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UNDERSTANDING STRONG & EFFECTIVE CSOs IN INDONESIA'S ENVIRONMENTAL SECTOR
A SOCIAL ANALYSIS

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Understanding Strong & Effective CSOs
in Indonesia's Environmental Sector:
A Social Analysis

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Preface

The existence of strong and effective Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) is one of the important foundations for a healthy democracy. However, this role requires CSOs to be credible and accountable so that their existence is beneficial to society. Therefore, it is important to design planned activities to improve the capacity of CSOs in Indonesia. In developing these capacity building activities, it would be better to start by exploring the views of CSO activists and their partners on what constitutes a strong and effective CSO. It is for this purpose that this report was written.

This report would not have been possible without the support of various parties. We would like to thank Joko Waluyo, Rakhmat Hidayat, Mardha Tillah, Risma Umar, and Silvia Fanggidae, who helped to identify and interview key stakeholders. Not only that, they also provided valuable input from their own experiences as part of the civil society movement in Indonesia.

In addition, we owe thanks to the many people who gave up their time to provide valuable insights for this report. We have consciously omitted their names from this report in order to protect the identity of the informants as required by social science research ethics.

We would also like to thank the David and Lucile Packard Foundation for providing research funding. Appearing their organization's name and logo in this report is not a priority for them. They also did not manage or intervene in the research process. We are truly honored for the trust they have placed in us.

Hopefully, the results of this study can serve as reflection and input for all parties concern with the important role of CSOs for a better democratic process.

Jakarta, July 2022

Research Team

Executive Summary

This research report was jointly developed by the Institute for Social and Political Research and Development, the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (LPPSP FISIP UI), and the Asia Research Center, Universitas Indonesia (ARC UI) to contribute to the development of Indonesian CSOs, particularly those working in the environmental sector, funded by the David and Lucile Packard Foundation. The purpose of the research report is to explain how Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and their beneficiaries define strong and effective CSOs within the historical context of a decentralized and democratizing Indonesia, and in what ways diversity and social inclusion contribute to CSO effectiveness.

It achieves this purpose through gathering primary and secondary data, and looking at patterns of meaning. Primary data was obtained through in-depth interviews with key informants from CSOs, the government, the private sector and communities as well as simple surveys of young people. All of our research subjects care about or are active in addressing environmental issues. Secondary data was used to verify, validate, and provide context so that we could understand the cultural logic of our research subjects.

This research finds that strong and effective CSOs work on four levels: organizational, management, financial, and program levels. These levels are used as foundations and tools to achieve their objective, namely establishing an environment-based economy by putting the management of natural resources in the hands of local communities.

Such a strategy encompasses a variety of practices. These practices include: evaluation-based planning with reasonable and achievable objectives; recruiting qualified staff and members who are open to understanding the ideological processes needed to stay the course in CSO work; and good funding management and diversification, all for the purpose of meeting communities' needs.

These levels align with the meaning of strong and effective CSOs for the government and the donating public. Our government subjects find CSOs to be flexible and potential development partners, working together with them to achieve common goals.

The strength of CSOs is that they have rich knowledge of the communities they work with and the main challenge to overcome is shaping a common cultural language that bridges the gap between CSO field adaptiveness and government bureaucracy. Additionally, CSOs can sometimes work in areas and sectors with few or no government services. Unlike the government, CSOs are still reluctant to reach out to corporations.

There is an underlying alignment between the purpose of CSOs in the environmental sector and their value to the donating public: supporting environmental sustainability. Should CSOs wish to work towards [AC1] being crowdfunded, the challenge is that these values are felt the strongest during natural disasters, which requires direct experiences with nature.

Our findings show that diversity is crucial in shaping a strong and effective organization. Our findings suggest that the more inclusive and open an organization is to diversity, the more effective it will be in carrying out its tasks and pursuing its agenda.

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Introduction

This research report aims to understand what a strong Indonesian CSO is. Based on the findings, the follow-up steps will be to develop a capacity-building program for Indonesia's Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). This research report aims to develop a deep understanding of the strength and effectiveness of CSOs, focusing on environmental justice and conservation; and how CSOs can improve and sustain their impact locally and beyond. We begin with the premise that strong and long-lasting CSOs are locally ingrained (Wong et al., 2020) and have the interest of the communities they work with (beneficiaries) at the core of their agenda.

Such complex social processes work within the cultural logic of the archipelago and CSOs face them and operate within them to make their work relevant to their beneficiaries (Nugroho, Carden, and Antlov, 2018). The authors declare their partiality to CSO subjects that resist political pressure against advocating for the rights of communities and the systematic social dislocations caused by land grabbing (Elienberg, 2014). This position attempts to explain the power relations between international and national actors that undermine the benefits of CSOs and their engagement with their beneficiaries.

First, we describe the meaning, strength, and effectiveness of Indonesian CSOs from their own and their stakeholders' standpoints. We limit the scope of this research by focusing on CSOs that are at a stage of maturity and actively contribute to environmental causes. We found through preliminary research (i.e. literature review and initial key interviews) that the civil society organization life cycle (Figure 1) has at least eight stages (UNDP, 2017). Although the length of each stage may be different for each organization, we based our choices on a combination of literature reviews and preliminary interviews. The CSOs we selected in our study have existed for at least five years and we assume that by this time the organization will have reached maturity in its organizational development.

Figure 1. CSO life cycle
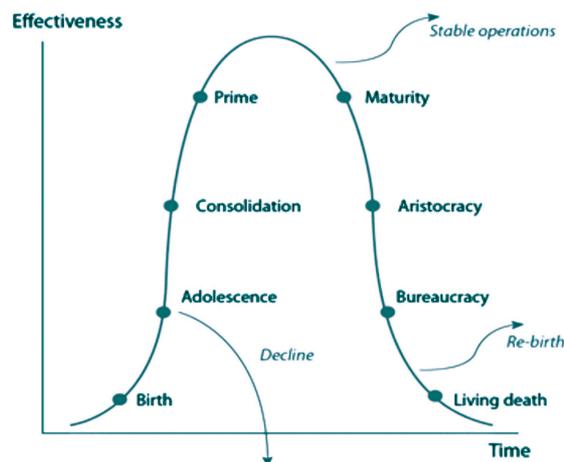
Source: Adapted from UNDP (2017: 15)

We conducted this research within the historical context of dwindling international financial support for CSOs in the Global South (Appe & Pallas, 2018; Pallas & Sider, 2020). Thus the future fate and sustainability of Indonesian CSOs would be dependent on whether they can gain and maintain support for their work from within Indonesia. Indonesian CSOs that focus on environmental justice and conservation might still have some international support due to the importance of their work in addressing the global problem of climate change. However, international support is predicted to shrink soon. Donor countries increasingly direct their limited public funding to support the government and the private sector rather than CSOs in developing countries. Thus we secondly explored donation practices among Indonesia's expanding middle class in relation to environmental causes.

It is vital to provide a brief context of CSO development in Indonesia. Indonesia hosts many CSOs spread across its 34 provinces, whose activities must work through the cultural logic of local dynamics between the state, communities, and businesses. The number of CSOs in Indonesia has steadily increased from only a handful of organizations in the 1970s. Despite the numerous political constraints during Suharto's New Order era (1968 to 1998), the strong presence of CSOs has been possible due to ample financial aid support from international donors. The authoritarian New Order government felt no threat from the work of environmental and conservation organizations. Those working in the environment and conservation sectors were viewed as apolitical subjects. In the case of the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI), the first-ever major environmental network with more than 300 organizations across Indonesia, they even enjoyed support from one of Suharto's highly regarded ministers, Emil Salim; an economist turned environmentalist. *Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat* (Self-Reliant Organizations—LSM) was chosen as a term for the non-governmental organization equivalent in Indonesia to avoid giving the impression of being in opposition to Suharto's government.

Until the 1990s, Indonesian CSOs' work tended to be oriented toward community development. The more advocacy-oriented type of CSO began to emerge in the early 1990s, notably when Suharto's New Order promoted the policy of "*keterbukaan*" (limited acceptance of expressing criticism of the government) in response to international pressure. Civil society movements have since gained vital momentum for more extensive and more robust consolidation with the massive student movements that pressured Suharto to step down in 1998. The number of CSOs has grown exponentially since 1998, through the *Reformasi* era (1998 to today).

Throughout Indonesia's democratization and decentralization processes, many CSOs flourished. Moreover, a new legal basis besides *Yayasan* for formalizing an organization became available. Pre-*Reformasi*, Yayasan was the only choice for CSOs to gain legal status. After *Reformasi*, *Perkumpulan* (similar to association) became a preferred legal configuration among CSOs. The primary difference between the two legal entities is minimal: *Yayasan* can be formed by only a few people serving as the organization's structure. *Perkumpulan*, on the other hand, is an organization that is established based on membership (*keanggotaan*). Activists tend to view *Perkumpulan* as more egalitarian and democratic in the organizational governance structure because the organization's fate depends on the members' decisions. Meanwhile, in the case of *Yayasan*, the organization's fate depends on the decisions of several people in the governance structure. However, we should not take this issue of difference at face value because some CSOs choose either *Yayasan* or *Perkumpulan* as a pragmatic strategy to gain legal recognition from the government (see Chakib, 2014).

We do not claim to be able to detail the experiences and subjectivities of CSOs working in Indonesia's changing environmental sector in ways that would do them justice. However, we do hope that the insights provided in this study can be helpful to open and widen discussions about the future of Indonesian CSOs and their significant role in defending the rights of those who need them most.

Objective

The research aimed to answer the central question of "How do CSOs and their beneficiaries define strong and effective CSOs within the historical conditions of a decentralized, democratizing Indonesia?"

It is further broken down into two following questions:

1. How do CSOs, the communities they support, and the wider public understand and appreciate the work of CSOs? In addition, how does the donating public understand strong and effective CSOs?

2. How do the social elements of diversity, equity, and inclusion play out in the work of strong and effective CSOs?

Box 1. Research objective
This research report aims to understand what a strong Indonesian CSO is. The research aims to answer the central question of "how do CSOs and their beneficiaries define strong and effective CSOs within the historical conditions of a decentralized, democratizing Indonesia?"
Source: Authors

Research Framework

The research we carried out was grounded in interdisciplinary, critical social studies (Lovbrand et al., 2015) that apply reflexivity during the research process. We employed grounded theory in our formulation of methodological steps (Birks and Mills, 2015) and modified its operationalization to adapt to the needs of the research subjects. This approach allowed the researchers to adjust to our subjects and it is our task to understand the social world they live in and connect that to the more dominant approaches to knowledge. This research reflexively applied social methods that revealed and made known everyday and radical politics practiced by strong and effective CSOs. CSOs, in our framework, apply sets of values that derive from various sources and utilize resources to achieve and strengthen their agendas; these can be local, national, or global. Our study explores these values and practices using an emic perspective (i.e. understanding how people see the social world they live in). We will describe which values guide the CSOs' agendas and how they are essential for the people involved in CSOs' work in Indonesia. We assume that global, national and local sources of values can be complementary and in conflict with the CSOs' agendas, and anchored to the context (historical situatedness) within which they are practiced. CSOs and their actors can be selective, can combine different value systems, and can apply them in different contexts and for specific purposes. Significantly, the value systems that people subscribe to and externalize in their practice are never entirely independent from the ideological structures reproduced by the society in which they live (Caroll, Hameiri and Jones, 2020) and we carefully approached our informants with this in mind.

We understand that such structures are also shaped by broader political and economic changes that present constraints and opportunities for CSOs working in the sector of, for example, extractive industries (Hatcher, 2020) and land and agrarian relations (Hirsch, 2020). While acknowledging the constraining and enabling effects of ideological structures, we posit that human agency can be practiced through modification, poaching, and mobilizing the structures' instruments (Vogler, 2016). With this in mind, we developed our methodological steps based on our selected framework. We gathered data from the literature review (Randolph, 2009), specifically by searching and analyzing available written documents defining strong and effective CSOs within the Indonesian and Southeast Asian regions (wherever comparable). These consisted of journal articles, books, theses/dissertations, CSO annual reports and internal reflections that discuss ways to strengthen and improve the effectiveness of their organizations, as well as other relevant legal frameworks that the Government of Indonesia has established.

We gathered primary data in two ways. Firstly, in-depth interviews (Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003). Secondly, using a simple survey. In the first type of primary data collection, we interviewed our local researchers about their knowledge and understanding concerning the CSOs in the region where they worked and integrated the information into our research design. Due to the pandemic, we conducted this study with extreme caution regarding the health protocols that applied to each province and district. Participants were purposefully selected (Etikan, Musa and Alkassim, 2016) from four informant groups (see Table 1).

Table 1. Informant categories

Type	Description	Data Collection Methods
CSO peer	During the authoritarian regime (1966 to 1998), most CSOs in Indonesia chose the foundation (*Yayasan*) model as the basis of their organization's legal framework. After *Reformasi* (1998), many of these CSOs reformed into the association model (*Perkumpulan*) instead. Such reforms might have reshaped their working definitions of strong and effective CSOs and the role of diversity, equity, and inclusion for their beneficiaries.	Semi structured interviews, divided into six regions (Sumatra, Kalimantan, Java, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, and Papua). The selection of key CSO persons also considered gender representativeness and the type of their organizations (legal basis such as *Perkumpulan* or *Yayasan* and organizations with solid networks or individual CSOs). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with five key informants, consisting of five CSO activists representing five regions (excluding Papua) with a strong network-based CSO. One of our senior researchers is now working in Papua. Therefore, she is the best resource for Papua's CSOs. The five key informants were then recruited as local researchers. A total of 25 CSOs have been interviewed. We also interviewed a former leader of a prominent Indonesian environmental organization to overview Indonesian CSOs and their work from the 1990s until now.
Communities affected by CSO work	We purposefully selected communities working with CSOs based on the depth and strength of the bond across regions and projects. We considered this selection based on locality and context, inclusive of indigenous communities, vulnerable people, youth, and women.	Community representatives were selected through consultation with the key CSO representatives. Information was collected through FGDs and in-depth interviews. Due to COVID-19 conditions, only three communities could be interviewed. They were one adat (indigenous) village in Kalimantan, one women's cooperative and one village-owned business (BUMDES) in Sumatra.
Local and national government	Based on the discussions with key CSO representatives, we agreed to add one category of beneficiary, i.e. the government. The selected government representatives are those who have been working closely with CSOs.	Twelve government representatives were selected for interviews. They came from various institutions such as the regional planning agency, the environmental service, and the empowerment office, and there were two representatives at the national level. These government representatives had proven experience in working with CSOs.
Members of the public	We carried out a simple exploratory survey of respondents contributing (through funding and/or donations) to CSOs' work.	Data gathering technique: open-ended questionnaires using Google Forms were distributed to those who in the preceding year had provided funds for CSOs' work.
Private sector actors	These were actors within the private sector actively playing a role in achieving Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In this selection, we prioritized Indonesian citizens who were company owners or CEOs (i.e. those who have had experience working with CSOs or with proven interest in supporting the achievement of the SDGs).	The selection of the key private actors was based on a snowball strategy. We conducted in-depth interviews based on the advice of our key CSO representatives. Four private sector companies and one local government-owned company were selected to be interviewed. Those companies were proven to have experience working with CSOs or had a proven interest in supporting local communities in achieving the SDGs.

Source: Authors

We selected our data collection methods according to several considerations. First, equality in selecting regions and groups. To obtain diverse views, we ensured that the individuals we interviewed came from geographic regions as diverse as possible, paying attention to Sumatra, Kalimantan and Papua (see Table 2). The selection of geographic areas was also based on the list of CSOs partnering with a donor organization made available to researchers.

Table 2. Recap of informants by category

Category	Java	Kalimantan	Sumatra	East Nusa Tenggara	Sulawesi	Papua	National	Sub Total
CSO peers	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	5
CSO	4	3	3	3	4	6	2	25
Government	1	2	3	1	1	2	2	12
Beneficiaries	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
Private sector	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	5
Total informants								50

Source: Authors

Second came context-rich data collection steps. We identified key representatives or experts from the CSO communities who informed and taught us about the holistic social map of CSOs, including those holding active roles as members of CSO advisory boards. Their involvement helped us build rapport, confidence, credibility and a sense of ownership among the CSO communities towards this research. We strategized too by involving key representatives who also functioned as coordinators for local research in Sumatra and Kalimantan.

We disseminated an exploratory questionnaire through key informant interviews (KII)[1] with organizations and key universities for our simple survey. We purposefully selected these organizations as our literature review showed how young, middle-class people with expendable income or finances regularly allocate resources for donation (Jennings, 2016). The objective of the survey was to understand the meaning they ascribe to strong and effective CSOs and what kinds of values motivate them to donate.

We managed to gather data from 109 respondents, of which 54 were women and 55 were men. All respondents had donated to environmental causes. We further carried out a thematic analysis that involved reading through these different primary and secondary datasets. We identified patterns across these datasets and through them we organized themes. This analysis process involved reflexivity, which we nurtured from the conception of our research design. Based on this, we organized the research findings section. All names and organizations in this report have been anonymized to protect their identities, an ethical standard requirement in conducting research.

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[1] Key informant interviews (KII) are "qualitative, in-depth interviews of people selected for their first-hand knowledge about a topic of interest. The interviews are loosely structured, relying on a list of issues to be discussed" (USAID, 1996; Ali, David, Ching, 2014).

