

Sustaining social accountability mechanisms in frontline service delivery:

Citizen empowerment & state response in four Indonesian districts

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February 13, 2015

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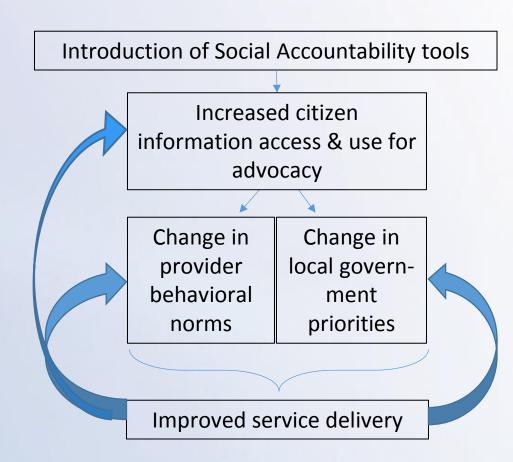
Social accountability & frontline service delivery

Frontline services:

point of interaction between citizens and public service providers.

Social Accountability: citizens' collective actions to improve public services by

- identifying problems,
- bringing them to providers' attention, and
- constraining the state's use of power.



Question: Under what conditions are SA tools effective and sustained?



Study parameters & methodology

Kinerja SA tools

- Complaints Handling Survey (CHS)
- Service Charter (SC)
- Multi-Stakeholder Forum (MSF)

Identify

- Replication of SA tools
- Changes in service delivery
- 3. Attitudes:
 - Towards SA
 - Broader changes in practices from citizen engagement
- Contextual factors

Methodology

- 60 semi-structured interviews
- Respondents: MSF members, frontline providers, district officials, CSOs & Kinerja staff
- 4 districts in Aceh & West Kalimantan
- 15 primary health ctrs
- February-March 2014
- Topics: context, Kinerja implementation, outcomes, replication



Macro context

Province	Aceh		West Kalimantan	
	Banda	Bener		
District	Aceh	Meriah	Sambas	Sinkawang
% population in urban area	100	20	18	69
% population below poverty line	9	26	9	6
Human Development Index (HDI)	78	72	66	69
% medically assisted births	100	94	74	89
Prior policy reforms conducive to SA				
Participation	X	X		X
Transparency	Х		X	
Accountability	X		X	X

Source: 2011 DAPOER data, 2012 Local Budget Index



Micro context

	Existing complaints	Existing provider-user	Past SA effort		
Site	mechanisms	relations			
Banda Aceh	Banda Aceh				
BA1	not effective		X		
BA2	effective	functioning			
BA3	not effective	antagonistic	Χ		
Bener Meriah					
BM1					
BM2	effective				
BM3	effective		X		
Sambas					
SAM1	effective		X		
SAM2		antagonistic	X		
SAM3	not effective	antagonistic	X		
SAM4		antagonistic			
SAM5	not effective	antagonistic	X		
SAM6	not effective	antagonistic	X		
Singkawang					
SIN1		antagonistic			
SIN2	not effective				
SIN3	not effective	antagonistic			

Source: Authors' interviews



Effects on service delivery?

Introduction of Social Accountability tools

Increased citizen information access & use for advocacy

Change in provider behavioral norms

Change in local government priorities

Improved service delivery



Perceived changes in service delivery

Site	Provider	MSF
Banda Aceh		
BA1		
BA2		
BA3		
Bener Meriah		
BM1		
BM2		
BM3		
Sambas		
SAM1		
SAM2		
SAM3		
SAM4		
SAM5		
SAM6		
Sinkawang		
SIN1		
SIN2		
SIN3		

