Review of Social Science Capacity Building Support to Indonesia's Knowledge Sector

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Preamble

The report is an update of an original report written by John McCarthy and Rustam Ibrahim for the World Bank in July 2005. The 2005 report was entitled 'Enhancing high quality qualitative field research in Indonesia'.

The original aims of the report were to:

- Identify the major factors limiting the development of qualitative social science research capabilities in Indonesia
- Identify a limited number of organizations, including semi-formal ones that would have potential for becoming longer-term partners.
- Undertake a brief, initial diagnostic of 5-7 potential organizations that will identify generic issues in skills and organizational development.
- Consider approaches and solutions that donors have already tried to develop research capacity
- Recommend new directions or potential pathways to develop social science research capacity systemically so that that it can contribute to selected local governments' ability to undertake high quality research and analysis.

The observations, conclusions and recommendations were based on anecdotal inputs from a range of donor agencies, university research centres and non-government research institutes in Jakarta, Bandung, Jogjakarta, and Makassar as well as the expert observations and interpretations of the authors from their interactions with the various sources and their agencies during June and July 2005.

Since 2009 the Australia Indonesia Partnership developed a new initiative for 'Revitalizing Indonesia's Knowledge Sector for Development Policy'. This initiative focuses on assisting key Indonesian stakeholders in building Indonesian capacity in the area of economic and social science policy making, examining current constraints and identifying solutions to foster a healthy indigenous knowledge sector.

The authors updated the report to encompass recent developments in social science capacity building support to the knowledge sector in Indonesia, including a brief new section concerned with the economic policy constraints that have affected the development of the sector. The authors undertook this revision with a view to informing an approved approach, and to provide recommendations regarding how this initiative could best proceed to revitalize the sector.

To support this new initiative by helping to build upon the analysis undertaken in 2005, the authors have made return trips taken to Jakarta, Bandung and Yogyakarta to revise the profiles of AKATIGA, PERCIK, PSKK, Pusat Study Sociologi and to undertake an additional profile of IRE.

This report is accompanied by the following:

- Annex 1: Organizational Development Profiles of Selected Organizations
- Annex 2: An Appreciation of the Asia Foundation Proposal
- Annex 3: A table of critical issues, linking this report's recommendations to AusAID's concept note Revitalising
- Indonesia's Knowledge Sector for Development Policy.
 Annex 4: Table of people interviewed

In the last decade donor support, particularly from AusAID, had already led to the emergence of SMERU, a successful organization primarily orientated towards economic and quantitative research. In the last five years Indonesia has also witnessed the emergence of so called "survey institutes" that focus their activities mainly on conducting public opinion polling to serve the need of political parties and candidates running for office during the period of national and local elections. Consequently, at the time when this report was commissioned, the problem of enhancing qualitative social science research was particularly salient. For this reason this report primarily focuses on qualitative research.

To be sure quantitative is often desired by policy makers and, when done well, can make a compelling contribution to policy formation. At the same time, as the former head of LIPI, Professor Taufik Abdullah argued, Indonesia has a heritage of quantitative and positivistic research that has tended to be 'qualitatively stagnant'. Policy orientated research requires the rich understanding of the logic of local social and political action in the state and civil society offered by qualitative social combined with thoroughgoing quantitative research. Indeed, a vibrant knowledge sector involves the combination of qualitative and quantitative research.

Dr John McCarthy, Social Science Expert Rustam Ibrahim, Organizational Development Expert

Jakarta, 11 March 2010.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In a time of complex, rapid social change, Indonesia has to think clearly about and plan its future. Government agencies, local service providers and donors alike also need to design, implement, monitor and evaluate their policy and project frameworks for poverty alleviation and governance reform. At the same time local actors require better understandings of their local contexts in order to advocate for the right changes. High quality social science is necessary to support all these endeavours.

In the last decades Indonesia has established a large number of universities across the archipelago. At the same time, a significant number of people have gained advanced qualifications in the social sciences both in Indonesia and abroad. Nonetheless the development of high quality social science research in Indonesia continues to face major challenges.

These challenges emerge in two different research and institutional contexts – in universities and independent research organizations. With respect to universities, over the decades of authoritarian government the state did not develop a policy and funding framework to support high quality social science research. In the absence of incentives for self-generated research, there were considerable reasons for academics to "moonlight" outside the academy. With low academic salaries, researchers became involved in consultancy and project work, in proffering advice to government, or were even attracted into taking up high ranking positions in the administration. Such activities are necessarily a part of the portfolio of researcher organizations and the careers of trained researchers. Indeed, it is usually beneficial for organisations to have a combination of socially relevant research undertaken from core funding and project based or commissioned research. However, problems emerged when university research centres became solely consultancy and project orientated. Over time this reduced their ability to build their capacity for socially relevant research, to support collective research projects, or to mentor effectively a new generation of researchers. In most cases, these centres remained embedded in overly bureaucratic university management systems that tended to stifle initiative and lacked accountability and transparency. These factors continue to hamper the development of social science research to this day.

At the same time, a limited amount of donor funding fostered the development of a few independent research centres outside the universities. Yet, these independent research centres lacked institutional support over the long term. They were unable to provide a secure, long term future for their research staff. To the detriment of self-generated socially significant and policy relevant research, there were big incentives for research organizations to become totally project orientated service providers and for researchers to go on with their careers outside these organizations.

Over the last years there were some reforms to the university sector. Universities were restructured into State Owned Higher Education Autonomous Legal Entities (BHMN), universities became more autonomous and have generated their own revenues. Further, the Directorate General for Higher Education (DIKTI) has developed policies and funding schemes to support the research sector. While these changes have led to the emergence of new funding tailored to create incentives for research, Indonesia has yet to develop a coherent policy for developing the knowledge sector.

In the past donor approaches to building research capacity have tended to be fragmentary, project based and not sustainable. In the absence of clear solutions, many donor inventions have continued to develop individual capacity rather than organizational capacity. In many cases they have targeted the needs of particular projects rather than addressed the problems across organizations or structures.

In summary, neither policy changes nor donor interventions have been able to overcome the complex interdependencies and multi-causal issues underlying the problems with Indonesia's knowledge sector.

If any new initiative is to begin to engage with these problems, it will need to:

- 1) Contribute to the development of social science research in Indonesia by providing support for goal orientated long term research.
- 2) Ensure organizational sustainability.
- 3) Seek to lessen the consultancy orientation of research organizations, ensuring that research organizations can combine research from core funding and project based, commissioned research.
- 4) Provide mechanisms and processes for agenda creation.
- 5) Present an integrated approach to building skills and organizations that aims to develop organizational culture, procedures and systems of organization(s) as a whole.
- 6) Develop a partnership approach to capacity development and research implementation between international donor agencies, government and local research organizations.
- 7) Make the development of excellence in research relevant to policy problems an explicit criterion of success for any initiative.

- 8) Respond to the known strengths and weaknesses of different types of research organizations.
- 9) Explore opportunities to support sector and university reforms to develop research capacity.

The recommendations that flow from these points are summarised within the report as follows:

Critical Issues

Recommendation

Capacity problems in existing research organizations

Option 1: Develop a new organization capable of carrying out high quality qualitative research.

This new organization will have two main roles:

- 1. To carry out commissioned research for donors and government.
- 2. To carry out policy relevant, socially embedded and long term goal orientated research.

Option 2: Create a Secretariat to facilitate high quality qualitative research and to develop research capacity in existing organizations.

The Secretariat will have three distinct roles:

- 1) Facilitate high quality qualitative research through developing new mechanisms to plan, fund, manage and evaluate high quality qualitative research.
- To facilitate the capacity development of partner organizations selected from among existing research organizations and engaged in research under the Secretariat.
- To set up a process for developing a research agenda around critical needs identified through consultations with key regional stakeholders and refined in regional workshops.

Project consultancy

In addition the Secretariat will carry out the following tasks:

Mobilize existing capacity in university research

orientation in university research centres, research agenda set by outside requirements, lack of incentives for goal orientated long term research.

Lack of sustainability of independent research organizations

- centres with underutilized research strengths.
- Create a mechanism for matching the new research agenda with donor interests and mobilize donor funding.
- Facilitate university research centre research activity to meet regional needs, including those of local service providers, under its supervision.
- Facilitate the involvement of independent research organizations in donor research and thereby support their sustainability.
- Enhance the capacity of independent research centres to carry out socially engaged, policy relevant and long term goal orientated research in accordance with the locally developed research agenda that will be facilitated and funded and under the Secretariat.

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1. APPRECIATING THE PROBLEMS

After 1998 Indonesia faced an economic crisis, witnessed the end of the authoritarian Suharto period, and seen the decentralization of significant areas of authority and administration. Among other major changes, the country has also observed the re-emergence of open party politics, the first direct election of a president, and the direct election of regional government heads. For donors, for Indonesian policy makers and for the wider society there is clearly a need to understand the complex, rapidly shifting social realities associated with these changes.

At its best qualitative social science research offers a rich understanding of the logic of local social and political action in civil society, in communities and the state. In two senses social science needs to be considered as a basic ingredient in the improvement of governance and the development of civil society.

- (1) High quality social science is a public good for Indonesians: it is required for Indonesia to think about its own future. Indonesian social scientists theorizing Indonesian realities and wider problems from Indonesian perspectives can reflect on social problems, help set priorities, consider options, assess national development needs, and pose solutions. This should play a significant role in the shaping of public opinion and public policy.
- (2) In a more instrumental fashion, social science has a key role in developing and assessing policies, ensuring delivery of project outcomes and supporting poverty alleviation efforts.

To be sure there are a number of skilled social scientists in Indonesia. However, over the decades high quality qualitative social science research did not develop outside of a few limited contexts. For instance, a range of donors interviewed in the course of this work complained that there are insufficient numbers of researchers who understand the basics of research methodology, who have up to date understandings of social theory, and who are capable of producing well written, analytical research outputs. To be sure local researchers outside Java have local knowledge, language skills and often have excellent fieldwork understanding. Yet, a number of donor personnel described how, when they commission research, they all too often end up with reports rich in data but lacking analytical narrative. To ensure quality, they typically resort to foreign researchers who help in designing methodology, carrying out research and in editing to ensure high quality outputs. According to donors who commission research, in many cases the researchers they engage lack the capacity to develop high standard proposals, identify trends, draw conclusions and to make recommendations and to do project or policy design. However, this is the key mandate of donor agencies working in the provinces.

This report will discuss the nature of these problems and what might be done to develop and implement a medium to long-term strategy to systemically develop social science research capacity. More specifically, we will consider how social science research capacity can be developed to produce high-quality, timely field research, to meet the analytical needs of selected local governments, and to provide monitoring and evaluation for local service providers and for donor agencies. However, as we will show, these aims can best be pursued through an integrated approach to building skills and organizations that look beyond immediate donor needs.

Before proceeding we need to consider the types of social research under consideration here. This report is concerned with research in those fields of knowledge involving the systematic study of social systems, social institutions and social behaviour using qualitative methods. Different actors - donors, civil society organizations (CSOs), and government agencies - have diverse interests and hence different perceptions of what is important. Consequently, the type of social science research required will vary depending upon the criteria of assessment of the actor concerned.

At the risk of simplifying overlapping areas of research activity, it is possible to distinguish three broad types of social science research.³

- 1. Long term goal orientated/basic social science research. This type of social science knowledge is produced according to theoretical frameworks and methodologies relevant to the current state of a particular discipline in the industrialized "North"⁴. Apart from its attempt to validate its findings through methodological rigour, this variety of social science attains its authority though the process of peer review. This type of research is often concerned with critical socio-economic problems and be socially significant and policy relevant. However, it often occurs in the absence of mechanisms to consult with intended beneficiaries outside the academy including civil society organizations and policy makers or without necessarily linking up with them. This means that it may not reflect local perceptions of problems or directly serve pressing social or policy related needs.
- Socially embedded research.
 This type of research is more process orientated: it typically brings together researchers and social actors with the different types of

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² Adapted from nccs2.urban.org/ntee-cc/v.htm

³ See Lea Velho, Research Capacity Building for Development: From Old to New Assumptions, *Science, Technology & society 9:2 (2004)*. Also Velho, L, M Carlota de Souza Paula, R Vilar. *Building Research Capacity in Social Sciences for Development in Bolivia: A Case for Institutional Innovation*. United Nations University, INTECH. 2004.