Box 2. Research framework

The research we carried out was grounded on interdisciplinary, critical social studies that apply reflexivity during the research process. We gathered primary data in two ways: in-depth interviews and a simple survey. We further carried out a thematic analysis that involved reading through these different primary and secondary datasets.

Source: Authors

Research Findings

This section is organized to answer the two key questions of the research. We grounded our methods and analysis in ways that would encourage our research participants to define the subjective meaning of "strong and effective" CSOs. Each subsection provides boxes for efficient communication of the findings and our reflections on best practices. With the term "best practices" we mean CSOs whose chosen praxis achieves their objectives effectively. It is not an evaluation or hierarchical category that prefers one organization over another but more reflective notes that could be useful for mutual learning processes across CSOs. Furthermore, the first part answers the question regarding how CSOs and the communities they support and the wider public understand as well as appreciate their work in the environmental sector. The second part describes how the social elements of diversity, equity and inclusion play out in their work.

FINDING 1: THE MEANING OF STRONG AND EFFECTIVE CSOs

Our research participants defined strong and effective organizations across four levels: a) organizational, b) management, c) financial, and d) program levels. These levels work together in contextual ways for different CSOs and their surrounding actors. Together, they are organized to achieve CSO objectives. The synthesis of this overarching purpose is twofold. Firstly, CSOs advocate for environment-based economic practices and systems of commodity production. Secondly, CSOs aim to do this by putting the management of natural resources in the hands of local communities and organizing activities to support local communities' capacity to do so. We continue and close this section by exploring the donating public's understanding of strong and effective CSOs.

1.1. Organizational Level

Organizations have goals to be achieved and move towards achieving them (see Paarlberg & Perry, 2007). Accordingly, the meaning of strong and effective CSOs in the environmental sector is determined by the reason for which they were established. A CSO's organization is considered strong and effective if it has three things: Firstly, a well-functioning structure that meets its vision, mission, and objectives, which means that its structure is compatible with its purpose. A network-based organization, however, uses a slightly different logic. They consider having well-functioning local branches that can serve the local communities' needs as an essential indicator of a strong and effective network-based organization with national and massive reach.

> "… the important front line should be our regional organization… [but] currently they are still weak" (Wawan, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 17 November 2021).[2]

The following are excerpts from other responses related to the importance of having an organizational structure that functions according to its objectives, vision and mission:

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[2] "…. kan ujung tombaknya [organisasi] ini mestinya di pengurus daerah… [tapi] pengurus daerahnya [organisasi] masih lemah" (Wawan, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 17 November 2021).

> "The structure [of the organization] addresses all social problems that are the organization's objective" (Ridwan, Sumatra, CSO, interview field notes, 7 November 2021).[3]

> "Yes, it [organization structure and system] is not tied to individuals" (Faisal, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 27 November 2021).[4]

> "Effective firstly, it must be consistent. Consistent with the organization's vision and mission, it must also translate the vision and mission to all approaches. All approaches, whether programs and also organizationally" (Martha, Papua, CSO, interview, 4 November 2021).[5]

> " ... Build the system. There are people, together with the people who build the system. This system must be formed, built, and understood collectively, agreed upon, and carried out. Afterwards, we also build programs together. Moreover, based on that agreement, we walk together, and do not walk alone. If you want to walk alone, do so" (Robertus, Papua, CSO, interview, 17 November 2021).[6]

Secondly, strong and effective CSOs have personnel who understand the organization's shared core values and work toward them. CSO staff must have the capacity to work according to their roles in the organization. All staff or members of the CSO's network need to internalize the organizational values, especially those which fundamentally guide the organization's objectives, vision and mission. Capacity building will help them attain the adequate capability and competence required to translate organizational values into their work.

Thirdly, there needs to be transparency in the organization and good interpersonal communication that is well embedded in the organization's management system. It is vital to make sure that the organization's values and knowledge are accessible to all of its members to learn and grow along with the organization's ideals.

> "Another thing, about openness. Many organizations crumbled because it was exclusive, only one person knew it. We are beginning to nurture that. Yes, [interpersonal communication] must happen" (Irwan, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 1 December 2021).[7]

Furthermore, internalizing the values would require a process in which CSO staff actively engage in knowledge sharing. This must be one of the CSOs' essential roles in the human resource division (HRD). Based on our findings, the perception that the three criteria—compatible organizational structure, competent personnel, and good, open interpersonal communication—establish a strong and effective organization is common among CSOs within environmental movements.

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[3] "Strukturnya memenuhi semua persoalan di masyarakat yang menjadi tujuan organisasi untuk mengatasinya" (Ridwan, Sumatra, CSO, interview field notes, 7 November 2021).

[4] "Iya, dia [sistem atau mekanisme organisasi] tidak terikat di orang kan" (Faisal, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 27 November 2021).

[5] "Efektif, pertama, harus konsisten. Konsisten terhadap visi dan misi lembaga, terus kemudian juga harus menerjemahkan visi dan misi itu dalam semua pendekatan. Semua pendekatan baik itu programnya, juga dalam kelembagaan" (Martha, Papua, CSO, interview, 4 November 2021).

[6] "... baru bangun sistemnya. Sudah ada orang, sama-sama dengan orangnya bangun sistemnya. Sistem ini harus dibentuk, dan dibangun, dan dipahami secara bersama-sama, disepakati bersama-sama dan dijalankan. Setelah itu, bangun program juga sama-sama begitu. Dan atas dasar kesepakatan itu, baru jalan sama-sama, jangan jalan sendiri-sendiri. Kalau jalan sendiri-sendiri, silakan jalan sendiri" (Robertus, Papua, CSO, interview, 17 November 2021).

[7] "Yang lain, soal keterbukaan. Karena banyak organisasi yang hancur karena eksklusif, hanya diketahui oleh satu orang. Kita mulai membudidayakan itu. Iya, iya [komunikasi interpersonal] harus jalan ya" (Irwan, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 1 December 2021).

1.1.1. Types of Organization

However, our findings also suggest that the type of organization contributes to the variation of perceptions. Different types of organizations, whether *Yayasan* (a foundation), *Perkumpulan* (an association), and/or *Jaringan* (a network), might construct different views in perceiving organizational strength and effectiveness, particularly in terms of leadership, organizational sustainability, and organizational transformation. We will discuss each type's perspective on the matter in the following.

Firstly, the association-based CSO. No member can claim the organization as their own in an association (*Perkumpulan*) or network-based CSO. This type of organization has to deal with personnel turnover and changes at all levels of management. In this case, our participants emphasized the organizational sustainability dimension as an essential indicator of strong and effective CSOs.

A prominent environmental network organization participant explained that they focus on organizational sustainability to achieve a strong and effective organization. It has a well-established internal mechanism for regular leadership change, especially at the director and board levels, and at the national and regional levels (Anto, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021). Organizational goals, the scope of activities and strategies implemented tend to fluctuate and even experience transformations. This follows the dynamics of the strategic environment surrounding them and new elements entering the organization. Even changes in the behavior of other stakeholders also affect changes in the body of this organization. The different tendencies in the attitudes of the ruling regime can be seen during the time of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004 to 2014) and President Joko Widodo (2014 to now), which prompted a change in strategy in advocating for specific environmental issues.

For the association and network-based CSOs, the organization's goals and priorities might change, since they must respond to the context and demands for organizational transformation (Schaltegger, Luddeke-Freund & Hansen, 2016). Such organizations tend to be more open to the possibility of organizational reform. This does not mean that the organization's vision and mission can be easily compromised for the organization's continuity. It means that effective organizations must have some degree of flexibility (Schaltegger, Luddeke-Freund & Hansen, 2016). They must be equipped with an organizational mechanism to make necessary changes—informed by regular evaluation—to achieve their objectives. Some of these excerpts illustrate these points.

> "No, the way I look at it—I do not know—sometimes an organization that is capable, quick in reading the situation, changes the situation according to the dynamics that occur. It has to adjust quickly and at what point. However, it is still with the same ideology, but with a situation like this, [adjusting] where it [currently is]. It has to keep on transforming, and it has to keep on transforming. Our organization's experience, why it went down, already started planning, and he was quick to do it. It transformed our organization to a peak point. It quickly transformed itself not only socially but legally. These independent units must be fast so it does not fall easily. This is still a discourse, and [we are] still debating and arguing. Eventually, […] ran out of energy, the situation changed, and it changed even though it was clearly reminded. […] it took 10 years,

every 10 years it had to be fast [in transforming], change" (Danny, Papua, CSO, interview, 27 November 2021).[8]

"Our [benchmark is on] the organization. […] So, like earlier—even though we said, for example, we had changed after the collaboration with [the donor], but actually, we reflected directly, 'Yes, it means we need reinforcement here—for example, we need stronger media, we need a station, we need this, this, this.' All of that really looks at the institution—not the station; it is not about that" (Anne, Papua, CSO, interview, 8 November 2021).[9]

"Indeed, to be effective in terms of organizational development and acceptance of the organization in the network—like it or not, these values must be applied. Must [our organization] then adopt it. Well, it is. Yes, like, Indonesia ratified it, we adopted it. Adoption. So, like yesterday, we learned about children, that is it. […] We then learn about children. Therefore we must adopt values related to child protection. With disability, with gender, and so on. So that if we are everywhere, it is easier for us to adapt. Even if someone says, 'Oh, Uncle, what is the real issue?' Yesterday I met one donor. […] They asked, 'Uncle, what is your work?' Well, it is. 'How come you do everything?' Yes, it is a risk. Some donors want organizations that focus on one particular issue to stay focused. However, today we are easier to accept because the organization actually adopts many values. Previously it was just a disaster, but now it's not" (Paul, NTT, CSO, interview, 21 November 2021).[10]

Secondly, a foundation-based organization is, simply put, owned by the founders. In this type of CSO, the organization might be perceived as the instrument of its founders. Therefore, the organization's fate depends on the founders' perception. If one of the principal founders is the organization's director, s/he might treat the organization like his or her own company. They define the organization's effectiveness based on their purpose when establishing the organization. In this type of organization, regular leadership succession is not a priority as long as the organization can still serve the vision of its founders:

"Yes, well, I think those [succession] processes will be carried out, eventually. However, I think that this [organization] is my vehicle for implementing my thoughts. The organization has to be healthy, and so on; I don't think there is any question—it has to happen. However, how to build a healthy organization can also be done in many ways. For example, let us say an organizational audit—not only financial, but an organizational audit that continues to be carried out, so when there are improvements and so on, and that is also part of the supervision. […] We will continue to carry out regeneration, and at the time of succession, if some are ready, I think it will proceed naturally. What is certain is […] I want to ensure that this organization is not falling apart

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[8] "Enggak, kalau saya melihatnya sih–enggak tahu–kadang kala organisasi yang mampu, cepat, membaca situasi saja, mengubah situasi terhadap dinamika yang terjadi. Dia harus cepat menyesuaikan, di mana. Tapi tetap dengan ideologi yang sama, tapi dengan situasi seperti ini, [menyesuaikan] di mana dia [berada]. Dia harus bertransformasi terus, dia harus bertransformasi terus. Pengalaman [organisasi kami], kenapa dia sampai sempat terpuruk, itu sudah mulai merencanakan dan dia cepet melakukan. Itu mentransformasi [organisasi kami] pada saat dia di puncak, dia cepat mentransformasikan dirinya tidak hanya secara sosial, tetapi secara yurisdiksi. Unit-unit kemandirian ini, itu harus cepat, jadi tidak mudah jatuh. Nah, ini masih menjadi wacana nih, dan masih berdebat terus di situ, berdebat. Akhirnya… […] kehabisan energi, situasinya berubah, tek, dia berubah. Padahal itu jelas sudah diingatkan. […] butuh 10 tahun, tiap 10 tahun dia harus cepat, tek, berubah" (Danny, Papua, CSO, interview, 27 November 2021).

[9] 'Kita [tolok ukurnya pada] organisasi sih. […] Jadi, kayak tadi tuh–walaupun kita bilang, misalnya, kita ada perubahan setelah kerja sama dengan [lembaga donor] itu, tapi sebenarnya kita refleksinya langsung, "Sudah, berarti kita butuh penguatan di sini, kita termasuk–misalnya– kita butuh media yang lebih kuat, kita butuh stasiun, kita butuh ini, ini, ini." Segala tuh, memang melihat lembaga, secara organisasi–bukan stasiun; itu kan nggak' (Anne, Papua, CSO, interview, 8 November 2021).

[10] "Memang untuk bisa efektif–yang efektif terkait dengan perkembangan organisasi, penerimaan organisasi di jejaring–mau tidak mau nilai-nilai itu harus diterapkan. Harus kemudian [organisasi kami] adopsi. Nah, itu. Ya kayak, Indonesia meratifikasi, kami yang adopsi, ya. Adopsi. Jadi, kayak kemarin belajar terkait dengan anak, ya sudah. […] Kita kemudian menjadi belajar terkait dengan anak, karena itu kita harus adopsi nilai-nilai terkait dengan perlindungan anak. Dengan disabilitas, dengan gender, dan sebagainya. Sehingga kalau kita ada di mana-mana tuh, kita lebih mudah untuk beradaptasi. Walaupun ada yang bilang, "Oh, Om ini sebenarnya isu-nya apa, ya?" Saya kemarin ketemu dengan satu donor. […] Dia tanya, "Om, ini sebenarnya kerjanya apa?" Nah, itu. "Kok semuanya dikerjakan?" Ya, itu adalah satu risiko. Ada donor yang kepingin organisasi yang fokus pada satu isu khusus, sehingga tidak lari-lari. Nah. Ya, tapi, hari ini kami lebih mudah diterima karena sebenarnya organisasi mengadopsi banyak nilai-nilai, ya. Kalau dulu hanya kebencanaan saja, kalau sekarang kan tidak. Nah, begitu" (Paul, NTT, CSO, interview, 21 November 2021).

because of succession. I think so because it often happens like that. New people come in in the name of what is said to be a healthy organization, and the organization falls out. Then the main beneficiary loses friends to push for change. Furthermore, I think it is not good" (Marcel, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 13 November 2021).[11]

One of the most prominent characteristics of this type of organization is the organization's founders' centrality in determining the organization's direction and future. On the one hand, if the organization's objectives have been met, then the need to conduct leadership or personnel changes might not be a concern and the issue may be dissolved. Leadership succession is usually still possible but tends not to work or is not accompanied by a precise mechanism for carrying it out. While succession is an integral part of ensuring organizational sustainability, this type of organization chooses to prioritize its effectiveness based on whether the organization still serves its mission and objectives and is capable of successfully delivering services to the community.

Box 4. Network-based and foundation-based CSOs
There are two types of CSOs in Indonesia's environmental sector: 1) network-based organizations, which prioritize their sustainability through professional mechanisms on recruitment and succession; 2) foundation-based organizations, which instrumentalize the organization to achieve the purposes of its founders through loyalty and hence has a low turnover.
Source: Authors

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[11] "Ya, well, saya pikir, itu proses-proses [suksesi] itu tetap akan dilakukan ya. Tetapi, saya sendiri berpikir bahwa [organisasi] ini adalah kendaraan saya. Untuk mengimplementasikan pikiran-pikiran saya. Bahwa organisasi harus sehat dan lain sebagainya, saya pikir itu tidak perlu dipertanyakan–itu harus terjadi. Tetapi juga bagaimana membangun organisasi yang sehat itu, itu juga bisa dilakukan dengan banyak cara. Misalnya, kita misalnya audit organisasi–tidak hanya keuangan, tapi audit keorganisasian itu terus dilakukan, sehingga misalnya ada improvement apa semua, dan itu bagian juga dari pengawasan. [...] ... Pengaderan akan terus kita lakukan ya, dan pada saatnya suksesi, kalau misalnya memang ada yang sudah siap, saya pikir itu akan berjalan dengan natural. Yang pasti [...] saya mau pastikan jangan sampai karena suksesi kemudian organisasi ini menjadi rontok. Saya pikir itu. Karena banyak sekali kejadian seperti itu. Hanya atas nama yang katanya organisasi sehat, tapi kemudian orang baru masuk dan rontok. Kemudian penerima manfaat utamanya itu kemudian menjadi kehilangan teman untuk mendorong perubahan. Dan saya pikir itu buat saya malah tidak bagus." (Marcel, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 13 November 2021).

