



MAKING ALL VOICES COUNT

IMPROVING THE TRANSPARENCY,
INCLUSIVITY AND IMPACT OF
PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING
IN INDONESIAN CITIES

SOLO, YOGYAKARTA, SURABAYA, MAKASSAR, BANDUNG, KEBUMEN

DECEMBER 2016

MAKING ALL
VOICES COUNT

A GRAND CHALLENGE
FOR DEVELOPMENT

KOTAKITA
A CITY FOR ALL

This page intentionally left blank

MAKING ALL VOICES COUNT

IMPROVING THE TRANSPARENCY,
INCLUSIVITY AND IMPACT OF PARTICIPATORY
BUDGETING IN INDONESIAN CITIES

DECEMBER 2016

MAKING ALL VOICES COUNT

A GRAND CHALLENGE FOR DEVELOPMENT

ABOUT MAKING ALL VOICES COUNT

MAKING ALL VOICES COUNT is a programme working towards a world in which open, effective and participatory governance is the norm and not the exception. It focuses global attention on creative and cutting-edge solutions to transform the relationship between citizens and their governments. The programme is inspired by and supports the goals of the Open Government Partnership.

Making All Voices Count is supported by the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) and the Omidyar Network, and is implemented by a consortium consisting of Hivos, IDS and Ushahidi.

DISCLAIMER: This document has been produced with the financial support of the Omidyar Network, SIDA, UK aid from the UK Government, and USAID. The views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the official policies of our funders.

WEB: www.makingallvoicescount.org **EMAIL:** info@makingallvoicescount.org **TWITTER:** @allvoicescount



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Principal Authors: Ahmad Rifai, Nina Asterina, Rizqa Hidayani
Contributors: Suci Handayani, Donny Setiawan, Fuad Khabib, Edi Ariadi, Fuad Jamil
Editor: Kristel Tracey
Design and Layout: Rizqa Hidayani, Bima Pratama Putra

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1	INTRODUCTION	13
	1.1 INTRODUCTION	13
	1.2 DEFINING PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING IN INDONESIA	14
	1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	15
CHAPTER 2	METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH	17
	2.1 FIELD SITE SELECTION	17
	2.2 HOW THE RESEARCH HAS BEEN ORGANISED	18
	2.3 HOW THE DATA HAS BEEN COLLECTED	18
CHAPTER 3	MUSRENBANG IN 6 CITIES	21
	3.1 SOLO CITY	23
	3.2 YOGYAKARTA CITY	26
	3.3 SURABAYA CITY	28
	3.4 MAKASSAR CITY	30
	3.5 BANDUNG CITY	32
	3.6 KEBUMEN MUNICIPALITY	34
CHAPTER 4	FINDINGS	37
	4.1 REGULATION OF MUSRENBANG	37
	4.1.1. <i>Local regulation adopt national regulation and detail the scope of participation</i>	37
	4.1.2. <i>Lack of capacity building a barrier to the acceleration of national regulation</i>	39
	4.2 PROCESSES OF MUSRENBANG	40
	4.2.1. <i>Processes are standardized but the grassroots level is dynamic</i>	40
	4.2.2. <i>Acknowledging the influence of civil society in local participatory processes</i>	42
	4.2.3. <i>Challenges to the process: disillusioned community</i>	45
	4.2.4. <i>Process in neighborhood levels are facilitated by local facilitators selected in different ways</i>	47
	4.3 PARTICIPATION	48
	4.3.1. <i>Questioning the way of community to get involved in Musrenbang cycle: Open Participation vs Invited Participation</i>	48
	4.3.2. <i>Musrenbang counts the voice of marginalized community in different ways</i>	49

4.3.3. E-Musrenbang as an effort to draw greater participation	51
4.3.4. Alternative spaces for participation emerge both from local authority or civil society	53
4.4 ACCESS TO INFORMATION	54
4.4.1. The distribution of information about Musrenbang	54
4.4.2. Limited information about neighborhood issues and cities	55
4.5 BUDGET PROPORTION	56
4.5.1. Accessing development budget in different ways	56
4.5.2. Development budget is still inadequate	57
4.5.3. Participatory budgeting promotes citizens' control on development projects	59
4.5.4. The privilege of participatory budgeting in villages; greater budgetary authority as a result of village autonomy	61
4.6 INNOVATION	62
4.6.1. Transparency and monitoring system through innovative technology	62
4.6.2. Using innovations that are grounded and adhering to local knowledge	65
4.7 PROJECT TYPE AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION	67
4.7.1. Physical projects vs non-physical projects	67
4.7.2. The unaccommodated proposals	69

CHAPTER

5

RECOMMENDATIONS 73

5.1 STRENGTHENING LOCAL FACILITATORS FOR BETTER MUSRENBANG PROCESS	73
5.2 FOSTERING EFFICIENT PROCESS OF MUSRENBANG DISCUSSION	73
5.3 REVITALISE THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY	74
5.4 BUDGET DEVOLUTION UP TO NEIGHBOURHOOD LEVEL	74
5.5 ENCOURAGE THE USE OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY TO IMPROVE PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING, INCLUDING YOUTH PARTICIPATION	74
5.6 FOSTERING LOCAL CAPACITY AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVES TO INDUCE PARTICIPATION	74
5.7 INFORMATION ON URBAN ISSUES NEED TO BE PROVIDED TO BETTER INFORM MUSRENBANG DISCUSSION	75
5.8 INCLUDE THE MARGINALISED COMMUNITY FOR MORE INCLUSIVE CITY LEGAL FRAMEWORK	75
5.9 ENCOURAGE IMPACT EVALUATION ON URBAN PROJECTS	75

ANNEX 79

ANNEX 1 - RESEARCH TIMELINE	79
ANNEX 2 - LIST OF INTERVIEWEES	80

ACRONIMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADD	<i>Anggaran Dana Desa</i> , village budget allocated by the Regency
APBD	<i>Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah</i> , local government budget
APBD _{Des}	<i>Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Desa</i> , village government budget
APBN	<i>Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Nasional</i> , national government budget
BAPPEDA	<i>Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah</i> , regional development planning agency
BAPPEKO	<i>Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Kota</i> , city development planning agency
BAPPENAS	<i>Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Nasional</i> , National development Planning Agency
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DD	<i>Dana Desa</i> , village budget allocated from National Government
DPK	<i>Dana Pembangunan Kelurahan</i> , neighbourhood development budget
DPR	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat</i> , People's Representative Council
DPRD	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah</i> , Regional People's Representative Council
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
LPMK	<i>Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kelurahan</i> , community empowerment unit in neighbourhood level, assisting Musrenbang process
LKMK	<i>Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Kelurahan</i> , community development unit in neighbourhood level in Surabaya
MPR	<i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</i> , People's Consultative Assembly
NGO	Non Government Organization
P5D	<i>Pedoman Penyusunan Perencanaan dan Pengendalian Pembangunan di Daerah</i> , Guidelines for Planning and Monitoring of Local Development
PAD	<i>Pendapatan Asli Daerah</i> , local revenue
PB	Participatory budgeting
PIK	<i>Pagu Indikatif Kewilayahan</i> , Indicative Budget Ceiling
PKK	<i>Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i> , women group in neighbourhood to city level
POKJA	<i>Kelompok Kerja</i> , working group assigned for certain task
RENSTRA	<i>Rencana Strategis</i> , city strategic planning

RKPD	<i>Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Daerah</i> , local government work plans
RPJMD	<i>Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah</i> , local government mid-term development planning
RPJMDes	<i>Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Desa</i> , village medium-term development planning
RPJMKel	<i>Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Kelurahan</i> , neighbourhood medium-term development planning
RT	<i>Rukun Tetangga</i> , a lowest administrative unit of an Indonesian <i>neighbourhood</i> covering around 20-30 households
RW	<i>Rukun Warga</i> , a territorial and administrative ordering system above RT level
SIPPD	<i>Sistem Informasi Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah</i> , information system on planning and development, applied in Makassar.
SKPD	<i>Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah</i> , regional work units
SPPN	<i>Sistem Perencanaan dan Penganggaran Negara</i> , National Planning and Budgeting System
UU	<i>Undang-Undang</i> , law

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

AKATIGA	<i>Pusat Analisis Sosial</i> , center for social analysis
BIGS	Bandung Institute of Governance Studies
CoED	Center of Economic Development
Combine	Community Based Information Network
FIK Ornop	<i>Forum Informasi dan Komunikasi Organisasi Non Politik</i> , the communication and information forum for civil society organisations
FITRA JATIM	<i>Forum Indonesia untuk Transparansi Anggaran Jawa Timur</i> , National network for budget transparency in East Java
FKMD	<i>Forum Komunikasi Masyarakat Desa</i> , communication forum for village community
FORKADA	<i>Forum Kebijakan dan Anggaran Desa</i> , policy and regional budget forum
FORMASI	<i>Forum Masyarakat Sipil</i> , a forum or coalition of several NGOs and civil society organization working on the sovereignty of village, based in Kebumen
FPMP	<i>Forum Pemerhati Masalah Perempuan</i> , Forum Concerning Women's Problem
Gita Pertiwi	Ecological studies forum
INDIPT	Institute for Social Strengthening Studies
INRES	Institute for research and empowering societies
INSIST	Indonesian Society for Social Transformation
IPGI	Institute for Partnership and Good Governance
IRE	Institute for Research and Empowerment
Java Sutra	<i>Jaringan Advokasi dan Transparansi Anggaran</i> , CSO who concern on budgeting, health, education, human rights and women issues
JERAMI	<i>Jejaring Masyarakat Miskin</i> , Solo-based NGO which focusing on poor community
K3D	<i>Komite Kajian Kebijakan Desa</i> , Kebumen-based NGO focusing on reviewing village development policy
KOMPIP	<i>Konsorsium untuk Monitoring Pelayanan dan Institusi Publik</i> , the consortium for monitoring the public service
KPI	<i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia</i>

KUPAS	<i>Koalisi untuk Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Sipil</i> , an NGO based in Makassar who works in promoting community development and transparency in governance system
LesKAP	<i>Lembaga Studi Kebijakan Publik</i> , Institute for public policy study
PATTIRO	<i>Pusat Telaah dan Informasi Regional</i> , the center for regional information and studies
PKBI	<i>Perkumpulan Keluarga Bencana Indonesia</i>
SARI Solo	Social Analysis and Research Institute
Sawarung	<i>Sarasehan Warga Bandung</i> , a forum for coalition of civil society organization, based in Bandung
SAVY AMIRA	<i>Sahabat Perempuan</i> , Women crisis centre
SPEK-HAM	<i>Solidaritas Perempuan untuk Kemanusiaan dan Hak Asasi Manusia</i>
YASMIB	<i>Yayasan Swadaya Mitra Bangsa</i>
YKPM	<i>Yayasan Kajian Pemberdayaan Masyarakat</i> , community development studies

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Desa	Village
Dusun	Unit of area, smaller than village. One village usually contains of several dusun
Kabupaten	Municipality - administrative unit under Province, equal to City
Kampung	Small village or community of houses, usually under neighbourhood level administrative, but not running any administrative function. One neighbourhood may consist of several kampongs.
Karang Taruna	Youth group in neighbourhood
Kelurahan	Neighborhood
Kecamatan	District
Kota	City
Musbang	<i>Musyawahar Pembangunan</i> , former participatory planning and budgeting forum in Solo
Musrenbang	The short form of <i>Musyawahar Perencanaan Pembangunan</i> , a participatory budgeting cycle that occurs in cities
Musrenbangkel	The short form of <i>Musrenbang Kelurahan</i> , held in neighbourhood level
Musrenbangcam	The short form of <i>Musrenbang Kecamatan</i> , held in district level
Musrenbangkot	The short form of <i>Musrenbang Kota</i> , held in city level
Rembug Warga	Discussion in RW level in Makassar
Sambang Kampung	Discussion forum in kampung existed in Yogyakarta



CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

1.2 DEFINING
PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING
IN INDONESIA

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION



1.1 INTRODUCTION

Decentralisation has provided the opportunity for the participatory model of development planning and budgeting to be applied in Indonesia. Within the participatory planning and budgeting context, known as *Musrenbang* (*Musyawaharah Perencanaan Pembangunan*), Indonesia attempts to apply a top-down and bottom-up mechanism simultaneously. At first, *Musrenbang* was tested out in 2000 as pilot projects in two cities (*Kota*), Solo and Dumai, and one municipality (*Kabupaten*), Bandung. Following on from this relatively successful pilot period, *Musrenbang* was scaled up to the national level in 2004.

Musrenbang enables local government to better engage citizens and discuss community aspirations and priorities in a formal forum. This then has the potential to be developed into programs or activities. If implemented successfully, *Musrenbang* can empower citizens and strengthen the capacity of civil society and local governments. It aims to heighten government

accountability, transparency and promote active citizenship.

Though most cities follow a similar fundamental participatory approach, the exact enactment of participatory planning and budgeting has evolved into different practices of *Musrenbang* in each city. They have different dynamics in terms of implementation, innovation, community engagement, execution of development programs and more. For example, the growth of technology has enabled some cities to create an online *Musrenbang*. Some cities also build a different type of engagement to accommodate demands for participatory spaces in local development processes. This has allowed cities to develop their own mechanisms for enabling participation in the budgeting for or financing of urban projects.

Furthermore, understanding the local context where *Musrenbang* is implemented is essential if we are to identify the constraints and prospects of participatory budgeting (hereinafter PB) in Indonesian cities today.

Therefore, this study analyses a comparative approach in six Indonesian cities, including Solo, Makassar, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Bandung and the Municipality of Kebumen. Through the richness of experiences in each city, this research examines the ideal conditions for effective PB to thrive in Indonesia. This study will explore some innovations and supporting policies that can be beneficial to improving the implementation of *Musrenbang*.

This study starts by defining the notion of PB in Indonesia. In the following section, terms such as *Musrenbang* are described, to what extent it represents the participatory planning and budgeting process. Hence, it gives brief insight in understanding this report.

The following section, Chapter 2 describes the methodology used for this study, including the rationale behind the selection of these six particular cities. Furthermore, it outlines the research framework used to capture the the different practices of participatory planning and budgeting process, consisting of seven aspects: regulatory, process, participation, access to information, budget proportion, innovation, and project type aspect. This chapter will describe how the data has been organised in this report.

This study will explore some innovations and supporting policies that can be beneficial to improving the implementation of *Musrenbang*.

Next, Chapter 3 illustrates the brief history of PB in Indonesia as well as the regulation guiding its implementation. This chapter also demonstrates the dynamic process of *Musrenbang* implementation in six study-cities. Chapter 4 compares different executions of *Musrenbang*. Highlighting the seven aspects as framework, this chapter addresses the challenging experiences in each context for fostering the participatory planning and budgeting process.

Concluding this paper, Chapter 5 provides recommendations for both national and local government on how the implementation, transparency and inclusivity of the *Musrenbang* and PB process can be improved.

1.2 DEFINING PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING IN INDONESIA

Understanding what constitutes participatory budgeting in the Indonesian context is important to clarify. Budgeting in Indonesia runs in a political space where negotiation between legislative body and the government tends to happen in closed circumstances. Though regulation acknowledges participatory planning by the enactment of Law No. 25 / 2004 as outlined in SPPN (or Sistem Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional or National Development Planning System), the notion of PB itself is less clear. The national planning system regulates an integrated local national planning mechanism started from the neighbourhood level which allows for a bottom-up process in principle. Moreover, it clearly mentions participation, giving a fundamental legal basis for citizens' entitlement to be involved in planning processes.

Meanwhile, Law No. 17 / 2003 and the Law No. 33 / 2004 only regulates how national budgets are managed and distributed to local government. Laws on budgeting focus more on the fair distribution of budgets between national and local government through a proportional, democratic, transparent and efficient system, rather than direct citizen participation. As a consequence, civic

BOX 1.1 LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE



FIGURE 1-1 Community Participation for Neighbourhood Development



participation in budgeting is quite limited to the extent where transparency is only really applied at the public consultation stage. Meanwhile, the decision making process behind budget allocation is still under the authority of legislative body and the government (see also Ahmad & Weiser, 2006)^[1].

Though there is quite a clear demarcation between planning and budgeting, the laws also indicate that both the planning and budgeting processes are considered to be interrelated processes. Musrenbang, as mentioned in Law of SPPN to be a communal forum for constructing development planning, can also be viewed as a space for participatory budgeting. This is due to the fact that participatory planning in Indonesia has been conducted in parallel with budget definition in project proposals. Based on this rationale, this research defines the correlation of planning and budgeting as a unity through the practice of Musrenbang. To give boundaries to this research, it mainly focuses on analysing the implementation of Musrenbang at the city level contextualized by its national and local regulatory aspect.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

BOX 1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this research are as follows:

- TO BETTER UNDERSTAND PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING IN INDONESIAN CITIES AND IDENTIFY BARRIERS AND ENABLERS TO ITS IMPLEMENTATION.
- TO PROVIDE RECOMMENDATIONS TO CITY GOVERNMENTS AND CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN ORDER TO HELP MAKE PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING MORE TRANSPARENT, INCLUSIVE AND IMPACTFUL.
- TO PROMOTE KNOWLEDGE AND CRITICAL REFLECTION ABOUT PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

[1] Participation in the budgeting process is enshrined in Ministerial Decree No.29/2002 issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs. This lays out performance-based budgeting and the bottom-up planning process. The Ministerial Decree requires the legislature to consult the public before the budget is enacted. The recently enacted Ministerial Regulation No.13/2006 opens up new opportunities for citizen participation in the budgeting process as it requires the executive branch to publish and disseminate the draft before it is given to legislative body (DPRD).



Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

- 2.1 FIELD SITE SELECTION
- 2.2 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK
- 2.3 HOW THE DATA HAS BEEN COLLECTED

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

This chapter explains the methodology of the research and why the six focus cities were selected. Secondly, it explains the seven considerations within the research framework which were used to observe and analyse the research. Lastly, this chapter demonstrates how the data has been collected and analysed for this report.

2.1 FIELD SITE SELECTION

This research selected six sites, including five cities and one municipality: Solo, Makassar, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Bandung and the Municipality of Kebumen. These were selected as sites where PB is being undertaken in progressive cities and one study from a non-urban context to provide a comparative example. Some cities are being innovative by maximizing the use of technology as they establish an e-governance system. Meanwhile, some case studies are revitalizing the participatory planning and budgeting mechanism by anchoring it to their culture, along with the presence of vibrant and dynamic civil society. Taking these rationales as consideration, the six study-sites demonstrate strong efforts to prioritize community investment and promote improved transparency, towards the creation of more inclusive cities.

BOX 2-1 SIX STUDY-SITES

- SOLO The pioneer city of Musrenbang
- YOGYAKARTA Demonstrates revitalisation of its participatory planning and budgeting mechanism
- SURABAYA The first city which performs the innovation of online Musrenbang
- BANDUNG Shows progressive leadership in fostering the smart city
- MAKASSAR The biggest city in East Indonesia which performs online Musrenbang
- KEBUMEN One of municipality which shows strong civil society's role in encouraging PB in rural area

FIGURE 2-1 Six Study-Sites

This study analyse a comparative approach in six Indonesian cities, including Solo, Makassar, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Bandung, and Municipality of Kebumen.



2.2 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Musrenbang is a feature of Indonesia's decentralized government which requires participatory budgeting. It's mostly applied to projects where the planning process is intertwined with the budget allocation process. Cabannes' (2004) research on the practices of PB in different countries explained that there are four key dimensions of PB, including budgetary, participatory, physical or territorial and regulatory aspects. This research has established seven aspects as a comparison framework, including:

1. **REGULATORY ASPECTS.** Looking at whether local *Musrenbang* legislation provides clear guidance or discourages participation.
2. **ORGANIZATION OF THE PROCESS.** The different practices of *Musrenbang* are illustrated to better understand the challenges experienced in each city.
3. **PARTICIPATION.** Whether the participatory budgeting process actively promotes the participation of all sections of the population, including women, vulnerable communities and marginalised groups. Citizens are not only involved in the prioritisation of projects but also in monitoring and evaluating projects, encouraging continual learning, reflection and improvement.
4. **ACCESS TO INFORMATION.** Is sufficient information available for citizens to understand the PB process? How can they engage in it and make informed decisions about the projects that are needed for their communities?
5. **BUDGET PROPORTION.** Accessing the allocation of budgets and whether they are sufficient for applying *Musrenbang* to maximum effect, for influencing the direction of the development of the city and accommodating the needs of citizens.
6. **INNOVATION.** The localised initiatives which are introduced and implemented during the *Musrenbang* process.
7. **PROJECT TYPES.** There is sufficient budget allocated to the *Musrenbang* process to accommodate community proposals, where they put forward project ideas according to the areas they deem to be priorities.

This set of ideal conditions helped us to identify and gauge the differences and similarities between each city's policies and conditions, as well as draw some lesson from the practices to inform a better policy in shaping the participatory planning and budgeting system.

2.3 HOW THE DATA HAS BEEN COLLECTED

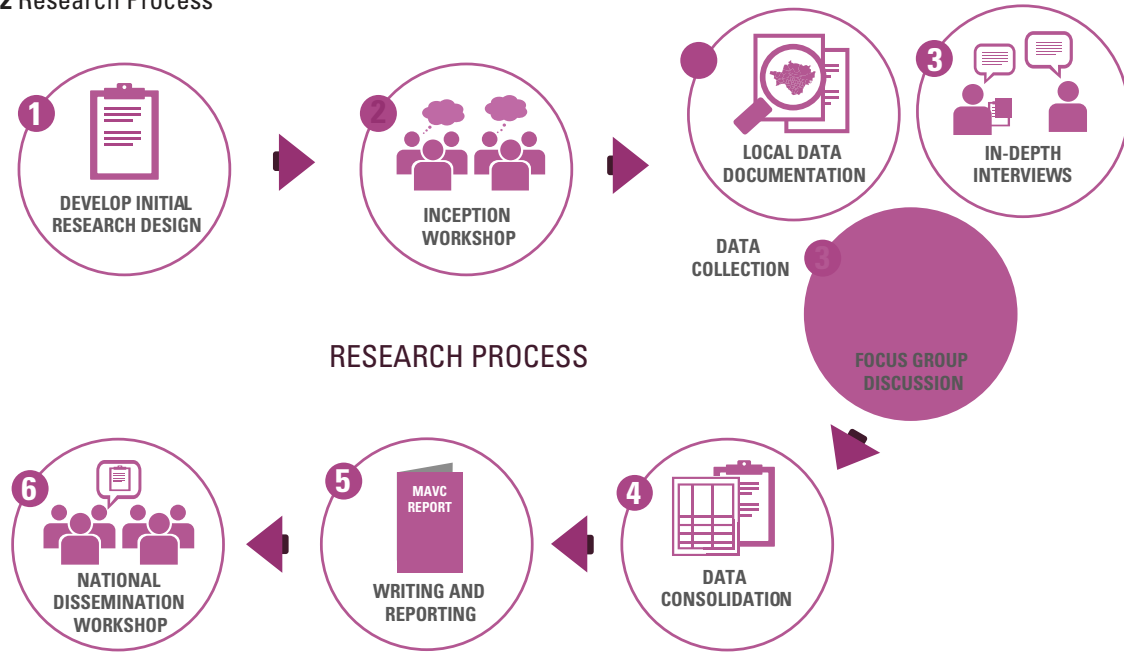
The data collection, both quantitative and qualitative data, has been undertaken through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, fieldwork, workshop, and local data documentation. The primary data was collected through interviews with key persons including government official (Local Development Planning Agency or *Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah* or BAPPEDA and *Musrenbang* committee), academics, as well as focus group discussion with participants of *Musrenbang*. Meanwhile, the secondary data consists of supporting evidence such as city planning documentation, *Musrenbang* documents, APBD (or *Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah* or Local Budget), statistical data from BPS (or *Badan Pusat Statistik* or Central Agency on Statistics) and local regulation. Before collecting both primary and secondary data, this research also conducted the inception workshop.

INCEPTION WORKSHOP

The inception workshop is an initial phase to launch the project and collect inputs from experts of participatory budgeting about the theoretical framework and methodology of the research. The workshop, held on February 16th 2016, invited government representatives and Indonesian civil society organization (hereinafter CSOs) who actively work with participatory budgeting in their city.

The discussion helped to define PB in the Indonesian context; whether *Musrenbang* is considered as participatory planning per se, or at the same time recognised as participatory budgeting. It also specified the regulations aligned to PB in Indonesia and questioned any alternative forms of PB other than *Musrenbang*. The discussion was also expanded to share ideas on how the PB processes could be improved. The inception workshop was also used

FIGURE 2-2 Research Process



to design the research methodology, including the selection of six study-sites.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

We conducted focus group discussions (hereinafter FGD) in six cities to find out more about people's experiences in attending *Musrenbang*. We aimed to better understand the practices and local experiences of implementing *Musrenbang*, identifying how they felt about their encounters with *Musrenbang* thus far and what they felt were the challenges and opportunities for its implementation. Therefore, discussions were divided into two-groups - community members and *Musrenbang* committee - to hear from two different perspectives on the matter.

In FGD with local communities, around 15 representatives in one neighborhood of each city were invited to share their experiences as participants of *Musrenbang*. This included representatives of each block, named *Rukun Tetangga* (hereinafter RT) / *Rukun Warga* (hereinafter RW), and other related community members. Meanwhile, in FGD with the *Musrenbang* committee, the local authorities or other stakeholders in charge of organizing *Musrenbang* were invited to discuss their views and experiences of facilitating the *Musrenbang* process at the neighbourhood level. These FGD gave an overview of how *Musrenbang* had been implemented in each case.

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

This research collected valuable information through in-depth interviews with local stakeholders in each city. This included government officials (BAPPEDA), representatives of RT / RW, representatives of *Kelurahan* (or neighbourhood) or *Kecamatan* (or district), civil society, local academics and community. These in-depth interviews were conducted to better explain the inception of the *Musrenbang*; the regulation and the formal plan for undergoing the *Musrenbang* forum at each level; the implementation of the forum and the existing innovations supporting the participatory planning of community.

LOCAL DATA DOCUMENTATION

Since this research were engaging in a comparative study, it was complemented by collecting similar supporting documentation from the six cities to facilitate cross-city comparison. The local documentation which was used to support this research includes: local regulation and planning documents, previous reports written by local organizations, attendance lists from previous *Musrenbang* meetings, meeting minutes from previous meetings, budget outcomes, database of project outcomes, documents on innovations and websites.



Chapter 3

MUSRENBANG IN SIX CITIES

3.1. SOLO CITY

3.2. MAKASSAR CITY

3.3. YOGYAKARTA CITY

3.4. SURABAYA CITY

3.5. BANDUNG CITY

3.6. KEBUMEN MUNICIPALITY

Chapter 3

MUSRENBANG IN SIX CITIES



Brief History of Participatory Planning and Budgeting in Indonesia

Before the reform^[2], the model of development planning and budgeting was heavily bureaucratic and not participatory. P5D (or *Pedoman Penyusunan Perencanaan dan Pengendalian Pembangunan di Daerah* or Guidelines for Planning and Monitoring of Local Development) was the previous system used by the government to consolidate proposals from the lower neighborhood levels to the national level planning and only allowed citizens to create a 'wish list', rather than inviting their active involvement in planning and budgeting.