⁴ Lea Velho, Research Capacity Building for Development: From Old to New Assumptions, *Science, Technology & society 9:2 (2004).* p173

knowledge necessary to address a particular problem. It tends to be driven of local agendas and aims to contribute to locally defined goals. It is sensitive to local contexts and knowledge and is typically committed to the involvement of users in different stages of its production. Its quality is assessed by its relevance as much as by the validity of its findings.⁵

3. Research undertaken for donor and government projects. This type of research aims to provide information to support the capacity of donors or government to design, to implement, to monitor and to evaluate policy and project frameworks. It emphases knowledge relevant to project delivery and/or speedy implementation or evaluation of policy. Accordingly, it is applied and action orientated, aiming to help donors take the action required. Donor commissioned research of this type tends to be short term and instrumental. As the research agenda is set by donor requirements, the research does not necessarily reflect local problem definition or local social needs. In many cases, this type of research may not involve the research practices – such as methodological rigour and peer review – associated with the first variety of research.

To be sure, long term goal orientated research can combine methodological rigour with a focus on critical social and economic problems in a fashion that has direct relevance to significant policy questions. Indeed, a vibrant knowledge sector would encompass vital basic research that is socially engaged and policy relevant, combining research rigour with policy significance.

Indonesia has a pressing requirement for applied, policy relevant research that can support evidence-based policy making. Arguably, for donors and district stakeholders the more "pure academic research" of the type published in international social science journals are of less immediate importance. Indeed, the applied, policy relevant research may be the immediate concern. Yet, if social science research capabilities in Indonesia are to improve, over the medium to long term Indonesia requires rigorous, methodologically robust, quality research into critical social, economic and environmental problems that combines the kind of methodological rigour associated with basic research with a policy orientation.

However, it is important to note, at we will argue later, the health of research organizations depends upon their capacity to carry out socially relevant basic research and develop core areas of expertise concerning critical social problems within a portfolio of wider activities that also includes donor and government commissioned research.

⁵ See Lea Velho, Research Capacity Building for Development: From Old to New Assumptions, *Science, Technology & society 9:2 (2004).*

Before proceeding it is important to consider the specific skills and capacities that represent research capacity. At the individual (micro) level these include basic analytical skills, familiarity with up to date theoretical and methodological approaches, and ability to use these in research work. When these more individual research capacities are shared among an organization's members to the extent that they become incorporated into the organization's culture, strategies, structures, management systems, and operating procedures, an organization then has truly developed *research capacity*. ⁶

For such a capacity to exist, an organization requires an institutionalized research culture that has been defined as the "shared values, assumptions, beliefs, rituals and other forms of behaviour whose central focus is the acceptance and recognition of research practice and output as valued, worthwhile and preeminent activity". As research in this area suggest, developing such a culture is "not simple, straightforward or formulaic".

Clearly it is not enough to develop individual research capacity; the challenge is to develop organizational capacity and research culture at this meso level.

2. CAUSES OF THE PROBLEM.

In this section we will consider this problem in terms of:

- (1) Macro level, systemic problems,
- (2) Meso level organizational issues, and
- (3) Micro level individual research capacities.8
- 1) Macro level problems: the environment for research.

The New Order's education policy incorporated universities into a rigid, hierarchical and highly centralized education department bureaucracy. This curtailed the autonomy, administrative and academic freedom of the universities. With ministry control over important promotions, the criteria for promotion were based on the approval of bureaucratic superiors rather than on academic merit. The universities became "government bureau". 9

At the same time policy makers did not usually base policy on evidence, including that derived from high quality social research. Rather, social research played its part in supporting the government's development agenda, legitimizing

⁶ Horton et al

⁷ See "Developing research capacity in the social sciences: a professionally based model"

⁸ Cf Douglas Horton (2002). Planning, Implementing, and Evaluating Capacity Development, *ISNAR Briefing Paper 50*.

⁹ Hadiz, Vedi R. & Daniel Dhakidae, (2005) Social Science and Power in Indonesia, Equinox.

government programs and projects. The government had little interest in funding critical, independent social research, and research funds were very limited. Within the university bureaucracy, funding tended to be controlled by research "godfathers": within a research patronage system a particular type of social science practice flourished. Consequently there was little independent, critical research, and there were negative consequences if research was overly critical of government policy.

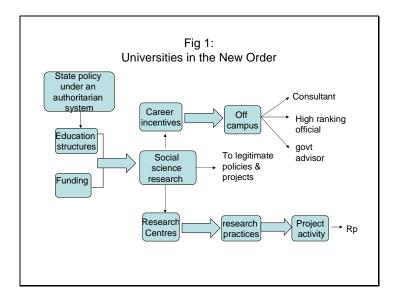
This project orientation has continued into the present. In 2005, according to one lecturer at UI, lecturers typically spent 70% of their time busy with off campus activities. At the Pusat Kajian Sociologi (Centre for Sociological Research, formerly LabSosio) at UI this had affected the commitment of staff to research centre activities. Apart from those staff with structural positions in the centre, Sociology department staff only occasionally appeared in the centre. Most of their time was tied up with donor projects, or they are otherwise busy seeking additional income off campus. Rather than combining core research into critical problems with commissioned research, the social science research that was undertaken tended to be project activity aimed at making money; University research centres seem more like project orientated consultancy houses.

UGM's Centre for the Study of Population and Policy (PSKK) continues to focus on donor funded projects. The centre profile stresses the large number of donor projects they have undertaken. At the same time independent, self-designed, socially relevant research was not readily apparent.

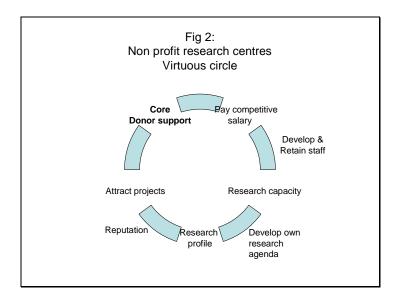
In summary, despite some significant reforms to the university sector, university research centres continue to be project orientated. Without carrying out basic social science into critical social and economic problems, research capacities tend to atrophy, and researchers are less able to bring academic rigour to research with an applied policy orientation.

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¹⁰ Hadiz & Dhakidae (2005)



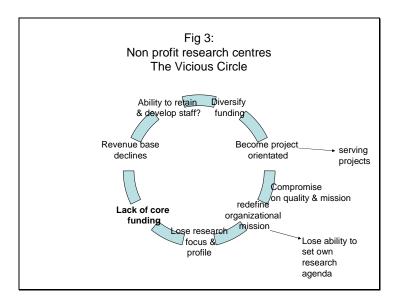
A limited number of international donors have also provided money for research activities in non profit research institutes (e.g. international foundations such as Ford, Rockerfeller and Toyota Foundations, FNS and Rand Corporation). From the 1970s Indonesia saw the development of an alternative system of knowledge production in non profit independent research institutes under foundation funding. During the 1970s this type of support fostered the emergence of Social Science Foundations (*Yayasan Ilmu-ilmu Social*) who provided research training centres in four cities and also carried out research activities. During the 1970s and early 1980s core donor support for up to ten years allowed LP3ES to emerge as the primary location for influential social science research. In a similar fashion, due to core funding from Ford and HIVOS in the 1990s, AKATIGA in Bandung has been able to maintain its commitment to core research themes. During this time these organizations were able to stay within what can identify (at the risk of simplification) as a virtuous circle (see fig 2 below).



This limited institutional support only allowed for the development of a number of independent social research institutions and research projects. Moreover donors were unable or unwilling to offer institutional support for more than 10 years. Eventually donors withdrew their institutional support or changed their funding policies.

In response non profit research organizations have needed to diversify their funding. Generally donor projects have not supported organizational overheads, and organizations caught up in the project cycle of donor agencies have needed to become very pragmatic. This has led them to compromise on quality, increase their range of activities, and redefine their missions. In other words, to ensure their survival there have been big incentives for research organizations to become project orientated service providers. While LP3ES had emerged as a pioneer in this field, once LP3ES lost its institutional support, its focus changed. Subject to what we might call the "vicious circle" of project activity, LP3ES gradually evolved into a service provider and an advocacy NGO (see fig 3 below).

With the winding down of Ford Foundation funding, AKATIGA has needed to enhance its capacity to learn and change to avoid shifting from the "virtuous circle" into the "vicious circle" described above. A final grant from the Ford Foundation in 2005 allowed AKATIGA to continue to carry out their research and capacity building for five years. AKATIGA has considerable incentives to ensure its sustainability by becoming more focused on carrying out donor commissioned research. The challenge for AKATIGA will be to avoid becoming so heavily involved in externally funded projects and activities that they are diverted away from their core research mission.



Reformasi

The reform era after 1998 led to drastic economic and social changes. As there was no longer an authoritarian government affecting the development of social science research, Indonesia saw an opening for independent social science research. At the same time, given increased donor interest in governance reforms following the economic crisis, decentralization and the transition to democracy, there was an explosion in donor interest in research to support governance related projects.

Yet Indonesian social scientists struggled to meet the demand for high quality qualitative social science research. Due to the limited capacity of Indonesian research institutions, they could not respond appropriately. Donors competed to hire the most capable people in the universities. Very soon the limited number of recognized high-quality people became over committed to existing missions and projects.

At the same time donors caught up in pressing project demands were unable to support the development of research capacity in any comprehensive way. With the small number of accomplished researchers available typically over-committed to existing projects and activities, donors experience considerable difficulties. Unless they have a finely tuned understanding of the research sector, including where existing capacity can be found, donors can end up recruiting from the large pool of less competent and sometimes unprofessional researchers. The alternative is to take the time to seek out and negotiate research contracts with the small number of capable but otherwise busy researchers. Otherwise, if they have the time and resources, donors can use foreign researchers or train up their researchers for specific needs.

At the same time the economic crisis also led to a cut back in state funding for research. Initially, with less funding available, government based project research decreased.

Since this time educational policy changed. Universities were restructured into State Owned Higher Education Autonomous Legal Entities (BHMN). This change allowed universities to engage in business activities in the educational sector to support their programs. As universities became more commercially orientated, they increased tuition fees, and sought to sell their program and training services. While critics have decried this "commodification of higher education" ¹¹, others see this as an opportunity for universities to improve their management and become more dynamic. To date the new revenues generated under the BHMN policy have been used to support salary increases, particularly for those with structural positions in the university administration. There were

¹¹ Heru Nugroho, "The political economy of higher education: The university as an arena for the struggle for power", in Hadiz & Dhakidae (2005) p164.

initiatives to use the extra funds generated by increased student fees to support basic socially engaged and policy relevant research. At the same time the Directorate General for Higher Education (DIKTI) has developed policies and funding schemes to support the research sector (see section on economic constraints for research below).

On 31 March 2010, the Constitutional Court annulled the Educational Legal Entity Law No. 9/2009. The court, declared that it was against the constitution (UUD 1945) because it failed to recognize disparities among Indonesia's educational institutions in respect to their capacities to generate funding to support their activities. Consequently, the BHMN policies that had been developed by some big universities in preparation to becoming a legal entity (BHP) become uncertain. At the time of writing it is said that the government is planning to draft a new bill on educational institutions to replace the Law No. 9/2009 to formulate other options to regulate educational institutions.

2) The Meso Level: Organizational Development

University Research Centres.

As academics are public servants, a basic salary for research centre personnel is guaranteed. This helps to ensure the sustainability of university research centres is not the primary issue. For instance, although PSKK has no institutional support from donors, it does have a cross subsidy: the Gajah Mada University supplies land, electricity, and 23 civil servants (PNS). This structure has helped guarantee the continuity of the centre.

However, given that basic academic salaries are generally low, research centres function as a source of additional income for teaching staff rather than for research in itself. Research centres tend to be places for academics to sell their expertise within universities.

At the same time universities have the character of public sector bureaucracies. Accordingly research centres are tied to the structures and policies of their university and these tend to be ungainly, cumbersome, and resistant to change. This potentially makes it challenging for research centres to respond to either the needs of researchers or to the demands of donors, or to make the kinds of changes in priorities, structures, procedures and staff required to produce modern, high quality research.¹²

However, the new BHMN policy had increased the autonomy of universities and allowed management to increase their room to manoeuvre. This autonomy has allowed universities to chart their own direction and to develop their own capacity development efforts. For instance, University of Indonesia has set up a series of

¹² Jeffrey M. Puryear, Building Education Research. Capacity in Developing Countries: Some Fundamental Issues. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 80(1), 93–99. p98

policies and funding streams to increase the incentives for academics to engage in research (see section on economic constraints below). This initiative may be able to explore opportunities to support university reforms to develop research capacity in these research centres once the issues raised by the recent BHMN decision are resolved.