> **Box 5. Best practices at the organizational level**
>
> CSO 01 focuses on conserving natural resources and developing community entrepreneurship in eastern Indonesia. Entrepreneurship was initiated as an effort to become more independent from donors. CSO 01 works with indigenous people, particularly women and youth, due to their significant role in protecting their land. Women decide on some household considerations, such as selecting food sources, while youths are the future decision-makers in protecting or selling their land. It provides CSO 01 with solid ground from which to further develop its vision and mission while also adapting to local needs. CSO 01 has been gradually improving its organizational and financial system, particularly by conducting an audit process to maintain others' trust.
>
> These strong organizational attitudes have enabled CSO 01 to gain trust and support from various donors. This has included three-year flexible funding that enables them to make required adjustments to finance the community's needs as they appear without having a painstaking process of adjusting their program direction. CSO 01 utilizes the fund to strengthen its vision and significantly improve its working area's food sovereignty through women and youth groups.
>
> Similarly, CSO 02 always strives to ensure high-profile and high-level deliverables while keeping its accountability to gain trust from donors and other stakeholders. CSO 02 considers maintaining high organizational quality crucial; otherwise, international organizations will take the work, keeping the locals as their workers, regardless of their experience and knowledge about the region, indigenous people, and protected areas. As a result, CSO 02 has successfully engaged with various donors to secure flexible grants, enabling them to fill the gap in meeting the communities' needs. One recent example was during the COVID-19 pandemic; they received a significant amount of additional funding support from various organizations to be distributed to the villages in the form of social assistance packages.
> *Source: Authors*

1.2. Management Level: Leveraging Human Resources

In contrast to findings in the organizational level subsection, management-level findings related to human resources do not indicate a clear typology that delineates between foundation-based and network-based organizations. Instead, the research findings show that CSOs tend to conduct open recruitment to obtain the required staff. However, there are also exceptions where specific organizations practice affirmative action (also known as "affirmation") in recruiting members. In the context of the Papuan locality, affirmative action is applied in recruitment processes and capacity building. It means that there is a prioritization of Papuan natives (*Orang Asli Papua* or OAP) in the organizations' recruitment. Most of the CSOs involved in this study emphasized building efficient work teams. To this end, CSOs prefer small teams without too many people but with the capacity and competence to follow the organization's needs. A small team consisting of competent personnel suitable for the organization's structure is desirable.

Human resource strategies ensure that recruitment is effective and supports the organization's needs. This is ensured especially during member recruitment and through capacity building. Currently, CSOs generally carry out open recruitment for staff assigned to day-to-day tasks. Regeneration—the passing on of knowledge to the recruits—is crucial to ensure the organization's sustainability and to maintain its course in realizing its purpose.

"[Organizations are effective if] staff turnover is efficient. For example …If [the director or a member] has indeed been evaluated, for example, her/his performance has slowed down due to other concerns, or there are other matters, s/he is not difficult to replace. That is what is effective so that the achievement can […] continue to run" (Faisal, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 27 November 2021).[12]

Simultaneously, an accountable organizational mechanism must ensure that the activities, outcomes, or strategies work. Recruitment methods are also applied within the local context (see Sharp et al., 2002). Students, for instance, are the main targets for areas close to universities and provide potential human resources to recruit. Therefore, it is not surprising that CSOs located in cities' centers of education in various regions are generally composed of personnel dominated by campus activists, for example, CSOs based around Greater Jakarta (Java), Palangkaraya (Central Kalimantan), as well as Makassar and Palu (Sulawesi). Effective recruitment aims to provide replacements for aging personnel and facilitate the sharing of knowledge and internalizing of organizational values expressed in its vision and mission to the new members.

Table 3. Key themes regarding human resources

Informant	Key insights	Key themes
Angel, Sumatra, CSO, interview, 25 November 2021	Small teams are composed of trusted people who are not only colleagues but friends. This allows conflicts to be resolved effectively through shared understanding, which also permits openness to learning new things and new issues, facilitating adaptation to new conditions.[13]	Trust; friendship; collegiality; conflict resolution
	This must follow the organization's needs. If the organization has many programs, the human resource must follow suit. Therefore, small teams are not suitable; there must be open recruitment and investment in people after the end of the project/program insofar as the organization's funding permits.[14]	Open recruitment; human investment; funding
Wawan, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 17 November 2021	There are enough human resources, but they lack quality. If local officers are competent, the organization can internally recruit its president.[15]	Capacity building

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[12] "[Organisasi itu efektif jika] pergantian orang itu gampang. Misalnya […] Iya [digilir] itu kan untuk direktur. […] [Ini berlaku untuk] semua [level]nya. […] Maksudnya, kalau memang dia sudah dievaluasi, misalnya kinerjanya melambat karena ada perhatian yang lain, atau ada urusan yang lain, ini tidak susah mengganti. Itu yang efektif, supaya capaiannya itu bisa […] terus berjalan" (Faisal, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 27 November 2021).

[13] "Timnya itu tim kecil. Itulah menurut [aku] kekuatannya. […] Ya maksudnya, bukan orang-orang baru juga, gitu kan, [melainkan] orang-orang lama yang kita membangun hubungan juga bukan hanya sebatas rekan kerja, tapi kita sudah teman, gitu kan. […] Jadi, ketika ada gesekan juga jadi lebih mudah untuk dibicarakan. Lalu, saling memahami. [Aku] pikir ya justru itulah kekuatan kita. […] Jadi, ya kalau bicara soal kapasitas, ya tentu memang kita juga selalu terbuka untuk belajar hal-hal tentang isu-isu baru, karena itu kan menjawab kebutuhan ke depan, gitu" (Angel, Sumatra, CSO, interview, 25 November 2021)

[14] "[…] tergantung kebutuhannya ya. Ketika, misalnya, lembaga ini tengah dihadapkan dengan project yang banyak, ya tentunya juga harus relevan juga dengan SDM ya. Tentunya enggak mungkin juga kan kita mengelola beberapa project, tapi hanya mengandalkan lima orang staf ini. […] kalau memang ada kebutuhan, ya kita rekrut gitu. […] Apabila dalam project, kemudian kita lihat lagi selama perjalanan ternyata pasca-project staf ini kayaknya bisa nih [dipertahankan], ya itu kan meskipun project-nya sudah berakhir, kita tetap bisa investasikan untuk mendukung misalnya project yang lain" (Angel, Sumatra, CSO, interview, 25 November 2021)

[15] "Jumlahnya sih sudah oke. Kan gitu, kan? Tapi kualitasnya tuh [belum]–dan ini sumber [daya] kadernya. Jadi, kalau PD-PD [pengurus daerah] kuat, saya yakin itu, bahkan calon presiden itu bisa jadi [dari organisasi kami]" (Wawan, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 17 November 2021).

Freddy, Java, CSO, interview, 2 December 2021	Small teams tend to experience work overload and this necessitates recruitment. Recruitment must be accompanied by internalizing values (ideology) and staving off stigma (e.g. CSOs pay poorly, offer no security, and provocative).[16]	Recruitment as value internalization
Irwan, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 1 December 2021	Effective organizations consist of a small number of board members and many volunteers. Volunteers are mobilized in programs and cooperation, and are prioritized and appreciated. [17]	Volunteerism
Danny, Papua, CSO, interview, 27 November 2021	Effective organizations involve collective leadership, leadership that is not determined by a persona. With or without the director, the organization remains. All members share responsibility for holding the organization's vision.[18]	Collective leadership; system

Source: Authors

Table 4. Key themes regarding recruitment and value internalization (regeneration)

Informant	Key insights	Key themes
Rina, Jakarta, CSO, interview field notes, 15 November 2021	Organizational strength involves having a purpose (ideology), and this requires knowledge sharing and internalizing vision and mission to members. People who have left the organization still retain the values and become volunteers elsewhere and apply them there. Such values can latch on to the notion of the family, becoming an explorer, and emancipation.[19]	Ideology; value; sharing knowledge
Angel, Sumatra, CSO, interview, 25 November 2021	Effective organizations facilitate younger generations taking leadership positions. This is part of the organization's strategy, which extends for generations. The elderly founders and members facilitate the young learning and actualizing their potential. [20]	Generational learning process

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[16] "Walaupun kalau secara jumlah kita kebetulan kekurangan, [...] sehingga banyak yang overload kerjaan. Nah, lebih idealnya lagi berarti harus nambah orang, dengan berbagai tantangannya tadi, ya. Soal ideologi, soal mekanisme perekrutan, terus belum lagi ngomongin soal citra kerjaan di NGO yang gajinya rendah, nggak ada kepastian, terus kerjaannya memprovokasi. Gitu, kan? Citra yang beredar di luar, kan kayak gitu" (Freddy, Java, CSO, interview, 2 December 2021).

[17] "Organisasi–baik badan hukum, yayasan, maupun perkumpulan–saya kira tidak harus banyak orang yang menjadi stafnya toh. Sehingga kan lima tahun terakhir kita coba mulai merubah pendekatan itu. Bahwa yayasan atau perkumpulan cukup diurus lima/enam orang saja, tujuh paling banyak. Yang banyak itu relawan. Relawan dalam artian bahwa ada relawan ketika dalam masa ada program atau kerjasama–relawan tetap prioritas; karena dia sudah [bekerja keras], sebagai bentuk apresiasi ya" (Irwan, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 1 December 2021).

[18] "Organisasi yang efektif itu, kalau direkturnya gampang diganti. [...] Maksudnya, kalau nggak ada dia, tetap pekerjaan jalan. Semua punya tanggung jawab yang sama tentang visi. Termasuk [personel] yang lain-lain juga gitu, jadi gampang bertukar" (Danny, Papua, CSO, interview, 27 November 2021).

[19] 'Kalau kuat, kuat–secara visi, ideologi (kecuali dana). Sharing knowledge kuat; transfer visi–misi juga kuat. Sudah pergi pun, mereka tetap pegang value-nya Organisasi. Relawan Organisasi yang sudah di tempat lain, tetap membawa value dan tetap membantu. Sejak awal ditekankan bahwa Organisasi itu voluntary. Nggak ada duit, makanya harus nyiapin kader. Tekankan pula bahwa "kita keluarga," termasuk mengenal keluarga masing-masing. Tumbuhkan "jiwa petualang." Volunteer jangan sampai terkekang' (Rina, Jakarta, CSO, interview field notes, 15 November 2021).

[20] "Kita juga memikirkan bahwa masa-masa senior-senior ini kan [akan berlalu]. [...] Akan tiba masanya untuk meminta generasi [baru tampil ke depan]. [...] Artinya, itu juga sudah menjadi bagian dari strategi, [...] bagaimana sudah mulai diperkuat, ya, untuk junior-junior agar bisa diestafetkan, kaderisasi. [...] Jadi, itu kan satu hal yang alami sekali ya. [...] Makanya, lebih banyak sih abang-abang ini kan jadinya sebagai tempat untuk diskusi, tempat untuk menimba ilmu, gitu ya. [...] Bagaimana yang muda-mudanya lebih didorong untuk lebih keluar" (Angel, Sumatra, CSO, interview, 25 November 2021).

Danny, Papua, CSO, interview, 27 November 2021	Regeneration is important. Often it is young members that reform and save the organization–this requires processes of value internalization (if not indoctrination).[21]	Youth; leadership; value internalization
Anto, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021	There are periodical reforms and reorganizations, so there is a need for an explicit passing on of knowledge to the next generation of board members. This ensures that the following board members have equal knowledge and advocacy skills. It should be facilitated through education and capacity building.[22]	Periodical reorganization of human resources; education; capacity building
Greg, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 30 November 2021	Effective organizations look at how young members (cadres) develop, including how they carry out cadre-ization among local people.[23]	Regeneration; grassroots learning process

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Source: Authors

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Furthermore, CSOs also carry out various capacity-building efforts to obtain the required human resources, including refresher programs, various internal training, and external training organized by other institutions. In addition, several organizations also provide broad opportunities for their members to undergo further formal education at various universities both domestically and abroad.

Box 6. Recruitment strategy
Broadly, strong and effective CSOs ensure that "regeneration," or the recruitment process, capacity building, and knowledge transfer is implemented. within this process, value internalization is ensured. Efficient CSOs are not affected by high turnover and find it meaningful if any member and director can be replaced without undermining the organization's purpose.
Source: Authors

Box 7. Best practices at the management level
In terms of human resources, small organizations such as CSO 03 tend to work with slim but strong teams. The current team has been working well both in terms of teamwork and interrelations between staff and having strong technical skills. They still lack the numbers, for instance, to organize communities and also to balance the gender count between the team. CSO 03 undertakes several measures to improve the human resourcing process, such as having a probation period and internal personnel evaluation.

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[21] 'Dan kaderisasi itu penting. Yang menyelamatkan [organisasi] itu bukan orang tua, sebenarnya, orang tua kayak saya gini–bukan saya penyelamatnya. Sebenarnya penyelamatnya itu adalah anak muda–[…] generasi ketiga/keempat itu, ini yang menyelamatkan sebenarnya. […] Dia punya semangat, setelah dia masuk masa tiga tahun, dia sudah dapat ideologinya' (Danny, Papua, CSO, interview, 27 November 2021).

[22] "Ya, tentunya kalau kita lihat sebenarnya perlu banyak perbaikan di sana sini, ya. Kenapa saya bilang seperti itu? Karena kan memang di [organisasi kami] sendiri kan tidak berjalan lama, orang-orang yang berada di dalam[nya]. Ada perubahan-perubahan setiap 4 tahun sekali, sehingga memang transformasi informasi atau knowledge management itu memang harus terjadwal dengan baik dan tidak ada hilangnya generasi di antara pengurus-pengurus selanjutnya, gitu. Sehingga memang ketika dalam proses advokasi maupun keilmuan pun setaraf, bahkan teman-teman yang baru harapannya ke depan bisa lebih baik lagi. Seperti itu. Jadi, itu yang harus diperbaiki sebenarnya; proses pola pendidikan dan lain-lain sebagainya" (Anto, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021).

[23] "Di satu sisi, [organisasi kami] itu–sejauh yang saya lihat ya–tidak hanya melihat bagaimana kader aktivis di kampung itu lahir. Tapi bagaimana kadernya sendiri itu berkembang atau tidak. […] Karena itu suatu kesinambungan ya. Bagaimana dia mau mengkader orang di kampung yang latar belakang dan pengalamannya beda dengan dia, kalau dia sendiri juga, sedangkan membuka assalamualaikum saja di kampung lewat diskusi masih gugup. Jadi, itu yang penting. […]" (Greg, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 30 November 2021).

However, they still find it challenging to recruit qualified staff, primarily to ensure the alignment of their shared principles and ideology.

Similarly, CSO 04 also faces a problem of lacking staff, which has created challenges in doing their work. For example, CSO 04 has difficulty conducting media-related activities due to the absence of resources to focus on this particular work. CSO 04 improves its human resourcing by ensuring that recruitment is done openly. This is part of their transparency process, such as through social media, which has helped them ensure there are no conflict of interests between staff. Moreover, CSO 04 has difficulty finding staff with good multi-tasking skills in eastern Indonesia. This are mitigated by ensuring that the staff receive capacity building or support from the existing staff in the organization.
Source: Authors

1.3. Financial Level: Funding and Fundraising

It is common for CSOs to rely on donor institutions to fund their activities, especially in their initial phase (Antlov et al., 2008). All of the CSO representatives we interviewed admitted that much of their funding still comes from international donors. They have not yet experienced the decline of international funding support, especially those focusing on climate change-related issues. There is still ample international funding support from foreign governments and other private foundations for climate change-related work. It is available for CSOs in the key regions worldwide with high biodiversity and forest landscapes important for climate change mitigation strategies, including Indonesia. Some CSO representatives seem to think international funding support for environmental issues will still be available for Indonesian CSOs in the future.

> "Yes; considering the issues—[such as] food security, climate change—especially in Indonesia, the situation is this: if we expect [funding] from donor agencies, it will always be available" (Anto, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021).[24]

However, our participants were aware of the importance of diversifying their funding sources as a crucial strategy to develop strong and effective organizations. They were aware of the possibility that international funding will gradually decrease. They aim to increase funding support from public donations to reduce their dependence on overseas donor institutions. However, it seems that not many we interviewed were successful in collecting donations from the public:

> "Yeah, I cannot say if we will be able to [be self-sufficient]. Even [to] meet operational needs [must] come from another fundraising outside donors. I [...] cannot see that as possible in the current strategic plan, which is only until 2023. However, it is difficult to let go of dependence on donors. For now, especially" (Freddy, Java, CSO, interview, 2 December 2021).[25]

> "Well, if we look at it, the donor support decreases a bit from year to year. Well, that is, of course, related to the actual policy of the donor. [...] We were also warned by donors that there would be changes. Maybe there would be a reduction in support from the donor. Well, our future predictions are correct because of that too. So, now that is the strategy that we are using,

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[24] "Kalau kita lihat berdasarkan isu ya, dengan kondisi isu pangan yang tinggi, terus isu perubahan iklim yang ada khususnya di Indonesia, kondisinya kalau kita berharap dari lembaga donor, itu akan selalu ada" (Anto, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021).