After Law No.22 and No.25 were introduced in 1999, decentralisation allowed responsibilities to be devolved to local governments at the provincial (*Provinsi*), city (*Kota*) and municipality (*Kabupaten*) level. As a result of the reforms, the participatory

model of planning and budgeting system was launched to advance the implementation of local autonomy policies into development planning and budgeting. Since these changes, momentum has been building for the implementation of a transparent and effective governance model, particularly the enactment of participatory model for governance.

Solo, Dumai and the Municipality of Bandung began to implement pilot projects for participatory development planning mechanism. As noted by Rifai et.al (2009:37), CSOs (with the assistance of the international donor community) tested out participatory planning to strengthen democratic reforms in those cities. In Solo, for example, civil society and city government worked together to create a model of participatory planning called *Musbang (Musyawarah Membangun)* where communities discussed and prioritized their development agendas the neighbourhood level, which was then passed up to the district level and lastly

[2] Following the fall of Suharto authoritarian regime in 1998, Indonesia transformed its governance structure constitutionally, known as Reformasi (reform), and started the decentralisation process which allowed local governments to take over the management of municipal infrastructure and systems.

finalized at the city level. Meanwhile, the Municipality of Bandung held annual activity planning forums or MPKT (or *Musyawarah Perencanaan Kegiatan Tahunan*) to establish the prioritisation of issues.

Later, the establishment of Law No. 17 / 2003 which regulates the devolution of budget management to the local government and closely followed by Law No. 25 / 2004, gave a foundation for the formal implementation of a national development planning system. The law outlines a broader mechanism of participatory development planning known as *Musrenbang*. It also marked acknowledgment of the growing need for participation in governance, and was considered to be a fundamental step for the institutionalization of participatory planning and budgeting in Indonesia.

Law No. 25 / 2004 gives a foundation for formal implementation of national development planning system.

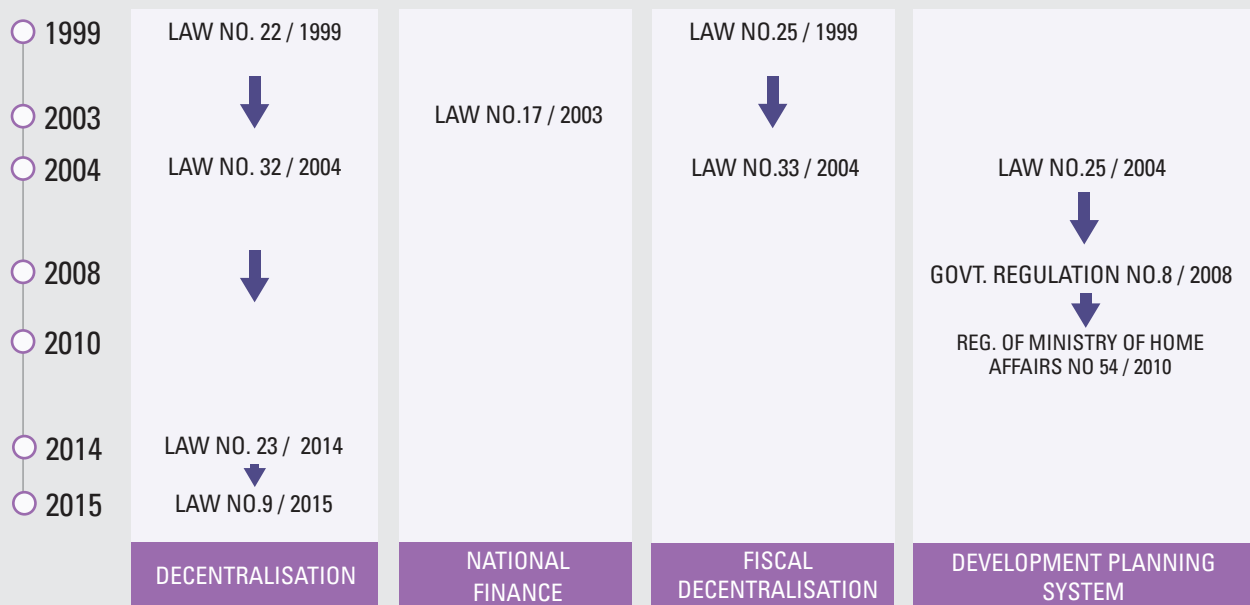
This was also later strengthened by Law No.32/2004 concerning local government and Law No.33/2004 focused on balancing local and national budget, which better allowed for local governance (province, cities and municipality), bottom-up planning and fiscal devolution. In 2005 the government released a joint ministerial decision of Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of

Development Planning Number 259/M.PPN/I/2005 to standardize the implementation of a participatory planning forum in local government.

Afterwards, the government released Government Regulation No.8/2008 on steps, guideline and procedures of implementing, monitoring and evaluating local development planning, further regulating the *Musrenbang*. This was followed by the Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No.54/2010 about the further detail of implementation of the Regulation No.8/2008. Currently Law No.23 / 2014 on local government and later revised into Law No. 9 / 2015 encourages more citizen participation on planning, budgeting, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of local development. However, there is not much research regarding the implementation of Law No.9 / 2015 given that this is quite new regulation.

Devolution of planning and budgeting seems to have created a sense of optimism in wider society to participate in determining the budget for development. From 2000-2005, many cities displayed that energy for promotion, campaign and advocating participatory budgeting was at a peak. Studies conducted during this period (Sumarto, 2003; Handayani, 2006; Histiraluddin, 2004; Ahmad and Weiser, 2006; Widianingsih, 2007) underlined the fruitful participation that involved different stakeholders in the city.

BOX 3.1 LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING PRACTICE IN INDONESIA



Since the formal regulation on participatory planning was settled in 2004, 2008 and finally in 2010, national guidelines for *Musrenbang* have led to participatory planning being embedded in the governance system and implemented universally. Many cities, thus, were obliged to implement their planning process, by creating local regulation, in accordance with participatory principles. After the initial period of optimism and engagement, it has since waned likely due to the repetition of the process. It seems that the great achievement has been taken for granted, and poorly evaluated. The research conducted by Kota Kita (2015) in Solo indicates that *Musrenbang* has become a formality, accompanied by a significant decrease in citizen participation. The reasons identified are; [i] society became disillusioned as a result of not many proposals being implemented, [ii] the government's role in determining budget allocations become more dominant, along with the weakening of civil society actors, and [iii] low capacity building both at the level of citizens and government officials.

This research, thus, identifies some of these adaptations of participatory planning and budgeting for different contexts. The following sections elaborate on the history of participatory budgeting in six cities: Solo, Makassar, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Bandung, and Municipality of Kebumen, as well as illustrating the process of *Musrenbang* in each context.

3.1 SOLO CITY

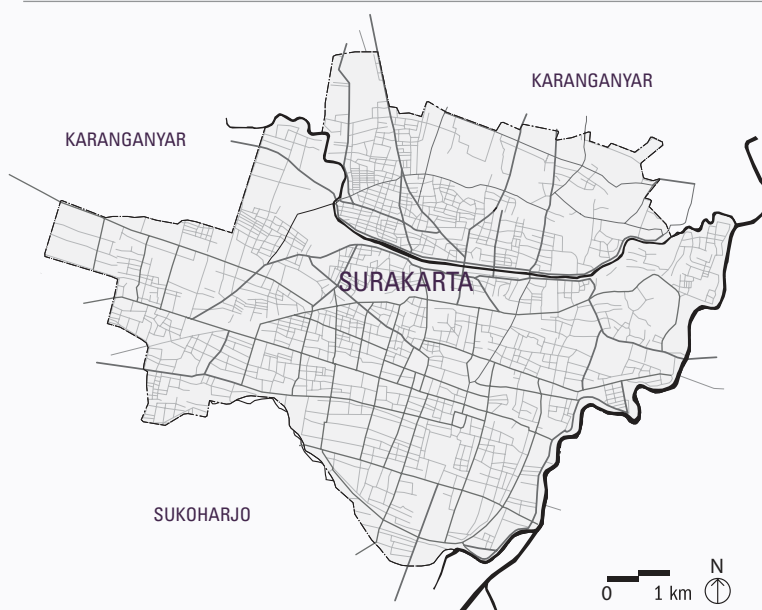
HISTORY OF PB IN SOLO

The initiative of participatory budgeting in Solo started in 1999 along with the reform on governance and politics. Groups of NGOs (non-governmental organization) includes the LPTP (or *Lembaga Pengembangan Teknologi Pedesaan* or Rural Technology Development Institute), KOPMIP (or *Konsorsium Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat untuk Monitoring dan Pemberdayaan Institusi Publik* or Consortium for Monitoring of Public Institutions), and academics began to discuss opportunities for increased participation in decentralisation context (Kota Kita, 2012).

Later, in 2000, the international donor, Ford Foundation, funded the establishment of a national civil society group called IPGI (Initiative on Local Governance Initiative) which focused on developing the conceptual framework for participatory budgeting scheme in Indonesia to be implemented in the pilot cities, including Solo. Given the influence from the conceptualization and practice of PB in Brazil and Philippines, the model introduced participatory planning forum known as Musbang (or *Musyawahar Membangun*) in 2001.

The forum was started following discussions around community aspirations at the neighbourhood level (named *Muskelbang* or *Musyawahar Kelurahan*

BOX 3.2 ABOUT THE CITY - SOLO



Surakarta or also commonly known as Solo, is one of secondary city in Central Java located in the center of Java Island. The economy of this city is mainly supported by manufacturing and trade, *batik* industry is one of the biggest small-medium industries that support the city's economy. This city is famous as the heart of Java because it's former capital of Javanese kingdom and till now still play key role in Javanese cultural life.

Area	: 44.04 km ²
Population	: 557,606 (2016)
Household	: 176,956
# Kecamatan	: 5 kecamatan
# Kelurahan	: 51 kelurahan
# RW	: 605
# RT	: 2,711

Membangun). The pilot project demonstrated interesting urban dynamics such as the involvement of urban marginalized groups like pedicab drivers, angkots drivers, street singers, vendors and other sectoral based groups in the city. They learned to prioritize their needs and submitted their proposals to the district level (named *Muscambang* or *Musyawah Kecamatan Membangun*). After that, they escalated the proposals up to the city level forum (named *Muskotbang* or *Musyawah Kota Membangun*) to get approval. Meanwhile, the city government created FGD (Sectoral *Musrenbang*) for each group and channeled their proposals to the related departments. Additionally, the pilot project in Solo was facilitated by strong partnerships between the government (ie. through BAPPEDA or *Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah* or Development Planning Agency), university, and NGOs (Rifai, 2009).

TODAY'S PB PROCESS IN SOLO

The participatory planning and budgeting forum starts at RT / RW level, both in the territorial based meeting (named *Musling* or *Musyawah Lingkungan*) and in the sectoral one (named MLK or *Musyawah Lembaga Kemasyarakatan*). In the RT level, the community can propose up to five projects within four categories; economic, government, infrastructure, and socio-culture. Then at the RW level, the community holds a meeting to review the proposals from each RT forum and selects up to five projects which are divided into the same categories as before. These proposals are then discussed at the Kelurahan level to prioritize the program and activity for the following year of the budgetary cycle and submitted to Kecamatan.

The city government in Solo created a block grant mechanism, where a budget is allocated specifically to a neighborhood account, allowing the community to propose how that budget is used for specific neighborhood projects. At first, Solo gave IDR 50 millions to all neighborhoods and asked them to determine how the money was used. Later, the city determined a formula to distribute the budget based on certain criteria, so each neighborhood receives a different amount based on the number of population, the size of the area, number of poor families and current level of public service delivery.

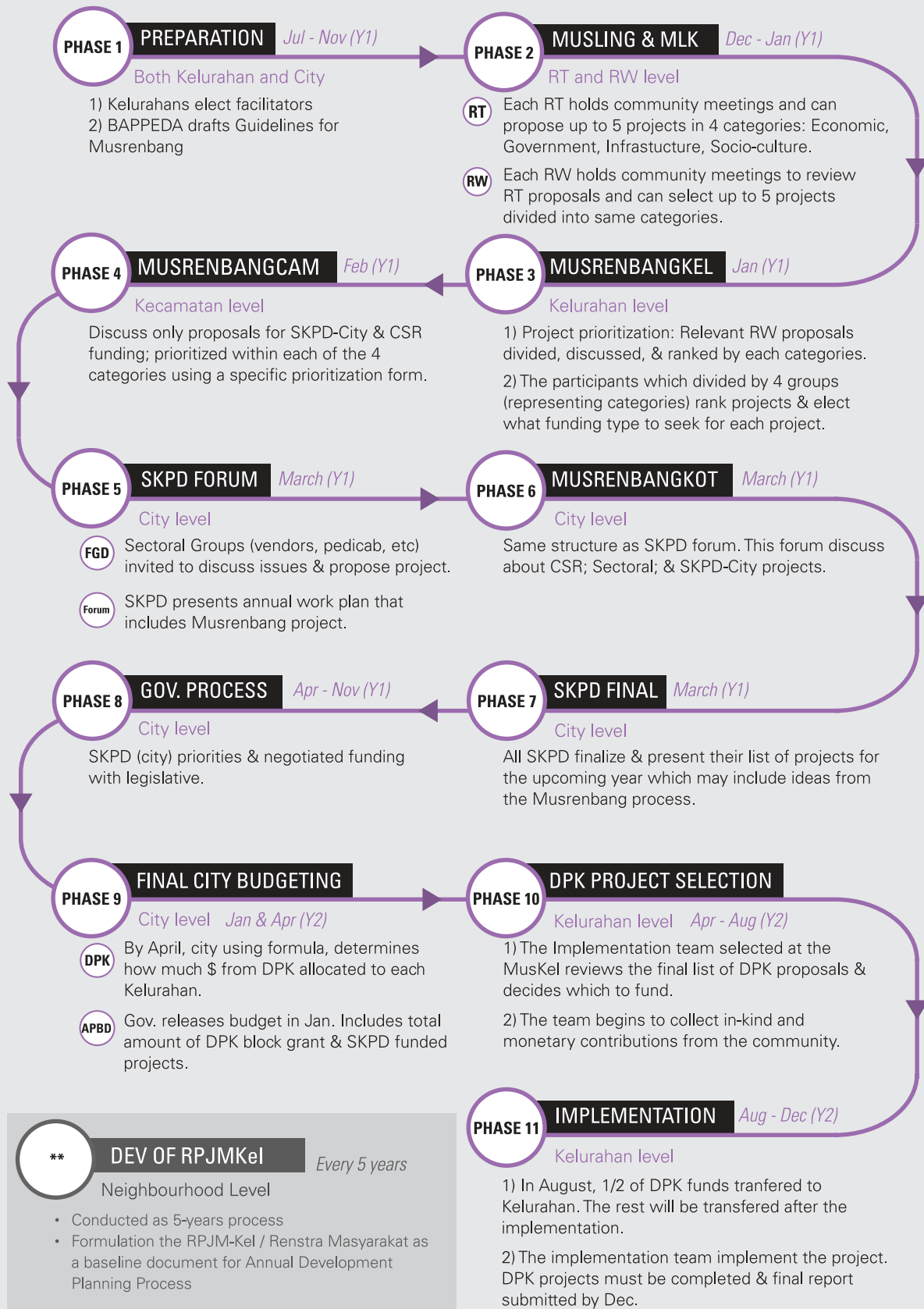
The proposals which have already been reviewed in Kecamatan level are channeled into the programmatic development agenda with the related regional works unit or *Satuan Kerja Perangkat Dinas* (hereinafter named SKPD), while city-scale projects remain allocated and managed at the city level through *Musrebang Kota*. The information of the process is illustrated in more detail in Box 3.3.

The pilot project demonstrated interesting nuance of urban dynamics such as the involvement of urban marginalised groups like pedicab drivers, angkots^[3] drivers, street singers, vendors, and other sectoral based groups in the city.

The *Musbang* process in Solo has inspired the establishment of *Musrenbang* on a national scale, which was regulated in Law of SPPN. In the practice, the *Musbang* process in Solo itself was adjusted into the *Musrenbang* process, including the modification of sectoral discussion. At first, sectoral FGD were conducted city-wide, but then the national guidelines required the discussions to be held at the Kelurahan level. This transition, thus, caused technical problems. For example, it was hard to organize the discussion with a group of pedicab drivers in a neighbourhood level, since they were formed from all over the city. The discussion cannot accommodate their aspirations well. Hence, having learned from this experience, in 2006 Solo decided to shift back the sectoral meeting model into city-wide forum again.

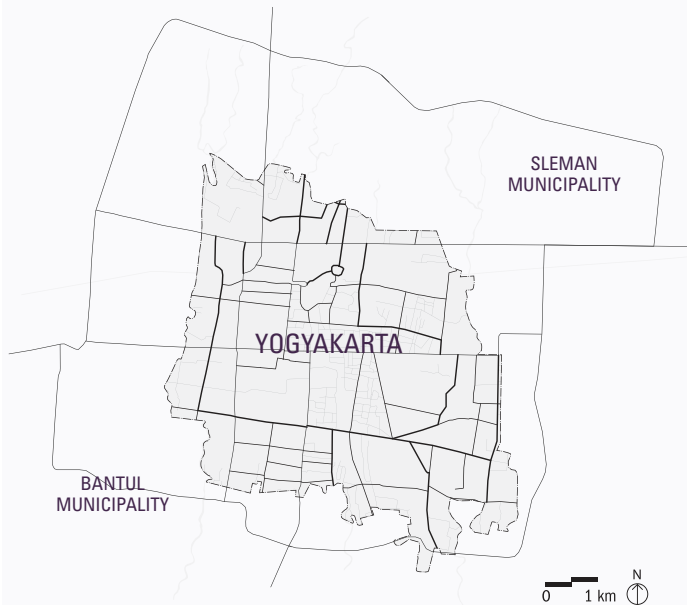
[3] ANGKOT: One type of informal transport in Solo - minivans that ply the roads, transporting commuters and goods to and from markets, and students to school.

BOX 3.3 MUSRENBANG PROCESS IN SOLO



3.2 YOGYAKARTA CITY

BOX 3.4 ABOUT THE CITY - YOGYAKARTA



City of Yogyakarta located in the Southern part of Java Island. It is also well known as the heart of Javanese culture since it was the Center of Mataram Kingdom. Its economy is mainly supported by tourism sector and the supporting industries. It is also well known as city of student because there are many education institutions in Yogyakarta and many students from throughout Indonesia live in the city.

Area	: 32,5 km ²
Population	: 144.137
Household	: 411.440
# Kecamatan	: 14 kecamatan
# Kelurahan	: 45 kelurahan
# RW	: 617
# RT	: 2.531

Source: BPS - Kota Yogyakarta Dalam Angka 2015

HISTORY OF PB IN YOGYAKARTA

The *Musrenbang* in Yogyakarta has been implemented since 2004 after the establishment of SPPN, however there is limited information about the participatory processes before that. Following the national regulation, the local authority recruited *Kelurahan* facilitators, as many as 10 facilitators in each *Kelurahan*, to help implement and monitor the implementation of *Musrenbang* in the neighborhood level. Meanwhile, in 2006, city government through BAPPEDA focused on improving the skills of the facilitators and reducing its number up to 3 people for each *Kelurahan*. Training and capacity building scheme were provided to better equip the local facilitators and to be able to proceed the *Musrenbang* effectively. Then in 2007, BAPPEDA focused on improving the planning process and the mechanism of *Musrenbang*.

Later in 2008, city government received assistance from GTZ GLG (or Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit - Good Local Government) to increase the community participation in *Musrenbang* by establishing a pilot project in Kecamatan Danurejan,

including three neighborhoods: Kelurahan Suryatmajan, Tegal Panggung, and Bausasaran. This process helped the government to explore different methods of *Musrenbang*. Therefore, the GTZ method was applied in these three neighborhoods, while Kelurahan Suryatmajan adapted the method with their own innovation by implementing *Sambang Kampung*, a discussion forum in *Kampung*^[4] level, as pre *Musrenbangkel* (or *Musrenbang Kelurahan*) activity.

TODAY'S PB PROCESS IN YOGYAKARTA

Started as a pilot project in Kelurahan Suryatmajan, *Sambang Kampung* was promoted to be applied in selected neighbourhoods. In *Sambang Kampung*, the community identifies problems, assess their needs, and formulate proposals which are later brought into pre *Musrenbangkel*. Generally, there are 3 steps of pre *Musrenbangkel*. First, they discuss and debate the result from *Sambang Kampung*. Second, each representative is invited once more to verify the proposals. Then, the drafting team redefines the proposals into three clusters, including infrastructure, economic, and socio-culture. The benefit of conducting pre *Musrenbangkel* is to make the

[4] *Kampung*: Small village or community of houses, usually under neighbourhood level administrative, but not running any administrative function. One neighbourhood may consist of several kampongs.

Musrenbang process runs faster, since in this stage the participants are ready with their proposals.

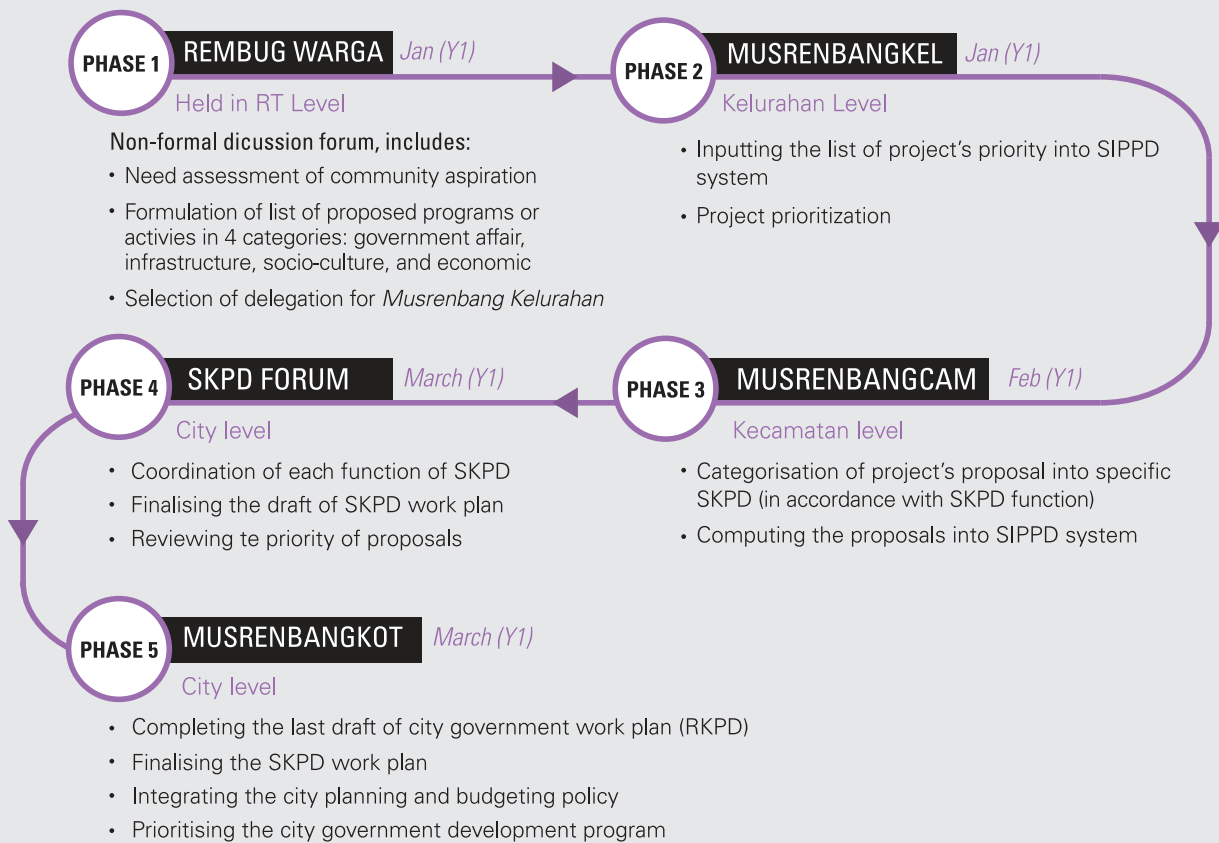
In Sambang Kampung, the community identifies problems, assess their needs, and formulate proposals which are later brought into pre Musrenbangkel.

After the pre *Musrenbangkel*, Kelurahan conducts *Musrenbangkel* to verify and prioritise the proposals. They also adjust the prioritised proposals with SKPD work plan and channel it with indicative budget ceiling, called *Pagu Indikatif Kelurahan* (PIK). This PIK allows the

community to identify how much budget is available for neighbourhood development before the participatory forum begins. The proposals are then forwarded to the *Musrenbangcam* (or *Musrenbang Kecamatan*) to be synchronised with the Kelurahan and Kecamatan work plan and the budget. At this stage, they also perform the thematic discussion for children, women, and the poorest sections of the community.

Later, an SKPD forum is held to synchronise the proposals with SKPD work plan. Meanwhile, the *Musrenbang Kota* itself tends to be like ceremonial event where there are only verification and clarification of the proposals. The information of the process is illustrated in more detail in Box 3.5.

BOX 3.5 MUSRENBANG PROCESS IN YOGYAKARTA



3.3 SURABAYA CITY

BOX 3.6 ABOUT THE CITY - SURABAYA



Surabaya, the Capital of East Java Province, is the second biggest city in Indonesia. In the last 5 years, the government of Surabaya puts an emphasis on integrating online platform into governance system, and the participatory budgeting became part of this platform.

Area	: 326.81 km ²
Population	: 2,599,796 (census 2010)
Household	: 768.932
# Kecamatan	: 31 (2014)
# Kelurahan	: 154 LKMK 154 (2014)
# RW	: 1.368 (2014)
# RT	: 9.118 (2014)

[Source: BPS - Kota Surabaya Dalam Angka 2015]

HISTORY OF PB IN SURABAYA

Musrenbang in Surabaya started together with the enactment of SPPN, the Law No.25 2004, with limited information about participatory processes before that. Until 2008, the *Musrenbang* discussion was centralised in *Kecamatan* Level, while they also have an authority to execute budget. Before 2008, there is no processes in *Kelurahan* level. But then since 2008, the city government launched *E-Musrenbang*^[5] which facilitate the process of project compilation by RW. This website is an online platform to make the process of *Musrenbang* is more transparent to public where every citizen of Surabaya can monitor what are the proposals proposed by each RW, which one is approved, which one is rejected. Since this year, the processes in lower level started to grow.

TODAY'S PB PROCESS IN SURABAYA

The participatory planning and budgeting process started in RT/RW level as pre *Musrenbangkel*, where communities prepare proposals for up to two projects. Assisted by LKMK (*Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Kelurahan* or community development unit in neighbourhood), the RW is responsible for submitting the project proposals into E-Musrenbang system. Later, in *Musrenbangkel*, they prioritise the projects during the forum, narrowing them down and taking some to the *Kecamatan* for consideration. They also synchronise the projects with indicative budget ceiling and verify it through the online system. For this reason, LKMK has a significant role as they act as gatekeepers, determining which proposals will be taken to the *Kecamatan* and city level.

The Government of Surabaya have strong emphasis in integrating the use of online platform into governance system. As a part of this effort, E-Musrenbang allows better transparency in Musrenbang process and promotes participatory processes in lower level.