Despite the challenges of the university context, PSKK has very successfully obtained a steady stream of donor projects. A number of factors have helped PSKK emerge as perhaps the most successful university research centre. As PSKK has its own legal status, this has helped it be more autonomous. At the same time its link to UGM has enabled it to call on the expertise of a wide range of researchers. PSKK has been able to ensure the commitment from UGM staff by paying a small retainer to affiliated researchers under contract with PSKK. This retainer remains very small even though PSKK has successfully obtained several donor projects. Consequently, PSKK has managed to save enough to pay researchers their retainer even when PSKK is not using them in a current project. However PSKK has not used these funds to support self-generated policy relevant research to any significant degree. Yet, it has invested in infrastructure, including building a new 4 billion rupiah building.

In general university research centres have little ability to build up their own independent research capacity. In the absence of significant amount of subscriptions to foreign journals and databases, access to the international social science literature is difficult. There are generally few in-house seminars and only very modest training opportunities for younger staff. As senior staff are busy, there is very little time available for mentoring the next generation of researchers

Until very recently, there has been virtually no money set aside for their own socially significant or policy relevant academic research. Research undertaken by staff is funded by donor projects or collaborations with foreign universities. As virtually all research centre publications come from these collaborations, it is difficult to identify the independent research profile of the centres or assess their specific research capacity.

For instance, the Pusat Kajian Sociologi (UI) has several highly trained qualitative researchers with degrees from prestigious universities. It can also call on expertise across the university, including the pool of qualitative researchers found in the department of anthropology. Except for the journal *Masyarakat* (which Pusat Kajian Sociologi publishes twice a year from its own funding), the centre's publications are almost entirely from foreign collaborations. Essays in collected volumes edited with foreign collaborators may not always be based on qualitative field research involving prolonged engagement in the field. Yet, Pusat Kajian Sociologi has a reputation with donors for the methodological skills its researchers use in contracted qualitative research. However, as only a few projects allow researchers to have a major role in problem definition,

implementation, analysis and writing, Pusat Kajian Sociologi researchers have little control over their research agenda,

Given that outreach to actors outside the university tends to be poor, research centres insufficiently address the needs of beneficiaries beyond the academy. Besides links with their key donors and research networks, university research centres often lack a strong profile in communities. Typically centre websites are not kept up to date.

In general we found that there is a lack of transparency and accountability in finances. For instance university research centres usually don't publish narrative and yearly financial report that are publically accessible. Financial reports also don't tend to follow the financial standard report for non profit organizations. For instance, the University of Indonesia's Pusat Kajian Sociologi is not audited by a public accountant.

Researchers and lecturers tend to have an individual orientation to work. Perhaps this can be traced to the solitary, individual nature of post-graduate research. Nonetheless this works against team work and collaboration. This individualist tendency is reinforced by the high degree of competition between researchers chasing consultancy opportunities. It requires strong, committed, strategic leadership from within research centres to get researchers to form teams and work together on projects. This is in line with the literature that suggests that a research leader, 'someone with designated authority and/or responsibility within her/his institution for developing the research capacity of others' remains critical to the development of research capacity. While this strategic leadership for collective action is not found everywhere, a lecturer from another department in UI recognized that the leadership at Pusat Kajian Sociologi at UI has achieved this in several instances.

Non profit research organizations

These organizations tend to produce a form of social science that is a hybrid between socially embedded and long term goal-orientated research. For instance AKATIGA is orientated to the NGO networks, the communities, and the other beneficiaries and stakeholders with whom it is engaged. Their research tends to be somewhat process-orientated, aiming to assist the learning of these beneficiaries while still paying some attention to the norms of more conventional academic research.

In contrast, with its origins in Satya Wacana University in Salatiga and with its management under senior social science researchers, PERCIK brings more academic rigour to its research. But PERCIK also sees the need to address the

¹³ "Developing research capacity in the social sciences: a professionally based model"

wider learning needs of actors outside the university, including those engaged in advocacy. Consequently, in these organizations outreach to actors outside is superior to universities. Nonetheless, these organizations usually do not update their websites and only recently began to publish annual narrative report. Moreover, given the problems in the book distribution system in Indonesia, distribution of research publications, especially outside Java, remains poor.

Transparency and accountability in financial administration tends to be better developed in these independent research centres. Most non profit research organizations apply standard operating procedures and use the generally accepted accounting principles and the financial standard report for non profit organizations. Most have their financial reports audited by public accountants.

For their development it can be important to have a functioning board to oversee and guide the organization and determine the framework policies and directions of the organization. For instance, AKATIGA's board plays a very substantial role in guiding and guarding its mission, providing support with donor networks, and mentoring research projects and younger staff.

Senior research staff in both AKATIGA and PERCIK tend to have either strong existing affiliations with universities (e.g. they teach in universities) or are former lecturers. This helps to ensure both organizations have well established research cultures. Yet, compared to universities, these organizations tend to be less bureaucratic and more dynamic. It is possible for them to change their culture and structure more readily as they adapt to new challenges.

Non profit research organizations often tend to have limited internal capacity building. While they only offer a limited number of in house seminars, there is usually informal on the job training for younger staff engaged in a project with more senior people.

Given their heavy dependence on donor support, non profit private research organizations face the challenge of staying in the virtuous circle (discussed earlier) to retain their research mission. There are only a very small number of donors, such as the Ford Foundation, who have played a significant role nurturing the development of social research organizations. This support enabled such organizations to produce independent publications based on their own research agenda. But donor support cannot be permanent, and sustainability always remains a big question. However, if funding just comes from donor projects without core funding, these organizations will face increased pressure to adjust to donor priorities and to restrict themselves to contracting for these research activities.

(3) The Micro Level: Individual research capacities and skills.

University research centres

High quality qualitative social science requires specific skills and capacities including familiarity with up to date theoretical and methodological approaches and the ability to use these in research work. A significant number of Indonesians have now gained higher degree from prestigious foreign or domestic universities and presumably have skills in these areas.

Yet only a few places (such as UGM and UI) have the critical mass of capable researchers to develop effective research centres. Accordingly, at times donors have contracted Pusat Kajian Sociologi and PSKK in projects. Elsewhere, particularly outside Java, the capable people are spread across a large number of locations. For this reason donor projects in the regions tend to cherry pick the best people, recruiting individuals rather than contracting organizations.

Until recently, even in the most prestigious universities (such as UI and UGM) there were very limited opportunities to do new, independent, qualitative research. With the incentive structure (discussed further below), staff were either not attracted to or unable to develop further the skills they gained during postgraduate work and rarely engaged in serious academic studies. The opportunities come from a small number of collaborations with foreign universities, such as those with Dutch universities.

However project involvement did not necessarily improve the capacity for high quality qualitative research in university research centres. By engaging in short term donor projects, researchers improved project relevant skills. The skills associated with self-generated basic qualitative research into critical social and economic problems have tended to atrophy (e.g. methodological skills, keeping up with current developments in social theory etc.). Moreover, given the orientation of researchers towards donor projects, researchers constantly needed to adjust to donor priorities. As one junior researcher in PSKK noted, she found herself constantly adjusting to donor led problem definitions, methodologies, and time lines. As a consequence, university researchers have lacked the opportunity to develop an independent research profile or trajectory. In some cases, as a researcher at UI Pusat Kajian Sociologi noted, donors or foreign consultants insisted on particular interpretations based on their experience outside Indonesia, neglecting significant research understandings that local researchers argued should play a significant part in interpretation.

Capable people tended to be over-committed to consultancy projects. This left little time for prolonged fieldwork, for reading widely in the literature, or for the type of reflection required for analytical work and high quality qualitative research. As one researcher at UI noted, it took him two years to find the time to write an analytical essay contracted by a foreign research project. To avoid the

problems of over-commitment, researchers with good reputations and in high demand often have subcontracted others to carry out donor commissioned research work. Senior university staff tends to supervise work from their offices, at best going to the field for short periods of time. These practices affected quality.

Problems with training in universities have been due to teaching staff "moonlighting" and not having sufficient time to engage with or mentor the next generation of researchers. This also contributed to the on-going shortage of capable researchers. As we will discuss later, there are now initiatives by DIKTI and leading universities (particularly UI) to address these problems.

The situation has been even more challenging in the regions. Outside of a small core of competent researchers found in regional universities, there has been a lack of methodological understandings and social theory. In the absence of a strong writing tradition, analytical skills and report writing skills also have tended to be underdeveloped.

Private research institutions

Middle level and senior researchers in private research institutions tend to have well developed skills in qualitative research methodology and fieldwork techniques. In these organizations junior staff also tends to be the fieldworkers – carrying out the majority of the fieldwork. In the more developed organizations (such as AKATIGA and PERCIK), senior and middle level researchers have the capacity to design and undertake independent research according to their research mission. However, whether because of their administrative duties or due to their other commitments, senior people tend to spend only limited amounts of time in the field.

The number of senior and middle level staff tends to be limited. A larger number of more junior staff are developing research skills by joining research projects under the supervision of the limited number of senior and middle level researchers. As the senior staff tend to help to analyse and to write up the work of junior fieldworkers, the quality of research outputs is dependent upon these few senior staff or senior colleagues who can be brought in to work on or mentor particular research projects. The availability of these skilled people within private research institutions affects their research capacity. As noted earlier, due to their high dependence on funding, these organizations face the challenge of retaining skilled staff and developing the skills of younger staff. This affects the depth of research skills found in these organizations.

These organizations are primarily orientated to Indonesian problems: they publish Indonesian language material for a domestic readership. Although many of these publications refer to the international social science literature to some degree, only a restricted amount of up-to-date English language social science

material is available. For instance, none of the private research organizations have access to international journal databases. With limited budgets, most depend on book donations from visiting colleagues from overseas. This means that there are limited opportunities or capacities to consume difficult English language material. This is especially among more junior staff who have not trained overseas or who may have limited English language proficiency.

At the same time these organizations tend to rely on internal review processes for publications. A rigorous peer review process is yet to develop fully in Indonesia. All these factors affect the quality of research produced by the few independent research organizations that have emerged in Indonesia.

3. Economic policy constraints affecting the development of the sector

In this section we will review in broad terms the economic policies underpinning the constraints to the knowledge sector, detailing trends, motivations, and the impacts of these on the sector over the last 20-30 years.

Considering the macro level first, we can identify a number of trends during the New Order period.

First, as noted earlier, in the 1970s international foundations supported research in Indonesia with large grants, leading to an increase in research related activities. At the same time development donors typically showed limited interest in goal orientated long term research. Over the last decades only one donor, the Ford Foundation, has continued to provide grants to support capacity building in independent research organizations. A number of independent research organizations thrived under Ford support, including AKATIGA, PERCIK, and the Women's Research Institute. Over last years, as a result of the global economic crisis, Ford now has much less resources. Further, under recent policies, Ford has largely withdrawn from institutional support.

Organizational structures in these organizations tend to generate a particular incentive structure for researchers. Compared to the private sector, these organizations lack a career system, offer a low salary and have comparatively low social status. This creates incentives for researchers to develop a career outside the non profit research sector once they have gained experience. As seen at AKATIGA, these organizations tend to be staffed with younger people and a limited number of more senior and middle level staff. These senior and middle level researchers typically have a passion for or commitment to qualitative social science research that allows them to overlook these shortcomings. As people move on to influential positions outside the organization, this has helped AKATIGA build up an influential and supportive network. At the same time the influx of younger people has helped keep a younger and vigorous organizational culture.

While the activities of these donors achieved a great deal during the New Order period, they were unable to address the structural problems in the sector. Further, as they focused on the supply of research, the limited demand for high quality social science research remained.

During the New Order the state also began to support policy and development research. Typically state ministries created research and development sections (*Litbang*) within their agencies and provided them with an annual budget for development orientated applied research. However, the *Litbang* had little capacity to carry out the work themselves. Yet, as the budget needed to be spent, *Litbang* would contract out the research to universities whose staff became research service providers within a constrained research environment.

According to Prof. Dr Taufik Abdulllah, the former head of the Indonesian Institute of Science (LIPI), social science that might call into question the state development discourse was regarded with suspicion. At the same time the research that was funded tended to be practical and applied rather than goal orientated long term research. As a consequence quantitative and positivistic research developed that tended to be 'qualitatively stagnant'. Policy orientated research was unable to question basic assumptions, and this constrained the contribution of research to policy. Although demand for research from Litbang was high, research activities became projects. At times state agencies commissioned research on critical issues. However, if the research recommendations contradicted existing policy or called for significant change, the research was not used. Subsequently, social science research had only limited impact on policy, and researchers developed its current consultancy/service provider orientation.