[25] "Ya, aku enggak bisa bilang juga ya, kita akan bisa [mandiri]. Bahkan [untuk] mencukupi operasional saja [harus] dari penggalangan dana lain di luar donor. Itu, aku [...] nggak bisa ngelihat itu sebagai suatu yang mungkin dalam rencana strategis sekarang ini, yang cuma sampai 2023, ya. Tapi, ya agak susah sih melepaskan ketergantungan ke donor ini, ya. Untuk saat ini, terutama" (Freddy, Java, CSO, interview, 2 December 2021).

how to make the existing funds effective so that organizations and communities can also continue to strengthen their capacities and encourage sovereignty in their communities" (Tim, Kalimantan, CSO, 20 November 2021).[26]

"But we are trying to reverse that [donor dependence] through public support. We are currently trying to reverse it through public support. If we reflectively look at [our regional colleague in] Bali, they are upside down. [Our colleague in] Bali has 70% public donations and 30% donors. Well, [...] the difference is that they are a bit easier because it is a tourism area, so raising public donations is easier and faster than areas in other regions. However, it depends on how creative we are in encouraging it. [...] As I said initially, we are starting to try to reverse this, reversing our funding support where the expectation of public support is higher than waiting for donor agencies" (Anto, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021).[27]

Table 5. Key themes regarding the diversification of the sources of funding

Informant	Key insights	Key themes
Wawan, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 17 November 2021	Funding for CSOs working on customary land see the economic opportunity of the legalization of customary land areas for roads. Such massive infrastructure development (13 million hectares of customary land) does not necessarily need to be managed by the state, and it does not have to rely on donor funding. This would require governance that strengthens the economy on the regional and local levels. [28]	Customary land; local economy; governance
Marcel, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 13 November 2021	Establishing corporations (PT) would help organize commodity businesses. Philanthropy funding is available to finance the development of CSO businesses, which involves collecting commodities (e.g. spices) and exporting them to the Netherlands or Saudi Arabia. This commodity business will be one of the organization's strategies for sustainability. [29]	Philanthropy funding; commodity businesses; exporting spices

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[26] "Nah, memang kalau kita lihat, kalau dari tahun ke tahun terhadap dukungan donor itu, memang dia itu agak menurun ya. Nah, itu tentu saja terkait dengan sebenarnya kebijakan di donornya. [...] Dulu kita juga sudah diwanti-wanti oleh donor akan ada perubahan-perubahan, mungkin ada pengurangan dukungan dari donor itu. Nah, prediksi kita ke depan memang benar karena itu juga. Maka, sekarang itu strategi yang kita gunakan, bagaimana sebenarnya mengefektifitaskan dana-dana yang ada sekarang itu sehingga lembaga dan masyarakat juga bisa terus berlangsung untuk memperkuatkan kapasitas dirinya sendiri dan mendorong adanya kedaulatan di masyarakatnya" (Tim, Kalimantan, CSO, 20 November 2021).

[27] "Tapi yang sedang kita upayakan adalah kita membalik [ketergantungan pada donor] itu dengan melalui dukungan publik. [...] Kalau kita mengaca dengan [kolega di] Bali, itu sebenarnya mereka terbalik. [Kolega di] Bali itu 70% donasi publik, 30% dari donor. Nah, [...] bedanya mereka itu kan agak lebih mudah karena wilayah pariwisata, sehingga untuk menggalang donasi publik pun lebih mudah dan lebih cepat, berbeda dengan wilayah di daerah-daerah lain. Tapi kan memang tergantung bagaimana kreativitas kita saja dalam hal mendorong itu. [...] Seperti yang saya bilang di awal tadi memang kita mulai berupaya untuk mencoba membalikkan ini ya. Membalikkan dukungan pendanaan kita di mana harapannya dukungan publik itu menjadi hal yang lebih tinggi daripada menunggu dari lembaga donor "(Anto, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021).

[28] "Kalau [organisasi kami] saja, kalau pemetaan-pemetaan wilayah adat ini jalan, legalisasi wilayah adat jalan, sebenarnya kita akan masuk ke ekonomi [X]. Dan skala ekonomi yang bisa kita bangun [besar], karena dari 13 juta hektar wilayah adat yang sekarang ini, kalau kita serius nih, sebenarnya, [...] kita seriusin saja gitu–enggak usah negara deh–dia mau putus [dari] lembaga donor, mau nggak, gitu ya? Kita kuatkan saja tata kelola, ekonomi di tingkat daerah. Itu yang saya bayangkan ke depan" (Wawan, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 17 November 2021).

[29] "Kebetulan kita sekarang lagi proses mendirikan PT [perseroan terbatas] untuk bisnis komoditi ya dan itu ada funding-nya. Ada funding-nya. Kita sekarang lagi dapat dari filantropi. [...] Ini sudah ada PO [purchase order] untuk ekspor ke Belanda, kemudian ke Arab gitu untuk rempah. Dan itu, bisnis komoditi itu yang kita mau seriusin sebagai salah satu strategi sustainability dari [organisasi kami]" (Marcel, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 13 November 2021).

	Other funding sources could come from the development of coconut oil factories in Sorong and Merauke and taro processing factories (factory-scale production). Large-scale production could help CSOs that Other funding sources could come from the development of coconut oil factories in Sorong and Merauke and taro processing factories (factory-scale production). Large-scale production could help CSOs that have small businesses at the very best, which undermines sustainability.[30]	Factory scale-production; commodity businesses
Anto, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021	Encouraging WKR [Wilayah Kelola Rakyat, Community Management Areas] means working together with communities in producing coffee, woven products, and others. The community agrees that a percentage of their salaries go to advocacy movements in the environmental sector.[31]	Commodity businesses; cooperation with the community; community businesses
Syamsul, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021	Organizations try to get funding from donors and from planting coffee and patchouli. The organization also has land in Balikpapan; the plan is to plant patchouli there. Some investment is expected to realize the plan. [32]	Commodity businesses

Source: Authors

There is increasing awareness among our research participants regarding the option to lessen funding dependence on international donors. One of the most common strategies taken by the CSOs as an alternative source of funding is through cooperation with local communities. Some of them establish environmentally sustainable enterprises. Such a strategy focuses on local products and services that have a competitive advantage and are marketable. The strength of this strategy is that the CSOs work directly with communities and are familiar with their everyday practices. The challenge of this approach lies in the fact that markets fluctuate according to trends and tastes. Meanwhile, community labor processes are predominantly slow-paced and are focused on social bonding.

Others finance environmental work through sustainable businesses, specifically large-scale production and exports. Such a strategy seeks to export local products that are environmentally-friendly. We also received input from an interlocutor in the private sector who shared their experience supporting the development of new social businesses. The strength of this strategy is that it operates within existing market economic logic, with measurable success and calculable interventions. The challenge is that export involves lengthy distribution channels and logistics, which remain largely fossil fuel-based relative to the target market country.

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[30] "Kita juga lagi exercise untuk bangun pabrik minyak kelapa di Sorong sama Merauke, kemudian pabrik pengolahan keladi. Dan kita bicaranya skalanya bukan skala rumah tangga. Kita bicaranya skala pabrik, karena kebiasaan kita selama ini NGO kan kecil-kecil saja, tapi kalau program selesai ya mati juga itu bisnis. Dan itu, saya pikir pengalaman itu enggak mau saya ulangi di [organisasi ini]" (Marcel, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 13 November 2021).

[31] "Nah, saat ini kita juga kan sedang mendorong produk-produk WKR [Wilayah Kelola Rakyat] yang bekerja sama bersama komunitas-komunitas, salah satunya kayak produk kopi, produk anyaman, dan beberapa produk lainnya. Dan di produk-produk itu komitmen bersama yang dilakukan komunitas bersama [organisasi], karena itu juga kebetulan wilayah-wilayah dampingan [organisasi kami] dan kita melakukan pelatihan bersama berkali-kali. Akhirnya mereka setuju, misal kalau dari penjualan mereka berapa persen masuk untuk donasi publikasi gerakan advokasi maupun yang dilakukan oleh [organisasi kami]" (Anto, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021).

[32] "Ya kami punya pikiran kan, sebenarnya, kami kan sedang berusaha–apa ya–[dapat dana] bukan hanya dari donor, gitu, ya, tapi kita mencoba.... Makanya, ini kan kita rencana mau nanam kopi, mau menanam nilam. Jadi, paling tidak itu untuk pendanaan [organisasi] sendiri, begitu. Karena kita ada tanah di Balikpapan juga, rencananya mau kita tanami nilam. Kalau sudah ada yang mau kerja sama, sehektar saja, saya mau kerja sama dengan mereka, begitu. Kayak gitu-gitu rencananya, sih" (Syamsul, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021).

CSO activists, considering their social training and experience, are not necessarily well-equipped to successfully develop start-up businesses. According to our research participant, current CSO activists do not have the adequate diligence and skill sets to establish viable businesses (Jules, Jakarta, private sector, interview, 11 December 2021). Basic understanding regarding commercialization and the traps of market capitalism is needed to assist CSOs working on the environment to maintain their critical standpoint while adjusting their practices and navigating the pitfalls of the market economy.

Simultaneously, more could be explored if they could reach out to their network of young people outside their local constituents. It is with this in mind that we developed the simple survey to explore the values of the donating public in regard to funding effective and strong CSOs.

Our findings show that most CSO businesses, especially those developed in cooperation with local communities, are currently in their early development phase or are yet to be scaled up to provide a significant contribution to CSO funding. However, most of our CSO representatives expressed optimism that their enterprises are promising as future funding sources.

> **Box 8. Funding and fundraising**
> Strong and effective CSOs acknowledge that donor funding is impermanent, thus the diversification of funding sources is one of the key indicators to become relevant and sustainable.
> *Source: Authors*

> **Box 9. Best practices at the financial level**
> Considering the heavy reliance on funding from international donors, the role of intermediary organizations that can help manage funding for smaller organizations has become imperative. CSO 05 started its role as an intermediary for organizations in its area in 1998. It was initially developed with a mission to improve the capacity of these smaller organizations as part of efforts to strengthen the voice of civil society in the region. Ten years later, these organizations have grown and developed, and CSO 05 has continued its role to partner with these organizations while working with other national and international partners. Similarly, CSO 06 has been working with its network organizations in six provinces in Sulawesi.
>
> Considering these organizations' strong networks and experience and their tacit knowledge in managing larger projects, they can strengthen their intermediary roles in distributing funds to smaller organizations in the areas in which they operate.
> *Source: Authors*

1.4. Program Level: Stakeholder Relations

An organization should be able to establish effective communication both among its members and with other stakeholders in the field, especially its fellow CSOs, community, and the government (Shantiko et al., 2021). Effective communication is also required in interactions with the private sector. An organization can nurture trust among its members and other stakeholders with good communication. Participation in a consortium, for example, facilitates communication with other organizations and builds relations with them.

We want to emphasize the problem of "representation" in discussing CSOs' relationships with communities (Safitri, 2016). Importantly, we encourage reflecting on the mechanism with which and the extent to which the voice and agenda of a CSO reflects its partner communities. The research participants agreed that strong and effective CSOs work for the sake of the community. The process of planning, for example, needs to be participative, involving various stakeholders that primarily benefit the community.

> "Then, another important thing that I see missing in many CSOs is communication. Our CSO has a solid communication team to share these good initiatives in Papua. Moreover, most importantly, I said, what was communicated was a community initiative, not our initiative as an organization" (Marcel, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 13 November 2021).[33]

> "[...] who are we? There are staffs; there are organs—there are three organizational components: trustee, founder, and administrators. Moreover, some stakeholders are directly [involved]. For example, the assisted communities represent the two assisted communities that we invite. Some academics attend the Epistemic Community, and at least one/or two people come. When the plan is agreed upon, we consistently oversee it—there are funds and money and evaluation. If we have money, we will use an external evaluator; if we do not have money, at least evaluate ourselves. Furthermore, it must be scheduled; every year must be consistent" (Irwan, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 1 December 2021).[34]

> "So, according to the experience of our CSO so far and after I became its director, what we see as an effective organization is: [1] one that can build strength at the community level. That should be prioritized. Such means that the community must continue to believe in the organization. [...] [2] The second is to be transparent with them and commit to them. That is important" (Tim, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021). [35]

Relationships with the community are established and maintained by living with the community to build good rapport. Some of our CSO peer informants explained that the live-in process is crucial to understanding the local community better and nurturing trust so that they can work together and collaborate with the people. Our interview with government informants also confirmed these views.

> "Ideally, when the CSO builds relations with the community, they should stay with the community. Why? Because if they live with the community, they will understand more and get more of a feel for the community, what their conditions are like, so if, for example, there is a community that is closely related to a culture, they can enter through cultural values, but if for example, that community is more moderate, they can enter with more moderate things" (Tasya, NTT, Government, interview, 8 November 2021).[36]

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[33] "Kemudian, hal penting lainnya juga yang saya lihat luput di banyak NGO itu komunikasi. [CSO kami] punya tim komunikasi yang sangat kuat untuk bagaimana mengkomunikasikan inisiatif-inisiatif baik di tanah Papua ini. Dan yang paling penting juga, saya bilang, yang dikomunikasikan itu adalah inisiatif masyarakat, bukan [CSO] as a organization" (Marcel, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 13 November 2021).

[34] "[CSO kami] itu siapa? Ada stafnya, ada organ-organ–ada tiga komponen organisasi: pengawas, pembina, dan pengurus. Dan ada stakeholder yang langsung [dilibatkan]. Misalnya, masyarakat dampingan, representasi dua masyarakat dampingan yang kita undang. Ada akademisi yang hadir, yang Kaukus Epistemik, minimal ada satu/dua orang yang datang. Ketika perencanaan itu disepakati, kita konsisten mengawal–ada dana dan uang, dan tentu evaluasi. Kalau kita punya uang, pakai evaluator eksternal; kalau kita tidak punya uang, minimal evaluasi diri sendiri ya. Dan itu harus terjadwal; setiap tahun harus konsisten" (Irwan, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 1 December 2021)

[35] "Nah, kalau menurut pengalaman [CSO kami] selama ini dan setelah saya menjadi direkturnya, ya, yang kita lihat itu adalah organisasi yang efektif itu: [1] satu itu adalah organisasi yang sebenarnya mampu membangun kekuatan di tingkat komunitasnya. Itu yang harus diutamakan. Artinya, masyarakat itu harus tetap percaya kepada organisasinya itu, ya. [...] [2] Yang kedua itu transparan juga dengan mereka, komitmen juga dengan mereka. Itu yang penting" (Tim, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021).

[36] "Nah, idealnya CSO itu berelasi dengan masyarakat, sebaiknya dia tinggal dengan masyarakat. Kenapa? Karena kalau dia tinggal dengan masyarakat, dia lebih memahami dan lebih mendapat feel masyarakat itu, kondisi masyarakat itu seperti apa, sehingga kalau misalnya masyarakat itu ada masyarakat yang sangat erat atau lekat dengan budaya, dia bisa masuk lewat nilai-nilai budaya, tapi kalau misalnya masyarakat itu sudah lebih moderat, dia bisa masuk dengan hal-hal yang lebih moderat" (Tasya, NTT, Government, interview, 8 November 2021).

Relationships with academics are crucial. These relationships are mainly directed at producing research that is instrumentalized in the work of CSOs. There are two types of research instrumentalization. The first is research used as a resource in advocacy. The second type encompasses those used to develop marketable commodities for the community. We note that reflexive research that aims to provide broader, long-term social analysis was largely absent in our discussions with our research participants.

> "Relations with academics/universities are excellent. Even now, there exists MoUs with some universities in Sumatra to conduct joint research for participatory mapping and thematic community service program [*Kuliah Kerja Nyata*, KKN] and product development, giving public lectures related to indigenous people and social forestry issues, and community empowerment" (Ridwan, Sumatra, CSO, field note interview, 7 November 2021).[37]

A common theme that emerged among our participants is that CSOs have strong relationships with local communities. However, they differ in their approaches to government and business circles. The research findings indicate that the various CSOs can be categorized into at least two types. The first is CSOs that consider it essential to have good relations and cooperation with the government and/or business circles to perform their activities well in the environment sector; or government/business-friendly CSOs. The second comprises CSOs who consider relationships and cooperation with either stakeholder to be unfeasible, except in rare cases; or government/business-hostile CSOs.

The research findings show that the organization's main activities significantly influence the tendency toward these two types of CSO. CSOs whose main activities are advocacy and whose aim is to transform the nature of the environment sector will tend to be hostile to the government and/or businesses. These CSOs have a tradition of being critical of and less likely to cooperate with the government and businesspeople. To achieve their organizational goals, they maintain communication with the government, even though this communication is offensive (they see this as a means to reprimand the government and safeguard their communities). This is because their achievements rely on a change in government policy (Max, Jakarta, government, interview, 13 January 2022). Effectively, this is based on the CSO's ability to drive changes to specific government policies that align with their organizational objective. Two government officials stated that it depends on the specific CSO's capacity:

> "So, according to our experience, effective advocacy is from the top leader, middle, to the subordinate levels. Why do we propose this? Because sometimes, CSOs only deal with the middle and subordinates, where the top leader leads the middle and subordinates. Now, if the top leader himself is not advocated, it is difficult to make changes in the middle and subordinates. However, if the top leader is well-advocated and has good leadership, those below him will surely follow suit. [Top leader here] is not just echelon two; if necessary, the governor, the regional secretary, the second echelon and their subordinates" (Tasya, NTT, government, interview 8 November 2021).[38]

> "For example, they could meet the President when there is agreement or disagreement. [...] However, [if] the CSOs hope that they would like to see some changes in the government without dialogue, there needs to be another step, namely that the public pressure must be high. If they criticize the government and so on, the public pressure does not appear either, and then

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[37] Hubungan dengan kalangan akademisi/universitas sangat baik. Bahkan saat ini sudah ada MoU dengan beberapa universitas di Sumatera untuk pemetaan partisipatif dan KKN Tematik, dan pengembangan produk, memberikan kuliah umum terkait dengan isu MA (masyarakat adat) dan PS (perhutanan rakyat), pemberdayaan masyarakat (Ridwan, Sumatra, CSO, field note interview, 7 November 2021).