Source: Authors' interviews



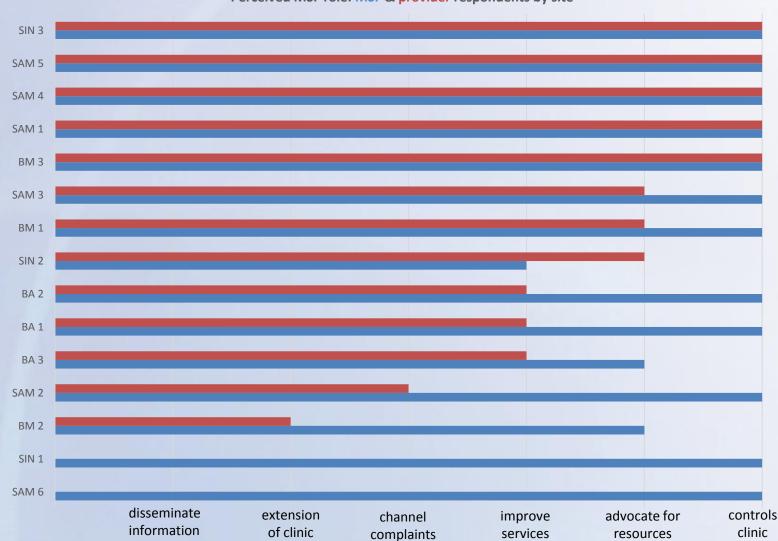
Feedback on provider behavioral norms?





Divergent views of social accountability

Perceived MSF role: MSF & provider respondents by site



Source: Authors' interviews and Fox (2007)

Effects of context vary

Comparison of context & implementation factors for high/low SA sites

Site	Prior complaints mechanisms	Prior provider-user relations	Clinic questions CHS methodology
BM 3	Effective		
SAM 4	Effective		X
SAM 1		Antagonistic	X
SAM 5	Not effective	Antagonistic	
SIN 3	Not effective	Antagonistic	X
SAM 6	Not effective	Antagonistic	X
SIN 1		Antagonistic	X

Source: Authors' interviews

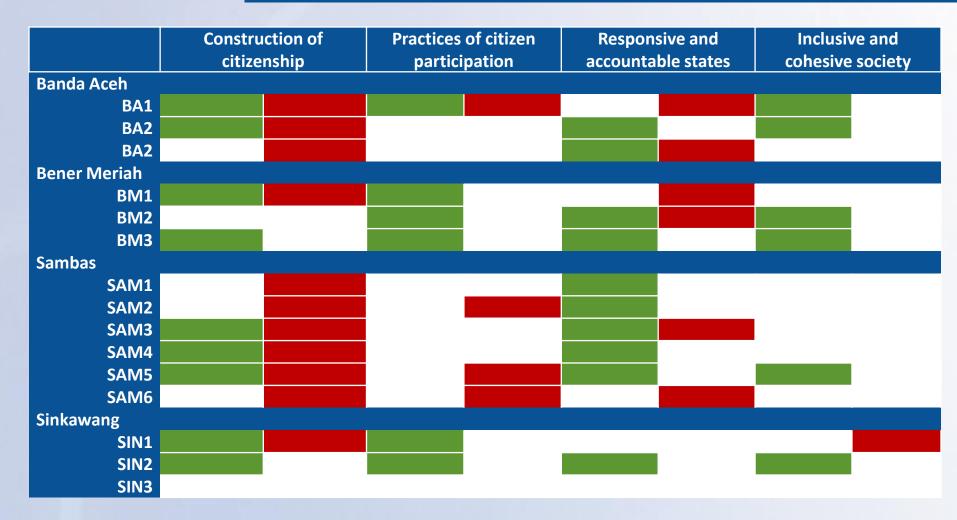


Feedback on citizen empowerment?





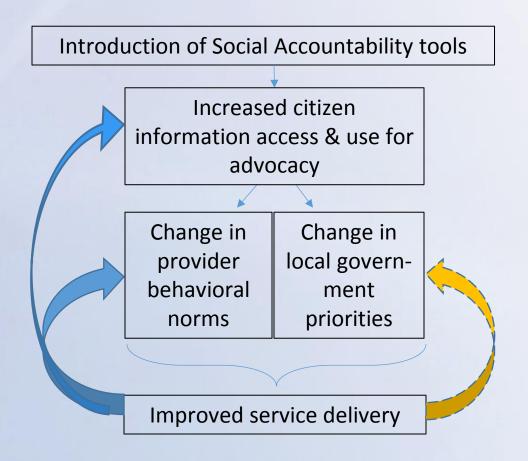
Broader changes result at some sites



Source: Authors' interviews and Gaventa & Barrett (2012)



Feedback on local government priorities?





