



gatekeeper

The How, When and Why of Community Organisational Support: Uplink Yogyakarta in Indonesia

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The role of local organisations in sustainable development

The roles of local organisations in poverty reduction and environmental management

All poverty reduction is local. This is easy to forget given how discussion and debate on the subject is dominated by bilateral aid agencies, development banks, national governments and international NGOs. But regardless of higher level commitments and decisions, what actually happens on the ground in particular localities is what makes the difference. Many barriers to poverty reduction are local — local power structures, land owning patterns and anti-poor politicians, bureaucracies and regulations. Much of what the poor require — schools, healthcare, water and sanitation, land, social safety nets, getting onto voter registers — must be obtained from local organisations within this local context.

Local organisations have a major role in addressing these realities, helping poor groups access entitlements and engage with government. They may be local NGOs, grassroots organisations of the poor, or even local governments or branches of higher levels of government. But they function on a local level, have intimate knowledge of the local context and should be accountable to local people. Many operate on very small budgets, outside the main funding flows and frameworks. Yet they are not isolated from larger governance issues; indeed, much pro-poor political change has been catalysed by local innovations and by political pressure from grassroots organisations and their associations.

This publication is one in a series of case studies and synthesis papers looking at the work of local organisations in development and environmental management. These publications were developed in collaboration with the local organisations they profile. They seek to encourage international funding agencies to rethink the means by which they can support, work with and learn from the local organisations that are such a critical part of pro-poor development.

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Executive summary

In 2006, an earthquake with a magnitude of 5.9 on the Richter scale hit the outskirts of the Indonesian city of Yogyakarta. The earthquake only lasted 55 seconds, but during this short time it destroyed the homes of hundreds and thousands of people and affected many communities in Central Java.

This paper describes the work of Uplink Yogyakarta (UY) in providing emergency aid in 52 local government areas and subsequently in reconstruction and development. UY focuses on supporting urban and rural poor communities' processes, rather than imposing its own projects or programmes. UY worked with these communities with a very small budget and on a long-term basis to rebuild and to reverse the negative social impacts of the municipal government's post-disaster compensation scheme.

Three cases are described to demonstrate how UY is developing relationships with communities. For example, in one community UY helped facilitate the development of a traditional dance group to renew a sense of community and culture. In another, UY used the response to the disaster as an entry point for accessing rights to basic services from the local government. In a third, UY is developing relationships with communities to help them deal with their immediate problems and prepare them for bigger issues that are likely to affect them in the future.

This paper highlights some lessons for external donors, who may find it difficult to know how best to support local organisations, when such organisations need support and why donors need to change the ways they work with such local organisations. Beyond providing money, an effective role for donors could include linking local organisations together so they can learn from and support each other, as well as linking them with appropriate technical support in order to develop skills and financial self-reliance.

The How, When and Why of Community Organisational Support: Uplink Yogyakarta in Indonesia

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Introduction

Uplink Yogyakarta (UY) was established in 2003 and is one of the 14 Uplink secretariats that form a national network of NGOs and community based organisations in Indonesia.¹ It focuses on supporting urban and rural poor communities' own processes, rather than imposing projects or programmes. This profile focuses on UY's post-earthquake emergency work after an earthquake of magnitude 5.9 on the Richter scale hit the outskirts of the city of Yogyakarta in 2006. Unlike the post-disaster work in Aceh after the tsunami, the earthquake did not attract much international aid and it has heavily influenced the dynamics of local society.² Yogyakarta Province is in south-central Java and has around 3 million inhabitants; Yogyakarta City has around half a million inhabitants. The social cohesion and solidarity of communities in this province is very much a reality despite the destruction caused by the earthquake. UY worked with these communities with a very small budget and on a long-term basis to rebuild and to reverse the negative social impacts of the municipal government's post-disaster compensation scheme. Three cases are described to demonstrate how UY is developing relationships with communities to help them deal with their immediate problems and prepare them for bigger issues that are likely to affect them in the future. These cases draw on interviews with UY staff and with the inhabitants of the settlements in which they work.