[38] Nah, kalau sepanjang pengalaman kami advokasi yang efektif itu adalah dari level top leader, middle, hingga ke yang bawahan. Kenapa kami mengajukan hal tersebut? Karena terkadang CSO itu berhubungan dengan middle dan bawahan saja, yang di mana middle dan bawahan itu di-leading oleh top leader. Nah, kalau top leader sendiri tidak ter-advokasi, nah itu agak susah melakukan perubahan di middle dan bawahan. Tetapi kalau top leadernya itu ter-advokasi dengan baik dan dia memiliki leadership yang baik, pasti di bawahnya akan mengikuti. [Top leader di sini] tidak sekedar eselon dua; bila perlu gubernur, sekda, baru eselon dua, dan bawahannya" (Tasya, NTT, government, interview 8 November 2021).

it will not have a significant effect. But for those who are willing to have an intensive dialogue [...] that I can say, I identified, they need some significant changes in the government in terms of the policy" (Max, Jakarta, government, interview, 13 January 2022).[39]

Meanwhile, the second type of CSO–stakeholder relations predominantly organizes activities around environmental education and/or community empowerment. Their practices focus on value internalization and maintaining a critical standpoint. They establish good relations and cooperate with the government and/or businesses, even as they maintain their critical standpoint.

> "In my opinion, considering my primary task and function, that is the benchmark. That is why I hope that the indicators for implementing the CSO program are the same—they are already equated with the regional development indicators. So if, for example, it is achieved, it means that the CSO benchmark has succeeded in partnering with the provincial government to achieve the provincial development target. That is all: [...] contribution to the achievement of regional development targets" (Tasya, NTT, government, interview, 8 November 2021).[40]

To align their critical values with government and business stakeholders, these CSOs latch onto market development principles. These principles allow for more direct funding for local communities. In Sumatra, for instance, relations with the government are instrumental for social forestry and community development. In addition, engagement with the private sector is directed not at obtaining funding but at driving corporations to support local communities directly. Research findings also show that the second type of CSO–stakeholder relations tends to be more open to collaboration, especially with the government.

> "Our CSO, in its statute, is not allowed to receive funds from businesses, but it encourages business circles to support the community that is facilitated by it directly. For example, building the Education and Health Center for the indigenous community, community empowerment, and for forestry partnership with indigenous people" (Ridwan, Sumatra, CSO, interview field note, 7 November 2021).[41]

> "The second is how to build cooperation with the government as a policymaker. That is also why it is essential to have capacity and knowledge at the organizational level for lobbying, linguistics. Moreover, how to present, for example, the information needed both in the community and for the government. That is important in the organization. The organization need not be large, but it must be effective, efficient, and commitment matters. [...] Our communication with the key persons in government is close, even though the approach is individual" (Tim, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021). [42]

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[39]"Misalnya, ketika ada setuju-tidak setuju, harus ketemu Presiden. [...] Tetapi, [jika] teman-teman mengharapkan tanpa dialog dan ada perubahan di pemerintahan, itu ada butuh tahapan lagi, yaitu public pressure-nya itu harus tinggi. Kalau hanya sekedar dan mengkritik pemerintah dan lain-lain sebagainya, terus public pressure-nya juga nggak muncul, ya itu juga nggak akan memberikan pengaruh yang signifikan. Nah, tapi bagi teman-teman yang mau melakukan dialog intensif [...] Itu bisa saya katakan, diidentifikasi, bahwa mereka memang membutuhkan sangat signifikan terjadi perubahan di pemerintah dalam hal kebijakan" (Max, Jakarta, government, interview, 13 January 2022).

[40] "Kalau menurut saya, karena tupoksi saya, tolok ukurnya itu ya itu. Makanya saya berharap untuk indikator dari pelaksanaan program CSO itu, sama, disamakan saja sudah dengan indikator pembangunan daerah. Sehingga kalau misalnya dia tercapai, berarti tolok ukur CSO itu berhasil melakukan kemitraan dengan pemerintah provinsi dalam rangka untuk mencapai target pembangunan provinsi. Itu saja sih: [...] kontribusi terhadap pencapaian target pembangunan daerah" (Tasya, NTT, government, interview, 8 November 2021).

[41] "CSO ini, di dalam AD/ART, tidak diperbolehkan menerima dana dari bisnis, tapi mendorong agar kelompok bisnis mendukung langsung ke masyarakat yang difasilitasi. Contoh, untuk membangun Balai Pendidikan dan Kesehatan, untuk pemberdayaan, kemitraan kehutanan" (Ridwan, Sumatra, CSO, interview field note, 7 November 2021).

[42] "Yang kedua juga bagaimana juga membangun kerja sama dengan pemerintah sebagai pengambil kebijakan juga, ya. Itu juga makanya penting yang namanya kapasitas dan pengetahuan di tingkat organisasinya itu dalam rangka untuk lobi, linguisasi, cara menyajikan misalnya informasi-informasi yang dibutuhkan itu baik di masyarakat maupun untuk pemerintah. Itu penting itu di organisasi. Organisasi itu nggak perlu besar, tapi dia adalah efektif, efisien, dan komitmennya yang penting. [...] Karena memang dekat dengan kita proses komunikasinya walaupun pendekatannya secara individu" (Tim, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021).

Throughout the authoritarian rule, CSOs were depoliticized through mobility restrictions and infiltration (Scarpello, 2014). After *Reformasi*, each presidential administration applied distinctive political strategies in relation to CSOs in the environmental sector. A formative historical moment was the establishment of the Presidential Delivery Unit for Development Monitoring and Oversight (*Unit Kerja Presiden Bidang Pengawasan dan Pengendalian Pembangunan*—UKP4) which hosted the REDD+ (Reducing Deforestation and Forest Degradation) ad hoc committee during Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's presidency, led by the technocratic intellectual Kuntoro Mangkusubroto (2009 to 2015). The UKP4 REDD+ ad hoc committee had the political backing to largely professionalize the relationship between state apparatuses and CSOs, and to align state budget funding with international donor support such as US, Australian, and Norwegian aid (Maulidia & Halimanjaya, 2014).

Even though the REDD+ ad hoc body was dissolved by Joko Widodo in 2015, our interviews show a paradigmatic shift among government officials. The professionalized government officials we interviewed saw CSOs as partners in building and strengthening the people's economy and eradicating poverty.

The officials we interviewed claimed they maintain constructive relationships with CSOs. While they recognized that the government and CSOs sometimes have fundamentally different interests on specific environmental issues, they acknowledged that CSOs play critical roles in the development sector, especially in mobilizing and working with communities. One of our government research participants expected that CSOs could bridge government communication with the community and assist them in accelerating development programs and goals. Moreover, our government research participants who work effectively with CSOs choose them strategically based on several characteristics. Specifically, they preferred to work with:

- CSOs with good, clear programs with communities or with extensive knowledge about the communities they represent. CSO experts in the issues they are working on are strategic partners for government officials whose mandates are in the same area.
- CSOs with professional financial management. Specifically, those whose financial reports are accountable and transparent can be aligned with the audit mechanisms of the state budget system. Moreover, professional financial systems make CSOs reliable for the government, specifically in preventing corruption and embezzlement.
- CSOs who are willing to understand and are able to cope with working within an often-complex government bureaucratic system. Both CSOs and reformist government officials are at times oppressed by the exploitative nature of political pressure. CSOs that are open-minded and willing to identify allies, albeit allies of convenience, make effective partnerships in the government sector.
- CSOs who are dedicated to maintaining intensive relationships with the government. This is needed to build trust and long-lasting, meaningful relationships that align the otherwise different objectives of CSOs and government mandates.
- CSOs who are able and willing to provide valuable input and feasible solutions, as a basis for the government to take immediate action to address environmental problems.

Clashes in communication style between government officials and CSOs happen regularly due to different historical developments within larger relationships between the state and civil society (Antlov et al., 2010). This has resulted in traditional norms that government officials and CSO actors adopt. Government officials expect CSOs to use a communication style that is less confrontational and abides by the normative protocols that are widely implemented across state bodies (Tadesse & Steen, 2019). Meanwhile, CSO actors follow a long tradition of critical values and strong advocacy from the authoritarian rule, including perceiving the government as the apparatus of the predatory state (Antlov, Ibrahim & van Tuijl, 2012).

Compared to the relationship between government and CSOs in the environmental sector, the relationship between businesspeople and CSOs is much more limited. Government/business-hostile CSOs are very cautious, at best, and offensive, at worst, towards corporations. Therefore, we selected research participants from the private sector with a CSO past to make sure we could connect the findings back to the purpose of defining effective and strong CSOs within environmental movements. Despite finding few businesspeople in the environment sector willing to participate in the research, we drew valuable insights from them.

We found that our business research participants believed that some level of direct communication would benefit the corporation and activists alike. Along with the mainstreaming of sustainable and environment-based perspectives of doing business among the private sector, communication channels between CSOs and corporations also become more open and diversified.

> "I see the partnership or collaboration doors are getting wider. […] There are still formalities, but the similarity of vision and mission makes us click. [For example] our company is hoping for something, and then the partner or the NGO happens to be an expert in that field. So, there are lots of opportunities that happen by accident. […] It's the same with other companies. […] So, the more people collaborating, the better. […] We used to be addressed [by CSOs] in a rather frontal way. But, now there are very open spaces for discussion, like an informal forum" (Ratna, Jakarta, private sector, interview, 24 November 2021).[43]

Likewise, government/business-friendly CSOs who focus on environmental education and training have a greater chance of working with the private sector than their government/business-hostile counterparts. Our business research participants suggested that CSOs and corporations can work hand in hand in producing programs that are beneficial for communities due to their different resources and competences that can be used in effective collaboration.

> "In general, we view that this cooperation [between business circle and CSOs] is really needed. Well, in this process, there are actually two gaps. First, from the CSO side, then from the company side. In the process, however, we will indeed have more discussions related to what proportions, what domains, which will be worked on. So that means, the CSO works according to its portion, the company also works according to its portion. We're trying to find similarities. […] Usually the perspective that [the company] builds is how our presence, as a business actor, can benefit the affected villages—becomes something of value. Well, we really can't cover it in its entirety—we are indeed limited in terms of manpower, knowledge, and capacity. The role of CSO is very helpful, in terms of experience, methodology, approach, method of analysis. These areas that are not reachable by us, can be reached by CSOs" (Sam, Kalimantan, private sector, interview, 25 November 2021). [44]

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[43] "Jadi makin ke sini, aku melihat bermitra atau pintu kolaborasi semakin luas ya. […] Tetap ada formalitas, tapi lebih kayak kesamaan visi dan misi itu yang bikin kita klik. [Misal] mimpinya perusahaan kita lagi kayak gini, terus kemudian si mitranya atau NGO-nya memang kebetulan dia ahli di bidang itu. Nah itu banyak sekali peluang-peluang, atau kesempatan yang terjalin nggak sengaja gitu, kadang-kadang. […] Perusahaan-perusahaan juga gitu, kita juga enggak sengaja, nawar-nawarin gitu kan. […] Jadi semakin banyak orang yang berkolaborasi itu semakin bagus. […] Kita dulu disampaikan dengan cara yang agak frontal. Nah sekarang ini kan sangat terbuka ruang-ruang diskusi. Jadi misalnya dengan forum ngobrol" (Ratna, Jakarta, private sector, interview, 24 November 2021).

[44] "Secara umum kami memandang bahwa kerja sama ini memang sangat diperlukan. Nah, dalam prosesnya memang ini kan ada dua gap. Pertama, dari sisi CSO, kemudian dari sisi perusahaan. Dalam prosesnya, begitu, kita memang lebih banyak diskusi terkait dengan proporsi-proporsi apa, domain-domain apa, yang kira-kira akan dikerjakan. Jadi artinya, CSO mengerjakan sesuai porsinya, kemudian perusahaan juga mengerjakan sesuai porsinya. Kita mencoba untuk mencari persamaan-persamaan, begitu ya. […] Biasanya kan perspektif yang dibangun [perusahaan] adalah bagaimana kami, sebagai pelaku usaha, paling tidak [bagi] desa-desa yang terkena dampak, ini menjadi bernilai lah. Nah, memang tidak bisa mengcover secara keseluruhan–kita memang terbatas dari sisi man power, kemudian pengetahuan juga terbatas, kemudian kapasitas juga terbatas. Nah, ini peran CSO sangat membantu sekali, dari sisi pengalaman, metodologi, pendekatan, cara analisa. Nah, jangkauan-jangkauan yang tidak terjangkau oleh kami ini, dapat dijangkau oleh CSO" (Sam, Kalimantan, private sector, interview, 25 November 2021).

Table 6. Key themes regarding CSOs' relations with government and the private sector

Informant	Key insights	Key themes
Rahmat, Java, CSO, interview, 4 November 2021	There is a value spectrum (moderate to progressive) that is applicable to multiple actors (activists, professionals, etc.). Some issues are championed by, for example, moderate [professionals] as they do not bode well with progressive activists and vice versa. But the decision to take action is made by the organizations and actors.[45]	Division of labor
Lucky, Sumatra, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021	The government is the implementer of the regulations, and interactions as well as partnerships are inevitable. There are actors whose interests align with those of CSOs.	Government relations
	Partnerships with corporations with a common sustainability agenda is possible.[46]	Corporate engagement
Syamsul, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021	Partnership with the local government is important for indigenous people's recognition.[47]	Local government partnership
Faisal, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 27 November 2021	Local government partnerships can develop through becoming consultants for the development of national parks.[48]	Local government partnership
Robertus, Papua, CSO, interview, 17 November 2021	The micro-economy agenda of local governments could align with customary law and the needs of indigenous communities, specifically in eastern Indonesia.[49]	Local government partnership; micro-economy

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[45] "Sumber daya manusia di organisasi, misalnya, ada yang moderat, ada yang progresif–ada yang bukan aktivis, ada yang sekadar kerja. Itu mungkin di [CSO kami] menjadi hal yang patut disyukuri. Misalnya, proyek itu berkenaan dengan hal yang mungkin tidak disukai di kalangan yang progresif, maka yang mengerjakan yang moderat. Pun sebaliknya. [...] Secara institusi [CSO kami] diuntungkan dengan itu. Jadi, kemudian taktiknya begitu: untuk program pemerintah, bukan saya yang mengerjakan, [tapi] yang mengerjakan adalah teman yang cenderung punya kedekatan dengan pemerintah. Jadi, untuk yang cenderung progresif, mungkin saya yang mengerjakan. [...] Jadi soal titipan atau tidak, kontrolnya sebetulnya ada di lembaga" (Rahmat, Java, CSO, interview, 4 November 2021).

[46] "Pemerintah itu kan pelaksana regulasi ya. Jadi, sebenarnya suka nggak suka ya kita harus libatkan itu saja sebenarnya. [...] Kita juga bukan lembaga yang mau berseberangan dengan pemerintah, ya kita intens bekerja sama dengan mereka. Nah, terutama di level tapak. Karena di level tapak, pemerintah itu [...] orang-orangnya memang pure mau kerja ya. Artinya, secara passion itu ketemu sebenarnya, chemistry-nya ketemu dengan kita. Karena mereka juga enggak ada kepentingan.

"[CSO kami] bukan anti perusahaan. Tapi kami juga, untuk kerja sama dengan perusahaan itu juga enggak menjadi opsi ya. Artinya, kalau misal terima uang dari mereka, kita pilihannya enggak. Tapi kalau misalnya, konteks menyelesaikan konflik oleh karena perusahaan, ya kita intens koordinasi sama mereka, nggak masalah" (Lucky, Sumatra, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021).

[47] 'Nah, sekarang juga di daerah, di provinsi, tetap kami jalani juga [kerja sama dengan pemerintah]. Kalau dulu memang kami tidak mau. Dulu awal-awal, itu tidak mau. Tapi saya berpikir, "Mau sampai kapan?" Kalau gitu nggak akan ada pengakuan masyarakat adat, enggak ada pengakuan hutan adat. Maka, mulailah tahun 2016 itu mulai kami mendekati Pemda' (Syamsul, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021).

[48] "Ya ada kami kerjakan [proyek] pemerintah sekarang. Kami jadi konsultan di wilayah Taman Nasional" (Faisal, Sulawesi, CSO, interview, 27 November 2021).

[49] 'Sejak awal ketika kita membangun "Kamar Adat" itu kebetulan saya waktu itu yang mendesain dan menjadi fasilitator. Itu sejak tahun 2012 ya kita bangun itu. Itu berlanjut sampai hari ini. Saat ini mereka lebih masif lagi. Didukung oleh pemerintah daerah untuk mendukung ekonomi mikro di tingkat kampung, di tingkat masyarakat adat. [...] Jadi, [CSO kami] mengasistensi mereka [masyarakat adat] untuk masuk ke sana' (Robertus, Papua, CSO, interview, 17 November 2021).

| Lois, NTT, CSO, interview, 28 November 2021 | One of the entry points for government relations is data accuracy that could be provided by CSOs who carry out research.[50] | Evidence-based advocacy |

Box 10. CSOs program management and stakeholder relations
There are two types of CSOs within environmental movements regarding their relationship with the government and/or businesspeople: those who are hostile and those who are friendly. the former focuses on advocacy, and the latter focuses on education and training. notably, the latter type can partner with the government and businesspeople while maintaining and transforming their critical standpoint.
Source: Authors

Box 11. Best practices at the program level: stakeholder relations
Various organizations consider extending and maintaining multi-stakeholder partnerships, which is key to implementing their activities, As an example, CSO 07 views its main activities as building solidarity and alignment between stakeholders, mainly CSOs and the government. CSO 07 regularly extends invitations to relevant organizations and involves them as resource persons or facilitators. CSO 07 also carries out community engagement, such as having local facilitators from the area or having the local facilitators stay in their village for several weeks. They have also supported the legal drafting process for formulating local regulations (PERDA) to acknowledge and protect indigenous people and the local house of representatives (DPRD). This work also involves legal scholars from the local state university to help with the legal drafting.