In *Musrenbangcam*, they review and verify again the prioritized projects within the online system, while in the SKPD forum the proposals are verified by BAPPEKO (*Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Kota* or city development planning agency) and SKPD. In *Musrenbang Kota*, there is a discussion of SKPD city projects as they also decide the approval of the proposed projects. These processes can be seen in Box 3.7.

[5] E-Musrenbang Surabaya can be accessed in: <http://musrenbang.surabaya.go.id/>

BOX 3.7 MUSRENBANG PROCESS IN SURABAYA

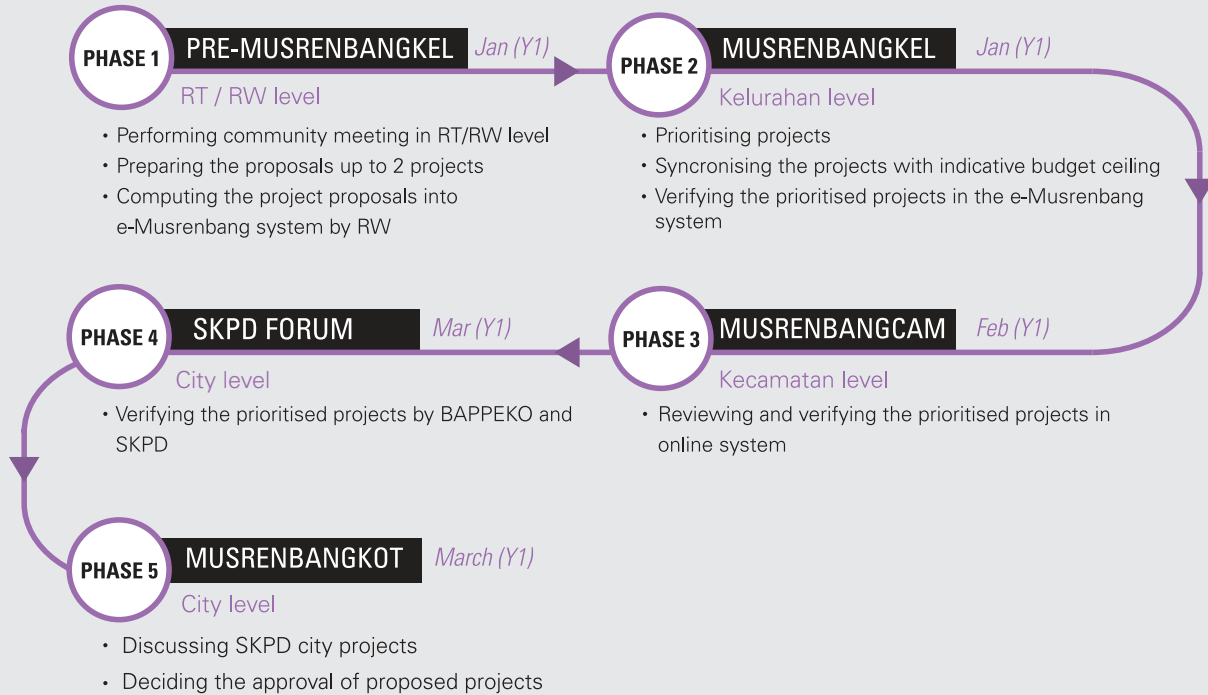
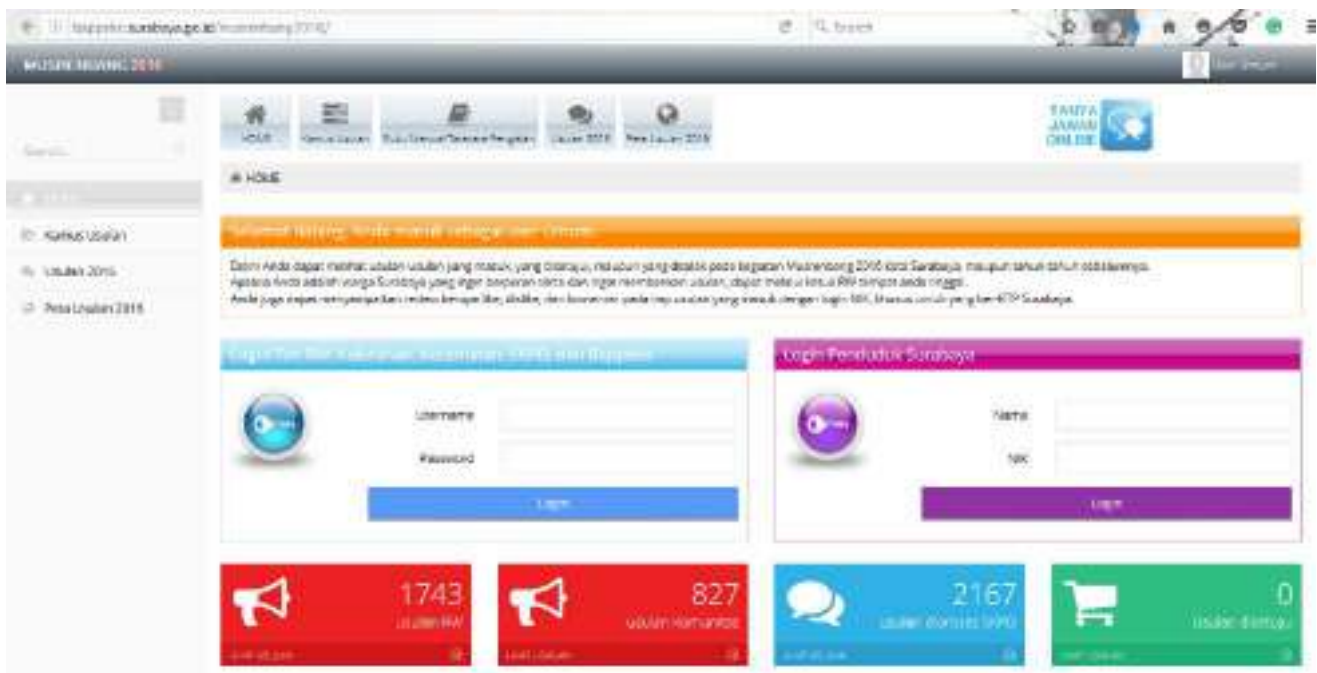
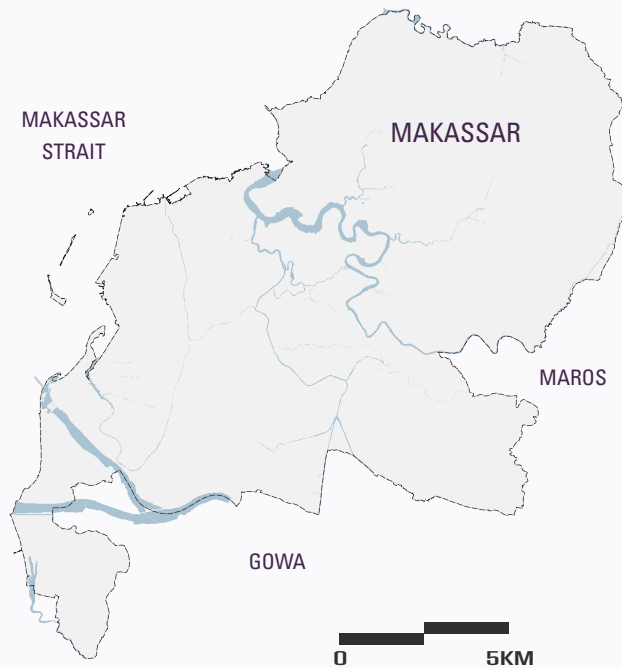


FIGURE 3-1 The Interface of e-Musrenbang Website



3.4 MAKASSAR CITY

BOX 3.8 ABOUT THE CITY - MAKASSAR



Makassar, the Capital of South Sulawesi, is also the biggest metropolitan city in Eastern Indonesia. Considered the gateway to East Indonesia, the port in Makassar is an important commercial hub and economic generator for the surrounding areas. Makassar's population has grown from 1.1 million in 2003 to about 1.44 million today, an increase of over 20% in a decade.

Area	: 175,77 km ²
Population	: 1.449.401
Household	: 347.748
# Kecamatan	: 14 kecamatan
# Kelurahan	: 143 kelurahan
# RW	: 996
# RT	: 4.968

(Source: BPS - Kota Makassar Dalam Angka 2015)

HISTORY OF PB IN MAKASSAR

The *Musrenbang* in Makassar has been implemented since 2004 after the establishment of SPPN. After around three years of implementation, the public began to raise concerns that their inputs were not being acted on. Concerns were also raised around the fact that the final decision of budget allocation is in the hands of the city government and the legislatives. In 2007, KUPAS (or *Koalisi untuk Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Sipil* or Coalition for Civil Society Empowerment) encouraged the establishment of an indicative budget ceiling at the departmental level to make the participatory process more transparent and enable the public to have a better understanding of how budgets are allocated in each department. Later, the City Government indicated that they had allocated an indicative budget ceiling, but the implementation has not been effective. Since it was channeled through each department of city government where there was still lack of transparency, community found it difficult to monitor the budgetary scheme.

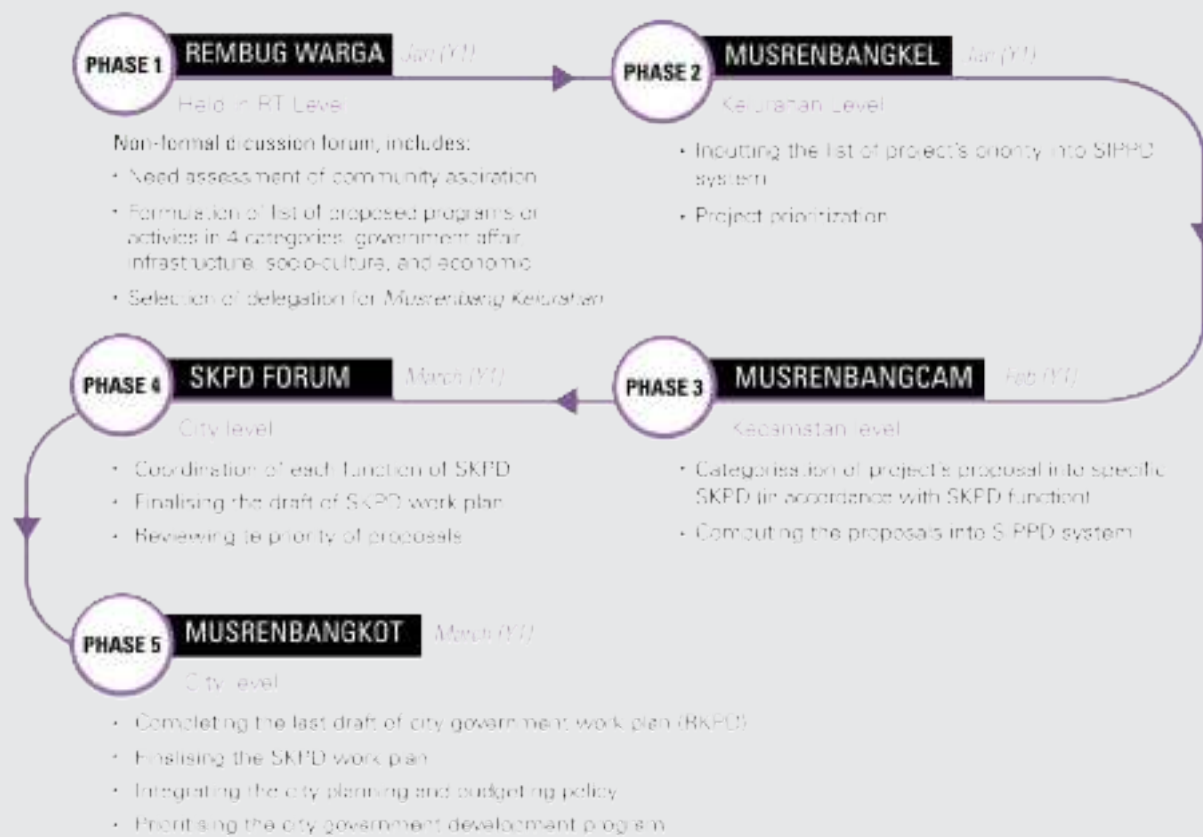
In 2009, KUPAS found that many proposals were deleted from department projects because they did not suit both the local mid-term planning objectives (or RPJMD or *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah*) envisioned by the elected Mayor, and the City Government work plan (or RKPD or *Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Daerah*). Motivated to improve the system, in 2010 KUPAS initiated the development of *Musrenbang Online* that allow people to monitor their development project proposals in a more transparent fashion.

TODAY'S PB PROCESS IN MAKASSAR

Learning from the experience of *e-Musrenbang* in Surabaya, in 2015 KUPAS developed a new platform for *Musrenbang* to replace the *Musrenbang Online*, named SIPP^[6] (or *Sistem Informasi Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah*). Without losing the function of the previous *Musrenbang Online* website, SIPP platform is more integrated as it provides information about the city planning, both RPJMD and RKPD. Thus, it makes it easier for communities to create proposals for

[6] SIPP Makassar can be accessed here: http://apps.lexion.co.id/sippd/musrenbang_makassar/. The SIPP consist of some function i.e SIM RPJMD, SIM RKPD, SIM Musrenbang and SIM Monev. SIM RPJMD is the information system in Makassar which provide information about vision and objectives of the City and the actual implementation of technical agency (RENSTRA SKPD) in 5 years period. SIM RKPD is used to facilitate SKPD in formulating RENJA and RKPD. While SIM MONEV is used to facilitate SKPD to monitor the implementation of city budget (APBD) per months and generate evaluation report of the City Working Plan (RENJA).

BOX 3.9 MUSRENBANG PROCESS IN MAKASSAR



their neighbourhood and has the potential to heighten the approval of proposals. This platform is now being formalised and becomes a point of reference for any department in determining project priorities. Each city and regency in South Sulawesi is now formally mandated to use the same platform, SIPPDP, for its *Musrenbang*.

SIPPDP (*Sistem Informasi Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah*) provides information about the city planning, makes it easier for communities to create proposals for their neighbourhood and has the potential to heighten the approval of proposals.

Theoretically, based on the city guideline^[7] for *Musrenbang*, the process is started at the RW level by holding an informal discussion forum, named *Rembug Warga*. However, in practice, most of the discussion takes place in *Kelurahan* where the invited community come to talk about their needs and the committee input the results of discussions into SIPPDP system. Later, in *Kecamatan* level, the result of the discussion in each *Kelurahan* is discussed and categorized into specific SKPD, while there is no elimination of projects in this level. At the city level, the program is checked and clarified with the city planning; those in line with the city planning will be accepted, while those which are not will be rejected. Furthermore, the information of the process is illustrated in more detail in Box 3.9.

[7] The regulation which has been developed as guideline in conducting Musrenbang in Makassar is Mayor Regulation No. 73 / 2015 about the amendment of Mayor Regulation No.53 / 2012 about City Development Planning Guideline.

3.5 BANDUNG CITY

BOX 3.10 ABOUT THE CITY - BANDUNG



Bandung, the capital of West Java Province and center of administration, education, trade, and industries in this province. Based on the statistic of Gross Domestic Regional Bruto (GDRB) indicates that trade, hotels, restaurant, and manufacture are the main sector which contribute to city economic structure.

Area	: 167,31 km ²
Population	: 2.470.802
Household	: 657.769
# Kecamatan	: 30 kecamatan
# Kelurahan	: 151 kelurahan
# RW	: 1.567
# RT	: 9.733

Source: BPS - Kota Bandung Dalam Angka 2015

HISTORY OF PB IN BANDUNG

Like most cities in Indonesia, *Musrenbang* in Bandung started after the enactment of SPPN in 2004, supported by Governor Regulation No.72/2005. The interesting case of Bandung shows there was dynamic movement from civil society even before *Musrenbang* itself was institutionalized. There are two Bandung-based NGO, BIGS (or Bandung Institute of Governance Studies) and Sawarung (or *Sarasehan Warga Bandung*), citizen forum in Bandung, who took a part in the effort to promote citizen participation. They focused on encouraging the role of community to get involved in the policy making process as well as accommodating the locals' aspirations.

By the end of 2004, they started to get involved in the participatory planning and budgeting process, even though it has not been officially institutionalized. The government of Bandung began *Musrenbang* in 2007 in a bid to prepare and consolidate the material for the Local Government Work Plan for 2008. This meeting also aimed to refine and synergize the scale of priority activities to be implemented in development activities in 2008 as the final year of the implementation of the Strategic Plan of Bandung City. In the following year, the city government also regulated City Regulation No.7/2008 as guidance for formulating, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of *Musrenbang*.

TODAY'S PB PROCESS IN BANDUNG

The process of *Musrenbang* in Bandung started in *Musrenbangkel* with preliminary discussions at the RT / RW level. However, in some neighbourhood this process was ineffectively conducted. As Andi, a secretary in Kelurahan Rancabolang, described, "*When we do not monitor the pra musrenbang at the RW level, they become so slow. It is not easy. It might even not be held.*" Therefore, they conduct the meeting directly in *Kelurahan* level to discuss the neighbourhood issues, formulate and prioritise the proposals.

In *Kecamatan* level, they compile the proposals and sort them based on each related SKPD. There is also the verification of the project priorities in this process. Next, in the SKPD forum, they synchronize the proposed projects with the SKPD work plan and estimate the budgetarial needs for each priority. Following its process, the *Musrenbang Kota* is held to discuss and confirm the prioritized projects along with the indicative budget ceiling. Referencing the source of budget allocation, they then select the development project.

BOX 3.11 MUSRENBANG PROCESS IN BANDUNG

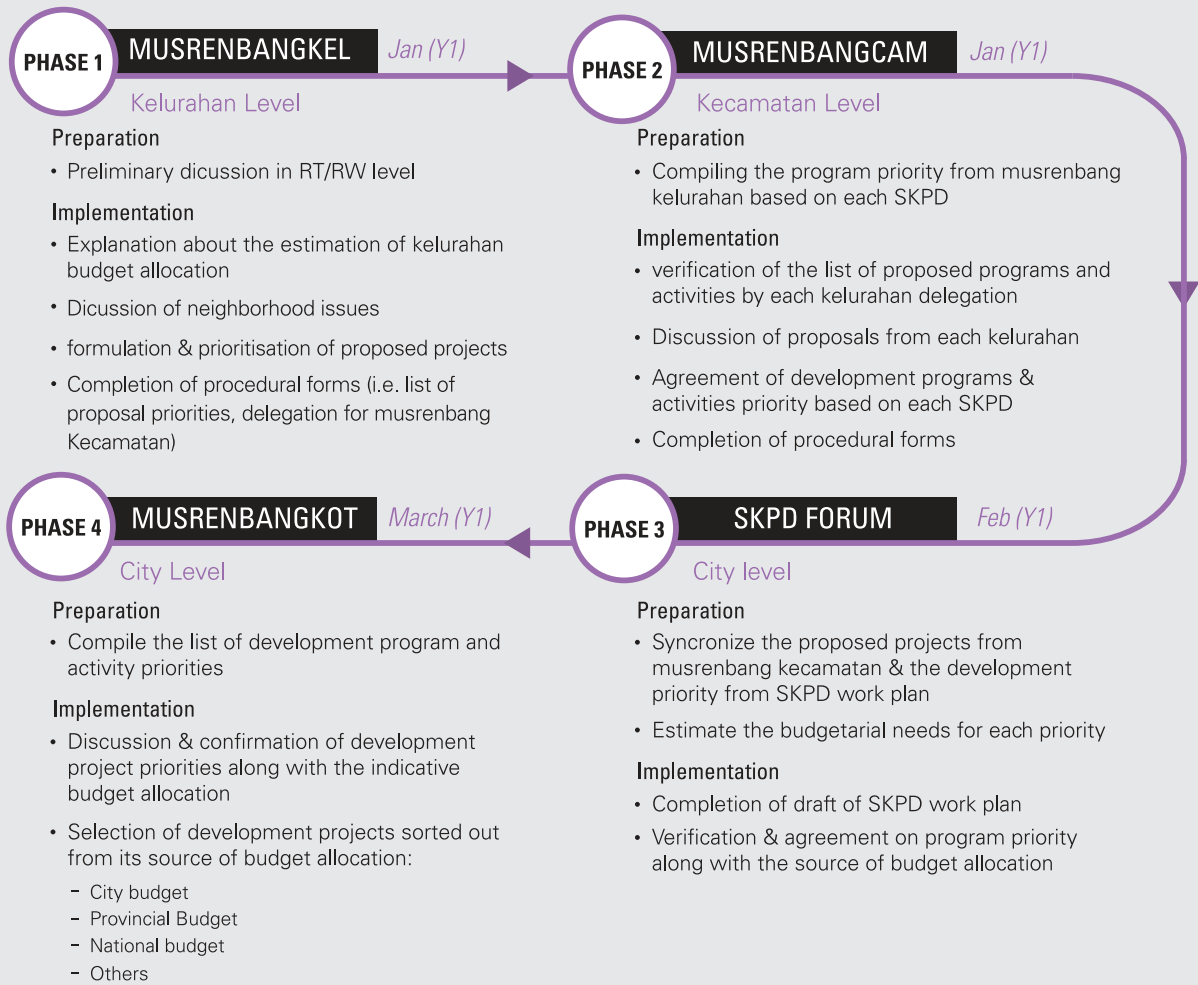
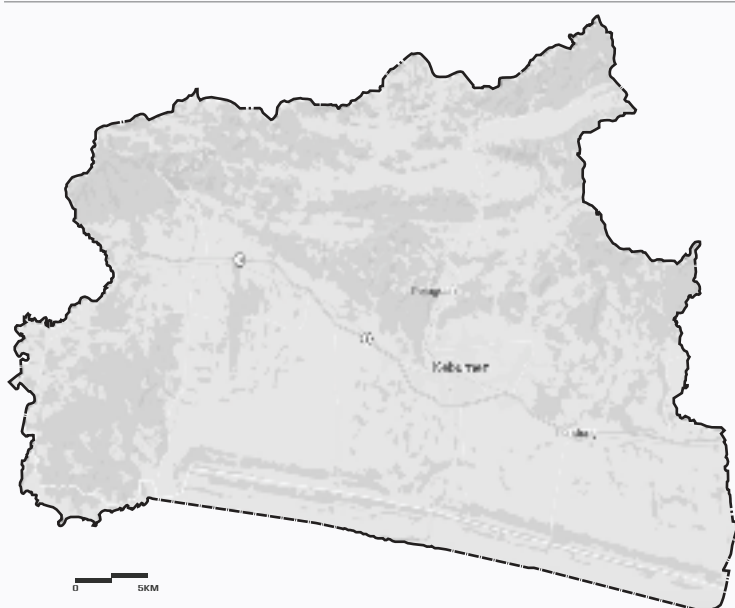


FIGURE 3-1 The Interface of e-Musrenbang Website



3.6 KEBUMEN MUNICIPALITY

BOX 3.12 ABOUT KEBUMEN MUNICIPALITY



Kebumen is one of the Municipality in Central Java Province. It is considered as one of the most progressive municipality in promoting participatory budgeting in village.

Area	: 1.281,12 km ²
Population	: 557,606 (2016)
Household	: 176,956
# Kecamatan	: 5
# Kelurahan	: 51
# RW	: 605
# RT	: 2,711

HISTORY OF PB IN KEBUMEN

PB in Kebumen started in 2000 where FORMASI (or *Forum Masyarakat Sipil*), a forum of civil society in Kebumen, made efforts to push public participation in the municipality development agenda. In that year they advocated for the establishment of local regulation for public participation on local budgeting process^[8]. Their efforts included promoting the allocation of village budgets from *Kabupaten*, called *Anggaran Dana Desa* (hereinafter ADD), as well as increasing the capacity of local actors and village officials for participation. In 2004 these efforts resulted in local regulations on village budgets through the enactment of Local Regulation No. 3 / 2004 about ADD and Local Regulation No 12 / 2004 about the formulation of village government budgets (or APBDes or *Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Desa*).

After the regulation was formally launched by the Government of Kebumen in 2004, villages were given increased authority in allocating resources. As Murtiono (2012) mentioned that there was significant increase

on the village budget, in terms of direct transfer, from Rp.8.630.526.000, - in 2005 to Rp 40.000.000.000, - in 2008. FORMASI has since assisted 449 villages in the municipality to formulate a six-year planning document, called RPJMDes (or *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Desa*). It contains six years planning of programs and activities which become one of the most prominent sources of information in proposing the annual *Musrenbang*. In other words, FORMASI plays a big role in promoting and enhancing the PB in Kebumen.

TODAY'S PB PROCESS IN KEBUMEN

Musrenbang cycle in Kebumen started with the formulation of RPJMDes during *Musrenbang RPJMDes* started with *Musyawahar Dusun*^[9] (*Musdus*) where anyone living in the neighbourhood can participate in it. In this forum, facilitated by POKJA^[10], they identify the village issues, suggest programs and activities within five-year timeline. This process is a crucial step in the process of *Musrenbang*, because the output of the process becomes a reference for proposing projects

[8] At this point, the village budget allocation has not yet regulated nationally. In 2007 the National Government, then, regulated the Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No.37 / 2007 on the village financial management guideline.

[9] Dusun is unit of area, which smaller than village. One village usually contains of several dusun.

[10] POKJA (or *Kelompok Kerja*) is working group consists of representatives from the village government, community leaders, and women's group and assigned to assist and facilitate the process of *Musrenbang*.

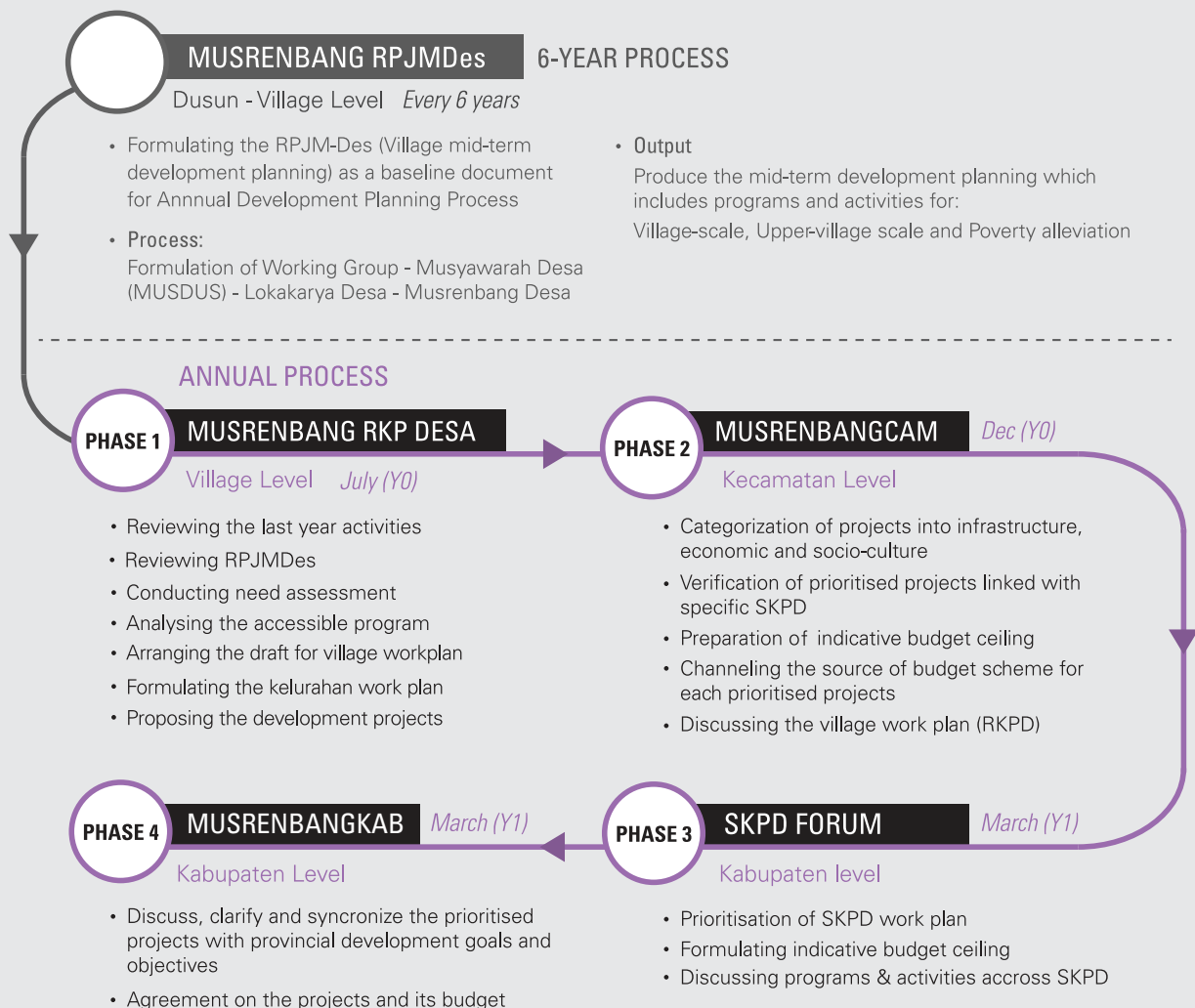
in the annual *Musrenbang* over the following six years. As cited in Bulan (2009), one of the problems for the formulation of RPJMDes is the low capacity of the village officials to formulate a decent planning document for quite a medium time frame, which often lead to low quality planning documents. Thus, assistance from the government and NGOs are key in this process.