At the meso-organizational level, in the absence of institutional support - including core funding for academic research - university research centres became orientated towards consultancy and service provider activities without combining this with basic or socially embedded research into critical socioeconomic issues. The incentives for a consultancy orientation worked against the development of research culture and practices within universities.

Under this system Indonesians who gained prestigious degrees from local and overseas universities could not readily continue a research career after graduation. The incentives for careers were elsewhere: an academic with a low university salary necessarily looked to improve his/her family welfare by taking up more lucrative opportunities off campus. This included, for instance, gaining access to government project funding, becoming an advisor with close links to senior decision makers, or becoming a high ranking official. Alternatively, a researcher could gain economic and political resources from international networks and NGOs. Hence, at the micro-individual level, academics gained status and financial rewards from becoming prominent media commentators, policy advisors and service providers rather then by undertaking research.

The economic crisis, decentralization and the transition to democracy, and later the tsunami in Aceh, led to increased involvement in Indonesian problems. Donor interest in policy and project interventions led to an explosion in demand for good qualitative social science research. The previous decade had also seen a change in the emphasis of donor interests signified by the increased emphasis on governance reform in development assistance and capacity development. This entailed understanding institutions in order to improve their capacity and required more high quality social science research. This increase in demand created considerable incentives for research organizations to become service providers to donor and for researchers to become consultants.

During the first years of the reform period, a number of departments (e.g. BPPT) continued to have schemes to fund research. However, there has yet to be a coherent economic policy for developing the knowledge sector.

With the passing of the new education legislation (UU Pendidikan Nasional 20/2003) required that 20% from the state national budget (APBN) must be allocated to education. DIKTI has obtained more significant funds to use for supporting research. In 2009 DIKTI's budget increased by 30.55% over the pervious year, with the research budget increasing to around 1 trillion rupiah. In 2010 the research budget decreased to 625 billion rupiah for research because much of the previous year's research budget had not been fully absorbed. Very few researchers submitted proposals compared to the funds available. Presumably, this was because there are comparatively small incentives for writing a proposal and conducting field studies compared to the incentives for continuing consultancy projects.

The 2010 budget includes 400 billion rupiah to be directly managed by DIKTI and 225 billion distributed to national research agencies. National priorities include climate change, food security, alternative energy, water resources management and biodiversity. While this research budget remains relatively small, it does represent a significant increase over the past.

Consequently, the Directorate General of Higher Education (Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi or DIKTI) and the Directorate General for Research and Community Service (Direktorat Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat or DP2M) have launched nine varieties of competitive grants. This extends to "competence grants" (*Hibah* Kompetensi) for one year projects and "strategic issue" (*Isu Strategis*) grants for three year projects, each providing of up to 100 million rupiah per year.

Under a competitive grant system for institutions and individual researchers, grants are to be made available for researchers carrying out research regarding

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¹⁴ http://dikti.go.id/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=268

¹⁵ 'Rp 24 Triliun untuk Dana Abadi Pendidikan", Kompas, 9 March 2010.

¹⁶ http://www.dp2m-dikti.net/

what have identified as strategic issues. There are also rewards of as 30 million rupiah for researchers who publish in international journals. In addition DIKTI has funding for library and university facilities, for higher degrees and for staff attendance at international conferences.

Making use of their new BHMN status, universities also set out to develop incentives for research. For instance, University Indonesia set out to increase the status of the university to that of an international research institution. To this end, the university has strategically begun to use the increased funding derived from student fees charged under its BHMN status. While most lecturers continue to receive a comparatively low salary of 3 million rupiah per month, the university has increased salaries to 'core staff' up to 15 million rupiah per month, on condition that they engage in teaching and research 'on campus' for up to 30 hours per week. These are incentives for 'certified lecturers' to improve their work practices, and the hours they spend on campus mentoring students and engaged in research activities.

The rector of UI has also sought to centralize the contracting and the administration of consultancy derived funds. The purpose is to ensure that revenue generated by university research centres is not unduly channelled to university based consultants but, as far as possible, is retained for funding university priorities, including funding research.

Complementing DIKTI's activities, the university has introduced a new competitive grant system that offer new research incentives. These include university

- "Competitive Grant" of between Rp. 40 250 million/project,
- "Competency Grants' of Rp. 200 300 million/project and
- "Community Service Grants" of Rp. 50 million/project.
- Faculty level grants of Rp 25 75 million/project.

Although it is too early to assess the impact of these changes, especially with the recent uncertainty regarding the BHMN status, this system is already leading to a change in the research orientation of research centres and individuals within UI.

¹⁷ Economic Factors Underpinning Knowledge Sector Development in Indonesia. Preliminary Concepts & Analysis. Suahasil Nazara, Djoni Hartono, Rus'an Nasrudin, Faculty of Economics University of Indonesia

Legal constraints also have affected the economics of the sector, particularly demand from government for policy related research. Universities face significant hurdles undertaking research contracts for government under recent procurement regulations (e.g. Keppres 80/2003 regarding procurement of goods and services). For instance, this regulation:

- Requires that organizations have the status of business entities to sign contracts directly. As university research centres lack this legal status, they are unable to directly contract for these services.
- Disallows government officials from accepting income as contractors while in active service. Accordingly, researchers need to take leave to undertake state funded research contracts. This is a disincentive for lecturers who might otherwise be interested in taking up contracts to assess government policy.
- 3. Requires that an organization has a tax status, an enterprise license, and a letter of guarantee from the bank to bid for contracts. Foundations (yayasan) find it difficult to apply for tenders under these conditions.

This policy has had significant impacts. The number of research centres in UGM has shrunk from 35 to 22 centres, especially affecting the small research centres. The regulation not only creates difficulties for local governments. Previously, local governments would directly contract universities to undertake policy related research. After the implementation of this law, all contracts above 50 million rupiah have to be put out for public tender. Under this regulation, local governments are forced to contract small local consultancy companies without any guarantee of expertise and arguably this has affected the quality of the advice provided.

In addition to these legal constraints, in the reform period, policy making has become more subject to political bargaining within a multi-party system. Arguably, this has made policy making more explicitly political rather than technocratic, making it difficult for research to be taken up in policy making processes. Researchers are often requested to provide academic papers as a pre-requisite for new legislation, but the influence of these submissions on the end result remains unclear.

The significant impact of the economic constraints affecting this sector is that none of the five organizations we visited have research projects from government. All remain dependent upon external donor project funding.

4. APPROACHES & SOLUTIONS ALREADY TRIED

Universities

In university contexts a variety of approaches to capacity building have been used. These include:

- Donor support for in country research projects, including international collaborations and funding for joint research projects between Indonesian and foreign researchers
- Secondment of personnel to Indonesian research institutes for training, mentoring and participation in joint research (e.g. research stations).
- Donor support for local research infrastructure

These approaches have usually amounted to project or activity based support. Once the activity or project has ended, generally there have been no lasting changes in policy frameworks, organizational cultures or incentive structures. Consequently the problems in these research environments have persisted.

Donors and foreign organizations have also supported short term training, both abroad and domestic. However there have often been problems in the selection of individuals. At times training was seen as an opportunity or reward allocated to people within an organization. Those selected were not always the most talented or active researchers. At the same time training also tended to be theoretical. Those individuals being trained didn't necessarily have the opportunity to use their skills after training. Commonly, there were no hands on mentoring and guidance through research design, field work and writing up field research projects.

Post-graduate education abroad has also developed individual capacity. But individuals returned to an environment that is not conducive to research, and where the incentive structure does not support research careers. Consequently many of those trained overseas have turned to other activities outside research or become consultants and service providers.

Therefore most donor approaches have failed to take things to the next stage: they do not institutionalize capacity. Ultimately social science research capacity is likely to emerge when the social science disciplinary foundations exist. I.e. When the institutional, policy, organizational and individual building blocks are in place, universities will be able to nurture, generate, guide, and support high quality research.

SUMMARY

The underlying problems leading to the lack of policy relevant social science capacity in Indonesia derive from interdependencies and multi-causal issues. The critical issues continue to be:

- National economic and legal policies and structures that insufficiently provides a policy and funding framework for research.
- Dependence on foreign university collaborations and donor projects at the expense of locally embedded research agendas and in the absence of funding to pursue such an agenda should it be developed.
- Insufficient long term core funding affecting the ability of research organizations to build organizational research capacity, to support collective research projects and training, or improve management systems including accountability and transparency
- A consultancy and project orientation with incentives for research organizations to provide consultancy and service provider functions; incentives for individuals working outside the university substitute rather than complement incentives for basic socially engaged research into critical social problems by research groups.
- Insufficient demand for long term goal orientated research.

Given the interdependencies and socio-economic complexity underlying this constellation of problems, together with the reality that the problem does not sit conveniently within the responsibility of any one organisation or state agency, and that any solution will involve changing institutions, laws and funding structures as well as organizations, incentives, and behaviour, there can be no single simple solution.

Many previous approaches to research capacity development have been tried. However these have tended to be fragmentary, project based, and not sustainable. Previous approaches have had measures of success but have ultimately been unable to change these underlying multi-causal issues leading to the problem. In the absence of solutions, donor inventions have continued to develop individual capacity and have provided other institutional support that, while helpful, on their own have not lead to greater organizational capacity. For instance, support may have been be targeted at the needs of particular projects rather than addressing the "big picture" problems within organizations or structures. In contrast to skill acquisition through training and participation in projects, organizational capacity development requires "team building and the

development of the organizational procedures and systems that channel human abilities" towards achieving organizational goals.¹⁸

Any knowledge sector initiative needs to develop an integrated approach to dealing with wider institutional and policy issues alongside developing capacity by building skills within organizations.

The challenge:

 How to develop capacity inside a university context when donor support cannot readily change the macro policies of government or, at the meso level, university structure, culture and incentive structures?

Non profit research institutes

Core funding for research organizations from funding agencies such as the Ford Foundation have allowed a limited number of organizations to specialize in higher quality qualitative research and develop their organizational culture and research skills. This has led to some institutionalization of capacity. But in the absence of sufficient funding to develop pay, career structures and other conditions, the incentive structure in these organizations has worked against individuals having long term careers in qualitative research. Even after many years, these organizations remain dependent on foreign donor research funding. For instance, even after ten years of existence, SMERU remains dependent on AusAID for 55% of its funding.

The challenge:

 If donors cannot give permanent support to non-profit research institutes, are there alternative means of supporting research based organizations?

Earlier we distinguished between individual research capacity and organizational research capacity. Clearly, there are a number of proficient researchers located across private non profit research institutes and university research centres. However, there are very few research organizations that have sufficient capacity in house to apply the required research skills and resources to accomplish research goals in a fashion that satisfies the expectations of wider stakeholders and donors.

¹⁸ D. Horton, A. Alexaki, S. Bennett-Lartey, K. Noële Brice, D. Campilan, F. Carden, J. de Souza Silva, L. Thanh Duong, I. Khadar, A. Maestrey Boza, I, Kayes Muniruzzaman, J. Perez, M. Somarriba Chang, R. Vernooy, and J. Watts. *Evaluating Capacity Development: Experiences from Research and Development Organizations around the World.* ISNAR, IDRC, CTA, 2004 p44

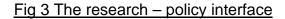
The challenge:

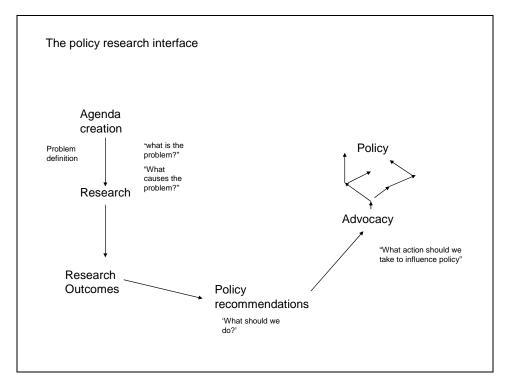
How can existing individual research capacity be mobilized effectively?
 And how can it be developed and institutionalized in organization(s)
 with the required research culture and leadership?

5. The Research Policy Interface

Before considering how an initiative might proceed, it is useful to draw on policy related papers that consider how research works to influence development policy. This discussion has significant implications for how we might think about revitalizing Indonesia's knowledge sector.

ODI's 'Bridging Research and Policy' project defined research as a systematic effort to increase the stock of knowledge through 'critical evaluation, theory building, data collection, analysis and codification related to development policy and practice'. In contrast, policy includes both 'declarations or plans' as well as 'courses of action' carried out on the ground. In simple terms, research is about understanding 'why' and 'how' questions (e.g. what is the problem? what is causing it?) In contrast, policy is concerned with the intent to do something in practice to address a problem. This means that policy inevitably involves normative questions: what should we do. At the same time, advocacy is distinctly concerned with taking action to change a policy. This means that research, advocacy and policy making are distinct practices that face distinctly different challenges.