For CSO 02, this stakeholder engagement is formalized as a forum for development partners working in eastern Indonesia. This engagement was initiated during an international conference on a specific topic of environmental sustainability. CSO 02 supported the Provincial Government in mobilizing and facilitating the involvement of CSOs in the conference. The conference resulted in a jointly-developed declaration endorsing a shared view regarding land and determination. This initiative is continued with regular bi-annual discussions between stakeholder development partners. One of CSO 02's objectives is to work closely with the local government and provide the necessary support, such as facilitating the process or providing technical assistance.
Source: Authors

1.5. Exploring the Donating Public

This subsection was developed according to several considerations. Firstly, we began from the understanding that international funding support to CSOs in the Global South is declining (Parks, 2008). Secondly, we understand that CSOs in Indonesia's environmental sector were established in distinctive historical periods (Fünfgeld, 2020). Those that have experience of authoritarian rule and after the later regimes, as well as the composition of their founders, members, legal status, and communities, have specific views on the government and businesspeople. Thirdly, we acknowledge that there is a

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[50] 'Apa yang dibicarakan [CSO kami] tuh tepat dan selalu punya data. [Ini] salah satu yang selalu dibilang [oleh Pemda], "Oh, [CSO kami] datanya selalu akurat." Dan menurut beta itu sih satu hal fundamen yang harus dipertahankan, bahwa ketika kita berargumen itu argumennya tepat, runut, evidence-nya memang tak terbantahkan' (Lois, NTT, CSO, interview, 28 November 2021).

shift towards market developmentalism (Hailey & Salway, 2016) as a way to maintain sustainability and transform according to the needs of communities and the wider public. Thus gaining public funding support is instrumental for the long-term sustainability of CSOs in Indonesia. Therefore, this subsection aims to enrich our understanding of the donating public's expectations of CSOs working on the environment. It answers the research sub-question "How does the donating public understand strong and effective CSOs?" We do not provide best practices in this subsection as it is exploratory in character.

One of the working propositions of this subsection is that in order for CSOs to obtain public support, especially in fundraising activities, the values of CSOs need to be aligned with the values of the public (Teasdale & Dey, 2019). We carried out an exploratory online survey (Stebbins, 2001) to identify some values held by the public that motivate them to make contributions to environmental movements and activities.

We purposefully selected (Lavrakas, 2008) survey informants who reached adulthood after the Reformasi period (1998 to today) who have recently donated for environmental purposes. The purpose of this was to capture the paradigmatic shift (from state-led economic developmentalism to market developmentalism) that has occurred through multiple actors in the environmental sector. A total of 109 respondents were involved in this survey, consisting of 54 women and 55 men. All of them were aged between 18 and 32 years old and had a minimum of high school-level education. The strength of the exploratory online survey is that it is efficient, timely, and effective. The weakness of this method is that it came to be concentrated in the more industrialized island of Java where there are more stable internet connections. Thus 94 informants (88%) were based in Java, while the remaining few were from Sumatra (7 informants, 6%), Sulawesi (3 informants, 3%), Nusa Tenggara and Bali (2 informants, 2%), and Papua (1 informant, 1%). However, it is arguable that these numbers reflect the country's donating public: unevenly distributed and representative of larger wealth and social inequalities.

We first explored what specific topics within larger environmental issues the donating public is concerned about. We asked them about their general knowledge of environmental causes that Indonesian CSOs are working on, allowing for multiple responses (informants could choose more than one topic). We found that three issues are of the utmost concern for the public: natural disasters (79% of respondents), pollution (66%), and waste (65%).

Figure 2. Environmental issues of public concern
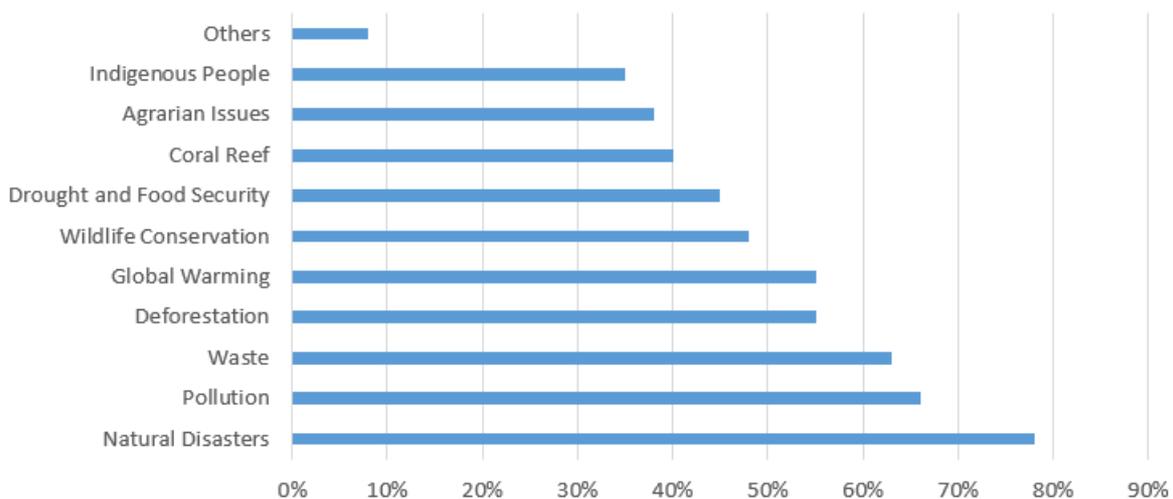
Source: Authors

We note that natural disasters are associated with the environment by the donating public. Thus, fundraising activities for natural disaster relief are becoming commonplace in Indonesia (Sidiq et al., 2021). They are carried out by CSOs and other organizations, such as student organizations, religious organizations, and even other ad hoc groups (Mulyasari & Shar, 2012). This can be seen following the last major disaster that coincided with this research period, namely the eruption of Mount Semeru in East Java on 4 December 2021. Although they occasionally manage disaster relief, it is uncommon for CSOs in Indonesia's environmental sector to specifically work on natural disaster management.

However, there is a consensus among CSOs that the worsening of natural disasters in recent decades is closely related to environmental damage from long-standing human activities, particularly in regions with intensive logging or extractive industries (Lang, 2002). The donating public also seems to understand this relationship. Thus it can be said that while environmental CSOs do not specifically focus their agendas on dealing with natural disasters, they can operate their fundraising campaigns under the working logic that disasters are inextricably related to environmental degradation.

It should also be noted that natural disasters are fundamentally different from environmental issues, although they are increasingly related (Ibarraran et al., 2009). Environmental issues such as pollution, waste, and deforestation (including the floods caused by it) are problems accumulated over a long time and are primarily caused by economic and political decisions (Ibarraran et al., 2009). Conversely, natural disasters such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and floods result from tectonic shifts and have immediate repercussions (Ibarraran et al., 2009). Because of their massive and sudden impact on people, especially given intense media coverage, natural disasters quickly grab the public's attention and encourage them to make donations.

Likewise, the survey found that in response to the question "To which environmental issues have you donated?" the donating public predominantly thought of natural disasters. The top three environmental issues they donated to were natural disasters (84%), pollution (21%), and waste (21%). Informants were permitted to enter multiple answers to the question.

Figure 3. Environmental issues receiving public donations
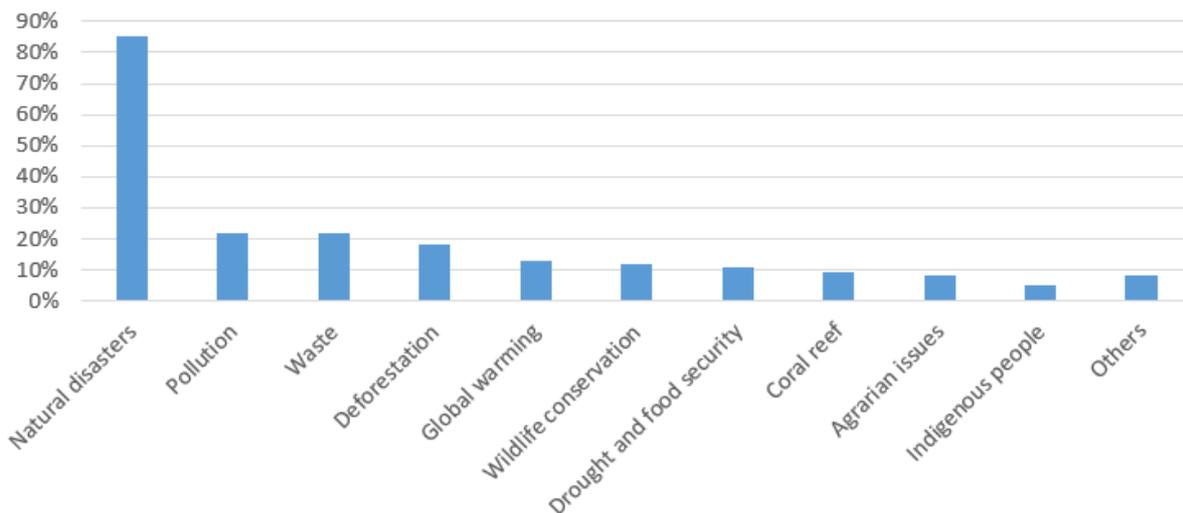
Source: Authors

Despite the fundamental difference between natural disasters and environmental issues, the donating public conflated the two, as seen in the survey results. Our research subjects also confirmed that the general public's donations are more charitable (i.e. helping those in need) than philanthropic (i.e. concerned about general welfare). Thus topics like natural disasters attract public funding support. To learn more about this matter, we asked what the motivations for donating to environmental issues were (single answers). The results show that the primary motivations are to realize environmental sustainability (32%), humanitarian motivations, usually in the form of natural disaster relief (28%), and contributing to environmental conservation efforts (20%).

Figure 4. Motivation to donate toward environmental issues
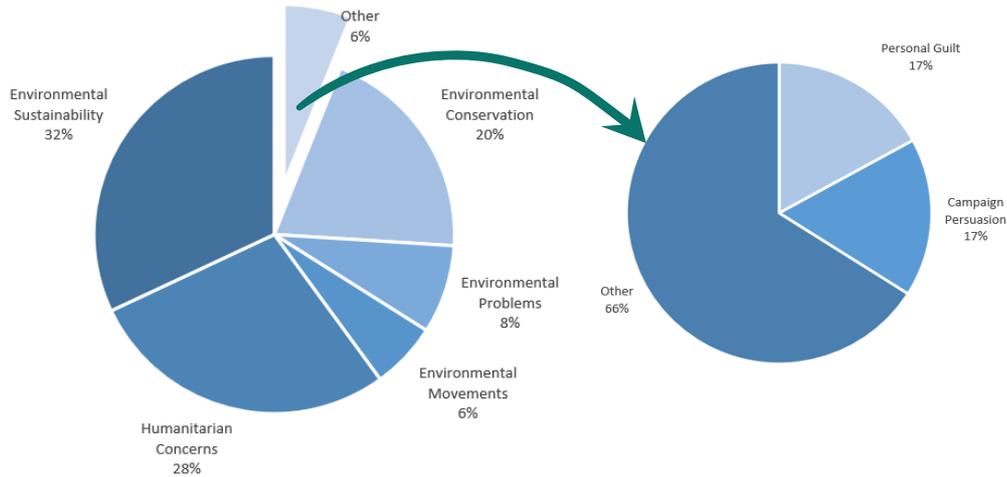
Source: Authors

We also explored the media channels that are the donating public's main sources of information on environmental issues (multiple answers). The three channels that mostly deliver environmental information to respondents are social media (85%), websites (59%), and seminars/public discussions (39%).

Figure 5. Sources of information about environmental issues
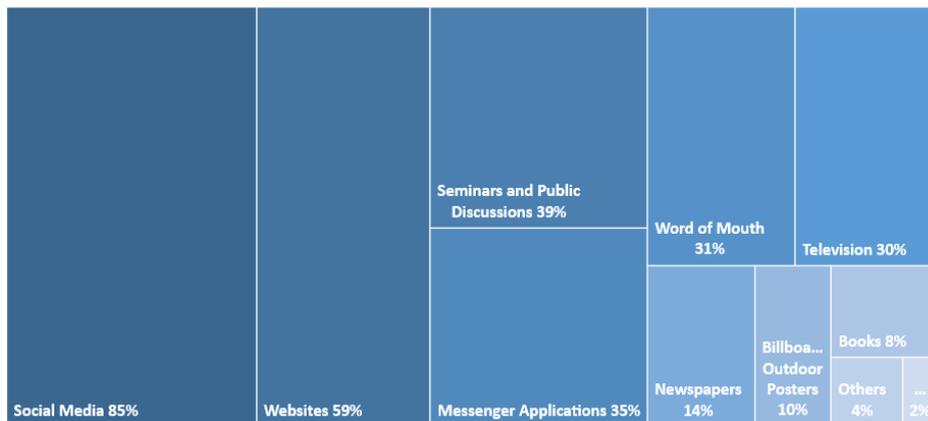
Source: Authors

The survey result shows that the public actively contributes to specific environmental issues, despite their varied motivations. To get a clearer picture of whether the existence of CSOs is taken into account by the public in making donations, we asked whether they are more likely to donate solely because of their view on the issue, whether they take into account the organizations working on the issue, or both. The result shows that 46% of the informants were more likely to donate to current issues or events.

Usually, this would be an environmental disaster like an earthquake, flood, or volcanic eruption, compared to only 9% who were more likely to make donations to certain CSOs working on environmental issues.

Figure 6. Donating toward environmental issues

Donating to CSOs
9%

Donating to CSOs and/or towards current issues
45%

Donating towards current issues
46%
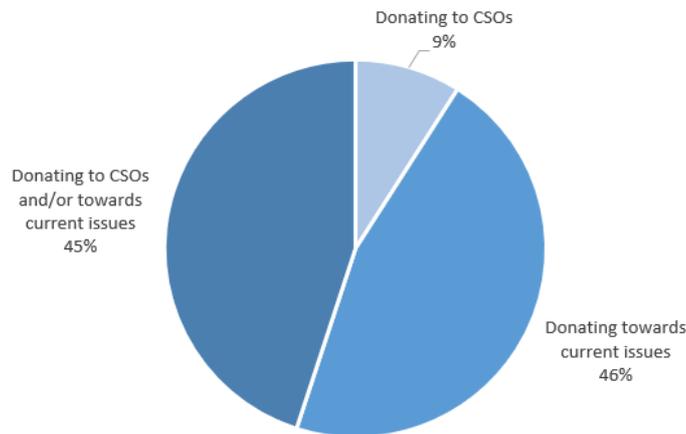
Source: Authors

Based on the findings, for the donating public, it is less about donating to a strong and effective CSO than it is about whether or not they are working on a current issue they want to donate to. Thus, based on available data, it is impossible to conclude whether strong and effective CSOs will be more likely to attract public support. The public is more likely to make donations to respond to current events reported by the media and discussed on social media. Even if they consider the CSOs who are raising donations, their primary reason is their familiarity with the CSOs (further research is needed to confirm this).

Having said that, the survey results do explore the donating public's views on a strong and effective CSO. We asked them their definition of a CSO that is effective in fighting environmental issues (open-ended answer). The respondents' answers varied widely, but we grouped them into organizational, management, financial, and program characteristics based on their core message. We used the definitions of strong and effective CSOs as we described in subsection 1.1. to 1.4. to align the meaning between CSOs, government, businesspeople, communities, and the donating public. The data collected from these four levels shows that public attention in identifying effective CSOs focuses on the program (48%) and organizational levels (28%).

Figure 7. The donating public's definition of strong and effective CSOs in the environmental sector

Management Level
5%

Financial Level
2%

Organization Level
28%

Program Level
48%

Other Level (Undefined)
17%
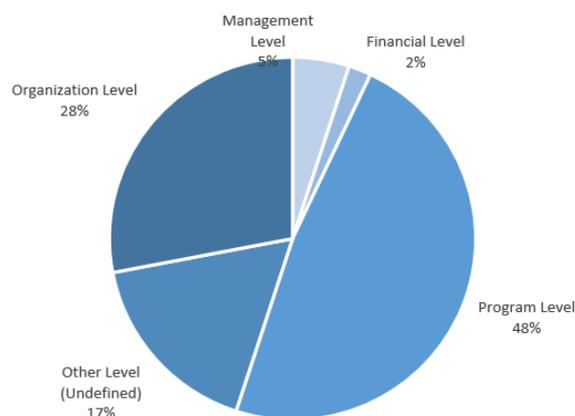
Source: Authors

At the organizational level, the most frequent characteristics of a strong and effective CSO mentioned by our respondents were being committed (37%), consistent (20%), and voluntary (7%). Each of the remaining characteristics was mentioned only once in our survey. At the program level, the most frequent characteristics of a strong and effective CSO were practicing advocacy for better environment-based policies (15%), building public awareness of environmental issues (13%), being impactful (10%) and close to the community (10%). We describe these characteristics according to our respondents and their percentage in the following tables.