1. Uplink Yogyakarta is part of a national network of 14 secretariats across Indonesia, established in 2002 by the Urban Poor Consortium (UPC). UPC's focus is to show the strength of people, to help establish community organisations like Uplink Yogyakarta, and to support them throughout their development. This is one of four profiles of Uplink secretariats; the others are: *Renovation, not relocation: the work of the Paguyuban Warga Strenkali (PWS) in Indonesia* (Wawan Some, Wardah Hafidz, and Gabriela Sauter, *Gatekeeper* 137h); *Reconstructing Life after the Tsunami: The work of Uplink Banda Aceh in Indonesia* (Ade Syukrizal, Wardah Hafidz, and Gabriela Sauter, *Gatekeeper* 137i); and *Uplink Porong: Supporting community-driven responses to the mud volcano disaster in Sidoarjo, Indonesia* (Mujtaba Hamdi, Wardah Hafidz, and Gabriela Sauter, *Gatekeeper* 137j). These profiles were developed with the support of the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR).

2. See *Gatekeeper* paper 137i.

Uplink Yogyakarta's vision and approach

Uplink Yogyakarta works with urban poor communities to support them in exploring their options for organising and acting within a social structure and a political system that marginalises them. Despite Indonesia's wealth in natural and human resources, in 2006 18% of Indonesians were still defined as poor (World Bank, 2006). But this estimate is based only on income and if a broader definition of poverty is used which considers other aspects, such as access to infrastructure and services and political rights, the proportion of Indonesians living in poverty is likely to be much higher. By developing people's critical understanding of their situation, UY can work with them to organise their communities and cohesively challenge the sources of domination and repression.

UY works with a number of groups in Yogyakarta City and in other areas of Yogyakarta Province, including earthquake survivors, street vendors, riverside dwellers, sex workers and domestic workers. After the earthquake in 2006, UY worked in 52 RTs (RT are the lowest governmental subdivision in urban and rural Indonesia), helping communities organise themselves and providing materials for houses for the two poorest families in each community. Once this programme was completed, UY focused on advocacy work, seeking to influence the government's overly-complicated procedures for allocating funding to earthquake-affected families.

In January 2007, UY decided to modify its strategy, hoping to be more effective on the ground, and focused more intensively on fewer projects. It now works with one rural RT in each of the villages of Pundong, Dlingo, Terban and Tambak Bayan, and also works with six street vendor communities. With the latter it is developing more focused programmes.³ Part of the current strategy is to develop the advocacy component of UY's work.

UY has seven members of staff—five community organisers, one domestic worker, and a co-ordinator—who meet every week to share and discuss their work, the development of the communities in which they are involved, the problems that arise, and how to solve them. They also meet twice a year to evaluate their work and to propose issues for discussion at the Uplink national mid-year meeting (which is held with the other 13 Uplink secretariats across Indonesia). In the national meeting, Uplink secretariats discuss the situation in their communities and cities, discuss the national political situation, and formulate an approach or strategy for the next six months' work.

UY's work: three case studies

Rebuilding community solidarity through dance: Seloharjo Village

The earthquake of May 27 2006 lasted 55 seconds, during which time it destroyed the homes of over 150,000 people (European Commission JRC, 2006) and affected many communities in Central Java. While some claim the epicentre was in the Indonesian

3. In the case of street vendors, for example, the municipal government claims street vendors are a major source of environmental, visual, and spatial pollution (in that they apparently cause traffic jams). UY is trying to impress upon government that they have the right to sell their goods in the street, and that they are an integral part of the city's economy.

Ocean, and others on the Opak fault line, there is little dispute about the destruction faced by villages like Seloharjo in Bantul District. One commune within this village, RT 3 or Dusun Bobok Tempel, located near the Opak River, consists of 36 families of construction labourers, wood workers, farmers, housewives, sellers, and some government officers. All the houses in this community collapsed.

One week after the earthquake, UY introduced itself to RT 3 for the first time. It distributed food, tents, women's underwear, medication and a generator, since the supply of electricity was cut by the earthquake and was not restored for two months. After the period of emergency relief, UY gave the residents of RT 3 bamboo so they could build temporary housing, as well as materials to build two houses, as part of a larger programme to provide 100 houses to the poorest two families of 50 communities. UY encouraged the community themselves to decide who were the most vulnerable households, and to build these houses together. Due to UY's links with Gujarat (India) and Aceh post-disaster reconstruction teams who visited the area after the earthquake, it was also able to provide technical expertise (earthquake resistant technology).