¹⁹ Young, 2005. Bridging Research and Policy: The Rapid Approach, ODI.

It is important here to separate out (per figure 3) the different activities involved in the policy research process. Each aspect of the chain of activities set out here raises its own challenges and needs to be considered in turn.

While it is possible to pursue both policy and research questions at the same time, mixing up the normatively orientated question with the knowledge related questions is detrimental to good research. Good policy formulation can use a strong empirical knowledge base. However, the empirical knowledge base needs to be generated through credible research practices.

Advocacy groups highly orientated to political and normative concerns tend to undertake research activities to find arguments to justify their existing position in political debates. While this is completely understandable and may lead to effective advocacy, it may not provide for quality research.

It is often assumed that policy works according to what is often called the 'rational model'. In this view policy makers assess and compare policy choices, weighting up social, economic and political costs and benefits, before coming to a rational decision. The assumption in this model is that if policy makers have all the data from the best research, they can make the best decision. Here the role of the researcher is to provide the knowledge basis for rational political actors weighing up policy options. While this model assumes that policy makers will be persuaded by the most accurate or 'scientifically plausible option', policy makers often have to satisfy an immediate public demand within a particular political cycle, and may lock on to the solution that meets these needs without looking at what the research suggests, even should it be readily available.

ODI's 'Bridging Research and Policy' work notes that, while it is tempting to look for a linear causality between research and policy, no such link can be found. Rather, research tends to achieve its impact on policy in various ways, including 'by altering the language and perceptions of policy makers and their advisors'. In this view research tends to influence policy 'through the circulation and 'percolation of ideas and concepts'; its influence 'creeps' into policy deliberations rather than through concrete decisions. In other words, although it may on occasion help drive policy change, more often research tends to contribute to policy deliberations amidst 'a wider context of structures and actors' within a political context.²⁰

Consequently, while research can aim to inform policy questions, it is difficult to expect that research will directly lead to a policy formulation. Further, we need to remember that there is not a linear or direct relation between research and policy, but rather a complex relation. This means that, while researchers need to justify

²⁰ Crewe and Young, Bridging Research and Policy: Context, Evidence and Links

to donors and to consumers of research the social value of their work, it is often difficult to measure the policy impact of research too directly.²¹

This body of literature also suggests that research concerned with generating knowledge relevant to policy will tend to have a more significant impact if it builds on relations of influence between researchers and policy makers. While ideally researchers would have the skills of 'policy entrepreneurs', this role can also be played by intermediaries within policy networks. In addition, researchers may also target public agendas to affect public opinion to increase receptivity for their ideas and for advocacy by coalitions of civil society and other interests groups with an interest in the policy area. In addition to building networks with policy makers and other civil society groups to increase the influence of the research, research organizations can be plugged into knowledge hubs, and use mass media and advocacy groups to disseminate their findings.

We will now consider the implications of the foregoing discussion for reviving Indonesia's knowledge sector.

²¹ Stone, D, S Maxwell and M Keating (2001), Bridging Research and Policy

6. NEW DIRECTIONS & POTENTIAL PATHWAYS

Any solution should be assessed according to its ability to:

1) Contribute to the development of social science research in Indonesia by providing support for goal orientated long term research

Goal orientated long term research that leads to the development of new knowledge is critical to a research organization. New research findings amount to a form of 'capital' that underlies the functioning of a research organization. It enables it to gain a reputation in the wider policy, academic and research world that in turn opens up opportunities for networking and research funding – the life blood of a research organization. Further, this knowledge base forms the expertise that enables the organization to provide policy relevant advice. In contrast, if the organization were to function just as a service provider to government and donors, as the executive director of one organization argued, the organization's research expertise and policy voice would gradually whither away as the agency chased projects and responded to outside requests. For this reason, this organization set out to limit the number of donor or government funded service provider functions the organization takes up.²²

Consequently, both university and independent research organizations need support (including funding) to generate the knowledge that is fundamental to critically considering policy questions and that can only emerge through carrying out goal orientated long term research related to critical policy problems.

- 2) Ensure organizational sustainability. As the previous discussion has indicated, sustainable research organizations can neither be based just on the project cycle of donors, nor can they depend only on core funding from foreign foundations.
- Seek to lessen the consultancy orientation of research organizations, by providing opportunities and incentives for combining research into critical socio-economic problems from core funding with project based, commissioned research.

A new knowledge sector initiative needs to be carefully designed to, if not overcome, at least avoid contributing to the consultancy orientation that has undermined the development of research capacity. To be sure commissioned

²² Interview with Dr Prajarta, director of PERCIK, 21 Feb 2010.

research needs to have an important role in a new initiative. Yet, such an initiative also needs to support core self-directed research into critical socio-economic problems of policy relevance.

- 4) Provide mechanisms and processes for agenda creation. If an organization is to be sustainable over the long term, the needs of the Indonesian partner organizations and wider stakeholders must be addressed. The Indonesian CSOs, academics and researchers involved also need to have some ownership of the research agenda, organizational mission, and the research process through direct involvement in the design and execution of organizational planning and research strategies. This will also help ensure social relevance of the organizational mission and the research undertaken (For further discussion regarding agenda creation, see section below on the secretariat model).
- 5) Present an integrated approach to building skills and organizations that aims to develop organizational culture, procedures and systems of organization(s) as a whole.
 - This requires a holistic approach to capacity development that is a comprehensive, continuous and logical process and that aims to develop organizational culture, procedures and systems of organizations as a whole.²³
- 6) Develop a partnership approach to capacity development and research implementation between international donor agencies and local research organizations.
 - Partnerships need to be based on common goals, mutual respect, shared values and agreed principles for reaching decisions and for sharing costs and benefits. ²⁴
- 7) Make the development of excellence in research relevant to policy problems an explicit criterion of success for any initiative.

 There is a clear tension between advectory and research (see the section)
 - There is a clear tension between advocacy and research (see the section above on the policy/research interface). Very few organizations are able to do both well. Where organizations that are primarily involved in 'evidenced-based policy advocacy' are supported, particular efforts needs to be taken to ensure that the organization selected has strong research practices and a healthy research culture. As one paper regarding research and policy noted:

The credibility of research can not be taken for granted. Certain practices are essential to maintaining the public statue of knowledge producers. Some research is more rigorous, professional and scholarly, adhering to

²³ cf Horton et al (2003) Evaluating Capacity Development.

²⁴ cf Horton et al (2003) Evaluating Capacity Development.

recognized standards of peer review. Such standards need to cultivated and protected as policy makers and other users usually require policy research and analysis produced in a professional context. In other words, they want research findings that help legitimate policy, and these come from recognized institutions and experts.²⁵

8. Respond to the known strengths and weaknesses of different types of research organizations.

As discussed earlier, university based centres and independent research CSOs face different challenges. For instance, independent CSO organizations lack sustainability but are relatively flexible and dynamic. In contrast, university centres have sustainability but are less dynamic and arguably less accountable and transparent. The initiative might consider providing core funding to develop the capacity of CSOs to carry out long term goal orientated research alongside commissioned research, and to fund their publications. In contrast, rather than salary and core organizational funding, universities may require funding for research activities and publications.

 Explore opportunities to support sector and university reforms to develop research capacity.

As discussed earlier, any sustained change to the underlying problems affecting the sector will require a significant shift in national economic and legal policies and structures as well as sector funding. The initiative needs to explore the scope to supporting these types of change and work with the reforms DIKTI and several universities are currently undertaking to build research cultures, support post-graduate training and independent research.

Limitations:

As outside agencies, donors face a set of limitations in trying to affect norms and processes that are in some cases, beyond their control. We can helpfully distinguish the issues over which donors have some control to identify key points of possible leverage.

- Key issues over which donors have little control:
 Donor agencies have a limited ability to change key constraints in the macro level operating environment, such as State education and research funding policy and its impacts on universities and research funding.
 - The Indonesian government imposes taxation on its population to fund the production of a range of public goods. Clearly high quality social science research is a public good that the Indonesian government should consider

²⁵ Stone, D, S Maxwell and M Keating (2001), Bridging Research and Policy

supporting more effectively. At the same time status, salary and promotion within the university system are (with some recent exceptions) insufficiently tied to research outputs. In a democratic Indonesia academics, CSOs and donors need to make the case more effectively for moving towards better policy and more effective funding of social science research and for changes in education policy. It is only when some effective public support and a state policy framework conducive for high quality social science research are combined with donor backing that research capacity can comprehensively move forward.

- The culture supporting critical social science is yet to develop to a degree where there is a thriving public demand for social science literature. This affects the market for books and the domestic funding available for high quality qualitative research. At present, intellectuals gain status and position through participating in seminars and acting as media commentators and Op Ed writers rather than undertaking renowned scholarship. At the same time the type of philanthropy from wealthy Indonesians that would support high quality social science has yet to emerge.
- 2) Issues that donors have control over:
 - Due to the requirement of donor projects to meet pressing timelines and get the job at hand done, donors have good reasons for concentrating on their own instrumental aims. For instance, it is perhaps easier for donors to continue using researchers and consultants from overseas and developing their own research teams to service their research needs rather than develop the research capacity of Indonesian institute(s). Mentoring activities and other capacity building activities are time consuming and expensive. Also they tend to be outside the core job responsibilities and mandates of donor agency personnel and projects. However, this could be changed. For instance, donors could make an effort to proceed with a capacity development, providing core funding for a new process and building support for it into future projects. Otherwise, if capacity development continues to be done on an ad hoc basis, it will not be effective: it will not lead to the development of research capacity.
- 3) There are also issues that, under the right circumstances, outsiders can effect.
 - The development of research organizations with capacity outside Java remains challenging. After many years of concentrated state funding and donor activity centered in Jakarta, outside Java access to information, funding. Yet, even if the critical mass of capable researchers tends to be absent, there are a number of good researchers outside Java. Here donors need to think carefully to ensure that past patterns of inequality are not overly entrenched under new initiatives. A door needs to be kept open

for capable researchers from outside Java.

 Outside agencies such as donors have a limited ability to affect the meso level (i.e. internal environment) of research institutes. Leadership must emerge from within the organization. External agents should not attempt to lead capacity development or take responsibility for it.²⁶ Nonetheless, they can create incentives for capacity development and facilitate it where the strategic leadership required is present.

²⁶ cf Horton et al (2003) Evaluating Capacity Development

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

The difficulties highlighted above may sound complex and intractable. However, there are some ways to move forward. That is, if a coalition of donors can collectively support new initiatives. The solutions can be found in the following inter-related recommendations summarised within the following framework.

Critical Issues

Capacity problems in existing research organizations

Recommendation

Option 1: Develop a new organization capable of carrying out high quality qualitative research.

This new organization will have two main roles:

- 1. To carry out commissioned research for donors and government.
- 2. To carry out policy relevant and socially embedded and long term goal orientated research.

Option 2: Create a Secretariat to facilitate high quality qualitative research and to develop research capacity in existing organizations.

The Secretariat will have three distinct roles:

- 1) Facilitate high quality qualitative research through developing new mechanisms to plan, fund, manage and evaluate high quality qualitative research.
- To facilitate the capacity development of partner organizations selected from among existing research organizations and engaged in research under the Secretariat.
- To set up a process for developing a research agenda around critical needs identified through consultations with key regional stakeholders and refined in regional workshops.

Project consultancy orientation in university research centres, research agenda set by outside requirements, lack of incentives for goal

In addition the Secretariat will out carry the following tasks:

- Mobilize existing capacity in university research centres with underutilized research strengths.
- Create a mechanism for matching the new research agenda with donor interests and mobilize donor funding.
- Facilitate university research centre research activity to meet regional needs, including those of

orientated long term research.

Lack of sustainability of independent research organizations

- local service providers, under its supervision.
- Facilitate the involvement of independent research organizations in donor research and thereby support their sustainability.
- Enhance the capacity of independent research centres to carry out socially engaged, long term goal orientated and policy relevant research in accordance with the locally developed research agenda that will be facilitated and funded and under the Secretariat.

These recommendations involve two alternative modalities: developing a new research organization and/or developing a small number of research groups or partnerships involving existing organizations. These are expanded upon below.

Option 1: Creating a new organization for high quality qualitative research.

In recent years donors have supported the emergence of SMERU, an organization that focuses more on economic and quantitative research. From a donor perspective, this has been widely seen as a "success story". In a similar fashion the obvious solution is for the donors to support the development of a new partner agency committed to high quality qualitative social science research.