Table 7. Characteristics of strong and effective CSOs at the organizational level

No.	Characteristics	Description	Frequency
1	Committed	"Committed to fighting for balance in utilizing and maintaining the sustainability of natural resources without destroying them." [51]	11 (37%)
2	Consistent	"Consistent in their struggle." [52]	6 (20%)
3	Voluntary	"Voluntarily providing services to the general public without the aim of profiting from its activities." [53]	2 (7%)
4	Aware of its environment Care	"Aware of its surrounding environment." [54]	1 (3%)
5	Dedicated	"Care for humankind and nature." [55]	1 (3%)
6	Fight for justice	"Aimed at providing satisfying services, including for environmental causes." [56]	1 (3%)
7	Critical	"Fight for environmental justice." [57]	1 (3%)
8	Work internationally	"Critical to the current political economy system." [58]	1 (3%)
9	Free of political interest	"Protect nature not only in Indonesia, but also globally." [59]	1 (3%)

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[51] "Berkomitmen memperjuangkan adanya keseimbangan dalam memanfaatkan, merawat keberlanjutan dari sumber daya alam tanpa merusak" (Informant #5, survey, 21 January 2022).

[52] "Konsisten dalam perjuangannya" (Informant #12, survey, 21 January 2022).

[53] "Secara sukarela yang memberikan pelayanan kepada masyarakat umum tanpa bertujuan untuk memperoleh keuntungan dari kegiatannya" (Informant #54, survey, 21 January 2022).

[54] "Sadar akan lingkungan di sekitarnya" (Informant #82, survey, 21 January 2022).

[55] "Peduli antar sesama manusia, peduli pada lingkungan" (Informant #87, survey, 21 January 2022).

[56] "Diperuntukkan atau ditujukan untuk memberikan kepuasan melalui pelayanan yang diberikan secara memuaskan, termasuk di bidang lingkungan" (Informant #86, survey, 22 January 2022).

[57] "Memperjuangkan keadilan dalam bidang lingkungan" (Informant #77, survey, 22 January 2022).

[58] "Kritis terhadap sistem ekonomi politik saat ini" (Informant #101, survey, 21 January 2022).

[59] "Menjaga lingkungan tidak hanya di Indonesia tapi juga International" (Informant #21, survey, 21 January 2022).

10	Free of political interest	"Actively moves without political influences."[60]	11 (37%)
11	Prioritizing nature	"Prioritizing nature as the foundation of the movement."[61]	11 (37%)
12	Responsible	"Responsible for nature."[62]	11 (37%)
13	Vehicle for common interest	"As an arena to consolidate common interests."[63]	11 (37%)
14	Visionary	"Sustainable, relevant, and visionary."[64]	11 (37%)

Source: Authors

Table 8. Characteristics of strong and effective CSOs at the program level

No.	Characteristics	Description	Frequency
1	Advocacy	"Encourage the government to implement pro-environment policies."[65]	8 (15%)
2	Build awareness	"Can persuade the wider community to play an active role."[66]	7 (13%)
3	Impactful	"There are impacts that can be seen and reported to the public."[67]	5 (10%)
4	Close to community	"Directly reach the community with a direct approach."[68]	5 (10%)
5	Communicative	"Can correctly frame environmental issues."[69]	4 (8%)
6	Problem solver	"Focus on problem solving to contribute to nature."[70]	4 (8%)
7	Concrete action	"Giving concrete proof as to the results of its activities."[71]	4 (8%)
8	Mobilize the public	"Inspire people to be involved in the movement."[72]	3 (6%)

[60] "Bergerak aktif tanpa pengaruh politik"(Informant #67, survey, 21 January 2022).

[61] "Memprioritaskan isu lingkungan sebagai dasar gerakan yang diperjuangkan" (Informant #64, survey, 21 January 2022).

[62] "Bertanggung jawab terhadap lingkungan"(Informant #80, survey, 21 January 2022).

[63] "Sebagai arena […] untuk memajukan kepentingan bersama" (Informant #29, survey, 21 January 2022).

[64] "Berkelanjutan, relevan, dan visioner" (Informant #105, survey, 22 January 2022).

[65] "Mendorong pemerintah menerapkan kebijakan-kebijakan yang pro lingkungan" (Informant #6, survey, 21 January 2022).

[66] "Dapat mengajak masyarakat lebih luas dalam berperan aktif" (Informant #23, survey, 21 January 2022).

[67] "Ada dampak yang bisa dilihat dan di-report ke publik" (Informant #72, survey, 21 January 2022).

[68] "Langsung menjangkau masyarakat dengan pendekatan langsung" (Informant #97, survey, 21 January 2022).

[69] "Bisa mengatasi dan framing dengan tepat tentang isu-isu lingkungan" (Informant #22, survey, 21 January 2022).

[70] "Berfokus dalam suatu masalah, dapat menyelesaikan masalah tersebut, dan berdampak baik dengan lingkungan" (Informant #68, survey, 21 January 2022).

[71] "Ada bukti nyata dari kegiatan yang dilakukan" (Informant #99, survey, 22 January 2022).

[72] "Bisa membuat orang terinspirasi untuk bergerak" (Informant #34, survey, 21 January 2022).

9	Collaborative	"Together with people protecting nature."[73]	2 (4%)
10	Contribute	"Can make a real contribution to make a change in environmental issues."[74]	2 (4%)
11	Effective campaign	"Actively spreading information as campaign material about the importance of nature conservation."[75]	2 (4%)
12	Empowering	"Engage in community development."[76]	2 (4%)
13	Complement state function	"Complementary and substitutive to state's function in improving social well-being."[77]	1 (2%)
14	Focus	"Focused on the use and conservation of nature."[78]	1 (2%)
15	Participatory	"Involving local communities in their program implementation."[79]	1 (2%)
16	Technician	"Work as a technical implementer of development."[80]	1 (2%)

Source: Authors

Meanwhile, at the management level, our respondents mentioned being organized, having regular evaluations, practicing data-based management, and transparency as characteristics of strong and effective CSOs. However, their frequency was insignificant, considering that only being "organized" was mentioned more than once. In total, these management-level characteristics were mentioned only five times. A similar finding is seen at the financial level. Only two respondents conveyed their opinion on the characteristics of a strong and effective CSO in terms of financial matters, namely having clear funding mechanisms and providing funding access.

Finally, the survey findings show that the public pays more attention to the organizational and program levels when defining strong and effective CSOs, rather than the management and financial levels. Programmatically, communities directly feel CSOs' presence and impact through their programs. Organizationally, CSO values are delivered through public appearances and campaigns. However, the characteristics at the management and financial levels are more internal to the organization and rarely visible to the public. Thus this finding does not suggest that the management and financial levels are less critical, just that they are less visible to the public.

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[73] "Bersama masyarakat membangun bela rasa melindungi alam semesta" (Informant #41, survey, 22 January 2022).

[74] "Dapat berkontribusi nyata dengan lingkungan dan ada perubahan dalam isu lingkungan tersebut" (Informant #89, survey, 21 January 2022).

[75] "Aktif membagikan tulisan dan informasi sebagai bahan kampanye akan pentingnya pelestarian lingkungan" (Informant #49, survey, 21 January 2022).

[76] "Turut dalam pemberdayaan masyarakat" (Informant #37, survey, 21 January 2022).

[77] "Pelengkap sekaligus substitusi dari fungsi negara dalam mewujudkan cita-cita negara, yaitu kesejahteraan" (Informant #106, survey, 16 January 2022).

[78] "Terfokus pada pemanfaatan dan pelestarian lingkungan" (Informant #63, survey, 22 January 2022).

[79] "Melibatkan masyarakat lokal dalam implementasi program" (Informant #103, survey, 22 January 2022).

[80] "Sebagai pelaksana teknis [pembangunan]" (Informant #13, survey, 21 January 2022).

FINDING 2: The Contribution of Diversity and Social Inclusion to CSO Effectiveness

As suggested by our findings, "diversity" as perceived by Indonesian CSOs working on the environment, is a construct that primarily covers ethnicity, religion, and gender elements. Ethnicity and religion are crucial categories in looking at diversity in the Indonesian context, given that its population consists of hundreds of different ethnic groups (Antlov, Ibrahim & van Tuijl, 2012). Often, this ethnic identity is also intertwined with specific religious identities so that the two cannot be rigidly separated in actual social practices. As for diversity in the context of gender, the tendency is to provide more space for women's participation, considering that patriarchal culture is still deeply rooted in most communities.

Our findings show that diversity is crucial in shaping a strong and effective organization. Our findings suggest that the more inclusive and open an organization is, the more effective it will be in carrying out its tasks and pursuing its agenda.

> "So far, what we have experienced and felt is that diversity actually strengthens the effectiveness of programs and strengthens institutions as well" (Tim, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021). [81]

> "Yes, I am Javanese myself, … that is how it is. However, our obstacle is not internal, related to that background, but externally. […] For us, that is because it is […] in our organization's values—pluralism. So, it [diversity] strengthens us. So, our point of view is not only on one side of ethnicity or one side of social background. So, it can enrich us in the campaign process and in our organization's work, of course" (Anto, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021). [82]

In addition, embracing diversity also facilitates the building of good relations with other organizations.

> "And one thing, we are then connected with all organizations. [We are] easy to interact with all those diversity-based organizations. So, we are members of Indonesia Inclusion, we are members of gender organizations, we are members of the New Men, joined in disability, Youth and Religion, related to diversity" (Paul, NTT, CSO, interview, 21 November 2021). [83]

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[81] "Kalau kita selama ini, yang kita alami dan saya rasakan, memang dengan keberagaman itu semakin sebenarnya memperkuat efektivitas program ya, dan lembaga juga, dan memperkuat lembaga juga" (Tim, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021).

[82] "Iya, saya sendiri kan sukunya Jawa, Bang, gitu. Tapi memang kendala kita bukan di internal sebenarnya, terkait latar belakang itu, tapi di eksternal. […] Kalau untuk kami sendiri kan memang karena itu ada […] di nilai-nilainya [organisasi kami]–pluralisme itu. Jadi, [keberagaman] itu memang sebenarnya memperkuat kami sendiri. Jadi, sudut pandang kami bukan hanya kepada satu sisi etnis maupun satu sisi latar belakang, gitu. Jadi, bisa memperkaya kami dalam proses kampanye maupun di dalam kerja-kerja [organisasi]-lah tentunya" (Anto, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021).

[83] "Dan satu hal tuh, kami kemudian terhubung dengan semua organisasi, ya. Mudah berinteraksi dengan semua organisasi yang berbasis keberagaman itu. Jadi, kami tergabung di Indonesia Inklusi, kami tergabung di organisasi gender, kami tergabung di Laki-Laki Baru, tergabung di disabilitas, Pemuda dan Agama, terkait dengan keberagaman, ya" (Paul, NTT, CSO, interview, 21 November 2021).

The definition of strong and effective CSOs involves embracing the diversity of their constituents, especially in terms of religion and ethnicity. Most of our research subjects suggest that embracing diversity, both in its staffing and in the community in which it works, is instrumental in facilitating the achievement of the organization's goals, particularly at the level of program formulation and implementation.

> "Our institution works with indigenous peoples in various locations, each with its character. That is carried away. Internally, diversity is good. Our people/volunteers are from various ethnic groups and regions. They are very important for programs in the field" (Rina, Jakarta, CSO, interview field note, 15 November 2021).[84]

> "But for effectiveness, [diversity] is very, very, very [important]. Because we can take pictures of all the needs [...] Indeed, this is one of the things that, our heavy responsibility is to strengthen the capacity of human resources so that all diversity issues are understood. [...] Well, that's still a challenge" (Paul, NTT, CSO, interview, 21 November 2021).[85]

Based on the organizations' behavior regarding diversity and social inclusion, we can classify them into three types: those who are indifferent, accommodative, and affirmative. Keep in mind that this classification is not exclusively categorical, but rather gradual in nature. In other words, those three types of organization need to be understood as existing in a spectrum and are different from one another due to the differences in their approaches in embracing the element of diversity. None of the CSOs we studied set aside diversity or perceive it simply as unimportant.

The first type of CSO, that of the "indifferent" category, in spite of their openness to diversity tend to prioritize effectiveness over the need to encourage diversity in the organization, particularly in personnel composition. They tend to focus on their goals and consider diversity or social inclusion in their organization as important only if it serves the goals.

> "The point is, they want to work, don't they? Even if people always say, there must be gender, there must be this or that, all kinds of things, but when the institution becomes noisy, what do you do? Is that so? I'm not anti-women, I'm not anti-men, or I'm not anti-anything. But in my opinion, if you are in one institution, you keep saying, 'Your institution should be this, A, B, C, D, all kinds of things,' but in my opinion, if an institution forced to do so, but after that they are just a barrier, they don't do anything, why should we take it? So, it doesn't matter. Who they are, women, men, or whatever, any kind of transgender, as long as you want to work, right? Right, actually, my question is simple. Why should there be that? That's why I refused a foreign donor. Because you have to follow something. It's up to my institution. I'm a local person, while you give only a small amount of money, but it has to be A, B, C, D, and all kinds of things" (Syamsul, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021).[86]

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[84] Organisasi kami bekerja dengan masyarakat adat di berbagai lokasi yang masing-masing punya karakter sendiri. Itu kebawa. Di internal, keberagaman jadi bagus. Orang/relawan kami dari macam-macam suku dan daerah. Mereka sangat penting untuk program-program di lapangan (Rina, Jakarta, CSO, interview field note, 15 November 2021).

[85] "Tapi untuk efektivitas, [keberagaman] sangat, sangat, sangat [penting]. Karena ketong bisa memotret semua kebutuhan, ya. [...] Memang ini salah satu yang, ya, tanggung jawab berat kami untuk memperkuat kapasitas SDM sehingga semua isu-isu keberagaman nih paham. [...] Nah, itu juga yang masih jadi tantangan, kebetulan" (Paul, NTT, CSO, interview, 21 November 2021).

[86] 'Intinya, mereka mau kerja, enggak? Walaupun seandainya orang selalu bilang, harus ada gender, harus ada ini, apa, segala macam, tapi ketika di lembaganya jadi ribut saja, ngapain juga? Kan gitu? Saya tidak anti perempuan, saya tidak anti laki-laki, atau saya tidak anti apa pun itu. Tapi menurut saya, kalau misalnya di satu lembaga, terus bilangnya, "Lembagamu harus ini, A, B, C, D, segala macam," tapi menurut saya, kalau seandainya ada satu lembaga disuruh begitu tapi habis itu mereka cuman sebagai penghalang, tidak melakukan apa pun, ngapain juga diambil? Jadi, enggak ada masalah. Mau mereka siapapun itu, mau perempuan, mau laki-laki, mau bencong, atau apa pun segala macam, transgender apa segala macam, asal mau kerja, enggak? Intinya di situ, Pak. Kan, sebenarnya, pertanyaan saya sederhana. Saya mau bertanya, sebenarnya. Kenapa harus ada itu? Itulah sama saja ketika saya, kenapa tolak [salah satu donor], ya itu. Karena selalu ngikut, harus ngikutin sesuatu. Terserah lembaga sayalah. Saya orang daerah, kamu duit juga ngasih kecil, tapi harus A, B, C, D, dan segala macam' (Syamsul, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021).

The second type of CSO is more accommodative towards diversity and fully aware of its importance in making strong and effective CSOs. But these CSOs lack the institutional initiative to systematically encourage diversity and social inclusion within their internal structure.

> "The diversity of religious backgrounds, ethnicities, genders, is something that characterizes our organization" (Marcel, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 13 November 2021). [87]

> "Well, our organization does have a policy that does not differentiate ethnicity, religion, race—Chinese [ethnicity] too, gender is also [included]. For example, in our organization there are Iban tribes, Mualang tribes, then there is Kenayang village, then there is Ketungau, and those areas are different. There is Kapuas Hulu, then there is Sekadau, where the Landak is in Ketapang. Including, for example, policies on gender mainstreaming—(there is) no difference because our organization has a policy on gender itself and its SOP [standard operational procedure]" (Tim, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021). [88]

The third type of CSO, unlike the previous types, makes an effort to formalize the element of diversity by adopting it into their system or regulations. This type includes those who devise an affirmation policy to diversify their team.

> "[1] The first is related to the issue of diversity. The issue of diversity is in the interview questions [during recruitment]. [...] [2] Second, our CSO itself has several codes of ethics, right? Code of ethics related to gender. [...] [3] Then it is related to children's rights, child protection, protection for persons with disability. Well, from those basics, then usually during the team [briefing] there is an induction, right? There is an induction for all the team to at least understand these [...] issues of diversity. [4] Then the following, related to practice in the organization, it is mandatory, it is obligatory. For example, there was once a gender audit, for all staff. In the gender audit, it was found that there are some people whose work is related to gender, but their behavior is not. Well, it becomes [a note]. Then s/he is called, then delivered, then escorted. And some of us decided to [the person concerned] be dismissed from the project. We even told the donor that this person should be dismissed. [...] And that's the way to enforce the law. [5] When it comes to organizational performance, this issue has become a major issue now, in our CSO, because we have integrated, encouraged—for example—humanitarian inclusion, and so on" (Paul, NTT, CSO, interview, 21 November 2021). [89]

> "It's quite diverse [in our organization]. [...] We prioritize more Papuan children. So, it's like me, since I grew up in Papua. Then, maybe the only member who did not grow up in Papua is Y. The rest are OAP [Orang Asli Papua, Papuan native] and those who were born in Papua. Even in terms of religion, it also looks [diverse]; [there are] Muslims, Christians. [...] Yes, we really have to respect each other.