UY's approach involves the community organisers first observing and understanding community processes before helping people to organise and develop. An Uplink community organiser explains: *"When we see that the community is relatively organised, we have to be careful that our aid, our intervention should not make the situation worse, our interventions should encourage the organisation that emerges in the community."* For example, after the earthquake people formed spontaneous organisations or groups. Since they were all experiencing the same situation, they preferred to deal with its consequences together. Thus, when UY distributed food to the community, it did so to the whole community rather than to each individual family so that they could cook their food together. *"From early on, after the earthquake, Uplink not only helped with materials, but also with knowledge, discussion, and opinion about how to make our village better,"* remembers one community member. Since most community members are skilled and experienced construction workers, they had a great advantage in the reconstruction of their RT. Uplink provided them with information about the government's plans for reconstruction, how to prioritise, and what funds to be expected from the government. One community member comments: *"I feel this was important information for us villagers to make the right decisions."* For example, the government had recommended that villagers be divided into two groups to receive phased payments (ie. one group would receive payment before the other group). Instead, Uplink encouraged the reconstruction group to divide the funds among all its members from the outset, fearing that the government's approach would cause intra-community tension and disruption.

Other tensions arose from the government compensation scheme, which provided IDR 15 million (US \$1650) to "completely destroyed houses", IDR 4 million (US \$440) to "medium destroyed houses", and only IDR 1 million (US\$ 110) to "slightly destroyed houses". In poor communities like this, all the houses were completely destroyed by the earthquake because of the low quality building structures. Each family in this area was therefore provided with the highest amount (US \$1650) to reconstruct their house. However, the criteria for determining the condition of houses were not clear,

and the people selected to assess them were not qualified (mostly government officers, teachers and policemen). In many other communities, this subjective process created tensions between community members who received different amounts of money for reconstruction.

The government urged communities to form groups of 10-15 head of families early on, with a designated head of group and treasurer to manage the group's construction finance process. This, however, bred corruption, and families rarely saw their entire allocation for a number of reasons:

- Group members felt obliged to give some of their money to the head of the RT. This reflects an ingrained habit of paying government officials; community members did not see reconstruction compensation as part of their rights, but as aid that comes generously from the government. Paying the RT was perhaps a way to say "thank you".
- Groups have to submit written reports to the government before they receive the next instalment of compensation. But poor communities with little experience of writing reports needed to hire assistance. In a similar way, the government prepares reports on the reconstruction process; for these reports to be accepted, they need to be signed off by consultants. To make sure they receive the next instalment, many groups found they had to bribe the consultants.
- There is no government body to control the distribution of money within the groups, and this usually provides the group leader with an excuse to acquire some extra money to pay the village or *dusun* head for help in the future.⁴

The tensions arising during the reconstruction process took their toll on community relations. Uplink thought about how to rebuild positive relations. They had observed some potential among the community for dance. When the reconstruction was over, Uplink helped the community to form a traditional dance group by introducing them to two members of the Five Mountain Community from Central Java, Tanto Mendut and Handoko,

BOX 1. DANCE AND THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

There are many reasons why traditional dance was no longer part of the community's contemporary culture. The strong Sultan influence which has permeated the region's art and culture had created a slower, less energetic dance rhythm. The younger generations prefer more lively, animated movements. Two community members were already involved in the traditional dance (*Jathilan*) of the area, but practised and performed in distant villages; many were unaware of such dance groups outside their villages. However, many lack the courage for *Jathilan*, as they believe the spirit of their ancestors would enter their bodies and control them during the dance. The introduction of a different dance, from a different place with different beliefs, stimulated a range of changes in this community.

Villagers felt more comfortable with this dance because it is based in the community, being practised with friends and neighbours, and does not involve spirits entering the body: According to one of the village dancers, "*We just dance.... Even when our bodies feel tired, we feel glad, we still practice... because it's our first experience and we want to master it as quickly as possible!*"

4. A *dusun* is the next level up from the RT in rural Indonesia.

who taught them the traditional dances in their region (Box 1). This was the beginning of the *Paguyuban Mudho Samudro* (Community Organisation of the Sea Youngsters).

