perspective on social protection issues.

Meanwhile, the establishment of KPPI, as one of the organizational wings of KNTI, is a very crucial achievement in the implementation of the SPARK Program, especially in increasing women's leadership and equality of access and opportunities in organizational leadership. The establishment of KPPI provides an opportunity for women in the fishing industry, including female fisherfolks, to be more involved in many activities and decision-making processes in KNTI (before the SPARK Intervention, most members of KNTI were men), as well as increasing the role of women

in fisheries, bargaining position with government. SPARK has encouraged KNTI to involve more women in their work and also pushed to have programs that are more gender responsive. As a result, KNTI has facilitated the formation of KPPI (Indonesian Coastal Women's Association) and also conducted capacity building training for its members. One of the training sessions that has been given intensively is gender training and budget analysis with a gender perspective. Women's leadership in village budgeting is also their main agenda.

Through the KNTI website, the Head of the Empowerment of Women Fisherfolks DPP KNTI Rosinah explained, through women's organizational institutions such as KPPI, it is hoped that women on the coast can realize what is a shared dream about welfare that is just economically, politically and socially. According to her, so far the work of mothers in fulfilling the economic and social needs, especially by coastal women, is still considered work that is "merely helping their husbands", or is still considered an obligation (domestication). As a result, their rights and protection are not fulfilled, including efforts to empower them. So politically, coastal women must have an intelligent awareness and strong commitment and be organized as a collective force through women's organizations.

Recognition Of The Important Role Of Women In SPARK's Work

SPRI and KNTI have learned that women play an important role in many aspects. Urban poor women are the main stakeholders of SPRI because experience shows that "women/mothers" are most concerned about and interested in issues

surrounding social protection programs, perhaps because of their family care responsibilities and because the 'management' of the household in Indonesia is traditionally attached to women. During the SPARK project, women proved to be significant agents of change, even prime movers in most of SPRI's activities: their role in social auditing, online monitoring, documenting the situation of their communities, and management of information centers and community complaints was undeniable. The story of Mrs. Suryati, an SPRI cadre, is recorded on the IBP website. This story speaks to her contribution and represents the actions of other women in their own communities through the SPARK Project. You can read Mrs. Suryati's story at <https://story.internationalbudget.org/neighbors-helping-neighbors>.

Similar to SPRI, KNTI is also increasingly aware of the importance of the involvement and role of women in many aspects of KNTI's work, especially in the SPARK Program. In the first year, the role of women in advocating for KNTI in the SPARK program was not very visible (June 2020 monitoring and evaluation), while in the second year, KNTI began to realize that the role of women fishers in advocating for the provision of better fuel subsidy services was very important. In Semarang, Gresik, Medan and NTT, for example, KNTI works together with fisherfolks women's organizations in advocating for increased access to fuel subsidies for fisherfolks. The involvement of women fishers in advocating for better access to fuel subsidies is recognized by KNTI as very important because this issue is directly related to their role in the domestic sphere, as well as their lives more generally. According to the KNTI in Semarang, it is the wives who often buy fuel, so they know the price better. In terms of numbers, it is slightly

different from SPRI where the majority are women, women's involvement in KNTI work is still limited to KPPI members. There were a total of 52 KPPI members from 5 assisted areas – the total number has not been updated after the KPPI National Conference.

Documenting Women's Experiences And Issues KNTI through its websites and bulletins DAYAH and CADIK productively publishes and voices issues surrounding women fishers and the problems they are experiencing, including the impact of increasing fuel prices for women. Coastal women's issues raised in the media include the role of women fishers, not only in managing fisherfolks's catches as has been widely documented, but also in the process of catching fish in the sea, the dual roles of women which are often not considered as women's productive work, and several other issues of women fishers.

SPRI members, through citizen journalism training by AJI, are encouraged to document and voice the problems of urban poor women through various media: websites, national media, and also social media.

Increased Bargaining Position Of Women In The Household.

"For us, the wives, to obtain permission to be involved in RnR SPRI activities for 2 days which require an overnight stay, is the result of our negotiation process with our husbands, which was obtained through a long process and bargaining with our husbands." (Puspa Yunita, SPRI, 3rd year SPARK country learning, November 2022). The person concerned also added that this was the result of training in SPARK which could improve

their bargaining position in the household. According to her, after receiving training on gender equality, she began to discuss the role of women in the household, especially in doing household chores. In the end, her husband wanted to share household chores so she had time outside to be able to do activities outside the home and also attend training sessions held by SPRI.

Slightly different from SPRI, KNTI admits that it still faces a few challenges in involving women more actively and massively, especially in advocacy work, given the weight of their domestic responsibilities.

Gender integration gaps and challenges in SPARK Phase 1

There is no systematic design and gender action plan for gender mainstreaming in the SPARK program. Thus, gender is still implemented in an unstructured manner in this SPARK 1 Program. Most of them are still focused on increasing gender awareness at the partner level (people level). Gender is still considered “women’s issues” and needs time to be internalized. Therefore, based on experience, gender integration in SPARK Phase 1 needs to be reminded from time to time because gender is still not intensively prioritized in SPARK 1 (therefore, the gender focal point in a program is important).

The increase in women’s access that was mostly achieved in SPARK 1 was to meet women’s practical needs, for example, women’s access to fishery credit, not yet targeting strategic (systematic) needs.

CHAPTER 6.

CONCLUDING REMARK

The first stage of the SPARK program has proven that changes to service and fiscal governance require increasing the bargaining position of marginalized groups in the public financial decision-making ecosystem. SPARK has enabled SPRI, which represents the grassroots movement of urban poor women, and KNTI, which voices the interests of small-scale fisherfolks, to gain the necessary political influence to improve the services that impact their daily lives. By placing constituents' interests as the spearhead of advocacy, political strength is the primary capital to be recognised as a valid representative group when voicing the issues raised. Policymakers open the door and recognise them as a credible collective agency by presenting accurate and massive data and evidence.

The first phase of the SPARK program also demonstrated that the collective agencies could lead effective coalitions in improving public services that impact their lives. The support of IBP and technical partners who are experts on budgets is able to bolster a collective advocacy agenda that is more systematic and evidence-based. The use of the network power of the coalition members and for sure with the incentives they benefited allows for the expansion of the coalition involving other civil society, reformist actors in government and other accountability actors (Ombudsman, Media and BPK) to engage with policymakers to resolve bottlenecks in public services and fiscal governance fiscal.

SPARK #1 also shows that the adaptation and adoption of a gender perspective are significantly integrated into institutional and agency collective work. Collective agencies recognise that women's groups are the most marginalized in their environment but have an essential role as a driving force for advocacy. Pedagogic critical thinking to understand women's roles enables their active involvement in the organization's work to ensure that their interests and aspirations are voiced. Some real achievements in fulfilling the needs and aspirations of women's groups have contributed to strengthening the legitimacy of agency organization.

SPARK #1 realizes it has yet to be entirely successful in fixing the fiscal governance challenges and public services blockage. The gains so far, while impactful, are also fragile and subject to setbacks. To ensure that these changes can be scaled up and sustained, SPARK #2 will shift political power for excluded and marginalized groups by working with social movement partners, especially women-led coalitions. This approach aims to address the bottlenecks of systemic fiscal governance at the root of system change to make it sustainable. SPARK #2 will consider mainstreaming gender and climate change perspectives in implementing fiscal governance reforms.

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