The new organization would be dedicated to high quality qualitative research, combining service provider functions (commissioned research for donors) with self generated, socially engaged and policy relevant research. Its mission would be to carry out research focusing on issues to do with community development, poverty alleviation, local governance, policy analysis, service provision, and project monitoring and evaluation etc.

The organization would have the governing body, management, key staff, infrastructure, and financial resources to carry out socially embedded research for regional stakeholders and donor commissioned research as well as basic socially engaged research into critical social, economic and policy problems. To support the development of its own research agenda it would require core funding. (Alternatively, a research agenda could be developed in accordance with the process discussed under option 2c). Funds generated from service provider activities for donors would also be used to fund high quality qualitative research.

The organization would have an active, "hands on" board of directors consisting of a group of experts from different stakeholders (academics, CSOs, government, donors, and the private sector) who share a vision and a commitment to the development of social science. The board of directors would help secure funding

from the donor community to support socially engaged and policy relevant research as well as commissioned projects. They would also oversee standards for transparency and accountability, including high-quality financial and narrative reporting.

If the organization is to be more than a donor consultancy agency, it needs to contribute to the development of Indonesian social science and wider civil society debates and concerns. To maximize the credibility of its output and its independent status, this organization needs to include a range of CSO actors. Funding from a coalition of donors would ensure that it is not too strongly identified with any particular donor or point of view. At times researchers also need to be able to 'tell it like it is' regardless of the sensitivities involved. Donors will also need to allow for autonomy and ownership of research agendas and approaches.

The donors who commit to long term funding would be represented on a donor oversight committee. As committees often lack flexibility and donors tend to be adverse to risk, there is a need to avoid committee micro-management of the organization. Accordingly, this committee would not have a "hands on" management function. Rather, working in an advisory fashion, the donor committee would only meet quarterly.

The advantage of developing a new organization, rather than working with a larger number of existing organizations, would be that capacity building efforts could be more targeted and intensive. The best learning opportunities for younger, less experienced researchers occurs through involvement (or "on the job" training) with established, capable researchers in research projects. This occurs best when junior researchers are involved from the inception and design phase of research right through to the analysis, the writing up and the presentation of research results. Accordingly, in developing the capacity, senior researchers – acting in a coaching or mentoring role – would be paired up with promising but less experienced researchers. This would be supplemented with a small amount of formal classroom training. These would provide methodological workshops on research design, problem formulations, methods to collect and systemise information for analysis, and techniques for analysis orientated to policy formulation and discussion.

To facilitate the development of individual researchers, the coach/mentor would develop individualized Personal Development Plans with each researcher. Each plan would have milestones, and these plans would be reviewed every six months. The mentor/facilitator would also play a role in research, guaranteeing the quality of training and the final product of the investigation. They would do this by providing methodological and thematic orientation, and reading and commenting on mid-term and final reports

Capacity building would necessarily be gradual, time-consuming and expensive. Donors would need to have realistic estimates and plan for the costs and the

difficulties involved. Donors would fund the secondment of senior researchers from outside, including from donor agencies themselves and from domestic and foreign universities, who could carry out the coaching/mentoring roles within research projects.

The organization would pay competitive salaries and provide other incentives to attract and retain capable researchers. In addition, to increase its capacity to retain staff the new organization would aim to develop a strong organizational culture that gave individual researchers a voice, as well as opportunities to grow and learn. The new organization would aim to develop an *esprit de corps*, offering a stimulating and enjoyable work environment. If this could be combined with salary incentives and the sustainability offered by long term donor commitment, the organization would be more able to attract and retain staff over the longer term.

Strategic leadership is a key component in the capacity of a research organization, affecting the organization's direction, its staff motivation, and its overall performance. Accordingly, a key element in developing a new organization (either under option 1 or 2 below) will be developing strategic management and leadership. The first priority would be to find an executive director (See *Next Steps* below). The new leader would need to have outside support in setting up formal systems, assessing and interpreting needs and opportunities outside the organization, establishing the direction of the organization, in influencing and aligning others towards the organizational goals, and motivating them and committing them to action, and making them responsible for their performance. Depending on the requirements of the new organization, the donors could consider secondments that would aim to help the new leadership team, providing preliminary institutional support that could last for months or even for years.

Another critical element in developing the organization would involve hiring capable researchers. It is not easy to predict in advance the motivation, interpersonal or analytical skills and other capacities of researchers. Accordingly, initial contracts would be of limited duration. Individuals within the organization would have responsibility for specific research tasks and ownership of key research outputs and would be assessed on their performance during a probation period. High performing staff would be promised a secure future with the organization.

Developing a new organization to carry out high quality qualitative research.					
Role	Deliver high quality qualitative research for local governments, donors and local service providers.				
Functions	Respond to the needs of a wide range of key constituents, use these to set research agenda, and then provide socially embedded research outputs for these constituents Perform service provider functions and carry out commissioned research for government and donors. Carry out socially significant and policy relevant research and thereby contribute to Indonesian social science. Function as a centre of best practice and a hub for qualitative social science researchers in Indonesia.				
Outputs	Policy briefs, donor commissioned research reports, working papers, self-funded research outputs to be published externally on the internet and distributed to external funding agencies Host guest researchers, seminars and guest lectures for public and policy makers — including international researchers working on Indonesia				
Resources	Core office facilities for research including library, databases. In house editing and publication capacity.				
Core Research Competencies	Core researchers with skills in research design, implementation of field research, analysis, and report writing. Strong research, analytical, policy, communication and relationship-management skills. Training and mentoring capacity for younger staff and for training outside researchers. Ability to mentor a new generation of quality researchers. Access to a wide range of relevant formal and informal information, networks, reporting and research sources. Ability to draw on network of regional researchers for specific research needs. Quality control mechanisms through developed peer review processes.				
Organizational Requirements	A board of directors from different stakeholders (academics, CSOs, government, donors, private sector) with a shared vision and commitment to the development of social science A clear mission statement and strategic program Strong management systems including developed basic standard operating procedures, standard for transparency and accountability, high-quality financial and narrative reporting Capacity to pay competitive salary and provide other incentives. Matching salary should be paid to researchers				

	carrying out either basic socially engaged or commissioned research. Strong internal training systems, Ability to attract, retain, and improve the skills of their best staff members.		
Critical Success Factors	Strategic leadership. Appropriate financial, physical, technical and human resources Core funding from a coalition of donors to support its ability to develop its own research agenda and ensure its sustainability. Ability to pay competitive salary and offer researchers security over the long term. Recognised independence and integrity. Properly functioning management systems to ensure the organization can achieve defined research outcomes through the delivery of agreed outputs on time, to standard and within budget		

Option 2: Create a Secretariat to develop to facilitate high quality qualitative research, develop research capacity in partner organizations, and develop a new research agenda.

a) Facilitate high quality qualitative research through developing a new mechanism to plan, fund, manage and evaluate high quality qualitative research.

On many occasions, well known research organizations, or recognized "research patrons", have obtained research contracts from donors. In many cases these agencies lack sufficient research capacity in their own organizations. Consequently, they sub-contract elements of the research to other researchers outside their organizations. Often there is a lack of transparency about how this occurs, and the senior "research patrons" within these organizations may not always be involved in fieldwork or in the effective supervision of the research. In some cases, particularly if a project is contracted to a research organization itself rather then to particular individuals, those who implement the research may not be the best researchers within the organization. This may be due to political processes within the organization or because the over-committed researchers who have written the proposal and obtained the contract do not have time to do the research. As a result the teams that carry out the research may not include the best or most professional researchers.

These practices have an impact on quality. They also ensure that tendering processes face potential hazards. Stories proliferate concerning the problems faced by unwary donors. For instance a donor may be impressed by a well written proposal, only to find that the individuals implementing the project are not the same as those who wrote the proposal. There are also stories of plagiarism

and misappropriation of research funds. Consequently, many donors have become wary of contracting research centres. As an alternative, some donor funded research projects have recruited their own research teams across a range of institutions and micro-managed the research process. Alternatively, donor agencies have recruited and developed their own in-house teams to carry out research. Both of these processes tend to be time consuming, expensive and tend not to enhance the research capacity of Indonesian organizations.

An alternative mechanism needs to be developed to plan, fund, manage and coordinate qualitative research under a new Secretariat. This Secretariat would

- manage competitive processes to engage the best researchers across a small number of organizations in competing for highly prestigious and wellfunded research grants.
- aim to institutionalize capacity in a few selected places.
- have project development, monitoring and evaluation processes to ensure the quality of outcomes.
- oversee research that would deliver tangible benefits to target end-user groups.

The Secretariat would oversee the development of proposals and research designs, commission, and monitor, access and evaluate research through two modalities.

Modality 1.

The Secretariat would advertise widely for proposals, soliciting proposals to carry out new research in accordance with a socially engaged and policy research agenda (see section C below) published in widely circulated Project Development Guidelines. These Guidelines would cover topics ranking highly among the research priorities identified in stakeholder consultations. The Secretariat's guidelines would describe the different project types, list issues to be explored in developing new ideas, and explain the Secretariat's development and approval processes.

To facilitate capacity development within the research institutes that obtained grants, there would be a requirement that each funded research project should commit itself to training at least two young researchers during research implementation. Senior researchers within the project would need to commit themselves to providing methodological and thematic orientation, reading and commenting on the research work of younger staff, and guaranteeing the quality of training and the final product of investigation

The Secretariat would have monitoring and evaluation processes to ensure the quality of outcomes and to incorporate the lessons learned in future projects. The Secretariat would set up an autonomous and independent Peer Review Panel to access proposals. A group of senior researchers, academics and development specialists with a high reputation would be recruited to take responsibility for assessing proposals. Project reviewers should be independent of the Secretariat and would not be allowed to submit proposals themselves. If they had a clear relationship to the proponents or a conflict of interest with a particular proposal, they should stand aside from that review. Proposals should also be arranged to disguise the identity of the proponents. The Peer Review Panel would also assess proposals according to whether there were sufficient plans to disseminate results and whether the proposed research met criteria for social relevance, capacity-building and community impacts. Proponents would also need to demonstrate adequately their capacity and knowledge of the field of research based on pervious work or by demonstrating their mastery of the area by presenting their proposals before the Secretariat. Proponents would have the opportunity to respond to an initial assessment of their research proposals before the Review Panel made a final recommendation regarding which research proposals to recommend for funding. The final decision would rest with the Management Committee of the Secretariat.

Later, say after the first year of the project, the review panel would carry out a second evaluation process. This would include an evaluation of research results, interviews with researchers, and (where possible) field visits to assess the connection between research approaches, research outcomes and field reality. Researchers would also present research results to the Secretariat and donor community. A further review would occur in the final phase of the research. While this process would entail some expense, it would allow for an iterative learning process. The outcome of these reviews would serve to both improve the research design and implementation as well as form the basis for a decision regarding whether the research should continue to be funded. Further funding would depend on the satisfactory outcome of these reviews. As well as assessing the quality of the research, evaluation processes would also evaluate community impacts (e.g. policy change) and capacity-building impacts (e.g. through increasing the capacity of participating organizations). The Secretariat would develop processes to publish research outputs that had passed this review process. Publication of research results at the end of this process would then become a mark of quality and best practice.

If these evaluation processes led to a gradual reduction of the number of competing research groups over time, this would lead to resources being concentrated in a small number of research agencies. This system would also create incentives for research groups to compete to become centres of excellence. The Secretariat would promise highly performing research groups or organizations future funding opportunities. Through their reputation for carrying

out good research in a specific area, they could continue to attract funding in this research area, and accordingly would have greater opportunity to become sustainable.

The Secretariat would also carefully evaluate the capacity of the research institute to manage a grant. For instance, in the absence of effective financial accountability procedures, the Secretariat would avoid giving large grants to organizations or research teams, especially if they had yet to develop the capacity to manage large sums of money. If the Secretariat lacked confidence in the financial management within the grantee organization, rather than making lump sum payments into the organization's account, the Secretariat might consider funding the research team directly in instalments until accountable and transparent financial systems were in place within the organization. To ensure a higher degree of accountability, rather than pay honorariums, the Secretariat should use a contract system where funding would be paid when researchers met specific research milestones.

When the research capacities needed for donor commissioned research require engaging researchers across more than one agency, the Secretariat would encourage research partnerships across university and independent research centres. Partnerships should link two organizations whose mission, strategy and values are complementary or organizations that do not have common missions but have overlapping interests in a problem.²⁷ However, there would have to be a mutually acceptable agreement in place regarding the procedures governing the research relationship between partner research institutes. Such agreements would be based on clear understandings of divisions of roles and resources, responsibilities and lines of accountability between agencies and individuals collaborating on the project. Within these collaborative agreements, one research organization would become the commissioned organization or contracted executing agency. The other agencies may then become subcontractors of the commissioned organization. It would then be the responsibility of the commissioned organization to put in place agreements with the collaborators for the operation of the project. These agreements would need to be in place prior to the project and would require agreement from the Secretariat. Subsequently, the commissioned agency would be responsible to the Secretariat for research outcomes.