While *Musdus* happens every six years, the annual processes of *Musrenbang* happen at the village level, named *Musrenbang RKP Desa*. The annual *Musrenbang* process in Kebumen is started quite early compared to other cities, since it begins in July. The village budget mechanism is also quite different and varied compared to the source of funding in cities. Since the enactment of Law No.6 / 2014, the villages receive a village budget directly from the National Government called *Dana Desa* (hereinafter DD) and are allowed to determine

themselves how to best allocate the resources. Besides ADD and DD, villages also can access other budget sources, such as village original revenue and indicative budget ceilings in *Kecamatan* (PIK).

The *Musrenbang Desa* then reviews the implementation of program activities of the previous year, using the RPJMDes as a basis for information to propose program and activities. In December the *Musrenbang Kecamatan* takes place, in which the proposed program is categorised and prioritised along with its synchronisation of specific SKPD and the source of the budget. This process is followed up with SKPD forum where there is a discussion of programs and activities across the SKPD. In *Musrenbang Kabupaten*, they discuss, clarify, and synchronise the prioritised projects with Provincial development goals and objectives.

BOX 3.13 MUSRENBANG PROCESS IN KEBUMEN





Chapter 4 FINDINGS

- 4.1. REGULATION
- 4.2. PROCESSES OF MUSRENBANG
- 4.3. PARTICIPATION
- 4.4. ACCESS TO INFORMATION
- 4.5. BUDGET PROPORTION
- 4.6. INNOVATION
- 4.7. PROJECT TYPE

Chapter 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This research extracted lessons from practices and experiences of cities in conducting their participatory budgeting processes (Musrenbang) framed within seven different aspects (as outlined in section 2.2): regulation, processes, participation, access to information, budgetary, innovation, and project implementation.

4.1. REGULATION

4.1.1 LOCAL REGULATIONS ADOPT NATIONAL REGULATION AND DETAIL THE SCOPE OF PARTICIPATION

The research observed and compared different sets of regulation from six cities, analysing how it contributes to the implementation of *Musrenbang* in each case. The Indonesian regulatory environment implies that cities are able to translate national regulation into local regulation to guide or legitimize the procedure of implementation, as long as it does not conflict with any aforementioned regulation.^[11] Law No. 25 / 2004 on national development planning system regulates a broader mechanism and provides spaces for local government to produce localised regulation for the local planning process, including the need to conduct *Musrenbang* as a participatory planning forum.

For the guideline of the implementation of participatory planning and budgeting process, the Ministry of Home Affairs along with the Head of National Development Agency regulated Joint Circular Letter 259/M.PPN/I/2005. Since it was not legally binding, the government then established Government Regulation No.8 / 2008 which mentions the requirement for stakeholder engagement in local development planning by giving more autonomy for local government to regulate their local processes. The regulation also explains that the participation is a citizen right, which allows them to get involved in each process of development planning and should be inclusive for marginalised groups. Followed by the Ministry of Home

Affairs Regulation No.54 / 2010, the participation in local development planning mentions the involvement of different groups such as government representatives, academics, NGOs or civil society, community leaders, women and marginalised groups.

Given the authority to set regulation, cities create the guideline for *Musrenbang* through Local Regulation (*Peraturan Daerah*) or Mayor Regulation (*Peraturan Walikota*).

Though the regulation demonstrates the good intention from government in encouraging inclusive participation (which also supports transparency), in reality the six study-cities show contradictory implications.

Mettler and Soss' (2004) works also indicate that the regulation sets boundaries of inclusion on citizen participation to some degree.

Previously, Solo had an innovative forum called Sectoral Group Discussion (or *Diskusi Kelompok Sektoral*) which was appreciated as a space for marginalised groups in the city to participate and influence budget decisions. Following the establishment of a Joint Circular Letter 259/M.PPN/I/2005 the forum was omitted from the participatory process because the city government was unable to apply the forum since the regulation did not give mandate to do so. Instead, they applied the territorial discussion as mandated in Joint Circular Letter,

[11] The regulation hierarchy as stated by Law 12 / 2011 are: 1). National Constitution 1945 (Undang Undang Dasar 1945), 2). Consultative Assembly (MPR) Decision (Tap MPR), 3). National law (Undang Undang (UU)) or Government Regulation for UU replacement (PERPPU), 4). Government Regulation (Peraturan Pemerintah (PP)), 5). President Regulation (Peraturan Presiden (Perpres)), 6). Local Regulation at provincial level (Perda Provinsi), 7). Local regulation at city / municipal level (Perda Kota / Kabupaten).

while some issues could not be covered in the forum. The sectoral group discussion was shelved for two years before its reactivation in 2008 following pressure from wider civil society groups (Shemmy Samuel Rory, coordinator JERAMI).

Generally speaking, the rigid regulation can lead to city governments following the rules for the sake of ticking boxes, compromising the essence of participation itself. In contrast, the flexible regulation can allow some room for city government to implement innovative strategies. Yogyakarta, for example, applies *Sambang Kampung* as a discussion forum in the RT/RW level before proceeding into pra *Musrenbang*. Meanwhile, Surabaya improvises the process through the use of *e-Musrenbang*. Given it is less-regulated, the application needs more commitment from each stakeholder in order to make it work and better perform as a participatory planning and budgeting system, especially when applying the process at the lowest level.

Musrenbang ideally gives more experience for government, civil society organisations and community

in decision making process. Hence, in general, the set of regulation in six study-cities defines in detail who is eligible to attend the forum at each level, such as community leaders, cultural elites, religious leaders, youth and women representatives, facilitators, sectoral community, NGOs, academics, political parties representatives and many more. The selection of participants demonstrates whose voice is counted in the participatory and budgeting process.

However, in practice, the regulation itself might get articulated into different understanding. For example, according to Municipal Regulation of Kebumen No. 37 / 2015, *Musrenbang Desa / Kelurahan* allows the women participation for at least 30% of the total of participants. According to Fuad Khabib (FORMASI Kebumen), the case of South Kebumen demonstrates that the level of women's participation - which is considered high - gradually decreases along with the limitation of the quota of participant. It indicates that there is a misinterpretation where the committee define 30% of women participation as its maximum number, not the minimum one.

TABLE 4-1 LOCAL REGULATIONS ON MUSRENBANG

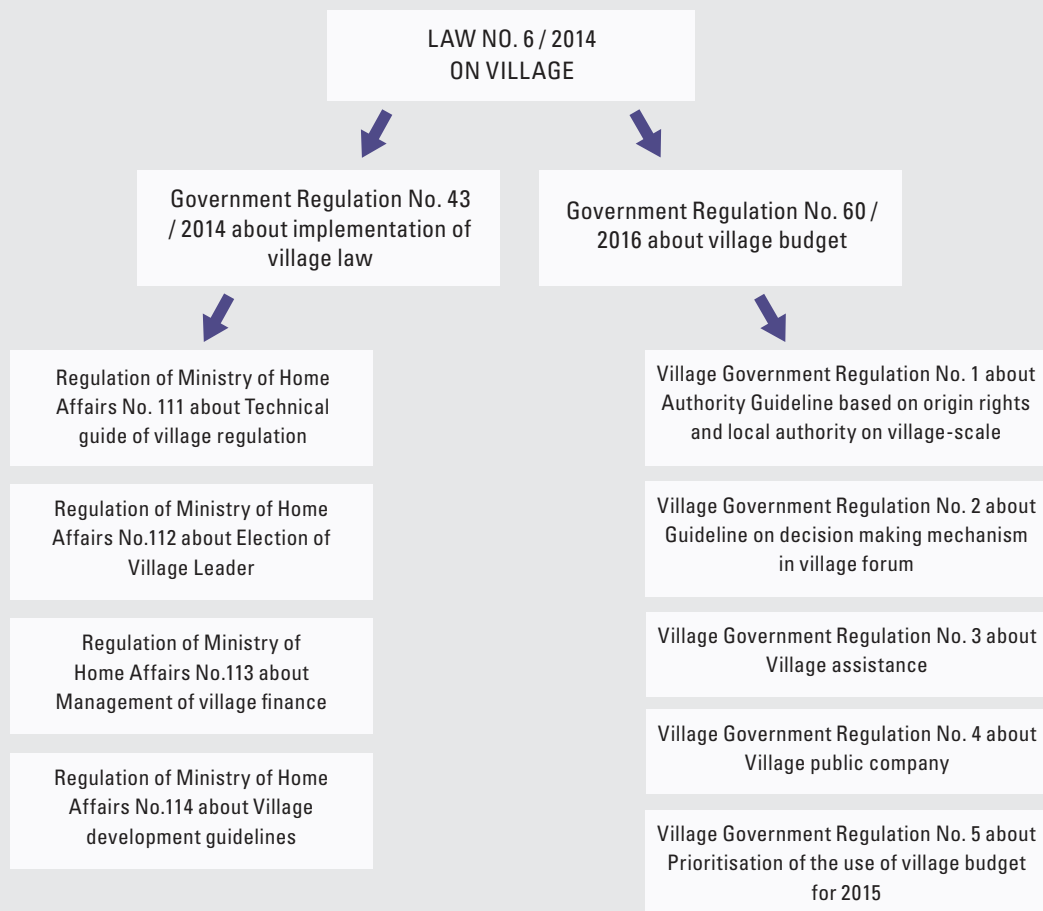
CITY	LOCAL REGULATIONS
Solo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mayor Regulation No.22/2014 about Guidelines of Implementation and Technical Guideline of Implementation for City Development Planning Meeting. (annually renewed)
Yogyakarta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> City Regulation No.6 / 2006 about Procedures for Document of Regional Development Planning Preparation and Regional Development Planning Meeting Implementation Mayor Regulation of Yogyakarta No 46 / 2006 on Guidelines for Implementation of Regional Regulation No.6 / 2006 Governor Regulation of Yogyakarta No.69 / 2013 about Procedures for Coordination in Development Planning Formulation
Surabaya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Referring to Law 25/2004, Regulation of Ministry of Home Affairs No 54/ 2010 and 27/2014 Annual forum regulated through Mayor Regulation.
Makassar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mayor Regulation of Makassar No.53 / 2012 about Guidelines of City Development Planning
Bandung	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Governor Regulation No.72 /2005 City Regulation No.7 / 2008 about the Stages, Formulation Procedures, Monitoring and Evaluation of Development Planning Implementation and City Development Planning Meeting City Regulation No.5 / 2009 about Amendment to City Regulation No.7 / 2008 Mayor Regulation No. 121 / 2010 about Monitoring and Evaluation of City Development Planning Implementation and City Development Planning Meeting
Kebumen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> City Regulation No.7 / 2004 about Village Budget Allocation Regional Regulation No. 53 / 2004 about Public Participation in Public Policy Process Regent Decree 2005 about Capacity Building for Rural Community Regent Regulation No.15 / 2014 about Guidelines of Operational PNPM Mandiri Pedesaan Integrasi Sistem Pembangunan Partisipatif dan Sistem Pembangunan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional Municipality Regulation of Kebumen No 37 / 2015 about Procedures of Implementation of Regional Development Work Plan Meeting

4.1.2. LACK OF CAPACITY BUILDING A BARRIER TO THE ACCELERATION OF NATIONAL REGULATION

This research also covers the practice of *Musrenbang* in a municipality which has different regulation. Unlike other cities which anchor their guidelines from Law of SPPN, the Municipality of Kebumen follows the Law No.6 / 2014 on Villages. National government established the Government Regulation No.43 / 2014 on Implementation of Law of Village and Government Regulation No.60 / 2014 on Village Budget as effort to firmly set the rules for all municipality in doing the participatory planning and budgeting mechanism. Observations have found that there is a gap between the acceleration of national regulation to local implementation due to lack of capacity building in the local areas.

Taking a unique case of Municipality of Kebumen, which is dominated by areas designated as village, there is still lack of understanding about the Law of Village and other related regulations. It happens because the national government makes the regulation, while local government cannot keep up with the acceleration of the regulation process. As Fuad Khabib, FORMASI Kebumen, argued, *“The national government is too eager to regulate the implementation of Law of Village, but too late to fill the gap on existing local capacity”*. Despite the minimal capacity at the local level, there is also unsynchronized policy between the regulation from Ministry of Rural Development and Ministry of Home Affairs which creates the confusion for the local government. From the discussion in the FGD in Desa Pejengkolan, Kebumen, this research found that there are still some villages which have not taken the village budget due to their lack of understanding about the procedures of the regulation.

BOX 4-1 REGULATION FRAMEWORK FOR VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT



4.2. PROCESS OF MUSRENBANG

4.2.1. PROCESSES ARE STANDARDIZED BUT THE GRASSROOT LEVEL IS DYNAMIC

Musrenbang processes in six cities are quite similar in general, since it's underlying procedures and principles are assigned by the national government; annual technical guidelines are produced by the Ministry of Home Affairs and The Head of National Development Planning Body (BAPPENAS). The implementation at the grassroots level, however, is very dynamic and has allowed for many adjustments. Cities also embed the adjustments for the local context and resulted in varied implementation. The research revealed that the dynamics at the lower level are affected by different local considerations, such as the size of the city and the culture of the community.

THE SIZE OF THE CITY

Mid-size cities like Solo and Yogyakarta are considered to have more social ties than big metropolitan cities like Surabaya, Bandung and Makassar. In Solo, *Musrenbang* starts from very lowest level (RTs or blocks), as they have regular meeting to discuss community issues, which are later aggregated to RW. Local facilitators also work quite intensely to facilitate discussions at the RW level to generate proposals, while deliberative meetings happens in *Kelurahan* thereafter. Suyanto, one of the participants of *Musrenbang* in Timuran describes that *Musrenbang* has become an annual event that people

celebrate, as it provides a space for social gatherings amongst community members. Furthermore, in many other *Kelurahan*, the forum has been modified by inviting more people to come and given the chance to have lucky draw coupons for participants. Meanwhile in Yogyakarta, the dynamic process happens at the *Kampung* level by inviting representatives from the RTs and RWs, local organizations, women and youth groups. Facilitated by the local committee from LPM (Local Community Empowerment Board), the meeting aims to prioritize proposals at the *Kampung*.

Unlike mid-size cities, the larger metropolitan cities are considered more individualistic. In addition, metropolitan cities contain more diverse and transient, which can affect the sense of belonging to the forum for neighbourhood development. Generally speaking, Bandung, Makassar and Surabaya illustrate less enthusiasm in undergoing *Musrenbang*. In Surabaya, the tendency for not involving RT level is likely high. From the history of *Musrenbang* in Surabaya, the forum started in *Kecamatan* level. Now, the government has made an effort to make the process more grounded at the lower level by creating a mechanism to input proposals to *e-Musrenbang* since RW level, but discussions below that level are limited. Furthermore, in Bandung, there is no pre-*Musrenbang* in RT or RW level. The very lowest process starts in *Kelurahan* where they directly invite representatives from RW to the forum. Observation in Makassar also shows that the discussion

BOX 4-2 MURENBANG PROCESS IN GRASSROOT LEVEL

DYNAMICS IN GRASSROOT LEVEL	5 - year process: Formulation of <i>Renstra Masyarakat</i> (Neighbourhood medium-term development plan)		
	SOLO	YOGYAKARTA	SURABAYA
Musling and MLK: Both territorial and sectoral discussion happen since RT level through Musling and MLK		Sambang Kampung: Rep. from the RTs and RWs, local organizations, women and youth groups are invited to prioritize proposals at the Kampung level.	e-Musrenbang: In RW level, the community inputs their proposal directly to e-Musrenbang system to be discussed in Kelurahan level
PARTICIPATION CULTURE	●●●	●●●	●●○
UTILIZATION OF TECH	●○○	●○○	●●●
SIZE OF THE CITY	44,04 km ²	32,8 km ²	326,81 km ²

at the RT and RW level, named Rembug Warga, which regulated in their technical guide of *Musrenbang*, is not carried out in practice. As also mentioned by one *Musrenbang* participant in Makassar, “*Rembug warga did not happen at the RT and RW level. Discussion only took place in Kelurahan level attended by representatives from every RW.*”

THE CULTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

The dynamic of the participation at a grassroots level might also be related to cultural variants. Some cities with strong cultural practice in the community, demonstrate stronger engagement in *Musrenbang*. Like in Solo and Yogyakarta, where *Musrenbang* started at the RT level, face to face meeting is still considered more meaningful in the community, as it is part of Javanese culture. The FGD *Sambang Kampung* in Yogyakarta indicate that kampung culture is very strong. In Suryatmajan, people are still very connected and familiar with one another. According to head of LPM in Suryatmajan, the spaces of interaction in *kampung* can be anywhere, primarily because people live close to each other and typically work in the informal sector with flexible working-time.^[12] “*I am happy to attend Musrenbang Kelurahan, because I can meet some friends from different RT.*” (Sri Lestari, RT 10, *Musrenbang* participant in Yogyakarta).

In rural area like Kebumen, participation at the the lowest level is part of the culture, as *gotong royong*^[13] is still the way of life for rural communities. The Head of Pejengkolan Village mentioned that the habit of participation still very strong, both in the discussion forum or in the development process. It is ingrained in daily activity; for instance, if a community member is building their house, neighbours will contribute in many different ways (with materials or energy), such as helping to provide wood or lending a hand with construction. This also makes these communities more willing to participate in development forums.

“Some cities with strong cultural practice in the community, demonstrate stronger engagement in Musrenbang.”

On the other hand, observation in Bandung found that participation at the lowest level suffers from the absence of participatory culture in the community. In Bandung, the culture of people to informally gather is not as strong as in Yogyakarta. As quoted from Bapak Saiful, Lurah Rancabolang, “*Low participation in Bandung is basically because of the absence of participatory culture in the community, especially in development planning. They think that planning is only government affairs.*” Thus, the culture of the community also reflects how people perceive their place in the development process.

[12] There are typical terms used in Javanese culture to indicate informal gathering among people such as *jagongan* (people gather in informal space for talking and chat), *angkringan* (people sit together around mobile food vendors and talk informally), and *munyukan* (with only simple food such as banana and peanuts people sit together and talk).

[13] Gotong Royong ; community self-help

Rembug Warga: Discussion about neighbourhood issues and proposals are supposed to happen in RW level, but since Rembug Warga is newly regulated, it has not implemented well.

Musrenbang Kelurahan: The interactive forum happen in Kelurahan level, while the preliminary discussion as preparation stage is not effectively conducted in all RWs.

6 - year process: Formulation of RPJM-Des (Village medium-term development plan)

Annual Process: Annual discussion is conducted by reviewing the RPJM-Des which synchronized with current year issues.



4.2.2. ACKNOWLEDGING THE INFLUENCE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN LOCAL PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES

Literature and interviews indicate the important role civil society plays in shaping local participatory processes. Edwards and Foley (2001) in Kim, et al. (2005) underlines the different roles of civil society in governance such as service provider, advocacy for citizens and capacity building to citizen participation. This is inline with Hetifah (2003) when she researched different innovation and participation in Indonesian cities by mentioning that civil society has four main roles; raising awareness, policy advocacy, institutional building and capacity building. Solo, Kebumen, and Makassar are those who has started their *Musrenbang* with strong initiative from the civil society to work in partnership with their local government. CSOs after reform have taken more of a partnership approach, with engagement and collaboration as fundamental principles. The research found that the CSOs influenced the participatory process in many ways.

INITIATING THE PARTICIPATORY PLANNING AND BUDGET MECHANISM

Some CSOs take a major role in constructing the pilot project which promotes the participatory process. For example, in Solo, IPGI (Institute for Partnership and Good Governance Initiatives) developed the Musbang (currently known as *Musrenbang*) in collaboration with the city government in 2000 as the first model of participatory forum replicated from Porto Alegre's experience. Following the progress of the *Musrenbang* implementation, in 2011 JERAMI (Solo-based NGO which focused on poor community) supported by international donor, Ford Foundation, to develop the initiatives for Neighbourhood Midterm Planning focusing on poverty alleviation programs. Meanwhile in Kebumen, FORMASI is strongly involved in promoting village reforms through participatory planning and budgeting initiatives.

CONDUCTING ADVOCACY WORK TO PROMOTE PARTICIPATORY PROCESS

This research found that the other role of CSOs is promoting the importance of participatory process through advocacy. Using an example from Yogyakarta, IDEA has been very active in encouraging the advocacy of PB for better budgetary policy both in the local and

national context. In Surabaya, the network for advocacy and budget transparency, named Java Sutra, also plays a role in advocating for issues of civic engagement and public participation. For Kebumen, the village policy review committee named K3D (*Komite Kajian Kebijakan Desa*) acts as mediator to advocate the community's rights by influencing the policy.

DEVELOPING THE DIFFERENT MODELS OF CAPACITY BUILDING

The capacity building for government officials, citizen, and grassroot entities should be taken into account to better heighten and strengthen the execution of *Musrenbang*. Prior to the implementation of the Law of SPPN, NGOs in Bandung have also been active in promoting citizen engagement in development. One of the most notable civil society movements is Sawarung, an alliance of influential NGOs and grassroots-level organisations established in 1999. They profoundly develop the capacity building and strengthen the role of community as stakeholders in the decision making process. Similar with Bandung, Solo illustrates the significant influence from CSOs in terms of capacity building for enhancing the participation. Through Konsorsium Solo, which was established in 2007 by 14 NGOs, they qualify local facilitators and encourage the involvement of sector based association. In Makassar, FIK Ornop, a communication and information forum for civil society organisations which operating since 1981, has worked in strengthening the networks among NGOs with other stakeholders (Triwibowo, 2012). Their role has been recognized as the first coalition promoting public participation in the implementation and monitoring of public services by publishing modules on participation and public policy advocacy. In addition, the Center of Economic Development (CoED) in Makassar also works on promoting local economic capacity, while Satunama in Yogyakarta works on community development through assisting, advocating and training activities. While in Kebumen, Formasi also progressively gives training to enrich the skill of village officials in planning and managing budget, and to strengthen their capacity as the motor of change on village policy.

MONITORING THE PB PROCESS

Civil society has also been active in fostering the implementation of local autonomy that has enabled local participatory planning, budgeting and monitoring. For example, PATTIRO, the center for regional information and studies in Solo have been

FIGURE 4-1 FORMASI CONDUCT CAPACITY BUILDING FOR VILLAGE OFFICIALS IN KEBUMEN



Source: www.formasi.org

working mostly in monitoring the budgetary system. Meanwhile, in Bandung, BIGS (Bandung Institute of Governance Studies) and Perkumpulan Inisiatif, promote the development of inclusive and transparent local government budgets and facilitate the budget monitoring to enhance government accountability. YKPM (*Yayasan Kajian Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*) in Yogyakarta also focuses on budgeting and the social audit process. Kebumen has FKMD (the communication forum for village community) and FORKADA (policy and regional budget forum) which monitor the *Musrenbang* process in village. In Surabaya, Prakarsa focus on fiscal policies, while FITRA JATIM (national network for budget transparency) focus on developing the budgeting clinic for CSOs, local government and the legislative body as well as improving the capacity of the legislative body in maximizing their budgetary role. KUPAS as the coalition for civil society empowerment in Makassar works closely with government in promoting transparency and participation of urban development planning and budgeting.

ASSISTING THE PARTICIPATORY PROCESS TO ENGAGE COMMUNITIES TOWARDS A MORE INCLUSIVE CITY

The research found that the CSOs assist the process to better engage all sections of the community. For instance, there is IRE (Institute for Research and

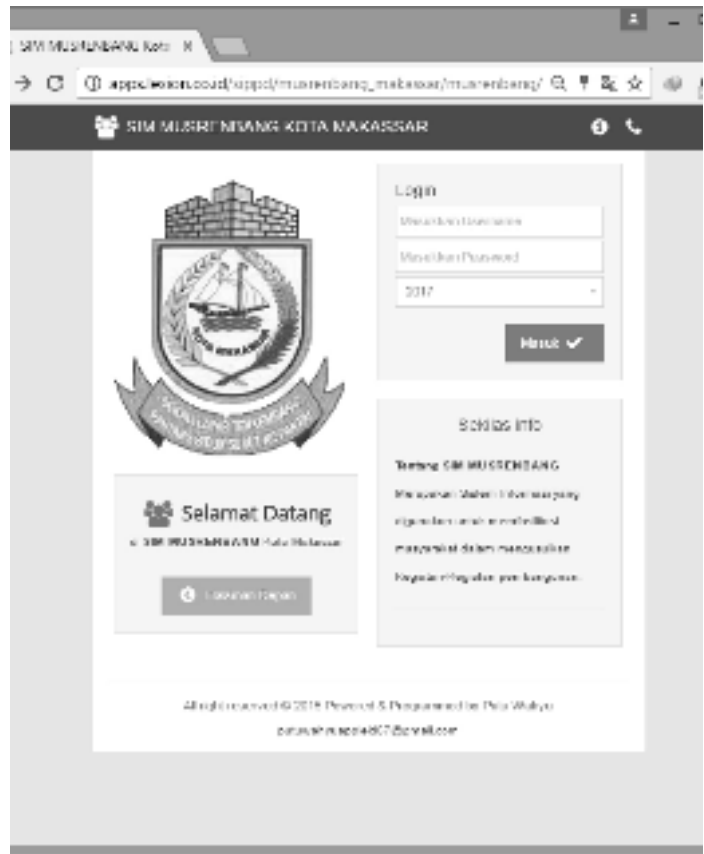
Empowerment) in Yogyakarta who promote the citizen forum and there is KOMPIP in Solo, the consortium for monitoring the public service, including GITA Pertiwi (ecological studies forum), INRES (institute for research and empowering society) and LesKAP (institute for public policy study) who intensely give assistance for marginalised groups to ensure their voices are taken into account in the participatory process. In Bandung, AKATIGA Foundation helps marginalised communities increase their access to resources through assisting the policy making process, while Praksis Bandung focus on the elimination of social and economic exclusion of vulnerable social groups. Working towards inclusivity, the participatory process also has to engage disabled people, women, children, etc. For encouraging the participation of disabled people, CSOs in Solo, like InterAksi and TALENTA have put effort to express their voices. Meanwhile, for women's participation, there are SPEK-HAM in Solo, KPI in in Kebumen, and Savy Amira in Surabaya, LPMP in Makassar; and for gender issues Bandung has PKBI. In addition, both SARI Solo and INDIPT (Institute for Social Strengthening Studies) in Kebumen support the assistance of migrant workers. Apart from local NGOs, there are international agencies working in Kebumen and Surabaya, such as Plan International which is primarily concerned with children's rights, inclusive schools and the involvement of child representatives at the village forum.