Such activities improve social relationships within the community because practice sessions also become informal meetings amongst the dancers, who talk about issues in their neighbourhood. The dancers feel they now have an activity to do as a community, and have a channel to express their energy and ideas, *“even if they are crazy ones”*. The dancers are keen to emphasise that: *“The people who are not dancing feel happy too, particularly the women: if we go somewhere to perform, the women come along, and while we practise here at night-time, the women watch and have fun doing so!”* Given the exceptionally low female-to-male ratio (there are only three young women in the community), only the men are involved in dancing. And while the younger men dance, the older ones provide the percussion. They have been dancing together since May 2007, and there are now 37 people involved in the *Paguyuban Mudho Samudro*, including the percussionists. They have had over 20 performances over the past year, including in Central Java, in other sub-districts, and at a local university.

The community's affinity for expressive art was also underlined by the creation of a theatre group (along with Uplink) which performed at the first anniversary of the earthquake.

Turning a disaster into an opportunity: Munthuk Village

RT 1 in Munthuk Village in Bantul District is another rural community that experienced significant destruction from the 2006 earthquake, including the collapse of their houses. Prior to the earthquake, this highland community of 42 families already suffered from a lack of water; since the earthquake, the water seems to have disappeared entirely. UY began work in this community later than the others in Yogyakarta. It began by providing supplies to help fulfill basic needs, including food and cooking supplies, materials for temporary shelter, electricity and clothing. It provided materials for two houses (for the poorest families), helped organise the community for dividing the government reconstruction funds amongst themselves, scheduled the construction of houses, and provided tools and technical assistance. One village resident commented:⁵ *“Uplink asked us how they could help. We said we needed food, so Gugun from Uplink asked what kind of food. Nobody else has ever asked what kind of food. We are not used to being treated this way, and we realised only then how important it was to have help from people like Gugun in Uplink.”* Other organisations, such as World Vision and UNICEF, provided emergency relief after the earthquake, but none of them maintained a presence after immediate needs were fulfilled. *“After the earthquake, it was important for us to have friends who could support us and suffer with us, and Uplink helped in many ways, not just reconstruction. Two Community Organisers even stayed here for over 3 months after the earthquake. Nobody else has done this. They feel what we feel.”*

5. In a conversation between the contact author and eight community members on June 30, 2008: Mrs Parsi, Mrs Dalar, Mrs Surati, Mrs Parmise, Mrs Martiem, Mr Gito, Mr Watani and Mr Putiono.

Once the reconstruction process was over, Uplink remained in the community and began social problem mapping to understand what kinds of difficulties people were facing. This revealed that the community has been suffering from a water shortage since the 1970s, and this had got worse since the earthquake because the wells dried up. Uplink put the community in contact with a local university, UPN, to get some technical expertise on water in the highlands. Given Uplink's (and the community's) minimal budget, it managed to convince the university to only charge a nominal fee, given that the study was for a social cause. UPN studied the possible water sources, and determined that there was an aquifer at a depth of about 100 metres. With this information, Uplink prepared the community for negotiations with the district government to ask for a portion of their public budget to be allocated to RT 1's water supply projects. Having a clear, specific proposal for how to do this gave them more negotiating power. Over the course of a year the community tried to meet with the district head. But given the long distances to the district government, these journeys were tiresome, and since the communities have no experience in trying to negotiate with government, they were easily de-motivated. Although Uplink was not involved in the negotiations, it provided background support ranging from transportation, to motivation, and expertise. Once the project was approved and began to be implemented, Uplink maintained a strong relationship with the university and encouraged meetings between the Public Works Department and contractors so that the terms of reference were clear and that the drilling would not stop before reaching 120 metres. The university explained to community members how the drills worked and how they could monitor the progress of the drilling to ensure everything was being done as agreed. In a meeting before the drilling started, the university encouraged the community to get the contractors to agree that they would test the quality and quantity of the water before installing the pump. Currently, the drilling has reached 40 metres. The next challenge, provided the pump is successfully installed, will be to construct a distribution channel and a waste water and sewage system. An agreement has already been made with government and the contractors, and the community has already suggested that locals should be involved in the installation so as to monitor the quality and progress, and employ local (skilled) workers.