Moreover, the names of the key researchers involved would need to be listed upfront. There would need to be incentives for stop researchers taking on other contracts while engaging in work for the Secretariat as well as to ensure that senior researchers listed on the proposal stayed involved and actually went to the field. Rather than giving block grants to research institutes, the Secretariat would tie funding to research undertaken by the specific researchers listed in the proposal. To create incentives for senior researchers, the Secretariat would

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²⁷ cf Horton et al (2003) Evaluating capacity development p67

need to provide funding for a large quantum of the time of senior researchers over a significant period of research time (e.g. half their time over three years) with the promise that high-performing research groups would obtain future funding. Funding agencies should consider paying a fixed but significant organizational overhead to the institute involved (e.g. private research institute or university research centres) to provide incentives for these organizations to free up the time of their most capable researchers for sustained research projects. Continued funding would be tied to the participation of these researchers in the project implementation, analysis and presentation of results. If during any of the evaluation phases it became clear that those listed on the proposal (particularly senior researchers) had not carried out the work or were insufficiently engaged, future funding might be withheld.

The Secretariat would develop an intimate knowledge of the research sector in Indonesia, including information about the most capable researchers in specific areas and their reliability. This would help ensure that future funding would be tied to the reputation of researchers and their track record carrying out excellent research in the specific area concerned. The Secretariat would also create processes for involving early career researchers and researchers from outside Java. For instance, a separate funding scheme could later be developed for supporting such research activities.

Modality 2.

There are considerable opportunity costs involved in developing new proposals and engaging in tendering processes. In many cases the most accomplished researchers already have their hands full with several projects. Consequently, these more accomplished researchers may tend to remain outside the process discussed above.

Accordingly, the Secretariat would develop an alternative research modality that explicitly provided incentives for drawing in accomplished researchers from a small number of identified research centres with research capacity. In parallel with the tendering process discussed above, project managers from the Secretariat could also actively facilitate, in an informal process, the development of new proposal concepts in consultation with the best researchers who had a track record working on specific research problems. Preliminary proposals emerging from these consultations would be presented to the Secretariat's Board of Management for approval to proceed to the detailed development of project proposals.

In the early stages of setting up this research process, it might be necessary to directly engage the best researchers in proposal development by offering seed funding for proposal development for larger projects. Together with the project manager involved, the proponents would refine and share the proposal as it was developed and discussed with Secretariat collaborators and subject it to an in-

house review process. Less meritorious proposals would be culled during this process. Fully developed proposals would then be submitted for peer review to the independent Peer Review Panel. Proponents would be required to respond to referee's comments and to enhance and refine the proposal before the Secretariat's Board of Management made a final decision. To lessen the transaction costs for smaller projects, at the discretion of the Secretariat's Board of Management, smaller projects might be funded after passing through a less rigorous review process. Funded research projects would then be subject to a similar research evaluation and monitoring process to that discussed earlier.

Donors, local government and local service providers could use this research facility when they had a concept for new research that they wanted to have undertaken. If a donor or a local government wished to commission a specific research project, project managers from the Secretariat would help them to facilitate the research. From its knowledge of the research sector, the Secretariat would help identify reliable agencies and individuals who had a track record in the research area. In an informal process, the project proposal and research design would be developed in consultation with the researchers, the donors or the local government who wished to commission the research. Together with the donor, the project manager and the research collaborator involved, the Secretariat would oversee the research process. If necessary, foreign consultants or senior researchers known to the Secretariat could be recruited to work on the research. As required, the Secretariat could facilitate research evaluation, monitoring, and a peer review process for the research outputs (as under Modality 1).

b) Facilitate Development of Capacity in Partner Research Institutes.

A number of social science institutes have developed some capacity in qualitative field research. However, as discussed earlier, these organizations typically have limited capacities to deliver high quality qualitative research. Consequently, there is a need to systematically build the capacity of research institutes commissioned to do high quality qualitative research under the Secretariat.

To do this the new organizational actor (or Secretariat) would, as a core part of its mission, facilitate the capacity development of partner organizations. This capacity building would be targeted at the small number of research grantees involved with the Secretariat's work.

Where the Secretariat identified significant needs within a partnered research agency it had funded to carry out research, the Secretariat would tailor assistance to the organization. For instance, based on a request from the partner organization, the Secretariat could recruit or second high quality researchers to the institute or research team concerned. Consultants, donor agency personnel or senior Indonesian researchers recruited or seconded to carry out this role could assist with mentoring younger, less experienced

researchers through projects from inception to the presentation of results. The Secretariat would also arrange methodological workshops at key points in the research cycle. More importantly, capacity development support would aim to assist with team building and the development of the organizational procedures and systems that would enable the organization to make the best use of its existing skill base.

The Secretariat would also develop strategies for institutional strengthening. For instance, it would help find funding to increase the number of researchers and range of expertise and to strengthen core facilities for research (publications, databases, library etc). Training in formal writing and analytical skills would particularly be targeted at the small number of early career researchers recruited into the small number of research groups discussed above. As the more capable research teams and actors were selected through the competitive process, the amount of training would be more specifically targeted at these people. In this way capacity development would aim to be "narrow and deep", concentrating on just a few research groups rather than across a broad range of partner organizations.

The terms, conditions and level of support would need to be negotiated to meet the organizations' needs and mission statement as well as the interests of the Secretariat and the donors. Outsider agencies cannot lead internal changes in other organizations. Consequently, partners of the Secretariat would need to be encouraged to engage in a self assessment process involving their staff and key stakeholders to evaluate their own capacity, identifying strengths and weaknesses, and then applying the findings to setting new directions in partnership with the Secretariat. The self-assessment process – involving outside facilitators – should encompass the following: management (strategic leadership, program and process management, networking and linkages) and organizational resources (staff, technology, and infrastructure).

The Secretariat would deliberately seek out and support strategic leadership within university research centres to mobilize capacity for collective action within these centres. The BHMN status that enhanced university autonomy might have supported existing capacity development initiatives within universities, especially where strategic leadership is present. Where appropriate the Secretariat would extend funding and other incentives for socially engaged goal orientated long term research within research centres, for example by offering funding to maintain university researchers on research retainers attached to activities in the Secretariat.

The Secretariat would aim to act as a node for the development of high quality qualitative research in Indonesia. It would maintain a catalogue of grant giving donors, and up to date information about their programs and areas of support.

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²⁸ cf Horton et al (2003) Evaluating capacity development p39

The Secretariat could also provide basic information about writing grant proposals and an up to date library regrading research methodology texts as well as research databases. The Secretariat would maintain a directory of qualitative researchers that listed consultants and researchers, their areas of expertise and the research they had undertaken.

c) Develop a research agenda involving regional stakeholders and local service providers and create a mechanism to facilitate new research in accordance with this agenda.

The literature on capacity development in the research sector points to a key problem in the success of research capacity building in developing countries. The dominant role of donors and foreign universities – in setting research agendas, in making decisions concerning research frameworks, in managing funds and in publishing the results – has in so many cases undermined the development of research capacity in donor recipient countries and organizations. In short, a key problem, as in the Indonesian context, is the development of a research agenda that reflects the social and economic needs identified by key stakeholders within the country and the allocation of sufficient funds to carry out research to address these issues.

Over the last ten years donor sponsored research capacity development programs have sought the involvement of local organizations and governments in building research agendas. This has helped "mobilize local social actors to the importance of research in solving social problems", provided "support to the researchers", and helped "ensure sustainability of research" once the activity was over. ²⁹ In other words, such approaches ensure that research is demand-driven, has greater "local ownership" and attends to "criteria of social relevance and social accountability". ³⁰

Local governments now have greater responsibility and authority to manage their own affairs. In many cases local decision makers face complex policy choices. Yet, they mostly lack the evidence for assessing policy options, considering the impact of current policies on local citizens, and finding policy solutions to pressing needs. At present there are very few organizations able to offer such a service. Consequently, local governments do not see the need for policy relevant research, don't understand the value of this type of research, and are not willing to pay for it. While in many cases political exigencies will necessarily continue to drive policy decisions, in some cases more innovative district administrations will have a genuine interest in finding policy solutions to pressing needs based on evidence from relevant research. If they see a research agency or group undertaking this type of research, and if the findings are seen to be valuable to decision-making processes, a pilot group of district stakeholders could begin to

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²⁹ See Velho, L, M Carlota de Souza Paula, R Vilar. Building Research Capacity in Social Sciences for Development in Bolivia: A Case for Institutional Innovation. United Nations University, INTECH. 2004. ³⁰ See Velho, L et al (2004) p39

demand practical, high-quality research of this type. But for this to occur, the research agenda needs to be developed that can reflect local needs.

A new initiative – for instance under the Secretariat model – would oversee a process of creating regional research agendas. Consultations with stakeholders in the regions refined in regional workshops (such as that undertaken by the Support Office for Eastern Indonesian (SOfEI) in Makassar) could set up a process for developing a research agenda around critical needs.

The initiative would also involve creating a mechanism for matching this research agenda with donor and government interests or otherwise finding matching government and donor funding. This would occur through negotiations with donors and government agencies to find mutually appropriate research designs. The Secretariat (or actor organizing this initiative) would then oversee research projects tailored to this research agenda involving its partners. Where appropriate, the initiative would fund research teams involving people outside Java with interests and background suited to the particular research issue. ³¹

A committee of donor representatives from agencies committing long term funding would liaise with the board of directors of the Secretariat. The donors would need to commit a significant amount of core funds to the Secretariat. However, the Secretariat would ultimately be independent of the donor committee, which would once again have an advisory function rather than a "hands on" management role.

As the earlier discussion indicated, university research centres have faced a challenging set of problems. The most salient of these include a project/consultancy orientation, a dependence on foreign research and donor projects. At least until the recent reforms take effect, there has been an inability to develop their own research agenda, with little funding and incentives for undertaking independent research to meet it. Clearly there is a need to set up a mechanism to facilitate university research centre research activity to meet regional needs, including those of local governments and local service providers. Such a process could be set up under this new initiative.

The advantage of university researchers is that they obtain a basic salary, and this guarantees the sustainability of their positions. The Secretariat could explore developing new incentives for university researchers. For instance, the Secretariat could pay talented university researchers a retainer to keep them engaged in high quality qualitative research under its umbrella.

As discussed earlier, independent research organizations face ongoing problems of sustainability. This initiative would seek to more effectively involve these organizations in donor projects and hence increase their sustainability. Where

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³¹ This was a key part of a research capacity development effort in Bolivia. See Velho, L et al (2004) p39

the newly develop research agenda accords with the mission of independent research organizations, they could play a key role in carrying it out.

The role of creating an agenda for demand-drive research, along with the capacity building and research facilitation functions (discussed earlier), can best be implemented under a new Secretariat (see framework below).

The Secretariat model: supporting existing organizations through capacity development, facilitating high quality qualitative research, and developing and funding a research agenda developed according to criteria of social relevance and social accountability.					
Role	Facilitate high quality qualitative research through developing a new mechanism to plan, fund, manage and evaluate high quality qualitative research. Systematically engage with partners to develop their capacity to do high quality qualitative research.				
Functions	Solicit proposals from research teams to undertake policy relevant research. Oversee a specifically designed peer review process to assess research proposals and monitor and evaluate funded research. Actively facilitate the development of proposal concepts and research designs on behalf of donors, local governments and local service providers. Engage consultants, donors and the best researchers available to undertake commissioned research. Provide information to donors regarding researchers (including about key competences). Provide information to researchers regarding donor funding policies and project opportunities Oversee a process for developing a research agenda around critical needs identified by local stakeholders through consultations with key regional stakeholders and through regional workshops. Together with research partners undertake research to address these research problems.				
Outputs	High quality qualitative research reports and policy briefs for donors, local service providers and local governments.				
Resources	bibliographies, books, journals, access to research databases, access to funding opportunities				
Core Research Competencies	Core staff of senior researchers who have sufficient understanding of goal orientated long term research issues and are able to facilitate project research. Capacity to provide training and mentoring to researchers recruited from regional areas into research teams for specific donor needs through on the job training				
Organizational Requirements	Executive management with facilitation and negotiation skills, capacity to monitor project implementation. Developed basic standard operating procedures, standards for transparency and accountability, and high-quality				

	financial and narrative reporting. Core donor funding to set up the organization, develop its research agenda, as well carry out research to address needs identified by regional consultations. A board of directors including representatives of partner organizations; Board would include representatives from academic, donor and CSOs, government, and private sector to provide support and guidance.		
Critical Success Factors	Donor support for sustainability of the Secretariat Board of directors capable of negotiating with donors and with partners to obtain full support and agreement about the strategic program, research agenda criteria and funding for the organization. Strategic leadership, program and project management, networking and linkages required for partnership building, coordination and collaboration. Ability to develop mutually acceptable principles and procedures with partner research institutes and broker clear understandings of divisions of roles and responsibilities between agencies and individuals collaborating on specific projects. Development of a system for making identified researchers available for team research, and using them in training & mentoring in research projects. Ability when required to find required research and training skills from international consultants and donor partnerships.		