PROVIDING TECHNOLOGICAL SUPPORT AND TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE

Given the importance of technological support and knowledge transfer, CSOs are forthcoming in sharing their knowledge and capabilities in the interest of improving the participatory process. In Bandung case, Sidikara Foundation acts as a research center for analysing the socio-cultural problems and issues, while Combine (Community Based Information Network) focuses on actualising local good governance and supporting local knowledge. In Makassar, there are YASMIB (*Yayasan Swadaya Mitra Bangsa*) who promotes budget literacy through research and capacity building at the community level and KUPAS who has key roles in accommodating strategic innovation and fostering the use of technology through the development of online-*Musrenbang*. Yogyakarta has INSIST (Indonesian Society for Social Transformation) to help strengthen the social transformation through critical analysis and encouraging policy revitalisation. Furthermore, in Solo, Kota Kita Foundation with their pedagogy approach make efforts to collect urban data and assist the *Musrenbang* process for better informed decision making and project prioritisation.

The rise and fall of CSOs on participatory processes demonstrate different type of engagement in each study-city. Solo has shown dynamic engagement of CSOs since becoming the pioneer city for conducting the *Musrenbang*. According to Shemmy Samuel Rory from JERAMI, there are more than 100 civil society entities, including the NGOs, grassroots associations, and marginalised groups, during the period of 1999 – 2015. Similar with Solo, CSOs in Makassar are very active and most recognised among both social and political movements. While, in Yogyakarta, the CSOs along with the coexistence with universities, grow well in Yogyakarta. They work not only in Yogyakarta but also in the national level advocacy. However, according to Suci, local NGO activist, there has been a tendency for NGOs in Yogyakarta to work mostly in the area outside Yogyakarta itself due to a lack of openness from the city government in the early stage of participatory budgeting initiative in Yogyakarta. According to an interview with Dakelan from FITRA Jatim and Hermawan Some, an urban activist, unlike other cities, Surabaya indicates that there are less NGOs working on issues of participatory planning and budgeting. The CSOs are more likely operate in advocacy work and policy lobbying and seems uninterested in influencing the existing participatory

FIGURE 4-2 KUPAS FOSTER THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY IN THE CITY DEVELOPMENT PLANING



Source: www.kupas.blogspot.com

spaces such as *Musrenbang*. Both Dakelan and Wawan confirmed that those involved in *Musrenbang* are mostly government-affiliated NGOs^[14].

Learning from the processes in six study-cities, civil society has been playing a significant role in promoting community participation in development as well as helping communities to better address their needs.

Without the role of civil society in the early steps of *Musrenbang*, the process might not have been as dynamic as it is now. Recognition of the role of international agencies and donors such as The Asia Foundation, The Ford Foundation, USAID, AUSAID, HIVOS, European Union, and more, is also important, since many local NGOs gain financial support from international donors to expand the opportunities for participatory planning and budgeting.

4.2.3. CHALLENGES TO THE PROCESS: DISILLUSIONED COMMUNITY

Ideally, participatory planning and budgeting can help citizens to be decision-makers, allowing them to propose projects based on their needs and responsive to local problems. However, despite the dynamics in each city shows a different context to this issue, observation has found that one of the current and forthcoming challenges in the *Musrenbang* process is the disillusioned community, due to several different reasons like low accommodation of proposals, lack of transparency in the process, and lengthy process of *Musrenbang*. Consequently, it has potentials to lowers the interest of community to join in the next *Musrenbang* process, or worst, lowers the trust to the forum.

UNACCOMMODATED PROPOSALS AND LACK OF TRANSPARENCY IN THE PROCESS

Firstly, the low number of accommodated proposals in *Musrenbang* is one of the main reasons for the desensitized community. On average, the number of proposals acted upon across all cities are quite low - below 50%. For example, in Solo, based on the data from BAPPEDA (2016), the number of proposed projects

from 2014 that were accepted in 2015 is 47%, and this number decreased to 43% in 2016.

Kumlin (2002), as cited in Kumlin and Rothstein (2005), argues that those who feel they were fairly treated by government are more likely to trust government and feel that government is responsive to their concerns. So when the number of unaccommodated proposals is high, it could generate feelings of distrust towards the forum and the government.

In Surabaya, an interview with a DPRD member remarked that, “Musrenbang turns out to be the event for complaining because there was not much realization of last year’s proposal.”

In cities where the implementation of the proposed projects rely on government bodies, the case of unaccommodated proposals could be even worse when there is no transparency in the process. In the case of Makassar, when the government decides to give an indicative budget ceiling of around 1 billion for each *Kelurahan*, it gives hopes to the community. But when it comes to the implementation phase and there is no mechanism for the community to monitor the implementation of proposed projects, it leads to confusion and distrust of the government. There is no feedback given to at least inform the community when their proposals are rejected and why. As a result, the community does not even know about the decision of their proposals, whether it has approved and proceeded in the RAPBD or rejected. During the FGD with the LPM in Makassar, one of the participants from Mamajang mentioned that, “*The government announced that there was an indicative budget ceiling 1 billion for each Kelurahan, but the implementation is distributed to several government agencies and we cannot monitor it, so how do we know if our proposal has been accepted? In 2014, we only put forward one proposal to build a road in our Kelurahan with total budget 1 billion. But it has still not been accommodated. Since then, we don’t trust the indicative budget ceiling.*”

Responding to this issue, initiatives were taken by KUPAS in collaboration with BAPPEDA Makassar to make the *Musrenbang* process more transparent by creating an online platform allowing the community to monitor their proposal to the government. Recently,

[14] Recognised as LSM Plat Merah or Government-Owned NGO (GONGO).

the government updated the website and provided information about RPJMD and RENJA as a reference for the community to propose projects. Even though, the result cannot be quantified yet, this can be counted as a significant effort to maintain the interest of the community. Yet, more efforts are needed to make the platform more transparent and accessible for all, for example, allowing the community to see total implemented project by location (*Kecamatan / Kelurahan*), so it makes the community easier to do the monitoring.

LENGTHY PROCESS

One of the things that burden participation is the lengthy processes of *Musrenbang*, which often fails to disrupt power relations between citizen and the government. In average, the current length of the *Musrenbang* process is over two years - from the discussion started at the RT level up until the implementation of the accepted proposals has been completed at the neighbourhood level. The long time gaps between discussion to implementation, often disregard the fact that (1) community needs might change in between the long process, and (2) implementation of the project can require more time than currently provided. To illustrate this point in Solo, discussions at the RT level begin in October 2015, the implementation of accepted proposals will begin from August 2016 and be completed in December 2017. Since the process is quite long, community needs might have changed due to some of the proposed projects already having been fulfilled by a different source of funding or by community self-help due to the urgency, so they propose new projects which still raises concern. This has often left to the committee

in *Kelurahan* changing the proposal in the interim once the DPK fund is dispersed, which is what Grillos (2015) refers to as a 'ghost project'.

The research conducted by Kota Kita in 2015 found that 30% of the projects implemented had not been voted on at all. As mentioned by Basyarudin, LPMK Sriwedari, *"Even though we proposed a drainage improvement project in Musrenbang, if we have an urgent situation like flooding, we will look for other budget sources to solve the problem immediately, whether it is PNPM or self funding from the community. It is too long if we wait the DPK budget."* Although this mechanism provides some flexibility to shift the proposal before its implemented, it leads to questions around the effectiveness of the *Musrenbang* process and the issue of trust from the community, as this flexibility also leaves the risk of elite capture in the process. While in terms of implementation, the lengthy process in Solo doesn't give much space for the implementation phase. It is reported that the community only has around 3-5 months to implement the accepted proposals, which includes the administrative report. As stated by Yanto, Kelurahan Timuran, *"The administrative report has to be completed and submitted to the City government in December, so we only have 3-4 months to implement projects."*

To sum up this discussion, innovations are highly recommended to design a more efficient process to keep people engaged with the *Musrenbang* process.

TABLE 4-2 LENGTH OF ANNUAL PROCESS OF MUSRENBANG UNTIL THE EXECUTION OF PROJECT IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

CITY	Process from Discussion in RT Level to Musrenbangkot	Process from Musrenbangkot to Project Executed	Total * in months
SOLO	October (Y0) - March (Y1)	April (Y1) - December (Y2)	27
YOGYAKARTA	December (Y0) - March (Y1)	April (Y1) - December (Y2)	25
SURABAYA	January (Y1) - March (Y1)	April (Y1) - December (Y2)	24
MAKASSAR	January (Y1) - March (Y1)	April (Y1) - December (Y2)	24
BANDUNG	January (Y1) - March (Y1)	April (Y1) - December (Y2)	24
KEBUMEN	July (Y0) - March (Y1)	April (Y1) - December (Y2)	30

4.2.4. PROCESS IN NEIGHBORHOOD LEVELS ARE FACILITATED BY LOCAL FACILITATORS SELECTED IN DIFFERENT WAYS

Who is helping to maintain the process in the community level? Apart from the roles of local committees responsible for the technical aspects, there are also local facilitators who play important roles to direct the *Musrenbang* discussion. In Yogyakarta, the *Musrenbang* committee is established before the *Musrenbang* implementation and help to decide who will be responsible for facilitating the discussion. In *Sambang Kampung* process, members of LPMK are distributed to different Kampung to facilitate discussions such as guiding participants on local issues that need to be addressed by kelurahan next year. The head of LKMK acts as the local facilitator and community organizer and is responsible for distributing invitations to the RWs and preparing the list of community proposals in Surabaya. Establishing a local regulation to elect *Musrenbang*

facilitators is an interesting approach used by the local authority in Solo. With new recruitment open every five years, specific criteria will be used by the local planning bureau to choose the facilitators and provide them with both technical and non-technical capacity training.

As an NGO based in Solo, Kota Kita foundation helps to train local facilitators, providing them with the information they need by creating a mini-atlas (neighborhood information). It provides a set of information including the issues in the neighborhoods which can be used as a planning guide and aid for budget discussions as well. Despite no similar facilitation approach in Makassar and Bandung, the interview with the *Musrenbang* committee indicates that they facilitate the organization of meetings and are responsible for the meeting substantive i.e. make sure that the issues and proposal are being discussed in *Kelurahan Musrenbang*. In Kebumen, the village government plays an important role in facilitating the process together with civil society. The village government are trained with participation tools, budget planning and literacy by FORMASI in collaboration with municipal government.

FIGURE 4-3 MINI ATLAS PROVIDES INFORMATION TO LOCAL FACILITATORS AND THE COMMUNITY ABOUT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD PROFILE IN SOLO



4.3 PARTICIPATION

Musrenbang indeed promotes the participation of all voices in the process as well as trying to understand the shared interests. This section, thus, elaborates on the varying ways communities get involved in the forum. It also discusses how *Musrenbang* includes marginalized groups, the stronger participation of poorer neighbourhoods and the use of *e-Musrenbang* to draw greater participation.

4.3.1 QUESTIONING THE WAY OF COMMUNITIES GET INVOLVED IN MUSRENBANG CYCLE: OPEN PARTICIPATION VS INVITED PARTICIPATION

The inclusion of community in the participatory process helps communities learn the art of making collective decisions. Meanwhile, cities have different criteria of selecting participants for *Musrenbang*, but mostly in reference to the national guideline stated on Regulation of Ministry of Home Affairs No.54/2010. Cities translate the guidelines into some detailed criteria for selecting participants, as discussed in the regulation section of this report. Surabaya determines a fixed criteria for participation with a limited quota; Makassar only sets a quota for participation but gives an open-ended criteria for those who can participate; Bandung sets a fixed quota for the city level but designs a more flexible criteria for invitation in the lower level *musrenbang*; Solo defines more selection criteria with flexibility for additional invitation and a flexible quota by defining two different types of participant (vote and non-vote participants). The Solo approach enables those who wish to come to monitor their representative or express their opinion, despite the fact that they have no voting rights. Kebumen also has additional criteria allowed for participation based on local need. Therefore, the invitation issue becomes quite challenging in the implementation of *Musrenbang*.

In Makassar, for example, the committee only allow 30 people to participate in the forum, as well as in Bandung for the city level. Those who wish to participate mostly feel uncomfortable to join the forum when they don't receive an invitation. According to *Musrenbang* participants in Makassar, there is a cultural norm among four ethnic groups (Bugis, Makassar, Mandar and Toraja) which can hold people back from coming to an event if they are not invited. As one of the *Musrenbang* participant argued, *"If we get the invitation, certainly we*

will participate in it. But if we do not have it, we are too ashamed to come to Musrenbang. How embarrassing it is to come without an invitation." Consequently, the limitation of the *Musrenbang* invitation can hinder community participation and limit the representation of a diverse array of community voices.

"Representation is one of the issues in the Musrenbang process in Makassar. Kelurahan which does not have representation may have its programs deleted."

Musrenbang participant in Makassar, 2016

However, other cases in Makassar shows that the limitation of participants does not restrain community members in attending the forum. The result from FGD even showed that those who come without invitation often speak more critically and propose more projects.

Surprisingly, observation of how cities determine who and how many people can participate in *Musrenbang* is partly influenced by the availability of budget. Therefore, the number of participants is often limited due to the calculation of the number of meals and transportation. For instance, the Head of *Kelurahan* Karah, Surabaya, strictly mentioned that she will not invite more than 20 people because the amount of budget provided for the meeting is just for 20 people. Indirectly it affects the citizen engagement as Vincensius (DPRD Surabaya) mentioned, *"What decreasing the community's interest in participation is the limitation of the participants."* Meanwhile, Suyanto (LPMK Timuran in Solo) reveals that Solo also has a fixed budget for *Musrenbang* implementation which limits the number of participants covered by the budget. However, this budget issue does not bother the community in Solo. It even creates a room of creativity where most *Kelurahan* expands the number of participants by adding up voluntary budget, donations or corporate social responsibility (CSR) budget.

4.3.2. MUSRENBANG COUNTS THE VOICE OF MARGINALIZED COMMUNITY IN DIFFERENT WAYS

The report written by Handayani (2006) indicated quite impressive engagement of marginalised groups in Solo. The marginalised groups had an umbrella organisation (SOMPIS)^[15] that enabled them to better negotiate their influence in the policy making and development process. According to Handayani (2006), the marginalised groups in the city got involved in many group discussions based on their sector such as pedicab driver associations (transportation), street vendors association (economy), street singer association (transportation & social welfare), traditional market traders association (economy and traditional market) and disabled groups (social welfare, education and economy). The accommodation of sector-based discussion in *Musrenbang* has been acknowledged as an innovative approach promoting the inclusion of marginalised groups as influencers.

Some NGOs who advocate for this model found that marginalised groups often have no citizenship in Solo; as a result, they note that the marginalised cannot participate in the territorial-based discussion and must be accommodated at the city level through sectoral-based discussion. These discussions were omitted in 2005-2006 along with establishment of Joint Ministerial Letter (Surat Edaran 259/M.PPN/I/2005), but it was

reactivated again in 2007 due to pressure from civil society groups. Meanwhile, in Bandung, before the implementation of SPPN (Law 25/2004), Sawarung, from 1999 to 2004, worked on strengthening and consolidating civil society, as well as encouraged the local institutional building such as connecting the sectoral working groups (ie. street vendors, education, etc) with SKPD as stakeholders in accommodating the locals' aspirations.

Some cities have already considered how to provide space for the marginalized community, as an effort to develop more inclusiveness in the city. In the case of Solo, the government-regulated 30% quota for women participation and is already implemented in each level of *Musrenbang*. It cannot be denied, that the attempt to involve women participation in *Musrenbang* process worked at some point.

It cannot be denied that the attempt to involve women participation in Musrenbang process worked at some point.

For instance, women's participation in *Musrenbang* Kelurahan Timuran, Solo, is considered quite high with the average percentage of women and men, 60% to 40%. Even though it is a progressive step in the city to make all voice counted, the quality of the participation is

FIGURE 4-4 EFFORTS ARE TAKEN TO INVOLVE MARGINALISED GROUPS TO PARTICIPATE IN DEVELOPMENT



[15] SOMPIS: Solidaritas Masyarakat Pinggiran Surakarta, the Solidarity of Marginalised People of Surakarta.

still in question. According to Andwi Joko, from Pattiro Solo, the number of women attending the *Musrenbang* forum in Solo, in general, is over 30%. However, some cases shows that they do not get actively involved in discussions. The women support the administrative works and serve the dishes, while the forum is held. In other words, their actual voice is still considered inadequately represented in the forum.

The same case can be found in Kebumen. The academic from IAINU Kebumen, Umi Arifah, argued that the civic engagement in the *Musrenbang* process is already well-implemented. However, the women representatives and the poor community are not heavily involved in expressing their aspirations. Meanwhile, the formulation of the RMJMDes needs a longer intensive process of engaging these groups. The voice of marginalized communities needs to be taken into account in the conceptualization of the development programs, as it is a 6-year development planning document. POKJA persuasively attempts to approach them by personal engagement outside the forum, e.g. in their homes or in the *warong*, to capture wider insight about their needs. It can be considered as a good step to encourage the inclusiveness of the participatory planning and budgeting process.

Compared to Solo and Kebumen, Yogyakarta showed more firmness in acknowledging the needs of the marginalized community. Since 2014, some Kecamatan in Yogyakarta have been conducting separate discussions for marginalized communities i.e. women,

children and the poorest sections of society. Budi Santoso, Camat Danurejan, Yogyakarta, mentioned that the city gradually understand that accommodating the voice of the marginalized community is quite challenging. Budi's idea of separating discussions with marginalized communities from the general public dialogue aims to make sure that their voice is heard and their proposals accommodated in the process. Budi further explained that after the opening of *Musrenbang* Kecamatan, the committee invited representation some groups - young people aged around 18 years old, women and the poorest community members - to a different room to discuss their issues. Children/ young people and the poor are often too shy to speak up in front of others. Furthermore, discussions in the children's forum usually runs smoothly and more friendly when facilitated by the children facilitator from the city. They can express their thoughts and come up with innovative ideas to address their needs, such as proposing course in the kampung, building a playground or speed bump on the road for children safety. Once they finish the discussion, their proposals will be reviewed, categorized, and selected in accordance with the availability of the budget. Furthermore, I Made Sujana, SAPDA Yogyakarta, added, "*There have been some results from Musrenbang, such as a free-from-parking area in East Malioboro. We advocated it so that there is an access for diffabled people.*" It illustrates how Yogyakarta accommodates the need of the marginalized community which often gets forgotten.

BOX 4-3 PARTICIPATION IS STRONGER IN POORER NEIGHBOURHOODS

The research revealed an interesting case where levels of participation differ between poor and wealthy neighbourhoods. Bandung and Yogyakarta showed that poorer communities tend to enjoy public gatherings and forming stronger attachments within their surroundings than richer ones. As one of the *Musrenbang* participants in Bandung pointed out, participation in her RW is considered high because her area is still characterized as *Kampung*, and the small number of people who live there are considered relatives. She further explained that there is strong cooperation within the community (*gotong royong*) along with awareness of the importance of *Musrenbang* for everyone in

the neighborhood. Meanwhile in the Yogyakarta, according to Suci, local researcher, the more affluent neighborhoods showed less participation in the *Musrenbang* process. This is largely because people in the wealthy areas tend to be so busy working that do not have enough time to socialize in the community. Meanwhile, in Kebumen, the *Musrenbang* Desa receives the most active participation from groups such as farmers, traders or fishermen. In contrast, civil servants in this area were a lot less likely to engage with *Musrenbang*. However, this argument needs further research to achieve well-elaborated results.

4.3.3. E-MUSRENBANG AS AN EFFORT TO DRAW GREATER PARTICIPATION

Technology is often used as a means to elevate the system's performance, as well as the use of *e-Musrenbang* or *Musrenbang* online to engage more citizens in participatory planning and budgeting. Three cities from six research areas apply the online system to draw greater participation from the community. Bandung currently uses an online system to publish the information related to RKP *Musrenbang*, while the *e-Musrenbang* is expected to be activated this year to encourage more citizen involvement in the *Musrenbang* process.

Unlike Bandung, Surabaya has had *e-Musrenbang* since 2009. *E-Musrenbang* in Surabaya^[16] accelerates the proposal inputting process from the RW level to Kelurahan upwards. In other words, it systematizes the chain process of proposal submission. It also supports the transparent process which enables communities to access and track both the verification and approval of their proposals. This online system might sound like a promising idea to enhance the performance and participation of *Musrenbang*. Surprisingly, the observation showed that the level of participation in Surabaya is still considered low, comparing with the enthusiasm from other cities like Solo, Yogyakarta, and

Kebumen which do not apply the *Musrenbang* online. *E-Musrenbang* in Surabaya is not intended to abolish the actual forum, however according to Vincencius, there is no discussion at the RW level. The process at this level involves inputting proposals into the website, which does not actively engage the community. Losing the opportunity to formulate the shared needs in the *Musrenbang* poses the question: Does *e-Musrenbang* discourage the essence of participation itself? Taking an interesting thought from Hermawan Some, "*E-Musrenbang might sugarcoat other non-transparent practices*," also leads to the question of whether *e-Musrenbang* is used only to follow the advancement of technology without considering the essence of it.

E-Musrenbang it systematizes the chain process of proposal submission. It also supports the transparent process which enables communities to access and track both the verification and approval of their proposals.

Another city which also applies the *Musrenbang* online is Makassar^[17]. At first the local NGO, named KuPas (*Koalisi untuk Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Sipil*) realized that the community became disillusioned with the *Musrenbang* process because many proposals were

FIGURE 4-5 E-Musrenbang promotes better transparency, which enables communities to access and track the approval of their proposals

No	Kelurahan/Desa	Usulan	Lokasi	Keterangan	Volume	Status	Biaya	Feedback
1	AGAMROK, AGAMROK	Sarana Jalan Pejalan Kaki, Balok beton 4 m x 20 cm, 20 m x 20 cm, 40 m x 20 cm, dengan plat beton	Tembak Peng Tinar W/ No. RT. 7, JALAN TERBUK SEBANG, KECOS UTAMA KE KOSOS DAN KEGUANGAN MANGUNREJO	JALAN PEJAN PEJAN KAKI YANG KURANG DAN BUKAN MURAH, PENYALAHAN RT'S MENDEKANG DAN SAMP	40 m	selesai	156,518,700	0/0/0
2	AGAMROK, AGAMROK	Desa, dan lain-lain	DESAK PENG TINDIR I, DEKAK PENG TINDIR II DAN DEKAK PENG TINDIR III No. RT. 7, LUYUR BENDAWANG DAN DAMPAK KETOS MANGUNREJO	BILA SAMPUR BUDIDAYA DIKORUT AKAN MENDUKUNGAN BUKU BUKU DAN SAMPUR MURAH, KAN TUNGGU BERKAWAT MUDA MELAKUKAKAN LINDUNGAN MENDANG TINDIR SPAT	31 m	selesai	1,592,730	0/0/0
3	AGAMROK, AGAMROK	Tanah dan lain-lain	Tembak Mayor Utara No. 100 RT. 3, Tanah Mayor Utara No. 100	tanah yang akan diolah dan diolah lagi di lokasi	20 Dua	selesai	1,592,000	0/0/0
4	AGAMROK, AGAMROK	Sarana Jalan Pejalan Kaki, Balok beton 4 m x 20 cm, 20 m x 20 cm, 40 m x 20 cm, dengan plat beton	TANPAK DULAM No. RT. 3, KOSOS UTAMA KE KOSOS	tanah yang akan diolah dan diolah lagi di lokasi	170 m	selesai	117,325,280	0/0/0
5	AGAMROK, AGAMROK	Sarana Jalan Pejalan Kaki, Balok beton 4 m x 20 cm, 20 m x 20 cm, 40 m x 20 cm, dengan plat beton	Tembak Mayor Utara No. 100 RT. 3, Desa Mayor Utara	tanah	130 m	tidak	16,001,280	0/0/0

[16] E-Musrenbang in Surabaya can be accessed through <http://musrenbang.surabaya.go.id/>

[17] E-Musrenbang in Makassar can be accessed through http://apps.lexion.co.id/sippd/musrenbang_makassar/

not accommodated, so they developed the online *Musrenbang* in 2008. The *Musrenbang* online system aims to help the community to monitoring the progress of their proposals. However, its implementation showed that the community rarely makes use of *Musrenbang* online. One of the participants of *Musrenbang* in Makassar explained, “We tried to make a proposal, but once it proceeds to the forum we do not know about its progress, whether it is being executed or not. There is indeed an online system but we do not use it to monitor the progress of our proposal.” It is also argued by the *Musrenbang* committee that the online system has not received a very good response because most people are not interested in accessing the website.

Generally speaking, *e-Musrenbang* is a good opportunity to reach out to more citizens who wish to take part in the *Musrenbang* process. But unless the government and/or community have committed to maximize the use of technology, the online *Musrenbang* might not improve civic engagement in participatory planning and budgeting and its monitoring and evaluation.

Efforts are needed to maximise the function and use of online platform to improve citizen participation in development, as it promotes efficiency, transparency, and potential broader engagement in the near future.

4.3.4. ALTERNATIVE SPACES FOR PARTICIPATION EMERGE BOTH FROM LOCAL AUTHORITY OR CIVIL SOCIETY

Apart from *Musrenbang* as a formal participatory space, cities also have various spaces where citizens can channel their aspirations to government. These typical spaces emerge as an alternative space to accommodate not only political aspirations, but also for public service complaints and sharing social issues. *Musrenbang* has limitation in terms of its territorial boundaries (only those who live in the neighbourhood are eligible to propose the projects) and its small budget availability. Therefore, Mayors or city bureaucrats in the city initiate more regular meeting to discuss the broader issues happening within the city. For example, in Solo, it is recognised as *Mider Projo* where the Mayor of Solo and high official civil servants ride bicycles every Friday to meet with people in some neighborhoods to discuss the situation of neighborhood, take notice on service complaints, or address the issues related to local development.