Broader changes result in some districts

District	Replication?	Construction of citizenship	Practices of citizen participation	Responsive & accountable states	Inclusive & cohesive society
Banda Aceh	No				↑
Bener Meriah	Yes		$\uparrow \uparrow$	个个个	$\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow$
Sambas	Yes			ተተተ	个个
Sinkawang	No		↑		

Source: Authors' interviews and Gaventa & Barrett (2012)



Contrasts between districts committed to SA

	Bener Meriah	Sambas
Replication plans	2 additional clinics	All clinics in district Regulatory changes & incentives
Clinic context		
prior provider-user relations	None	Antagonistic
prior complaints mechanisms	Effective	Mostly ineffective
negative provider reactions to CHS	None	Consistently negative
Broader changes		
Increased responsiveness	$\sqrt{}$	√
Inclusion of non-state actors	$\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{}$
Expanded citizen participation	$\sqrt{}$	
Quotes characterizing commitment to SA	"Criticism is like vitamins; they help to improve our system." "If it is just the <i>Dinas</i> on its own [w/o civil society], the program will not get very far."	Dinas supports Kinerja "because it changed providers' mindsets and performance." "Now we just try to make services comfortable so that more patients will come."



Interpretation and recommendations

Distinct patterns of commitment to SA

- Citizen-centered: involving citizens as partners in improving service delivery
- Client-centered: helping providers identify priorities for improving services

Increased citizen information access & use for advocacy Change in provider behavioral norms Change in local gov't priorities Improved service delivery

Recommendations:

- Leverage reforms to provide institutional incentives and sanctions for provider responsiveness
- Ensure that invited spaces directly engage providers with citizens



Interpretation and recommendations

Aligned citizen & provider attitudes towards SA increases sustainability and hard accountability

- Inherent problem of lack of responsiveness from providers who see a smaller role for MSFs than citizens
- If MSFs insist on accountability, but providers do not see as legitimate role, SA may be futile & disempowering

Recommendations:

- Go beyond enumerating progress on SA tool implementation as gauge on sustainability
- Seek out contexts where SA tools are novel & address pressing needs



Interpretation and recommendations

Contextual factors are salient, but effects are inconsistent.

- Clinics demonstrated responsiveness in both positive and negative contexts
- Underscores importance of micro-contextual drivers of citizen engagement (Joshi, 2014)

Recommendations:

- Use contextual data as a guide, but be prepared for unexpected outcomes
- Encourage SA in both conducive and resistant contexts



More Information

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Slides for possible discussion during Q & A



Social accountability: breakdown

Tran	sparency	Acco	ountability
Opaque	Clear	Soft	Hard
Dissemination an	d access to information		
 State shares 			
information only			
	Institutional a	answerability	•
	 Citizens can request 	 Ongoing 	
	information	monitoring	
	 State specifies response to shared 	 Making demands to enforce legal 	
	information	standards	
			Sanctions, compensation, and/or remediation
			 Invoking formal grievance procedures
			 Holding demonstrations to protest against poor service quality



Outcomes of citizen engagement

Outcomes	Positive	Negative
Construction of	Increased civic and political knowledge	Reliance on knowledge intermediaries
citizenship	Greater sense of empowerment and agency	Disempowerment and reduced sense of agency
Practices of citizen	Increased capacities for collective action New forms of participation	New capacities used for "negative" purposes
participation	Deepening of networks and solidarities	Tokenistic or "captured" forms of participation
		Lack of accountability and representation in networks
Responsive and	Greater access to state services and	Denial of state services and resources
accountable	resources	Social, economic, and political reprisals
states	Greater realization of rights	Violent or coercive state response
	Enhanced state responsiveness and accountability	
Inclusive and cohesive	Inclusion of new actors and issues in public spaces	Reinforcement of social hierarchies and exclusion
societies	Greater social cohesion across groups	Increased horizontal conflict and violence

Source: Gaventa & Barrett (2012)