TRADE OFFS.

As the following table indicates, both of these options have strengths and limitations.

Potential options	Strengths of this option	Limitations & challenges
Option 1: Develop a new organization capable of carrying out high quality qualitative research.	 Addresses the generative capacity problems in social science research. Donors can facilitate the crafting of an organization with good management, accountability and transparency Donors can facilitate skill development No need to change an existing bureaucracy or culture An organization that can use its capacity to do high quality research for donors is more likely to be sustainable in the long run. By carrying out socially engaged goal orientated long term research it is envisaged that the organization will contribute more to Indonesian social science. 	Sustainability: the organization will still require donor support – at least for its basic policy relevant and socially engaged research activities – over the long term (including paying competitive salary and offering researchers security over the long term) Unless carefully designed, this model is not inclusive of a range of actors with capacity found outside the new institute.
Option 2: Create a Secretariat to develop research capacity in existing organizations and facilitate high quality qualitative research.	 In addition to addressing the generative capacity problems in social science research, this option directly addresses the shortcomings of university research centres, and independent research organizations. Uses existing capacity and experience in qualitative research and attempts to build on it. Rather than assuming a donor coalition is best placed to develop a new institution, this model would allow Indonesian research entrepreneurs to compete to develop a competitive research group or organization. No need to build a management/financial system 	 Transactions costs: will require sustained facilitation and negotiation. This will require negotiating with organizations with different organizational missions or ideological orientations. Complicated and perhaps difficult to manage given its relatively loose management structure and control over members Requires sustained donor support. Challenge of ensuring accountability and transparency across organizations involved in the partnerships. External actors cannot lead changes to the internal institutional environments of partner organizations.

from scratch

- · More agile and dynamic
- Can be inclusive of research capacity found across several organizations
- Research organizations that struggle financially would derive funding from donor projects to support their sustainability while still carrying out socially engaged goal orientated long term research.
- Participation in collaborative project activity would enhance learning within existing research institutes.
- Facilitates the development of an Indonesian research agenda designed to meet regional needs, including those of local service providers.
- Local government and other stakeholders who see usefulness of research in considering policy options may increase their interest in funding research.

7. RISKS AND ASSUMPTIONS

Risks include the possibilities of:

- A radical change in Indonesian political life, such as a massive terrorist attacks or other political insecurity, affects the support of foreign donors for Indonesian research.
- An ultranationalist or authoritarian regime emerges with a prejudice against foreign aid and foreign assisted social science research.
- A change in economic circumstances of world economy, or radical change in direction of donor assistance policy, leads to withdrawal of support to capacity building and governance related programs.

These conclusions rest on the following assumptions:

- Donor assistance will stay at its current level.
- While the current interest in governance related issues may continue for some time, new issues such as climate change and food security are emerging and will continue to require the development of new, enhanced research capacities.
- Donors will retain their level of interest in supporting social science

research.

- Macro state policy towards research is beginning to change. However Indonesia will not commit very large resources to establishing social science institutions on a significant scale.
- Philanthropy from wealthy Indonesians will not develop significantly.
- Indonesian government policy allowing for and supporting good governance and civil society development will continue.

8. NEXT STEPS

In order to materialize these options, the following actions are required.

Steps to be taken to initiate option 1:

Step 1: Coalition of donors decides to move ahead to establish a new organization including level of funding.

A multidonor coalition would be needed to support the new organization. In particular, the Ford Foundation has extensive expertise in assisting research institutes in Indonesia and could play a critical role.

Step 2: Donors select consultant(s) to facilitate the process. The consultant(s) should consist of a senior person familiar with social science, have international experience, have strong background in organizational development, have good facilitation and negotiation skills, and have good relations with leading CSO social science and government figures. The consultant would have an extensive mandate to design and prepare for the inception of a new organization, including in a legal and physical sense. The consultant could propose the main figures that would play a role in establishing the organization, preparing to recruit staff, etc.

Step 3: Develop board. Consultant will identify 10-15 people with a commitment to develop social science research and invite them to become the governing body/founders of the new organization.

Before forming the board, extensive consultations would be carried out with research institutes, universities, and NGO/CSOs to identify the names of people who would be approached. From the results of the consultation a long list would be created. This would serve as the basis for discussions with the donors. After agreement was reached, a short list would be drawn up. The consultant would appraoch the individuals concerned to invite them to sit on the board.

Step 4: Define mission, goals, and strategic program. Founding body and donors develop mission, goals, and strategic program concepts.

The consultant would facilitate a Strategic Planning Workshop, inviting the candidate foundation members of the board, the donors and key stakeholders. This forum would arrange the mission, goals and strategic program of the new organization.

Step 5: Design organizational structure.

During a Strategic Planning Workshop, the consultant would facilitate a process where the founders of the organization to design the organizational structure, including its infrastructure, facilities, the number of staff required, the budget required for the first 3-5 years of operation.

Step 6: Recruit executive director, capable researchers, and other key staff.

The consultant would facilitate the recruitment process. This would involve arranging for advertisements, seeking out and contacting candidates, etc. A selection team consisting of board members and donor representatives would take the decision regarding who would become the executive director, researchers and other staff, and the selection of "senior advisors" and seconded donor staff.

The executive director would be recruited after the position has been widely adversited. The executive director should have a Ph.D., experience carrying out research, and experience leading an NGO/CSO.

Researcher staff for commissioned research will be recruited from researchers who have experience carrying out research for international agencies (e.g. the World Bank, UNDP, the Asia Foundation, AusAID) through the "open market". Talent scouting might be required to identify researchers who have an excellent reputuation.

Promising younger research staff will also be recriuted who have advanced academic degrees, or at least a masters degree from an institution with a high reputation, and a proficiency writing in English. These researchers will have the task of designing research, carrying out field work, writing up and presenting results. They will work under the supervision of senior researchers, including expatriate researchers.

After the organizational structure had been created, the staff recruited and the infrastructure (office and other facilities) prepared, the Board and Executive Director would take over the role of the consultant.

The whole process would be completed in 12 months.

Steps to be taken to initiate option 2:

Step 1: Donor commitment to move ahead (including level of funding)

In a similar fashion to Option 1, the commitment of donors to form a multidonor support project is important.

Step 2: Donors select a consultant to facilitate the process.

As under option 1, the donors would need to recuit consultant(s) with a combination of international and local experience. This consultant will have an extensive mandate to design and prepare for the foundation of the new organization, in both a legal and physical sense, as well as propose the main figures who would play a role in establishing the organization, preparing to recruit staff, etc.

Step 3: Approach potential partners to gain their support.

The support of potential partners would be important to the success of this option. Through open and honest consultations with potential research partners would be required. Topics to be discussed would include the benefits of involvement in the process, including capcity building, funding for research, recuritment of new staff, and donor expectations. If support and willingness to participate in the tendering process was obtained from at least 3-4 organizations, this option could be continued.

Step 4: Form a board of directors including representatives of from academic, donor and CSOs, government, and private sector to provide support and guidance. The board of directors would negotiate with donors and possible partners to obtain full support and agreement.

As under option 1, those facilitating the process would need to consult with reearch organizations, universities, NGOs and CSOs, to identify the names of those who could be approached to sit on the board. An initial "long list" of potential people would be discussed with donors. After agreement was reached, the consultant would then make a "short list" and begin approaching the people concerned.

Step 5: Define mission, goals, strategic program & organizational structure.

The consultant would facilitate a Strategic Planning Workshop to decide on the mission, goals and strategic plan of the Secretariat. Candidate partner organizations, board members and donor representatives would attend. The workshop would aim to reach agreement regarding the structure and program for the first 3-5 years as well as funding requirements.

Step 5: Recruit executive to guide the process of partnership building, coordination and collaboration.

This process would occur as outlined for step 6, option 1 above.

Step 6: Consultations with local stakeholders in the regions to develop research agendas

The whole process should be completed in 12 months.

9. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The problems confronting the development of qualitative research in Indonesia are not overwhelming. However, as these problems derive from interdependencies and multi-causal issues, there are no silver bullets or easy solutions. The issues identified in this report do indicate the need for a series of steps to either develop a new organization or to develop a new system to plan, fund, manage and evaluate high quality qualitative research, to augment research capacity and to enhance management practices within university research centres and independent research centres. The success of such efforts over the long term will ultimately depend upon reforms to national laws, policies and funding structures along with \educational culture and research practices.

These recommendations require decisions by donors. Some of them also require commitment from university research centres and independent research centres. All deserve serious consideration. Even so, they can be adopted in whole or part.

In making a choice regarding how to move ahead, donors will face a trade-off between either developing a new centre of excellence at the risk of 'crowding out' existing organisations or raising capacity across a smaller number of organizations. To be sure the first choice might ensure the emergence of an actor capable of carrying out high quality qualitative research. However, it may weaken the existing capacity in research institutions. This would occur if it reduced the "oxygen" of funding and other opportunities available for other organizations. Moreover, as in the past, a new donor initiative of this type could drain talent from the pool of existing research centres and institutions that, in many cases, are already struggling. Alternatively, the second choice could improve the capacity for research across a small number of targeted research institutes or groups. However, it would require careful execution to deal with the significant management challenges. Moreover, as the improvements under this option might extend across a number of contexts, they might not appear so evident to donors in the short term. Yet this second option could be more sustainable in the long term.

While donor agencies are habitually averse to taking risks, they may have to roll up their sleeves and take a sweeping initiative if they wish to see change. Nonetheless, any improvements that are made, no matter how small, can be expected to make a constructive contribution to the development of qualitative research capacity in Indonesia.

If this is to proceed, the system of governance within research centres and private institutions and the funding frameworks for research will need improvement to help researchers deliver the optimal benefits to regional communities and the Indonesian nation as a whole. Many of the challenges

discussed in this report will continue to confront donors, regional governments, policy makers and others wishing to make use of existing research capacity.

Meeting these challenges will test the resolve, creativity and competence of government, donors and Indonesia's research community in both the centre and the regions over the medium term. The extent to which they succeed will depend on their ability to cooperate and coordinate effectively.

Problem	Past Approaches	Reason for Failure	New Approach (Option 1)	New Approach (Option 2)	Why Different Than Old Approaches
Shortage of trained researchers	Training & post- graduate education in Indonesia and abroad	Develop individual capacity rather than organizational capacity Little opportunity to use skills after training. Lack of on the job training Individuals return to an environment that is not conducive to research, and where the incentive structure does not support research careers	Building organizational capacity & individual capacity in one organization. Hands on mentoring and guidance through research design, field work and writing up field research projects. Continued possibility to develop skills by working in the organization.	Building organizational capacity & individual capacity in a limited number of organizations. Hands on mentoring and guidance through research design, field work and writing up field research projects. High performing research groups will have the possibility to continue to develop skills by carrying out work for the Secretariat over the medium term.	Targeting capacity development issues at the organizational level. Aims to institutionalize capacity
Lack of incentives & funding for university research	Donor funding for in country research projects Collaborations and funding from foreign universities	Project based: not sustainable after the end of the project	This option not relevant to the university context	Creating long term research opportunities for a limited number research groups if they perform highly	If donor funding enduring, will provide incentives for research activities over the medium term
Lack of senior research staff & lack of training capacity	Secondment of personnel	Short term, unable to change incentives that led to senior researchers leaving active research roles	Creating incentives for researchers to stay in the organization over the medium term.	Creating incentives for high performing researchers to pursue research over medium term	If donor funding enduring, will be sustainable over the medium term
Lack of sustainability of non government research organizations	Core funding only for number of years	Not sustainable: research organizations shifts its orientation to other areas.	Commitment of core donor funding for medium term	Increased involvement in donor projects combined with existing core funding from other sources will increase organizational sustainability	If donor funding enduring, will be sustainable over the medium term

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