Interestingly, civil society also establishes quite different ways of channelling the aspirations to the city. For example, in Solo, citizen forum (or *Forum Kota*) is informally established to respond to emerging issues or policy in the city. Their aspiration is channelled through social media, newspaper, or special event for campaigning the issues. Meanwhile, as argued

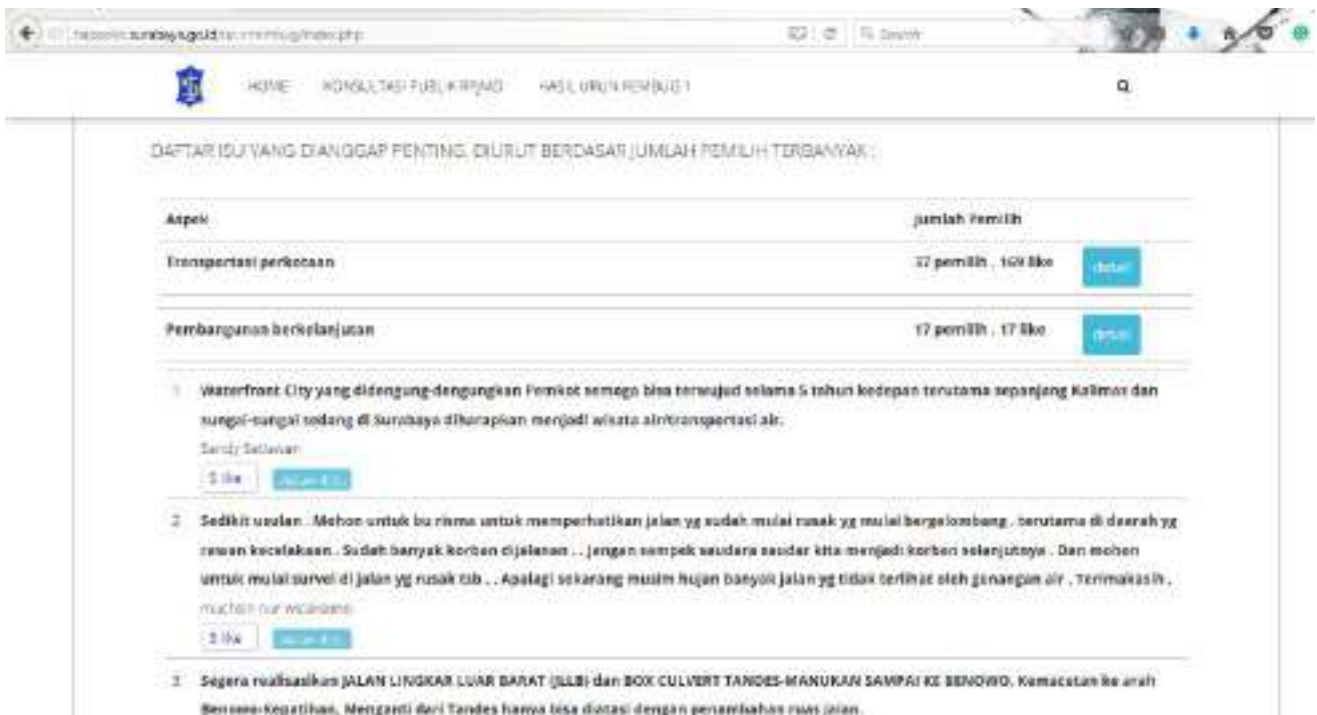
FIGURE 4-6 E-Musrenbang allow the community to monitor their proposals



by Nana Sukarna from Sawarung, most civil society organizations in Bandung do not consider *Musrenbang* to fairly address the issues in the city, so they created an alternative forum / space to influence policy changes in the city. In addition, social media and open dialogue with local government is often initiated to share the issues, such as education, health and economic programs. The current Mayor of Bandung, Ridwan Kamil, is an avid social media user, frequently posting updates and even receiving wishes or complaints from his citizens. Citizen forum on sector-based issue, which

was organised by a group of NGOs and grassroot associations, is also quite influential in Kebumen. This is mainly to address city-scale issues that cannot be resolved in territorial discussions. Meanwhile, in Surabaya, besides *e-Musrenbang*, the Government of Surabaya also created a public consultation forum, named *urun rembug*, to collect community aspiration in the city-level context as a source of information for formulating RPJMD 2016-2021. However, this research did not find many of alternative schemes of participation in Makassar.

FIGURE 4-7 Alternatif Spaces for Participation applied in Different Cities



(Above-left) Mider Projo in Solo, (Above-right) Rembug Warga in Solo, (Below) Urung Rembug - online participation platform applied in Surabaya

4.4 ACCESS TO INFORMATION

Musrenbang requires the availability and accessibility of information to enable community engagement. As Roberts (2004) explained, information sharing becomes challenging in the participation process since there is a difference between those who have access to rich information and those who do not, which has an influence on who participates in *Musrenbang* and who doesn't. This section discusses the distribution of information about *Musrenbang* in different contexts.

4.4.1. THE DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMATION ABOUT MUSRENBANG

The distribution of information about *Musrenbang* significantly affects how the *Musrenbang* process is carried out. Furthermore, invitations are considered to be a significant enabler to participation in the *Musrenbang* process. For instance, the six study-cities apply the needs of invitation letter to attend the forum. In some cases, the information about the community meeting is not well-distributed hence not many people know about it, only those who actively engage with RT/RW level. For example, though Makassar uses the SIPPD website to share the list of proposals discussed in the *Musrenbang*, the information about the next *Musrenbang* meeting

is only circulated among those who attended the previous meeting. This might affect the community who wishes to attend to the forum and eventually lead to apathy. According to Suci Handayani, there is also a lack of information dissemination in Yogyakarta, but the community seems less concerned about receiving an invite to attend.

Other cities use different approaches, like in Bandung where they publicize the schedule of *Musrenbang* in the newspaper so people can easily see it. The enthusiasm of the *Musrenbang* committee to spread the information is also shown in Kebumen; aside from distributing the invitation letter, they also put the schedule in a public space where local people often gather. In addition, they also make the use of Facebook and Youtube as

FIGURE 4-8 Example of Different Publications of Musrenbang Information in Kebumen

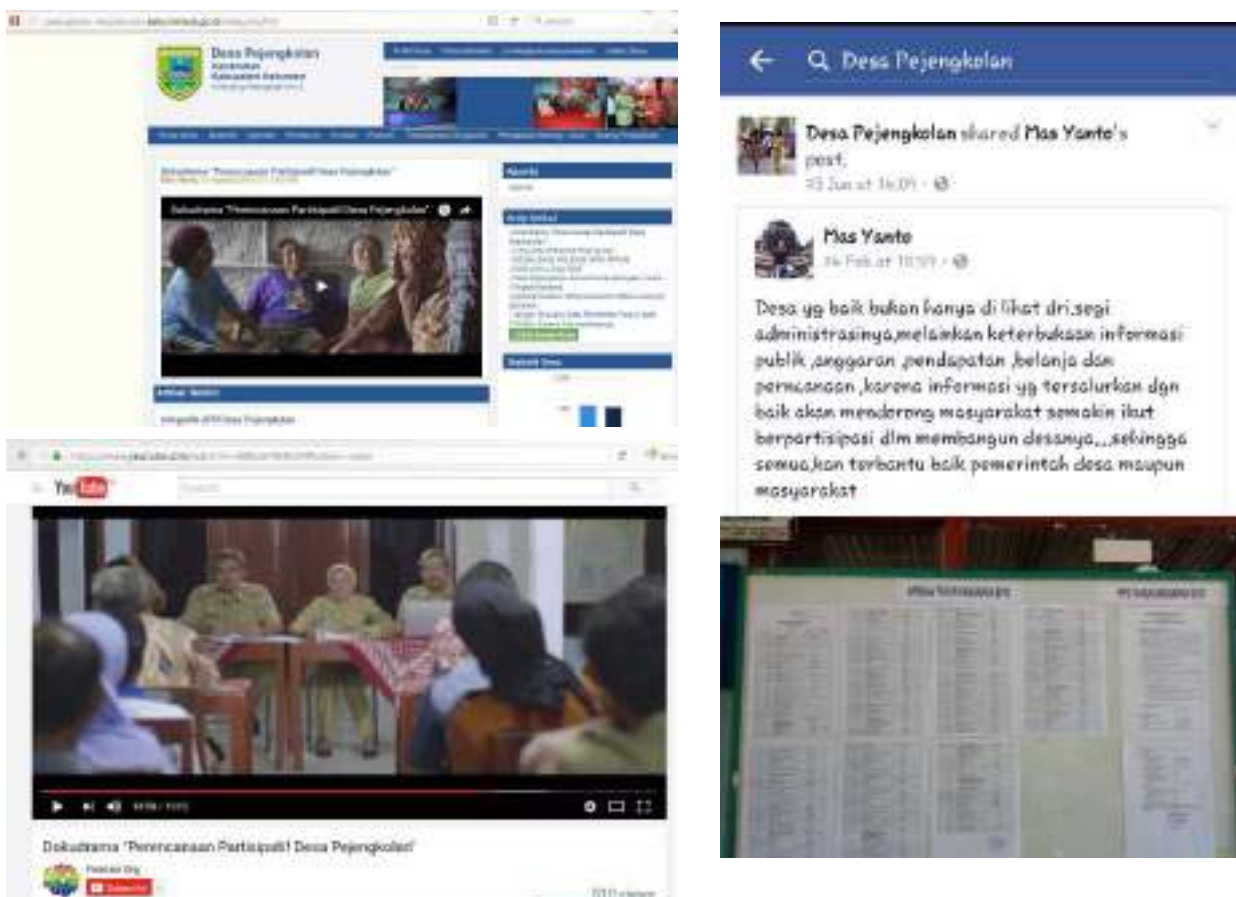
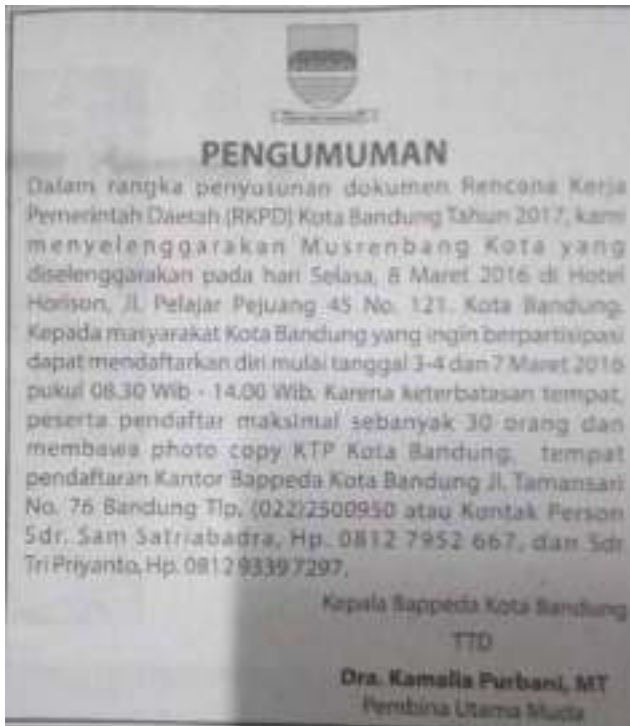


FIGURE 4-8 Open invitation in newspaper about Musrenbang in Bandung



platforms to inform the community about *Musrenbang*. Taking the importance of distributing the information of *Musrenbang* into account, the government should make it a fundamental starting point as a meant to encourage more community engagement.

4.4.2. LIMITED INFORMATION ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD ISSUES AND CITIES

Ideally, participatory planning and budgeting can help citizens to be decision-makers, allowing them to propose projects based on their needs and responsive to local problems. Comparing the use of technology in facilitating the information of *Musrenbang* which commonly includes the step of establishing the forum, the number of proposals, or the approval of proposals, the information and other supporting data to elaborate the local issues are less socialized to community. In Makassar, according to Edi Ariadi from KUPAS Makassar, there is no clear guidance of SKPD's work plan, while the approval of the proposal requires its accordance with the SKPD's activity. It is, thus, causing the disapproval of community proposals since it is unsynchronized with the city planning.

Meanwhile, findings in Bandung show that both *Musrenbang* committees and participants recognize that there are information issues in the forum, particularly in the city level *Musrenbang*. The participants often have no idea of preliminary information given by the city government. Additionally, there is no brief introduction or explanation presented on topics for discussion, so some participants who are new to the forum get confused. As Ben Satriatna, an academic at UNPAD, described, "When I went to BAPPEDA, there's only an invitation without any further information. They did not tell me that I could access the information I need on the website." There is also an interesting case when a participant spoke out about a new idea in the city level forum which was supposed to be discussed at the Kecamatan level. These cases showed that there is not enough knowledge of the *Musrenbang* process, though that kind of information is essential to determine the direction of the development program and activity.

Though some cities struggle to ensure communities are receiving the information they need to make full use of the *Musrenbang* process, the community in Yogyakarta and Kebumen can easily access the available information. In Yogyakarta, people can access the information before pra *Musrenbang* about the indicative ceiling budget or thematic planning for the upcoming year, which are delivered by LPMK or *Kelurahan* staff. Meanwhile, based on the Municipal Leader's Circular Letter in Kebumen, each SKPD and village has to publish a banner providing budget information. Furthermore, from piloting in 10 villages, almost every village in Kebumen has a website to inform about the development program and activity, including the transparency of budgeting.

4.5. BUDGET PROPORTION

This section elaborates on how budgets are distributed and how participatory budgeting promotes citizen control of the development process. This chapter also explains the preferential conditions of participatory budgeting in villages.

4.5.1. ACCESSING DEVELOPMENT BUDGET IN DIFFERENT WAYS

Local government budgets are supposed to represent the directions of local government policy in fulfilling the needs of the community. One way to see where a government's priorities lay is by analysing the allocation of government budgets for public spending. Observation from different cities found that there are several different budget sources that are used to accommodate community proposals from *Musrenbang* such as block grant, indicative budget ceiling called PIK (or *Pagu Indikatif Kewilayahan*), SKPD budget, and other funding.

Different budget sources result in different implications for the implementation phase. For instance, block grants allow the community to manage the budget for implementation, while indicative budget ceilings are managed by the city government through each SKPD. The budget sources applied in *Musrenbang* in different cities will be explained in the following table.

BLOCK GRANT

Block grants are a stimulant budget given to *Kelurahan* to execute projects that could be implemented by the community through community empowerment institutions (called LPMK or *Lembaga Pemberdayaan*

Masyarakat Kelurahan or other designations). This fund is considered a stimulant and aims to induce community self-help in the development of their area. The amount of the block grant is also varied each year. Even though the amount of the block grant is still considered low (further discussion on this will be elaborated in section 4.5.2), this mechanism shows the good will of the local government to give confidence to the community to manage development budget for their area. From the six sites, only Surabaya and Makassar do not have block grant mechanisms for their communities, while other cities apply this mechanism in different ways. Solo and Yogyakarta are quite similar in implementing the block grant by using formulas to distribute the amount of block grants to each *Kelurahan*. Meanwhile block grants in Kebumen including *Dana Desa* (or DD or village budget) and *Alokasi Dana Desa* (or ADD or village budget allocation) are used as the main financial source for neighbourhood development. The case in Bandung is quite different where the block grant, called PIPPK (or *Program Inovasi Pembangunan dan Pemberdayaan Kewilayahan*) is spared from the *Musrenbang* process.

INDICATIVE BUDGET CEILING

Indicative budget ceilings or *Pagu Indikatif Kewilayahan* (hereafter called PIK) aim to give an indication to the community about how much budget is available for development at either the *Kelurahan* or Kecamatan level. In this research, three cities and one municipality

TABLE 4-3 DIFFERENT BUDGET SOURCES TO ACCOMMODATES COMMUNITY PROPOSALS

CITY / MUNICIPALITY	Block Grant (BG)	Indicative budget ceiling	APBD - Local Government Budget		APBN - National Budget	Other Funding (CSR, etc)
			City	Province		
SOLO	√	x	√	√	√	√
YOGYAKARTA	√	√	√	√	√	√
SURABAYA	x	√	√	√	√	√
MAKASAR	x	√	√	√	√	√
BANDUNG	√	x	√	√	√	√
KEBUMEN	√	√	√	√	√	√

TABLE 4-4 MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BLOCK GRANT AND INDICATIVE BUDGET CEILING

	BLOCK GRANT (BG)	INDICATIVE BUDGET CEILING (PIK)
(+)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More participatory at the implementation phase. The community have bigger authority to manage the budget. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clearer indication of total budgets for <i>Kelurahan / Kecamatan</i>. This mechanism allows the community to think more realistically and choose wisely on the proposals they would like to put forward. • This mechanism reduces the number of unrealistic proposals; otherwise, in the early phases of <i>Musrenbang</i>, the community tends to propose as many proposals as they can.
(-)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Budget differentiation : Less sustainable, as block grants are funded by Indirect City Spending, while the trend shows that cities are eager to reduce the amount of Indirect spending. Thus, the amount of block grant tends to decrease. • There is no indication on the total amount of budget that will be allocated to the community, so they can not predict the total amount for their wish list. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less participatory during the implementation phase, since the project is directly implemented by SKPD.

apply this mechanism, including Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Makassar, and Kebumen. This mechanism allows the community to think more realistically and choose wisely on the proposals they would like to put forward. This mechanism reduces the number of unrealistic proposals; otherwise, in the early phases of *Musrenbang*, the community tends to propose as many proposals as they can. The amount of indicative budget ceiling is announced to the community before the discussions happen at the *Kelurahan* level, so the community can make a realistic plan based on the budget available. The spirit of the implementation of PIK is basically to reduce discrepancy among areas, for more even distribution of development throughout areas.

SKPD BUDGET

The third source of development budget at the local government level is through the SKPD program. This is a general source where six sites in this research applied the same mechanism. Part of SKPD programs and activities were taken from community aspirations ascertained through the *Musrenbang* process. For this budget source, the government implements the project by themselves, while the community only receives the result of the projects. *Musrenbang* allows the community to seek other sources of funding for the development of neighbourhoods such as CSR.

4.5.2. TOTAL BUDGET WHICH IS DIRECTLY MANAGED BY THE COMMUNITY IS RELATIVELY LOW

One of the most frequent questions in participatory budgeting processes is how much of the total budget is allocated to *Musrenbang*. As briefly mentioned in the previous section, four cities, including Solo, Yogyakarta, Bandung and Kebumen, give privilege to their community at the neighborhood level to be able to manage a budget directly through Block Grants or DBPK (or *Dana Bantuan Pembangunan Kelurahan*). It provides an opportunity for the community to be involved in the development, as well as running monitoring and control systems in the development process. The total amount of the budget that can be managed by the community varies between cities. In the case of cities, the average amount is still considered low. This amount is bigger at the Municipality level, especially since the implementation of *Dana Desa*, the village budget allocation from national government.

In Solo, the data from 2013 to 2015 shows that the percentage of the block grant to total city spending slightly decreased from 0,87% in 2013 to 0,85% in 2014 and 0,77% in 2015. Similarly, in Yogyakarta, the

Block grant provides an opportunity for the community to be involved in the development, as well as running monitoring and control systems in the development process.

percentage of block grant to total city spending are quite stable; an average of 0,25% during 2013 - 2015.

Mentioned by Andwi Joko from Pattiro Solo, there is a tendency from local government to decrease the amount of block grant in the upcoming years, since the block grant itself is allocated from city indirect spending. As noted, the national government aims to cut down the the total amount of the city's indirect spending.

While in Bandung, the city government newly initiated block grants in 2015 for neighbourhood developments post-2015. These new initiatives have different mechanisms than *Musrenbang*. In this scheme, each

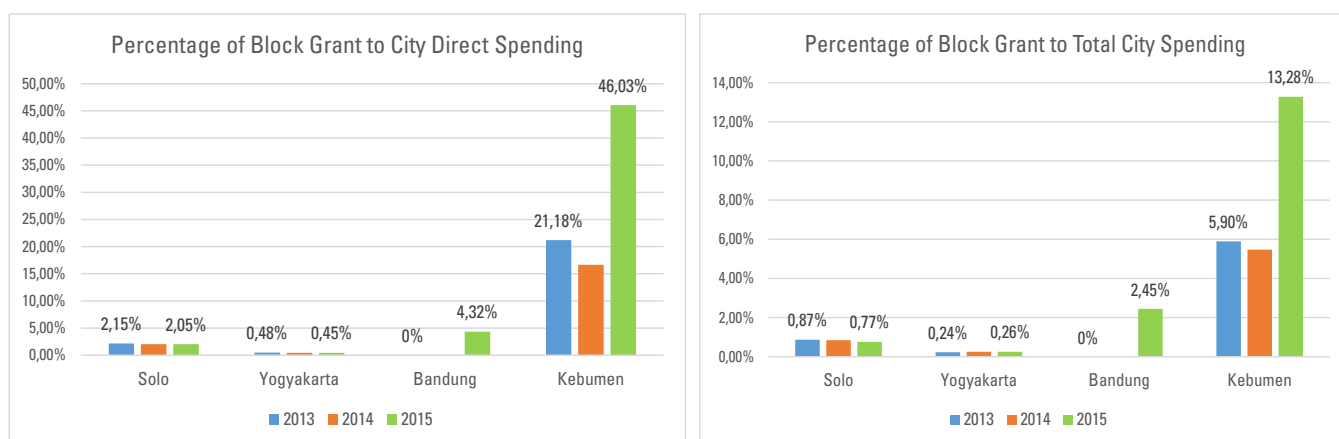
RW receives Rp 100 million which can be accessed from *Kelurahan*, making the total amount of the block grant in Bandung around Rp 156,7 billion, equaling 2,45% of total city spending in 2015. This amount is quite high compared to Solo and Yogyakarta.

Different from those three cities, Kebumen receives block grants through the village budget allocation (ADD) from Municipal Governments started since 2004 and budget allocation (DD) from National Government since 2015. In terms of the total amount of budget that can be managed by the community, the case of Kebumen demonstrates big gaps with the city examples. Before villages receive DD from national government, the amount of block grant is around 5,5%, but since the village received DD in 2015, the percentage of total block grant to total city spending increased significantly to 13,28%, although this is incomparable to urban cases as they have a different funding source framework.

TABLE 4.5 THE AMOUNT OF BLOCK GRANT IN COMPARISON TO CITY SPENDING IN SOLO AND YOGYAKARTA

Year	SOLO			YOGYAKARTA		
	2014	2015	2016	2014	2015	2016
Total city spending (TS)	1,402,670,367,600	1,514,431,877,000	1,582,323,827,000	1,134,964,779,286	1,422,093,336,380	1,741,299,934,341
City Direct Spending (DS)	567,672,798,400	624,210,859,000	597,812,741,000	571,388,921,557	825,006,764,481	886,405,828,598
Block Grant	12,201,820,000	12,863,820,000	12,230,820,000	3,700,000,000	3,700,000,000	4,218,500,000
% BG to TS	0,87%	0,85%	0,77%	0,24%	0,26%	0,26%
% BG to DS	2,15%	2,06%	2,05%	0,48%	0,45%	0,45%

FIGURE 4-9 Percentage Amount of Block Grant in Comparison to City Spending in Solo and Yogyakarta



BOX 4-3 TOTAL DEVELOPMENT BUDGET ALLOCATED THROUGH MUSRENBANG IS RELATIVELY LOW

One of the most frequent questions in PB processes is related to the allocation of total budgets for *Musrenbang*. Despite the various sources of funding given, this study found that the total development budget allocated through the *Musrenbang* process is relatively low. Compared to direct city spending, the total percentage of budget allocated through *Musrenbang* is only below 5%. From the case of Solo, the amount of this budget made up 2.05% of the city direct spending in 2014. This slightly decreased to 2.05% in 2015 and increased again to 2.56% in 2016. Compared to Solo, the amount of development budget allocated through *Musrenbang* in Yogyakarta and Surabaya

is slightly higher as it shares 2.91% of direct city spending in Yogyakarta and 3.22% in Surabaya.

The amount of total development budget allocated through *Musrenbang* in the Municipality is bigger than the one which allocated in the city, particularly since the implementation of DD. For example, in Kebumen before DD was given the development budget allocated through *Musrenbang* only made up to 16.66% of city direct spending. This allocation, thus, escalated to 46.03% due to the implementation of DD. Speaking of which, DD is a significant financial source for development.

4.5.3. PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING PROMOTES CITIZENS' CONTROL OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Budget is the most important component in discussing PB. Proof of this can be found in the fact that most people come to the *Musrenbang* for a chance to influence the budgetary decisions for the development of their neighbourhood. How cities distribute budgets for development has been discussed above, but to what extent the community has control of the budget is also important. This will determine the extent to which participation and budget proportions have empowered community to control the development project.

Participation in development assumes an equitable sharing of power (Samuel, 1986) which to some degree sets equal conditions in managing projects. Arnstein (1969) introduced "citizen control" which further recognised the "full-managerial power" of the citizen. In the *Musrenbang* budgetary context, this relates to the degree of neighborhood control given in the implementation of the budget. As mentioned before, four cities, including Solo, Yogyakarta, Bandung and Kebumen, give privilege to their community at the neighborhood level to be able to manage budgets directly. Despite the small amount given, this mechanism indicates good intentions from the city government in trusting the capacity of the community.

In Solo, block grants are considered helpful to maintain the enthusiasm of community in *Musrenbang*, since the community has budget authorization in the implementation phase. As Yanto, facilitator in

Kelurahan Timuran, Solo, explained, "From four main funding resources in *Musrenbang*, DPK is the most dominant one. This year the DPK in Timuran has 159 million rupiahs. Block grants have also become one of the factors that maintain the participation level of community, because the community feels satisfied that they've had the opportunity to manage the proposed project." Given the autonomy to manage budget allocation, this case indicates that communities learn to sort out their priorities, manage conflict, increase their awareness of local issues and enhance the bigger sense of belonging to the forum.

"Block grants have also become one of the factors that maintain the participation level of community, because the community feels satisfied that they've had the opportunity to manage the proposed project."

(Yanto, facilitator in Kelurahan Timuran)

The transparent participatory planning and budgeting mechanism enables the community to hold more responsibility, controlling and monitoring the use of the budget. Additionally, block grants in Solo even use a strict monitoring model where - in some cases - the community is asked to give the grant back to the committee if their implementation does not fit the program qualification.

The source of funding allocated to communities gives them a real experience of managing budget allocation, from formulating the shared needs, choosing what

matter most for them, to arranging the allocation of the budget provided. Kusyanto, Head of LPMK argued that though the block grant is given in small amounts, it helps the community to fund their proposals in *Musrenbang*. It even encourages the community to learn how to plan programs and activities benefiting their neighbourhoods.

As a result, they are able to execute projects without waiting for the government to do so. In other words, the participatory planning and budgeting process can enable communities to better fulfill the development projects their neighbourhoods need.

BOX 4-4 THE INSURGENCY: CLAIMING BUDGETS IN THE CITY SPECIAL CASE FROM KAMPUNG DELES, SURABAYA

Deles is a small kampong in Klampis Ngasem, Sukolilo, Surabaya. This Kampong demonstrates quite a striking phenomenon by earning community savings of more than 2 billion. Monthly revenue for this Kampong to their development account is around 50 million rupiah per months. Most importantly, Deles is probably the only kampong in Surabaya which is not involved in *Musrenbang* or propose projects through *Musrenbang*.

How is this possible? Deles is a poor kampong that the government was not concerned about; in fact they had never received any funds for development in their kampong. Their fate changed when they decided to strike and occupy MERR II (Surabaya Middle East Ring Road), for the lack of compensation for community property displaced by the MERR project. The government promised to build a new culinary center for the community as compensation, which took four years of negotiation until the Deles Community would receive the centre. They earned their community savings

by managing the culinary centre in the area and by practicing urban farming. One of the things that made this possible was their strong local leadership and an active and empowered citizenry. As the leader of the Deles Community, Eko Busono has access to power, both politically and socially, and he uses it to encourage citizen participation in Deles.