Many lessons were learned through this process of negotiation and project implementation. The process of negotiating with government can be long, and it is necessary to be patient. In this case, negotiations began in March 2007, and the project was approved in February 2008. Approval of the project is only the beginning of a very long bureaucratic process and it has yet to be completed. Maintaining people's motivation and optimism is also difficult, particularly since they do not have any similar experiences on which to draw. Thus, constant encouragement is vital. The people only saw the fruit of their negotiations when the drilling equipment and contractors finally arrived on site.

The support UY has provided RT 1 has been long-term and has changed to accommodate the needs of the community. It has evolved from humanitarian support in the emergency post-disaster era, to community development and capacity building. A disaster situation has become an opportunity to deal with long-standing issues such

as securing a water supply and empowering the community to deal directly with government and demand that their rights be fulfilled.

A focus on land tenure: Terban Village, Yogyakarta District

Uplink's work is in the early stages in RT1 in Terban Village. UY decided to intervene in this community due to the residents' difficult economic situation, their vulnerability to natural disasters (living on a steep slope along the riverside), and their insecure land tenure. The community is situated on government property with no security of tenure and the government has tried to evict them. Uplink's work in RT1 will be a starting point for its work with riverside communities in general. If it can develop a working relationship with the residents of this village, it will see the options for working with others. One of the community organisers, Arinda Anantha Kusuma, explains:

"In the organising process, in Terban we think it is more important to know their problems or their needs first. We will ask them about each activity they do daily from morning to night, and together with them will try to understand where the problems lie in each activity. That's the plan. Based on these problems we can design community activities and move from there. Get to the general problems faced by the community."

The aim of community-based programmes is to deal with the specific problems identified, to develop a relationship with the community, to strengthen it in terms of understanding, capacity and cohesion, and to address the larger issues that remain in the background, namely, security of land tenure. The UY co-ordinator noted that *"We can only start to discuss the bigger issue once we have dealt with the practical issues."*

Funding

Most of the funding proposals for the Uplink network in Indonesia, and most of the funding, is managed by the national secretariat in Jakarta. Most funds come from the international NGOs Misereor, Germany, and Development and Peace, Canada. Uplink's work to date in Aceh and Jakarta means that many donor organisations have developed a working relationship with different Uplink chapters across the country. In this way, when UY needs funding, they are either approached by different donor organisations (such as Atlas International, Handicap International) or send proposals to others, such as Johanniter Hilfe.

Despite its reputation and close relationships with donor organisations, UY has to work with very little money. The co-ordinator, Awali Thohir, explains: *"We have to learn to work with very limited funds. We have to give all our efforts to be more creative and self-reliant to find other ways of getting funds. If we don't have any money, we have a problem. But if we have too much money it is an even bigger problem especially if we don't know how to manage it!"* UY's close relationship with communities and partners

means it has developed coping mechanisms and creative ways of working within limited budgets. For instance, when UY needs to do video documentation, it borrows the necessary equipment from friends.

Lessons learned

In every organisation or business there will be disagreements and some issues of contention, ranging from personal relations to organisational structure and finances. These must be seen as issues that arise in daily life. Community organisers understand that when they begin working for the first time in a community, they will face a new situation and new problems that they have not faced before. According to Awali Thohir, *"There is no difference between problems and opportunities. It is about the way we look at issues. It is a question of perspective. Really, we see our problems as our opportunities. In each problem there is an opportunity. What is difficult sometimes is staying optimistic about these issues, but as long as we think about our small successes, we feel encouraged."*

Members of UY have highlighted some of the main lessons learned throughout their experience, both at the personal and organisational level. The UY co-ordinator explains:

"When I began working in Uplink, I realised many things I studied at university were not useful. Uplink provided me with a great opportunity to understand the real problems people face. And this is very important. To some extent, I feel I have learned not only from the community, but also from interaction with different organisations or institutions when trying to link people with skills and knowledge from other institutions, such as the university (geologists, civil engineers, accountants). After working with Uplink, I realised more practical things, although they are not very sophisticated theoretical things... but practical things also have their own sophistication".

A community organiser, Arinda Kusuma, has a similar perspective:

"One thing is certain, there are so many kinds of people: some can be difficult, and others inspire. But all of these people have changed my point of view. I was a 'textbook man' before I joined Uplink, and always took the theoretical approach to look at problems, deducing reality from theory, stuck in a normative condition. Now I can see reality's point of view, the community point of view. In this way, I can feel more of what the community feels about the reality they face, their lives. Maybe it makes me more dialectic, more flexible."