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[87] "Jadi, keberagaman latar belakang agama, etnik, gender, itu sesuatu yang mewarnai [organisasi kami]" (Marcel, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 13 November 2021).

[88] "Nah, kalau di [CSO kami] itu memang punya kebijakan bahwa tidak membedakan suku, agama, ras itu ya–[etnis] Cina juga, gender juga [di-inklusi]. Contohnya, misal, di [CSO kami] itu ada dari sukunya Iban, sukunya Mualang, terus ada desa Kenayang, terus ada Ketungau, dan daerahnya beda-beda kan. Ada Kapuas Hulu, terus ada Sekadau, ada di–apa–Landak itu ada di Ketapang. Termasuk misalnya kebijakan terhadap pengarusutamaan gender ya–tidak membedakan karena [CSO kami] punya kebijakan tentang gender itu sendiri dan SOP-nya" (Tim, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021).

[89] "[1] Yang pertama, itu terkait dengan isu keberagaman, ya. Isu keberagaman itu ada di dalam pertanyaan wawancara [ketika rekrutmen]. [...] [2] Terus yang kedua, itu kan [CSO kami] sendiri punya beberapa kode etik, ya. Kode etik terkait dengan gender. [...] [3] Kemudian terkait dengan hak anak, perlindungan anak, perlindungan terhadap disabilitas. Nah, dari dasar-dasar itu, kemudian biasanya waktu [pembekalan] tim tuh ada induksi, ya. Ada induksi untuk–apa–semua tim minimal pahamilah, ini [...] isu-isu keberagaman. [4] Kemudian yang berikut, terkait dengan praktek dalam organisasi, ya itu wajib, wajib hukumnya, ya. Misalnya, dulu pernah ada gender audit, ya, terhadap semua staf. Dalam gender audit itu ditemukan bahwa ada beberapa orang tuh yang kerjaannya ada hubungannya dengan gender, tapi perilakunya tidak. Nah itu menjadi [catatan]. Kemudian itu dipanggil, kemudian disampaikan, kemudian dikawal. Dan beberapa kami putuskan untuk [yang bersangkutan] diberhentikan, ya, dari projek. Bahkan kami sampaikan ke donor bahwa sebaiknya orang ini diberhentikan. [...] Dan itu penegakan hukumnya jalan. [5] Kalau terkait dengan kinerja organisasi, isu ini menjadi isu yang utama sekarang, Kakak, di [CSO kami], karena katong sudah mengintegrasikan, mendorong–misalnya–humanitarian inklusi, dan sebagainya" (Paul, NTT, CSO, interview, 21 November 2021).

As for women, [...] she has the right to leave: maternity leave, menstrual leave, things like that, including bringing children to the office" (Anne, Papua, CSO, interview, 8 November 2021).[90]

In line with the importance of ethnic and religious diversity, gender relations also have a crucial role in shaping the effectiveness of an organization. It is clear that most of the CSO representatives involved in this study were aware of the importance of women's inclusion in their organization.

"For me, it's actually one of the debts that I [must] pay off—[but] haven't paid it all off yet—first of all, it is that women organize themselves and have a voice, have a position, to influence policies at our organization. Through women, hopefully, not only do they influence policies at our organization, [but] can influence state policies. [...] But, at least I make sure they have a place, and their place is a strategic place to influence all policies in our organization. And in that structure, I ensure the balance of women and men in the entire structure, although there are also regions that do not comply. So, there must be a policy" (Wawan, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 17 November 2021).[91]

"There are conscious efforts to balance gender in the recruitment process for prospective staff, including in management positions. Currently for the Advisory Board 1 female and 2 males, Board Member 2 female and 5 males, Staff 104 (56 female), while at manager level 6 females and 6 males" (Ridwan, Sumatra, CSO, interview field note, 7 November 2021). [92]

Our research findings show that the presence of donors also contributes to driving change in organizations to become more open to diversity and inclusiveness regarding various minority groups. There are times when donors require the participation of minority groups and women in programs held by CSOs. The mainstreaming of social inclusion, especially women's inclusion, in the organizations in order to meet with conditions set by donors seems to encourage CSOs to formally integrate it into their organizational process.

"We, with one foreign donor, have a gender baseline as well. [...] From the database, for example, we used to report that there were a number of participants, how many men, how many women, from disaggregated data. Then, we also recognize the right to leave for women, even though here it's actually whoever wants to take a day off, just let it. [...] But, in the labor SOP, stated that women have rights, the right to menstruation leave, something like that. That's it" (Anne, Papua, CSO, interview, 8 November 2021).[93]

"Indeed, this [gender inclusion] is something newly designed, related to humanitarian inclusion. [...] So, a lot of people are definitely thinking on how to mainstream it" (Paul, NTT, CSO, interview, 21 November 2021).[94]

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[90] "Cukup beragam sih. [...] Jadi, [...] kita tuh lebih memprioritaskan anak-anak Papua. Jadi, kayak saya pun ya karena saya besar lahir di Papua. Terus, mungkin yang benar-benar anak yang tidak lahir besar di Papua tuh cuma Mas Y. Selebihnya tuh kita OAP [orang asli Papua] dan yang lahir besar di Papua. Itu pun–apa ya–dari agama kan juga kelihatan [beragam]; [ada] yang Muslim, yang Kristen. [...] Iya, pokoknya tuh ya kita harus saling menghargai. Terus perempuan, [...] dia berhak untuk hak cuti: cuti melahirkan, cuti haid, kayak-kayak gitu tuh, termasuk bawa anak ke kantor itu boleh" (Anne, Papua, CSO, interview, 8 November 2021).

[91] "Kalau dari saya sebenarnya itu salah satu hutang yang [harus] saya tunaikan–[tapi] belum tunai semua ya–pertama itu adalah bahwa perempuan mengorganisir dirinya dan punya suara, punya posisi, untuk mempengaruhi itu jadi kebijakan-kebijakan di [organisasi kami]. Lewat perempuan, syukur-syukur bukan hanya mereka mempengaruhi kebijakan di [organisasi], [tapi] bisa mempengaruhi kebijakan negara. [...] Tapi minimal saya memastikan mereka punya tempat, dan tempat mereka itu tempat yang strategis untuk mempengaruhi seluruh kebijakan di [organisasi]. Dan dalam struktur itu saya pastikan keseimbangan perempuan dan laki-laki di dalam seluruh struktur, walaupun ada juga daerah-daerah yang tidak patuh ya. Jadi, harus ada kebijakan" (Wawan, Jakarta, CSO, interview, 17 November 2021).

[92] "Gender, dilakukan upaya penyeimbangan secara sadar dalam proses rekrutmen calon staf termasuk juga di posisi manajemen. Saat ini untuk Dewan Penasehat 1 perempuan dan 2 laki, Dewan Anggota 2 perempuan dan 5 laki-laki, Staf 104 (56 perempuan), sedangkan pada level manajer 6 perempuan dan laki-laki 6" (Ridwan, Sumatra, CSO, interview field note, 7 November 2021).

[93] "Kita tuh, dengan [salah satu donor] tuh kan punya baseline gender juga. [...] Dari database itu, misalnya, kita kalau dulu laporan pesertanya sekian, kita sudah buat sekian laki-laki, sekian perempuan, dari data terpilah. Kemudian–apa sih–perempuan juga kita sudah ada hak cuti, walaupun sebenarnya di sini yang mau libur, yang mau izin, izin saja. [...] Tapi, di step di dalam–apa–SOP tenaga kerja gitu bahwa untuk perempuan itu ada hak, hak cuti haid-nya, kayak gitu. Itu sih" (Anne, Papua, CSO, interview, 8 November 2021).

[94] "Memang ini hal yang baru dirancang, ya, terkait dengan humanitarian inklusi. [...] Jadi, banyak orang pasti pada bagaimana mainstreaming" (Paul, NTT, CSO, interview, 21 November 2021).

It is also worth noting that women's inclusion is not merely a matter of affirmation for women, but also considered an important factor in successfully delivering programs to the community, especially those of community development and environmental education. On this front, however, the culture of patriarchy remains the major hindrance in some communities.

> "So, [in overcoming obstacles in establishing relationships with women] we always use a door-to-door approach to them. So, if we come to the field, for example, we talk to them. We even have a special program. For example, there are women's meetings, gender meetings, and so on, and it's related to their rights to natural resources" (Tim, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021).[95]

At this point, our findings suggest that CSOs recognize diversity as an undeniable fact of the Indonesian population. Consequently, they need to embrace it to fit with the communities they work with. In other words, embracing diversity tends to be viewed as a strategy to achieve an organization's goal of empowering communities to manage their local resources in a sustainable way. Further research is needed, however, to better understand how the diversity they embrace affects decision-making within the organization.

Table 9. Key themes regarding diversity and social inclusion

Informant	Key insights	Key themes
Syamsul, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021	Non-discrimination in recruitment policy to strengthen the organization's openness and adaptability. [96]	Non-discriminatory recruitment
James, Papua, CSO, interview, 15 November 2021	Gender balance in the work environment for personnel diversification. [97]	Gender balance; diversified personnel
Theresia, NTT, CSO, interview, 7 December 2021	Gender balance in staffing is challenged by patriarchy, but also colored with conservative local values that prevent women from continuing work, in contrast to their urban counterparts. Diverse staff improves productivity. [98]	Gender balance; local conservative gender values; diversified personnel

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[95] "Nah, [dalam mengatasi hambatan menjalin relasi dengan kalangan perempuan] kita itu selalu yang namanya adalah pendekatan kayak door to door ke mereka. Sehingga kalau misalnya kita datang ke lapangan, kita ngomong dengan mereka. Bahkan kita juga punya program khusus. Misalnya, ada pertemuan perempuan, pertemuan gender, gitu, dan kaitannya dengan hak mereka atas sumber daya alam" (Tim, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021).

[96] "[Rekrutmen] tanpa [mendiskriminasi] latar belakang. Karena, kalau orang sudah melihat latar belakang, berarti, saya sudah menutup diri. Lembaga saya sudah menutup diri–tidak untuk orang lain. Kan begitu? Padahal suatu lembaga itu ya kumpulan orang-orang yang mau terbuka, bukan untuk tutup diri. [...] Ya kalau sudah [eksklusif] seperti itu ya ngapain ada lembaga?" (Syamsul, Kalimantan, CSO, interview, 6 November 2021)'

[97] "Tapi kalau [semasa] saya [memimpin] dulu selalu mempertimbangkan jumlah perempuan dan laki-laki dalam lingkungan kerja. Karena bagaimanapun [...] kita tidak bisa menyerahkannya [upaya diversifikasi personel] kepada situasi" (James, Papua, CSO, interview, 15 November 2021).

[98] "Khusus untuk staf tuh pasti perempuan dan laki-laki tuh harus sama [jumlahnya]. Jadi, di situ seimbang. [...] Memang, kalau kita di sini, perempuan di [daerah sini], [...] kesulitan itu: ketika masih muda, bisa [bekerja], kalau orang asli sini. Tapi kalau sudah menikah, sulit, [karena] suaminya tidak bisa melepas–khusus untuk perempuan di sini. Kami selama ini, biasanya kalau mereka sudah menikah–khusus perempuan asli sini–mereka harus berhenti. [...] Tapi kalau yang dari luar [daerah], itu biasanya bertahan. [...]
"Dan kalau kinerjanya itu, staf lapangan kalau perempuan, ya mungkin karena ketemunya kelompok perempuan, itu lebih baik ya hasil kerja itu. [...] Jadi, efektifnya tuh kalau laki-laki dan perempuan ada di dalam sistem kerja itu lebih seimbang. Dibanding hanya laki-laki saja atau perempuan itu saja, itu juga tidak bagus. hasil kinerja kita itu agak tersendat. Tapi ketika, tafsir persentasenya sama, itu makin bagus buat lembaga. Jauh lebih baik, karena ada kontrol" (Theresia, NTT, CSO, interview, 7 December 2021).

Lucky, Sumatra, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021	Diversity is encouraged through non-discriminatory recruitment. As Indonesia is Muslim-majority, social inclusion policy is necessary.[99]	Non-discriminatory recruitment; social inclusion

Source: Authors

Box 13. Diversity and social inclusion
All of the CSOs involved in this study acknowledge the importance of social inclusion, particularly to maintain gender and religious balance. Diversifying staff improves organizational adaptability and is instrumental in successfully delivering programs to the community.
Source: Authors

Box 14. Best practices in diversity and social inclusion
All of the CSOs involved in this study acknowledge the importance of social inclusion, particularly women's inclusion, to establish a strong and effective organization. Despite their different approaches to embracing diversity, CSOs predominantly–as best as they can–apply nondiscriminatory recruitment to ensure diversified staffing. This strengthens the organization and diversity and social inclusion are also instrumental in successfully delivering programs to the community.

CSO 08 applies the diversity principle within its recruitment process and prevents discrimination in employment due to ethnicity or religion. This organization ensures that its employees represent different ethnic groups in the area. They also agree that this diverse representation has helped strengthen the effectiveness of their organization in delivering their activities.

Meanwhile, CSO 09 ensures that its employees come from kampong cadres, indigenous groups living in the suburbs. CSO 09 doesn't take the comfortable path of recruiting urbanized indigenous youth but prefers to train kampong cadres on the skills required in the CSO, such as facilitation, communication and advocacy skills, including field visits on how to facilitate kampong planning. CSO 09 has made an effort to recruit women in this process. However, challenges remain in mobilizing more women as employees for the organization.

Similarly, CSO 10 prioritizes recruiting indigenous people as employees and these people come from different ethnic groups. A recent assessment on gender baseline done by their donor stated that CSO 10 has a neutral gender position, meaning that it has a balance between male and female employees. CSO 10's team continues to improve support for inclusiveness in the organization, primarily to support women to exercise their gender rights. This is done, for example, by providing menstruation leave and allowing parents to take their children to the office if they need to.
Source: Authors

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[99] "Iya kita [mendorong keberagaman]. Misalkan gini ya, kita rekrutmen itu enggak [menerapkan] batas usia ya. Usia, jenis kelamin, atau segala macam, kita enggak ada batas itu. Disability misalkan, kita open semua background. Agama segala macam juga. Kita sangat terbukalah kalau soal itu. Nah, tapi memang faktanya ya karena di sini memang mayoritas Muslim, jadi sedikit sekali yang non-Muslim di sini. Sebenarnya [soal gender juga] sama. Jadi, kalau bahasa kami tuh, semuanya [dianggap] setara dulu. Tapi kemudian kalau ada [di antara] yang setara itu yang kualifikasi yang sama, tapi salah satunya itu perempuan, misalnya, itu yang kita pilih. Tapi bukan berarti kita cari yang perempuan–bukan" (Lucky, Sumatra, CSO, interview, 20 November 2021).

Conclusions & Recommendations

This last section answers the main research question: How do Indonesian CSOs and their beneficiaries define strong and effective CSOs within the historical conditions of decentralized, democratizing Indonesia? Our findings suggest that strong and effective CSOs are built through practices that adapt to changing conditions and they retain values (purpose) by being adaptive (organizational level); internalizing values among members through recruitment and regeneration (management level); diversifying their sources of funding (financial level); exercising stakeholder management in pursuing their objectives (program level). As Indonesia has much diversity in terms of ethnicity and religion, we also found a strong agreement among the CSOs we interviewed on the importance of social inclusion in defining strong and effective organizations. Here are some recommendations we offer based on the findings of this study:

- Organizational professionalization is one of the critical issues in having a strong and effective organization. CSOs that are considered strong and effective practice what they advocate and turn their ideologies into praxis that is long-lasting and adaptive to the needs of their communities and changing social conditions. The ability to recruit highly qualified and committed staff is one of the key elements. This has been one of the biggest challenges faced by CSOs, in particular at the regional level.

- Knowledge management and transfer are essential components in developing a strong and effective organization. The challenge is that knowledge about the organization tends to be accumulated at the personal level and might be lost if the person leaves the organization. Therefore, it is crucial to develop a mechanism that allows essential knowledge related to the organization to be stored and shared to prevent it from being lost and to make it available for use to improve organizational performance.

- Funding diversification is another issue that has been identified as important in ensuring CSOs' sustainability in the future. Basic knowledge of the market economy is required. Even if CSOs decide that it goes against their organization's purpose, such understanding is needed to comprehend and strategize further regarding which alternative sources of funding could be developed as international donor funding declines. Aligning organizations' values with the donating public through strategic communication and fundraising could be an alternative. Further study might be needed to explore the opportunities and limitations of seeking a donation from the public to support environmental causes.

- Stakeholder management is necessary considering the work of CSOs takes place in a socially complex arena loaded with different and often contesting interests of diverse actors, including communities, other organizations, the government, and the private sector. Strong and effective CSOs are able to identify the complex relations among actors and effectively communicate with them to achieve their goals.

This research might be the first study that systematically explores the meaning of strong and effective CSOs based on the Indonesian point of view. We are not claiming that our findings are comprehensive, yet they might still be able to provide some insight into how Indonesian CSOs and their beneficiaries perceive strong and effective civil society organizations in Indonesia. We propose using these findings to continue the discussion with our fellow activists regarding actions needed to strengthen the role of civil society organizations in the near future—specifically utilizing social research to their advantage.

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