The case of Deles shows how access and control to budgets can have a powerful impact on the neighborhood. Community participation in the implementation of the project becomes a key element to ensure the urban project benefits the community it is designed to serve. The Deles community had never benefited from the development process before, but their insurgency movement proved that people will seize the opportunity for change; devolving budgets to communities will induce better results from development interventions.

BOX 4-5 CLEAR INDICATIVE BUDGET AND LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION - CASE OF YOGYAKARTA

The case in Yogyakarta shows that the allocation of an indicative budget ceiling makes it easier for the community to predict and realistically determine the funds they need for an activity or program. This provides a clearer picture of how much money they will receive for the development of their neighbourhoods. At first, this mechanism was a challenge for participation, but then it increased participation. Tri Retnani, Bappeda Yogyakarta, mentioned, "At first, indicative budget ceilings cause some protest from the community because they can not propose as many proposal as they would like." But later, this mechanism produced positive impacts on participation levels. As quoted from Marvi Yunita, DPPKA Yogyakarta, "The budget ceiling somehow increase the participation," an

opinion echoed by Kamijo, who said: "After we used the indicative budget ceiling, the community was more positive towards *Musrenbang* as there was a clear budget indicated from the beginning"

**"After we used the indicative budget ceiling, the community was more positive towards *Musrenbang* as there was a clear budget indicated from the beginning".
(Kamijo, Women and Community Development Department)**

4.5.4. THE PRIVILEGE OF PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING IN VILLAGES; GREATER BUDGETARY AUTHORITY AS A RESULT OF VILLAGE AUTONOMY

Participatory budgeting in villages and cities are quite different, as the lowest administrative area in Indonesian context, 'desa' and 'kelurahan' have a different authority. The basic difference of the two are the leadership, governance and budgeting system. In terms of leadership, the head of the village is directly elected by the community for a 5-year period, while *Kelurahan* leaders are appointed by the Mayor. Thus, the greater responsibility from Heads of village comes as result of this direct election process. Secondly, from a governance perspective, villages have the authority to run their own governance system, while *Kelurahan's* authority is more limited in terms of managing resources. This includes the authority to manage budgets; village also have more authority to allocate their budgets independently, since villages receive *Alokasi Dana Desa* and *Dana Desa*, providing more of an opportunity for villages to manage the development of their area.

In Kebumen, before the implementation of local regulation on ADD in 2004, villages didn't have much authority in the development due to it being driven by national government. The implementation of local regulation on village budget allocation in 2004 and the enactment of National Regulation about *Dana Desa* in 2015 in Kebumen provided a better opportunity for the Village Government to use the village budget in accordance with development needs. This has been a progressive step for village development, providing greater budgetary autonomy.

Since the village received the ADD (village budget allocation) from Municipal Government and DD (village budget) from National Government, the number of budgets managed by village governments has significantly increased.

Winarti (2009) in Bulan (2010), mentioned that "Budget allocation for village development, before the implementation of ADD, was only 2-3% from total APBD. It is nothing compared to City Indirect Spending (for labor cost) which takes up to 40% of total spending." Before the implementation of ADD, each village in Kebumen only received around 8 to 11 million per year, while in 2015, after receiving the budget from national government, now each village receive around 200 to 500 million rupiah and the percentage of budget allocated for village development has increased to 13.28% from total city spending, or around 46,03% from direct city spending.

Unlike villages, *Kelurahan* struggle in budget allocation due to its limited authority, which also affects service delivery. This is quite a challenge for the *Kelurahan* government since both villages and *Kelurahan* are the spearhead of service at the lowest level. This means, *kelurahan* become the lowest administrative unit where the City Government implements projects, as well as becoming the first place to receive community demands for service delivery, yet it doesn't have the authority to decide. Therefore, in some cities like Solo and Yogyakarta, the recent approach to solving this issue is by regulating the delegation of authority to the lower level, so the *Kelurahan* government has the bigger authority in the development processes.

4.6. INNOVATION

In recent years there have been a number of technology-based innovations launched by the Government and CSOs to encourage public participation. Digital innovations help to transfer the information in a broader scheme, while there are cities which appreciate more grounded initiatives which are equally as important in the acceleration of *Musrenbang*.

4.6.1. TRANSPARENCY AND MONITORING SYSTEM THROUGH INNOVATIVE TECHNOLOGY

Participatory planning and budgeting processes require a transparent system for monitoring and evaluation. The transparency itself means that there is openness and accessibility of information. Furthermore, the transparent system enables the public to monitor how the decision makers work, in terms of clear processes and procedures. Therefore, it can encourage public awareness as well as assure accountability through information sharing (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000, Kim, et al., 2005). Both government and civil society organizations realize that the information sharing will significantly influence the performance of *Musrenbang*.

E-MUSRENBANG

The government of Surabaya is a pioneer in using the technology to improve the performance of *Musrenbang*. They have applied *e-Musrenbang* since 2009. The *e-Musrenbang* is not an online forum version of

Musrenbang; instead, it provides information about the list of the proposals at the blocks, neighbourhood, and district level along with the report afterwards. Moreover, the system has been upgraded since 2014 so the community can access the ongoing progress of their proposals, whether it is rejected, proceeded by neighbourhood, ready to be sent to SKPD or proceeded by SKPD. Later they can also check the approval of the proposals on the website so they can monitor the transparency of the process.

E-Musrenbang promotes efficiency and better transparency to the PB process by providing accessible through its open platform.

E-Musrenbang also provides the proposal mapping which shows the distribution of each proposal. The proposal mapping illustrates how communities can actively locate the spread of the proposed programs. Furthermore, it encourages them to monitor and give feedback on the requirements of the programs. In other

FIGURE 4-10 E-Musrenbang Website - Proposal Mapping

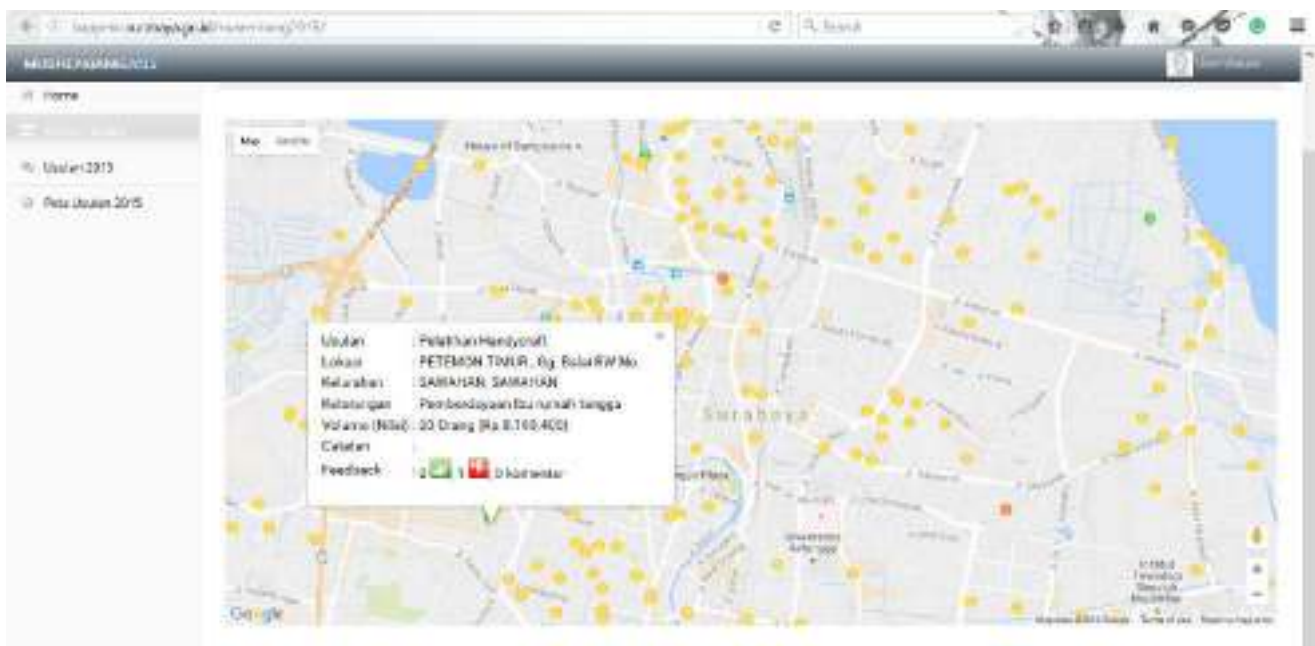
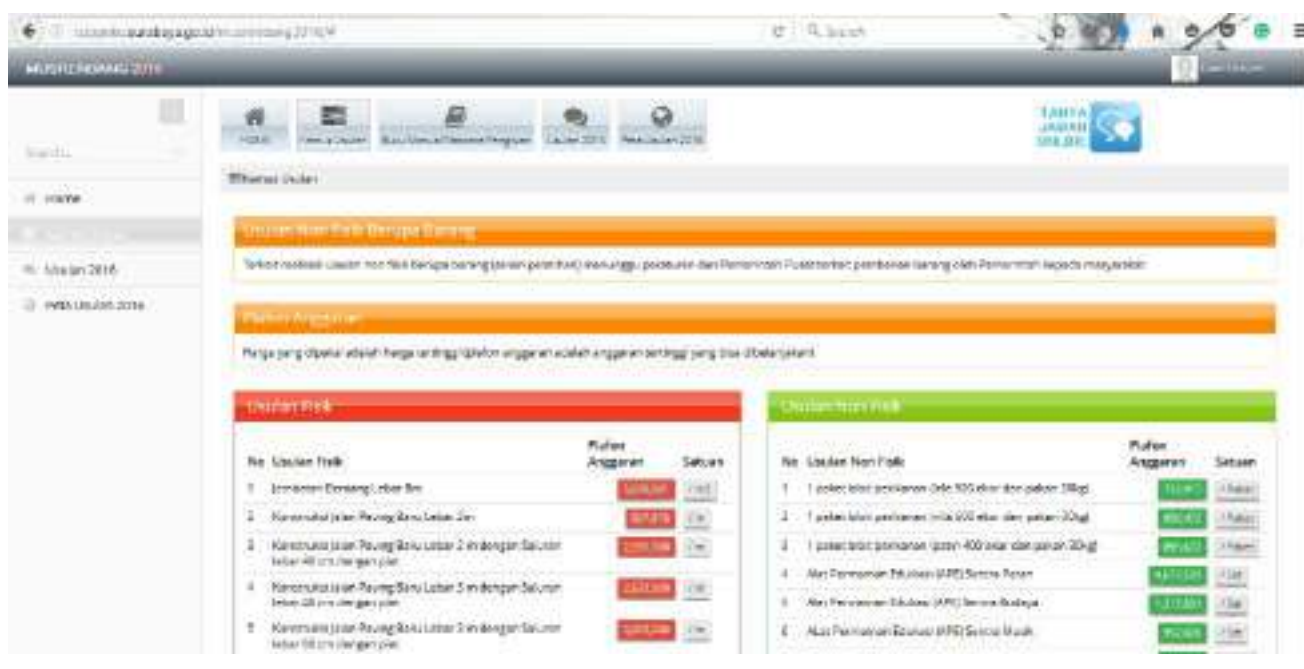


FIGURE 4-11 E-Musrenbang Surabaya Website - Ceiling Budget Reference



ways, the system encourages communities to get involved in the *Musrenbang* process.

Speaking of the transparency, *e-Musrenbang* also innovatively provides a list of development budget ceiling for each item of the physical and nonphysical category. It is used as a reference, for the community, in proposing the program or activity for the upcoming *Musrenbang*. Hence, they get to learn and formulate the development planning with a realistic allocation of budget. While *e-Musrenbang* is considered an effective platform for monitoring the community proposed project, one of the challenges in the process is the lack of capacity from the community, especially at the RW level to directly input proposals into the *e-Musrenbang* system. “Lack of capacity from RW means that LKMK are usually the ones who input the proposal.” (Imam Royani, Ketua LKMK Kelurahan Karah)

Besides *e-Musrenbang*, the Government of Surabaya also created a public consultation forum, named *urun rembung*, to collect community aspiration in the city-level context as a source of information for formulating RPJMD 2016-2021. The issues submitted will be categorized and then channeled into the related strategic issue, such as sustainable development, good governance, poverty alleviation, etc. This platform, thus, enlarges the opportunity for participatory planning schemes.

MINI-ATLAS

The use of technology which benefits the *Musrenbang* process can be seen in Solo, as Kota Kita shows. Kota Kita has provided a Mini-Atlas since 2010 as a tool for communities to assess the issues in their neighborhood, which can later be used to map the shared needs of the community. Therefore, it helps them to be more aware of the main problems so that they can propose programs and activities based on their assessment. However, the rigid system of *Musrenbang* in Solo can make the process of sharing information gathered through community mapping challenging.

SIPPD, AN INFORMATION SYSTEM FOR LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

Unlike Surabaya, the use of technology in the *Musrenbang* practices initiated in 2008 by local NGO named KUPAS (*Koalisi untuk Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Sipil*) is giving assistance to all Kelurahan to increase the level of community participation in *Musrenbang*. From understanding the community’s complaint, KuPas developed the *Musrenbang* online system as their initiative, which was later appreciated by BAPPEDA Makassar. However, it took a long bureaucratic process to adjust the technology within the government system. Instead of developing the time-consuming system, KUPAS then developed SIPPD (*Sistem Informasi Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah*) in 2015 as an

FIGURE 4-12 SIPPD Makassar - List of Proposals

Status	Nama Program	Nama Kegiatan	Lokasi Kegiatan	Lokasi	Volume	Anggaran	Divisi
✓	Program pengembangan produk usaha dan kewirausahaan berbasis kearifan lokal	Pengembangan Produk UKM (Berkas: 1804.001)	SANTUN PENALAHN MESTI JUAT	DPK005.005.010.011.012.013.014	7 UNIT	3.300.000	DIVISI KOPERASI DAN UKM
✗	Program peningkatan kualitas dan produktivitas	Pembangunan Fasilitas	PEMBELIHAN JUMBLAN DEKAT (Berkas: 1804.001)	J. BONTOMANGGAS	1 TON	8.000.000	DIVISI PERKOTAAN
✗	Program pembinaan pedagang kecil lima dan menengah	Fasilitas modal usaha bagi pedagang kecil lima dan menengah	SANUKU USUHA GEROGAT DORONGKUKUS LIMA	DPK005.005.010.011.012.013.014	3 ORANG	2.000.000	LENGKAP PERIKUSYAHAN DAN PERPADAMSIAN
✓	Program peningkatan kapasitas teknis dan manajerial Anggunji	Pembangunan Jalan Pedagogi	PENGADAPAN MANAJEMEN BUKU	J. PACENANAWANG RUMAH	100 AC	5.000.000	DIVISI PERKOTAAN
✓	Program peningkatan kualitas sarana dan prasarana Anggunji	Pembangunan Jalan Pedagogi	PENGADAPAN MANAJEMEN BUKU	J. PACENANAWANG RUMAH	100 AC	5.000.000	DIVISI PERKOTAAN
✓	Program peningkatan kualitas sarana dan prasarana Anggunji	Pembangunan Jalan Pedagogi	PENGADAPAN MANAJEMEN BUKU	J. PACENANAWANG RUMAH	100 AC	5.000.000	DIVISI PERKOTAAN
✓	Program peningkatan kualitas sarana dan prasarana Anggunji	Pembangunan Jalan Pedagogi	PENGADAPAN MANAJEMEN BUKU	J. PACENANAWANG RUMAH	100 AC	5.000.000	DIVISI PERKOTAAN
✓	Program peningkatan kualitas sarana dan prasarana Anggunji	Pembangunan Jalan Pedagogi	PENGADAPAN MANAJEMEN BUKU	J. PACENANAWANG RUMAH	100 AC	5.000.000	DIVISI PERKOTAAN

information system for local development planning, including *Musrenbang*.

During the process, they also learned from Surabaya to improve the online system, along with the adaptation of local regulation. The *Musrenbang* online platform provides information about the approval of the proposals filtered per SKPD. However, the community can only access the latest data for the development program year 2017, while the year 2015 and 2016 have no data to be reviewed. Despite the fact that the website is not particularly well-functioning, *Musrenbang* online allows the community to play a monitoring role.

RKPD MUSRENBANG ONLINE

The advancement of technology allows organization to provide better information. Bandung is also one of the cities that make the use of digital information to improve the transparency of planning and budgeting system. In this current year, Bandung is still developing the *e-Musrenbang* to get more community members engaged in the participatory planning and budgeting process. Bandung already developed BIRMS (Bandung Integrated Resources Management System) in 2013 to develop the integrated system in managing the resources through various application, such as e-budgeting, e-procurement, e-asset, e-project planning, e-performance, and else. For *Musrenbang* itself,

Bandung uses the website of information system of RKPD *Musrenbang*. The website publishes information about the *Musrenbang* procedure at each level: kelurahan, kecamatan, joint forum (forum gabungan) and city. It also provides the *Musrenbang* Kecamatan reports written from 2013 to 2017, although the community can only access the *Musrenbang* Kecamatan report from 2013. It seems that the website has not been updating the data for the report since the first year of publication. In addition, the website includes the list of programs and activities which can be proposed by Kecamatan to SKPD from year 2016 to 2017. Taking notes from the implementation of the technology within the *Musrenbang* process, Kecamatan responsible for inputting the data into the online system. Meanwhile, Kelurahan does not have the access to monitor the real-time process through the website. So, Kelurahan only waits for information from Kecamatan about the progress of each proposal that has been submitted.

Despite the technology which is used to promote the participatory element in the *Musrenbang*, the issue arises around whether it can be used to effectively increase the level of community engagement or not. Moreover, there is no evidence at present which proves the efficacy of using technology in *Musrenbang* processes.

4.6.2. USING INNOVATIONS THAT ARE GROUNDED AND ADHERING TO LOCAL WISDOM

The use of technology might be one way to determine how innovative a city is, but there are also other initiatives which are not related to technological advancement. Considering the local wisdom, these innovations are grounded to keep the community close to each process of participatory planning and budgeting.

DANA PEMBANGUNAN KELURAHAN (DPK) OR BLOCK GRANT

Solo has already implemented their block grant mechanism since 2002 as a response to community demand for neighborhood and small scale development project. The innovative value of this approach lies in its progressive policy, amid the difficulty to secure community funding due to the lack of a legal or regulatory framework to allow that happen.

At first, DPK was given in the same amount for each Kelurahan, managed by the Kelurahan itself. Then, later in its development, the amount of DPK became proportional, decided based on: total area, total population, total land and building tax (*Pajak Bumi dan Bangunan*), total number of poor households, community funding and waste retribution. Meanwhile, the management of the budget allocation and its execution became the responsibility of the committee of Kelurahan development (or *Panitia Pembangunan Kelurahan* or PPK). However, due to the mandatory Regulation of Ministry of Home Affairs No.14 / 2016 guidelines around grants stating that all grant schemes can only be given through a legal body, this role is currently with LPMK. This is an interesting case considering that Solo has been able to maintain a block grant mechanism straight to community accounts for 14 years, which has considerably improved neighborhood infrastructure.

RPJM-KELURAHAN

This innovation named RPJM Kelurahan or *Rencana Jangka Menengah Pembangunan Kelurahan* is mid-term development planning (5 years term) in Kelurahan level applied in Solo. It is also known as *RENSTRA Masyarakat, Rencana Strategis Masyarakat*. It was established by the city level committee on poverty alleviation or *Tim Koordinasi Penanggulangan*

Kemiskinan Daerah (hereafter called TKPKD) in 2013. This program aims to connect *Musrenbang* projects with poverty alleviation strategies in the city, which has become a major concern in Solo. The idea is to elaborate the urban poverty issue in the neighbourhood utilising participatory methods to identify the issues, with the results from discussions being used to formulate guidelines for implementing poverty alleviation programs at the Kelurahan level. While the annual *Musrenbang* will be the space for sharpening ideas and evaluating the performance of the current year.

Neighbourhood mid-term development planning (RPJM-Kel) sets development agenda in 5 years period which can be considered as an effort to make the annual planning process more effective.

SAMBANG KAMPUNG

Sambang Kampung is an initiative for community gatherings to listen and discuss community needs and aspiration at the RT/RW level. *Sambang Kampung* has been established in in Kelurahan Suryatmajan since 2009 and facilitated by LPMK. It is usually held in November with RT / RW representatives, community leaders, women representatives, youth and community. By facilitating around 100 people in each meeting, the committee of *Sambang Kampung* gives a brief explanation about indicative ceiling budget, block grant, and operational RW budget. In the meeting they also attempt to identify kampung problems which are categorized into social, physical and nonphysical groups, as well as defining the potential assets through mapping. According to the participants' experience, *Sambang Kampung* has provided a space allowing them to discuss the shared interests and needs within their community. They also get to know the resources of the budget that they can access as well as come to understand that not every proposal will get executed.

The most important process in the Musrenbang cycle is the pra-Musrenbang process including Sambang Kampung, because during this process, problems are identified, ideas captured, and community actual needs discussed.

PIK (PAGU INDIKATIF KECAMATAN) / INDICATIVE CEILING BUDGET FOR KECAMATAN

Different from Solo, Yogyakarta has an innovative way to give the budget allocation directly from city to Kecamatan, named *Pagu Indikatif Kecamatan (PIK)* or Indicative Ceiling Budget for Kecamatan. This allocation allows *Kecamatan* and *Kelurahan* to have a brief description of the availability of the budget, hence they can wisely propose the projects. This total of PIK increases as much as 10% each year. Furthermore, PIK educates the community to respect the planning and budgeting process; not only proposing activities without knowing the budget ceiling in the city level. As Budi, Camat Danurejan, Yogyakarta, explained, “*They used to write down everything they wanted in their proposal, but now along with the regulation (of PIK) they know what can and cannot be proposed.*” In other words, PIK, as innovative budget allocation, allow communitys to actively plan and determine the realistic program activities to propose in the *Musrenbang* process.

Pagu Indikatif Kecamatan (PIK) or Indicative Ceiling Budget allows Kecamatan and Kelurahan to have a brief description of the availability of the budget, hence they can wisely propose the projects.

BRANDING KECAMATAN

Yogyakarta also has innovative ways to include their community’s involvement in the planning process. The government together with the community created Branding Kecamatan / Tematik Pembangunan Kewilayahan, as an effort to make sure the developments focused on the specific potential of each area. This effort is initiated as lots of proposals from the community tend to be similar from year to year. By having a thematic development branding, the development of each kecamatan is expected to be more targeted to maximizing the potential of the area and the proposed project could be better designed to achieve the broader development goals. For example, the thematic development goal for Kecamatan Gedongtengen is “Towards Gedongtengen as a tourism area based on culturak and creative economics”, so the

proposed project from this Kelurahan will be targeting to achieve this goals e.g. training for local industries, training for homestay or guide, etc. By having branding, it’s a learning process for the community to think in a more visionary way about the development of their area. Moreover, this innovation can improve the broader sense of community in their neighborhood.

CITY REGULATION OF DEVOLUTION

Yogyakarta also has City Regulation of Devolution (*PERWALI Pelimpahan*) which cuts the long chain of bureaucratic processes at the city level. The regulation ensures that small affairs can be handled and executed at the Kecamatan level. “*With the regulation of devolution, there is guidance on what can and cannot be done,*” said Budi, Camat Danurejan, Yogyakarta. Additionally, the regulation brings the program closer to the community.

THEMATIC MUSRENBANG

Thematic *Musrenbang* is an innovative effort in Kecamatan Danurejan, Yogyakarta, to cover specific issue in the kecamatan level, including women, children and poor community issues. It aims to discuss these issues in a way which accommodates their aspirations and better addresses their needs. Kecamatan Danurejan has been conducting the thematic *Musrenbang* since 2014, inspired by Kelurahan Suryatmajan which started it first by establishing women *Musrenbang*. Since then, the thematic *Musrenbang* has been taken over by Kecamatan Danurejan, instead of applying it at the Kelurahan level. In addition, Kecamatan Danurejan has implemented a children’s forum to support *Kampung Ramah Anak* or children-friendly kampong program for two years and started to work on *Musrenbang* for poor communities in 2015. As a result, more opinions are gathered in the thematic forum as the representatives express their thoughts openly.

Thematic forum helps marginalized community to get more attention and later to be incorporated into the Musrenbang implementation.

4.7. PROJECT TYPE AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

This last section discusses the type of project in *Musrenbang* and its implementation. First, it explains about the physical projects and non-physical projects which are proposed in the *Musrenbang* in the six cities. Second, this chapter explains about the proposed programs and activity which are not accommodated in the execution of *Musrenbang*.

4.7.1. PHYSICAL PROJECTS VS NON-PHYSICAL PROJECTS

The final stage of *Musrenbang* process is its execution of the proposed programs and activity in answering public needs. Related to the execution of *Musrenbang*, the government also has responsibility to accommodate the solutions of the public problems which are coherent with public interests (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000). *Musrenbang* as a participatory planning and budgeting process often addresses the infrastructure projects to be executed.

PHYSICAL PROJECTS

Generally speaking, the budget allocation for the development in the six cities also illustrates the higher proportional budget spent in the physical programs, rather than the non-physical ones. In Bandung, according to Aep, BAPPEDA Bandung, over 70% of the budget allocation goes to physical infrastructure, meanwhile only around 30% is allocated for non-physical. Every year, the dominant proposal leads to physical development. He mentioned, “*We called it SKPD prima donna, the most widely proposal goes to BPMP or Bina Marga PU and Distarqip (Dinas Tata Ruang dan Cipta Karya).*” Most proposals in Bandung address the infrastructure sector, while Kebumen includes budget allocation for rural poverty alleviation programs such as transportation for poor people, health programs in term

Most proposals in Bandung address the infrastructure sector, while Kebumen includes budget allocation for rural poverty alleviation

of BPJS subsidy, scholarships for poor students, housing programs for housing and sanitary improvements and access to venture capital funds. Speaking of the health program in Kebumen, Marsih, a *Musrenbang* participant, added, “*There is someone who got into an accident so he received help for wheelchair support.*” Moreover, as most of the FGD participants argued, the transportation for poor people can help to increase the local economy, since the well-developed road helps them to sell their goods.

The execution of *Musrenbang* in Yogyakarta is quite different, compared to Bandung and Kebumen. BAPPEDA Yogyakarta used the budget percentage composition formulation in 2009 to 2014, initially for physical, 30% for social, and 30% for economy purpose. The physical projects proposed for the improvement of public facilities include roads, drainage, sewerage, toilets, open green space and street lighting. The women’s aspirations were also reflected on the proposal for the improvement of the PKK warehouse and development of educative playground for children. After being evaluated, the budget allocation for 2015 prioritised spending on physical and economic projects.