It is precisely this understanding that is difficult for many people and organisations external to these experiences to achieve. Whilst reading an article or textbook has its own merit, experiencing how the poor live, their domination by powerful groups, and their struggle against these forces is to understand an altogether different reality. And it is perhaps for this reason that it is very difficult for organisations like donors to understand *how* they can support, *when* they need to support, and *why* they need to change the ways they support local organisations.

At the organisational level, UY seeks to work according to the people's schedules. This might involve street vendor meetings at midnight, community visits in the afternoon, and domestic worker meetings early in the morning. Whether UY is effective in terms of *outcomes* is one issue, but UY is certain that it is effective in terms of *the process*, *"and the process is as important as the result... here we can do experimental things if we feel something is good for the people... there are no boundaries to how we do things. We take tools like social mapping and modify them to suit what we are doing and create 'social problem mapping'"*, explains Awali Thohir.

In terms of defining success, UY has learned that looking for what it describes as the 'higher levels' of success is very frustrating, as these are part of a long-term process. For this reason, it focuses on the small successes that have been achieved over time, at the same time as ensuring that the bigger picture is always kept in mind so that it can define UY's work. These higher levels of success will be achieved:

- When poor communities improve their sense of solidarity, both within the community and between communities. This is not limited by boundaries, areas, or countries.
- When people understand their problems, their situation, and the structures that suppress them and increase their poverty.
- When people learn to work together as a community to overcome their problems. This could manifest itself in several ways, for example by acting themselves or by going to government and asking them to solve the problem.

Lessons for donors

UY's experience in Yogyakarta, in combination with the experience accumulated by community organisers who have worked in other Uplink secretariats, reveals the realities of development funding on the ground. Below are some issues highlighted by UY relating to donor funding, and how organisations like UY can be better supported in their activities to reduce poverty:

- **Think outside the finance 'box'.** More often than not, donor organisations tend to focus on funding for particular projects or programmes. Recent trends to provide capacity building, as part of an initiative to provide more effective funding, mask other ways that they can support local organisations, such as:
 - **Connecting organisations:** Linking together the various organisations which donors fund can provide invaluable help for many organisations. In this way, organisations can share their experiences, learn from each other, complement each others' work, and provide support to one another, in any way that they need. One donor, Misereor, has played an important role in connecting UY with another organisation it funds in Gujarat, India, to share experience and technical expertise in managing post-earthquake reconstruction, both for Uplink Aceh after the tsunami, and for Uplink Yogyakarta. Awali Thohir jokes, *"We gave a Misereor representative, Gregor, the nickname 'Nokia', because he is about 'connecting people'"*.

- **Providing technical assistance:** UY staff stress the importance of sharing knowledge and experience, especially technical expertise, across organisations, both horizontally across similar organisations and vertically between donors and local organisations. According to Awali Thohir, *“When we get information about how to do something from a website, in a seminar, or from a discussion, this is very useful, because we can learn from tried and tested practices. But it would be even better if, together, we can try to apply technical expertise in the field based on a solution that has proven to work elsewhere.”* This is real learning, and this is the kind of learning that lasts much longer than project-based funding.
- **Support organisational capacity-building.** Capacity-building is key for the long-term sustainability of organisations like UY; it allows them to be more effective in their initiatives and to develop different ways of approaching situations, and can help them maintain a level of financial self-reliance:
 - **Developing skills:** Awali Thohir explains: *“We have to move forward. We cannot just be stuck with one approach, but have to develop our techniques because communities are also changing. What we need is help to develop our capacity and expertise in different ways, from local organisations, as well as international organisations. But this is a two-way street. If others can help, they can come and help. If we can help others, we will go and help them. What we need is to develop relationships with different kinds of organisations so we can work together”.*
 - **Financial self-reliance:** In times of financial hardship, and also for long-term organisational sustainability in general, organisations like UY need to learn to be financially self-reliant. For this they would benefit from support to develop the capacity of the organisation and the staff who run it. This can be achieved through a number of programmes. UY highlights the particular need for income generation activities that can sustain the organisation over time, especially by providing overhead costs. Examples might be learning how to make money from a waste recycling programme, or from composting.

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