FIGURE 4-13 Physical Projects Dominates the Community / Neighbourhood Proposals Proposed through *Musrenbang*



NON-PHYSICAL PROJECTS

The proposed programs in Yogyakarta are most likely about the physical development, but for the last two years non-physical developments have started to take place. For instance, Kecamatan Umbulharjo and Gondokusuman which still need more improvement for *kampung* development, propose more physical projects. Meanwhile, Kecamatan Danurejan which are already well-developed in terms of infrastructure, has zero request for physical projects. Furthermore, the non-physical proposals, dominated by women include training activities (i.e. for arranging wedding gifts, tailoring, improving family economy, and etc), reproductive health education and nutrition additions for children program. Furthermore, in 2016 BAPPEDA Yogyakarta suggested community to propose the project based on their needs as well as supporting the idea of the “Branding Kecamatan” program. In this term, projects can be accommodated if it fits with community needs and priority scale. *Musrenbang* in Yogyakarta also accommodated the youth needs; for example, Karang Taruna has proposed skills improvement training in photography and organizational management. It resulted in the empowerment of youth who graduated from the training and started to open a photography business for wedding events. In other cases, Solo realised that the infrastructure project is already well-developed, so they focus more on maintaining it rather than building other physical projects. Solo then asserted an effort to develop the non-physical projects.

Yogyakarta suggested community to propose the project based on their needs as well as supporting the idea of the “Branding Kecamatan”. Projects can be accommodated if it fits with community needs and priority scale.

Meanwhile, the FGD participants in Makassar doubt the approval and the execution of the non-physical programs due to a lack of tangible factors to be assessed, “Most of our proposals are 80% related to physical projects because it is easier to monitor whether it can be accommodated or not. We have also proposed non-physical activity because now we can see it in the system, but still we do not trust its execution and whether the non-physical program will be delivered or not.” In addition, one of the constraints faced by the community in Makassar in submitting their proposals is the unclear expected ceiling budget which can be executed in the implementation. Even though there is an unwritten announcement about a ceiling budget given to each Kelurahan as much as 2 billion rupiahs, the execution is in question. Moreover, another problem arised when the community could not access last year’s budget in the online system, so the monitoring process could not work as expected.

FIGURE 4-14 Example of Non-Physical Projects in Yogyakarta - Training to improve business for small medium enterprises



4.7.2. THE UNACCOMMODATED PROPOSALS

Musrenbang becomes the space to outline a community's aspiration and address the desired program and activity. The approval of community proposals stimulates the community to engage in *Musrenbang*, as Sri Lestari, a *Musrenbang* participant in Yogyakarta, argued "The proposal has been approved, so I am happy to attend the *Musrenbang*." However, this research reveals that many proposals are still not accommodated. Whilst there is no fair quantitative data to be compared across the six cities, interviews in different sites indicate quite similar results. In the same way, Hermawan Some, Surabaya, said "In fact, many of our proposals were not implemented." Meanwhile in Solo, based on the data from BAPPEDA (2016), the number of proposed projects from 2014 that are accepted in 2015 is 47%, and this number decreased to 43% in 2016. This data suggests that the level of acceptance of community proposals are still low, below 50% per year.

LACK OF UNDERSTANDING FROM COMMUNITY

From the FGD in Bandung and Yogyakarta, this research found that sometimes the committee of *Musrenbang* decided not to accommodate all of the proposals because the community tends to request program or activity repeatedly, due to their lack of understanding of what can be proposed or not.

As Aep Indra, BAPPEDA Bandung, argued,

"The problem is when a community does not understand their actual needs. They only propose their group or individual interests. Some of them proposed financial support, vehicle support, and such else. They need to recognise their needs thoroughly as a community."

Taking this into consideration, there is a significant role for the committee of *Musrenbang* to give a brief explanation of the essence of *Musrenbang* for community. Therefore the community can determine the program or activity which better addressed their needs. Communities needs to recognize that each area has their own needs, so they do not have to follow along

other areas' proposal. Given the example in Yogyakarta, before 2014, the community proposed a training program for developing a repairing shop business which required the participants from each RT. In fact, not all of the community needed the training, so the number of participants kept decreasing in every workshop. Therefore, after 2014, the committee attempted to change the community mindset to acknowledge their actual needs. However, there is also the case, like in Makassar, which exposes the coordination between other areas as also necessary in determining the proposed program or activity. One of the *Musrenbang* participants in Makassar described, "A community does not comprehend sustainable development from the planning process level. Given the example, they proposed a drainage program in Kelurahan A which was not connected to the proposed project of Kelurahan B. Unless Kelurahan B proposes the same program, it will cause flooding in Kelurahan A." The integration of each other's area program holds the essential key in determining the sustainability of a development program or activity. Therefore, both community and government need to take this into consideration.

LACK OF RESOURCES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Besides the lack of understanding of the actual needs, the proposals which were not realised were usually caused due to a lack of supporting resources in the neighborhood. For example, another case arose in Yogyakarta where the program for an educational playground for children was not accommodated because all of the proposed land had unclear property's status. As Ketu, RW 05, *Musrenbang* participant in Yogyakarta, mentioned, "Related to physical proposals, we could not get it approved yet because the land did not belong to us." Furthermore, in Kebumen, according to Umi Arfiah, lecturer in IAINU Kebumen, there was a project which was already allocated in the budget but was not executed due to a lack of funds. Meanwhile, Makassar illustrated a different case. According to Mayor of Makassar, an unaccommodated proposal was as a result of it not being within the local government's development plans, which set out in RENJA the strategic planning of SKPD. It is also essential to include the intellectual public in the planning process at lower levels, as they can help the the community to be more focused in determining their proposed program and activity. As seen in Makassar, the community, with the help from LPM in Kelurahan, learned to propose based

on the RENJA and Strategy Planning of SKPD so it could be processed in the budget allocation for the current year. However, this case also indicates that there is a limited room for participatory planning and budgeting process since it has to follow the direction of the RENJA, instead of requesting the program or activity to be drawn from the needs identified at the neighborhood level.

THE EXECUTION OF MUSRENBANG REMAINS UNFULFILLED

Despite how far the proposals get, the *Musrenbang* process can turn out to be unsatisfying because its execution remains unfulfilled. Illustrated by Reni, a *Musrenbang* participant in Bandung, the process of *Musrenbang* itself always runs smoothly, while the realization comes unclear. Furthermore, using an example of the clean water program which was proposed in 2014/2015, she explained that despite the field survey held by the third party, the execution was nowhere to be seen. Additionally, Ade Fakhrurozi, DPRD Bandung, argued, *“If they do not get the idea of Musrenbang, they only think how the budget is allocated and used, then after couple months we see the execution, but then (the project) disappears.”*

The uncertain direction in the implementation of Musrenbang results might lead to the community becoming disinterested in joining the forum.

As Umi Arifah, academic from IAINU Kebumen, mentioned, *“If it is not improved and the proposals from community are still missing (in the process), then there can be a sense of apathy from the public because of its inconsistency.”*

LACK OF EVALUATION PROCESS

The situation of the implementation process in *Musrenbang*, where the proposals are eventually not executed in the practices, gets worse due to the lack of an evaluation process. Basically, the evaluation process is significant to review the last year projects and to get feedback from both the government and community. Therefore, the community can learn to better address

their needs, as well as improving the performance of government. However, it seems that the evaluation process has been ignored, for example in Kebumen and Bandung. Umi Arifah, lecturer in IAINU Kebumen, explained that there is no evaluation from year to year, in terms of the implementation of the project. The lack of feedback in the post-*Musrenbang* time can also be seen in Bandung.

As one of the *Musrenbang* participants in Bandung, Reni, further described,

“The portions of *Musrenbang* to evaluate the realization of the previous year’s proposals are not much, simply question and answer time. There is even an impression: let bygones be bygones.”

From this view, the decision makers poor evaluation of the executing process of *Musrenbang* affects the fulfillment of the proposals.

To sum up all the points into consideration, this research realized that the policy satisfaction from community affects the participation level in the participatory planning and budgeting process. For instance, the participation level in Solo has decreased as a result of not funding programs as much as 75%. Moreover, Ulbig’s (2008) works found that the government who takes the voice of citizens lightly tends to lose the trust from community due to lack of satisfaction. As one of *Musrenbang* participants in Makassar explained, *“We already tried to propose just one activity, but it was not even accommodated. Since then, we do not trust that budget anymore.”* Therefore, this research acknowledges the importance of counting the community voice during the participatory planning and budgeting process along with its execution process, so communities can put their trust in the government.

This page intentionally left blank



Chapter 5

RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 5

RECOMMENDATIONS



Musrenbang is a formal participatory space in development planning and budgeting in Indonesia and its significance in our urban development practices is crucial to bring about change in the cities. As a participatory space, the future of *Musrenbang* is influenced by its stakeholders; government, civil society and wider community members. To improve the implementation of participatory budgeting in Indonesian cities to make it more transparent, inclusive and impactful, a number of recommendations should be considered:

STRENGTHENING LOCAL FACILITATORS FOR BETTER MUSRENBANG PROCESS

Participation at the local level requires strong facilitation skills from local community leaders. The role of facilitators in delivering a good planning and budgeting discussion is considered imperative. City government needs to consider strengthening this facilitation process by providing training on facilitation skills, understanding urban issues, problem analysis and prioritisation of issues and intervention. Experiences from different cities show the important role facilitators plays in both community organising and facilitation of discussions. In Solo for example, the facilitators are chosen from community leaders approved by LPMK and the head of Kelurahan to conduct outreach in the community. Another example can be seen from the roles of LKMK in Surabaya where usually the head of LKMK acts as facilitator, or in Yogyakarta, the LPMK members responsible for facilitating the *Sambang Kampung* process.

FOSTERING EFFICIENT PROCESS OF MUSRENBANG DISCUSSION

The fundamental problem with *Musrenbang* is that the process takes too long and is extensive. Some good examples that can be applied in terms of streamlining *Musrenbang* process are the initiatives of RPJMKel in Solo and RPJMDes in Kebumen. By doing medium-term planning, the neighbourhood can be more focused in prioritizing the neighbourhood program agenda. Neighbourhoods can also keep the consistency and continuity of the program because it has a measured medium-term priority scale. The proposed program can be integrated in a single frame of medium-term planning and not as an annual partial plan, which are unconnected to one another. By encouraging medium-term planning, the neighbourhood is expected to be able to reduce time inefficiency. *Musrenbang* can be pushed to be a 5-year forum to encourage the establishment of RPJMKel and the annual *Musrenbang* forum can become a forum for achievement clarification and evaluation of medium-

term programs. Therefore, the aggregation of citizens' proposals does not need to happen every year.

REVITALISE THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

It is clear that civil society plays an important role in fostering participatory budgeting in different cities. The research found that civil society has contributed to building the foundation of participatory spaces in the city. Without them, reform might not have been achieved and participatory budgeting might not be as advanced as what we see today. There are some roles that can be strengthened, including: (i) facilitating *Musrenbang* discussion (ii) providing capacity building for government and community (iii) strengthening participation through the production of tools for participation, modules and trainings (iv) providing useful urban information for planning and budgeting (v) community organising (vii) public policy advocacy (viii) public service monitoring and (ix) raising awareness and campaign.

BUDGET DEVOLUTION UP TO NEIGHBORHOOD LEVEL

City governments should think of more ways to distribute budgets to the neighborhood level and give more control for the budget. A challenge that might arise could be a lack of capacity for budget monitoring and evaluation by the community or kelurahan officials, thus, strengthening the capacity of citizen participation becomes more substantial. The first is that it can increase or induce local participation by attracting citizens to the participatory forum. The availability of budget can be the main reason why people come to participatory budgeting. The second is that it improves the level of ownership / sense of belonging toward the project implemented by community. The case in Solo of devolving budgets through DPK (Neighborhood Development Budget) has resulted in projects close to the community and also demonstrates citizen control of the allocation of budget. Third, the devolution of budgets to neighborhoods help to efficiently manage the small scale urban projects, while the city government can be more focused on larger scale interventions.

ENCOURAGE THE USE OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY TO IMPROVE PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING, INCLUDING YOUTH PARTICIPATION

Technology is proven to be widely used by many cities to promote the transparency and accountability of urban development to the public. In relation to *Musrenbang*, for example, the *e-Musrenbang* system in Surabaya and Makassar sets a precedent that the government and civil society have the same desire to establish a more efficient planning and budgeting system. However, the findings of this research reveal that technology is still seen as a mere instrument, which sometimes reduces the substance of participation itself. Hence, it requires encouraging of the use of technologies which are more user-friendly and easily accessible to the public as important as facilitating the participation. Involving the young people to participate in a way they are more familiar with can be a good opportunity to foster the participation. Besides, the government should be more open in terms of disclosing the budget documents. Information and technology are also expected to become a bridge between online and offline forums, where some groups in the neighbourhood, especially elder groups, still prefer the offline model.

FOSTERING LOCAL CAPACITY AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVES TO INDUCE PARTICIPATION

A key lesson learned from this research is the potential for community capacity in participation, particularly in middle-size cities like Solo and Yogyakarta. Both national and city governments should give more room for flexibility to some degree and make guidance less-prescriptive, which will strengthen the local initiatives heavily-rooted in the practice. The participatory mechanism in Yogyakarta through Sambang Kampung proved that the *Musrenbang* process can be linked with cultural value and resulted in a better form of *Musrenbang*. Therefore, the government should combine it closely with local aspects to better encourage the implementation of *Musrenbang* through collaboration with civil society organizations or other related institutions.

INFORMATION ON URBAN ISSUES NEED TO BE PROVIDED TO BETTER INFORM MUSRENBANG DISCUSSION

The majority of the cities do not have resourceful information that is related to issues that should be discussed in *Musrenbang*. For example, there is limited information about the previous year's accomplishment of projects and what is possible for next year based on the city plan (RPJMD). Data-based information at the neighbourhood to city-level in various sectors such as education, health, sanitation, infrastructure, environment and others are rarely discussed in *Musrenbang* discussion. This phenomenon happened due to the lack of accessible information in the city. Kota Kita Foundation set a precedent, collecting urban data and turning it into a tool to help the discussion process of *Musrenbang*, improving access to information for planning and budgeting. Cities in Indonesia should encourage a data-based disclosure information platform so it can be used publicly to advocate for urban interventions. The absence of demand for particular projects is often due to the lack of public knowledge about what is happening in their neighbourhood.

INCLUDE THE MARGINALISED COMMUNITY FOR MORE INCLUSIVE CITY

Participation needs to be considered as an essential aspect in development. Moreover, the representative of marginalised community, including women, children, low income households, and disability group need to be taken into account towards more inclusive city. Lesson learned from this research illustrates that providing space for marginalised community can be accommodated through specific discussion forum, allowing them to express their ideas and initiatives that better address their needs. Besides, the informal participatory planning scheme, outside *Musrenbang* itself, need to be accommodated to heighten the possibility of counting all the voices into development process.

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Acceleration of national regulation needs to be accompanied by the local capacity building for its implementation. The Kebumen case shows that there is a huge gap between the capacity local and national government. This gap results in utter confusion on lower execution level since local institutions are not developed optimally and neighbourhood instruments are not ready to implement the policy. Both the research and national workshop^[18] find that the coordination between national and local government is the key to integrate the regulation and its practice in ensuring the better implementation of *Musrenbang*. This also has to be supported by a strong commitment, political will, and good communication from each related stakeholder.

ENCOURAGE IMPACT EVALUATION ON URBAN PROJECTS

It is not easy to determine if *Musrenbang* participation tangibly alleviates wider urban problems due to limited evaluation of the urban projects. Furthermore, the research shows that there are still a lot of citizen proposals that are not being accommodated. Hence, the government should encourage a more comprehensive evaluation process by seeing both quantitative and qualitative impacts e.g. by asking about the impact of building infrastructures affecting the decrease of urban problems. For example, the impact of building sewers to reduce flooding and improve environmental health in certain neighbourhoods. Another example is to ask if a microeconomic credit program can increase the ability of citizens to empower their local economy and reduce poverty. To encourage the social audit process or impact assessment in urban projects stemming from the participatory budgeting process, the CSOs need to work together with the government. The being said, further research is needed to observe and examine how sustainable urban and neighbourhood projects are as the products of the participatory planning and budgeting process.

[18] National workshop held on November, 2nd to disseminate the research result and consolidate the recommendation with 150 attendees coming from different cities in Indonesia and representing diverse backgrounds. This meeting platform also promotes and campaign for inclusive and transparent *Musrenbang* practices in Indonesia, while enriching the conversation about PB, particularly in participatory model and innovation on national level.

REFERENCES

- Ahmad, Raza and Weiser, E.T, eds. 2006 *Fostering Public Participation in Budget Making: Case Studies from Indonesia, The Marshall Islands and Pakistan*, Jakarta: The Asia Foundation.
- Arnstein, Sherry R. 1969. *A Ladder Of Citizen Participation*, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35 (4): 216-224, DOI: 10.1080/01944366908977225
- Azhar, Fikri. 2015. *Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan (MUSRENBANG) di Kelurahan Pegirian Kecamatan Semampir Kota Surabaya*. Jurnal Kebijakan dan Manajemen Publik, May-August, Vol.3(2), pp.63-70, ISSN 2303 - 341X.
- Barber, Benjamin R. 1989. *Public Talk and Civic Action: Education for Participation in a Strong Democracy*. Social Education, Oct, Vol. 53 (6): 355-370.
- Bonsón, Enrique, et al. 2012. *Local e-government 2.0: Social media and corporate transparency in municipalities*. Government Information Quarterly 29: 123–132.
- BPS Kota Bandung. 2015. *Kota Bandung Dalam Angka 2015*. Bandung: Badan Pusat Statistik.
- BPS Kota Yogyakarta. 2015. *Kota Yogyakarta Dalam Angka 2015*. Yogyakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik.
- BPS Kota Surabaya. 2015. *Kota Surabaya Dalam Angka 2015*. Surabaya: Badan Pusat Statistik.
- BPS Kota Surakarta. 2015. *Kota Surakarta Dalam Angka 2015*. Surakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik.
- BPS Kabupaten Kebumen. 2015. *Kabupaten Kebumen Dalam Angka 2015*. Kebumen: Badan Pusat Statistik.
- BPS Kota Makassar. 2016. *Kota Makassar Dalam Angka 2016*. Makassar: Badan Pusat Statistik.
- Bulan, Wahidah R. 2009. *Perjuangan Alokasi Dana Desa (ADD) di Kebumen: Jalan Panjang Lagi Berliku Menuju Otonomi Desa atau (Bisa) Tidak untuk Apa-apa*. Accessed from: academia.edu
- Cabannes, Yves. 2004. *Participatory budgeting: a significant contribution to participatory democracy*. Environment&Urbanization, April, Vol. 16 (1): 27-46
- Caldeira, Teresa and James Holston. 2015. *Participatory urban planning in Brazil*. Urban Studies, Vol. 52 (11) : 2001–2017.
- Cegarra-Navarro, Juan-Gabriel, et al. 2014. *Technology knowledge and governance: Empowering citizen engagement and participation*. Government Information Quarterly 31: 660–668.
- Denhardt , Robert B. and Janet Vinzant Denhardt. 2000. *The New Public Service: Serving Rather Than Steering*. Public Administration Review 60 (6): 549–59.
- Fung, Archon. 2006. *Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance*. Public Administration Review; Dec 2006; 66, ABI/INFORM Global. pg. 66
- Hamilton, Jennifer Duffield and Caitlin Wills-Toker. 2006. *Reconceptualizing Dialogue in Environmental Public Participation*. The Policy Studies Journal, Vol. 34 (4) : 755-775.
- Handayani, Suci. 2006. *Pelibatan Masyarakat Marjinal dalam Perencanaan dan Penganggaran Partisipatif: Sebuah Pengalaman Kota Solo*. Solo: Kompip Solo.
- Hill, Heather C. 2003. *Understanding Implementation: Street-Level Bureaucrats' Resources for Reform*. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, Vol. 13 (3) : 265–282.

- Histiraludin, Muhammad. 2004. *Bergumul Bersama Masyarakat: Berbagi Cerita Proses Perencanaan Partisipatif di Kota Solo*. Solo: IPGI Solo.
- Ho, Tat-Kei Alfred. 2002. *Reinventing Local Governments and the E-Government initiative*. Public Administration Review. July/August, 62 (4): 434-444.
- Kim, P. S., Halligan, J., Cho, N., Oh, C. H., & Eikenberry, A. M. (2005). *Toward participatory and transparent governance: Report on the Sixth Global Forum on Reinventing Government*. Public Administration Review, 65(6) : 646-654.
- Lawless, Jennifer L. and Richard L. Fox. 2001. *Political Participation of the Urban Poor*. Social Problems, August, Vol. 48 (3): 362-385
- Lewis, Blane D. 2005. *Indonesian Local Government Spending, Taxing and Saving: An Explanation of Preand Post-decentralization Fiscal Outcomes*. Asian Economic Journal. Vol.19 (3): 291-317.
- Mettler, Suzanne and Joe Soss. *The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship: Bridging Policy Studies and Mass Politics*. Perspectives on Politics, March, Vol. 2 (1) : 55-73
- Murtiono, Yusuf. 2012. *Kaum Marginal Tidak Dapat Bersuara???* accessed from <http://www.formasi.org/kaum-marginal-tidak-bisa-bersuara/>
- Rifai, Ahmad. 2009. *Geliat Partisipasi Kelompok Sektoral: Studi Kasus Kota Surakarta*, in Suhirman (ed.), Partisipasi, Reformasi Kelembagaan, dan Alokasi Penganggaran: Pelajaran dari Lima Daerah, pp.33-46. Bandung: FPPM dan Yayasan Tifa.
- Roberts, Nancy. 2004. *Public Deliberation in an Age of Direct Citizen Participation*. American Review of Public Administration 34(4): 315-53.
- Samuel, Paul. 1986. *Community Participation in the Development Projects; the World Bank Experience*, in M. Bamberger (compiler), Readings in Community Participation, Vol 1 (the Economics Development institute of the World Bank, Washington DC. p.46
- Sumarto, Hetifah Sj. 2003. *Inovasi, Partisipasi dan Good Governance: 20 Prakarsa Inovatif dan Partisipatif di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Solo Kota Kita. 2012. *Understanding and Analyzing the Musrenbang Process in Solo*, Indonesia.
- Titiana-Petra Ertiö (2015) *Participatory Apps for Urban Planning—Space for Improvement*, Planning Practice & Research, 30 (3) : 303-321, DOI: 10.1080/02697459.2015.1052942
- Taylor, John. 2015. *Toward Pro-Poor and Accountable Infrastructure Development Planning*. AIIRA Research Report.
- Ulbig, Stacy G. *Voice is not Enough - The Importance of Influence in Political Trust and Policy Assessments*. Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 72, No. 3, Fall 2008, pp. 523-539.
- Wichowsky, Amber, and Donald P. Moynihan. 2008. *Measuring How Administration Shapes Citizenship: A Policy Feedback Perspective on Performance Management*. Public Administration Review, Vol.68 (5), pp.908-920.



ANNEX

ANNEX 1 - RESEARCH TIMELINE

ANNEX 2 - LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

ANNEX 1

RESEARCH TIMELINE

The research was conducted during 10 months period started in January 2016 to October 2016 covering a sequence of 6 main steps, as referred in the following diagram. The first step is to develop initial research design which is followed up by the Inception Workshop with experts in participatory budgeting in Indonesia to gather feedback. The next step is data collection. Both quantitative and qualitative data has been collected through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, fieldwork, workshop, and local data documentation. The primary data was collected through interviews with key persons including government officials, academics, as well as focus group discussion with participants of *Musrenbang*. Meanwhile, the secondary data consists of supporting evidence such as city planning documentation, *Musrenbang* documents, local budget, statistical data and local regulation. After data consolidation, analysis, and writing, we conducted a National Dissemination Workshop in November 2nd, 2016 in order to disseminate the result of the research, as well as gather further inputs for the recommendation section.



RESEARCH TIMELINE	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUNE	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV
1. DEVELOP INITIAL RESEARCH DESIGN											
2. INCEPTION WORKSHOP											
3. DATA COLLECTION											
• INDEPTH INTERVIEW											
• FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION											
• LOCAL DATA DOCUMENTATION											
4. DATA CONSOLIDATION											
5. WRITING & REPORTING											
6. NATIONAL DISEMINATION WORKSHOP											

ANNEX 2

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

CITY	INTERVIEWEES	M / F	INSTITUTIONS
SOLO	ANDWI JOKO	M	PATTIRO Solo
	BASYARUDIN	M	LPMK Sriwedari
	SHEMMY SAMUEL RORY	M	JERAMI Solo
	FUAD JAMIL	M	Kota Kita
		F	BAPPEDA Kota Surakarta
YOGYAKARTA	TRI RETNANI, S.SI.MT	F	BAPPEDA Kota Yogyakarta Ka Sub Bid. Pengendalian dan Evaluasi Ekonomi, Sosial dan Budaya
	RISTYAWATI, ST,M.ENG	F	BAPPEDA Kota Yogyakarta Ka Sub Bid Perencanaan Program Ekososbud
	MARVY YUNITA DWIRIAWATI, SE. MSI	F	Bagian Keuangan Kota / Dinas Pajak Daerah dan Pengelolaan Keuangan (DPDPK) Kepala Seksi Perencanaan Anggaran DPDPK Kota Yogyakarta
	RIFKI LISTIANTO S.SI	M	Komisi B dan Anggota Dewan Badan Anggaran dan Badan Legislasi DPRD -Fraksi PAN
	BUDI SANTOSO SSTP, MSI	M	Camat Danurejan
	I MADE SUJANA	M	Koordinator Inclusive Cosial (IC) SAPDA (Sentra Advokasi Perempuan, Difabel, dan Anak)
SURABAYA	VINCENCIUS AWEY	M	DPRD MEMBER
	RENI	F	DPRD - PKS
	IMAN ROHANI	M	LKMK Karah
	AGUS IMAM SON HAJI	M	Head of BAPPEKO Surabaya
	NN	F	Head of Kelurahan Karah
	WAWAN SOME	M	CSO
	MOHAMMAD DAKELAN	M	FITRA Jawa Timur
	EKO BUSONO	M	Head of RW 04 in Kampung Deles, Klampis, Ngasem
	AJI PAMUNGKAS	M	Academics from ITS
BANDUNG	BEN SATRIATNA	M	Akademisi dari fak ekonomi unpad, studi pemb. Peserta musrenbang kota Bandung 2016
	AEP INDRA	M	Kepala Bagian PPS Bappeda Kota Bandung
	ALEX	M	Sekretaris LPM Kelurahan Rancabolang Bandung
	RENI	F	Pengurus RW 04 Rancabolang, Bandung
	ADE FAKHRUROZI	M	Ketua Fraksi Hanura Anggota Banggar DPRD Kota Bandung

CITY	INTERVIEWEES	M / F	INSTITUTIONS
MAKASSAR	NN	M	Head of BAPPEDA Makassar
	NN	M	Bagian Keuangan Kota
	NN	M	Panitia Musrenbang
	NN	F	Peserta Musrenbang dari masyarakat
	NN	M	Peserta Musrenbang dari LSM
	NN	M	Akademisi dari universitas lokal yang mengikuti / mengamati proses Musrenbang
KEBUMEN	YAZID MAHFUD	M	Vice Municipal Leader
	NN	M	Bappeda Kabupaten Kebumen
	NN	M	Panitia Musrenbang
	UMI ARIFAH	F	Dosen IAINU Kebumen
	NN	M	Musrenbang participants from community

This page intentionally left blank

This page intentionally left blank

MAKING ALL
VOICES COUNT
A GRAND CHALLENGE
FOR DEVELOPMENT

KOTAKITA
A CITY FOR ALL