

Aditya Wisnu Pradana

Deputy for Research and Innovation Policy, National Research and Innovation Agency

Email: adit018@brin.go.id

Submitted: 28 July 2022, Revised: 29 August 2022, Accepted: 30 August 2022

Pradana, Aditya Wisnu was born in Jakarta, Indonesia, March 25, 1991. Graduated from Business Administration, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (now: Faculty of Administrative Sciences), University of Indonesia in January 2014. His Master of Administration academic degree was obtained from Administrative Science and Public Policy, Faculty of Administrative Sciences, University of Indonesia in August 2018. He is now working as a researcher at the Deputy for Research and Innovation, National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN). He has research and writing interests in public administration, focusing on the areas of public sector innovation, evidence-based policymaking, and good governance.

Promoting Participatory Budgeting Practices in Indonesia: Lessons from Malang City

Abstract

This study aims to analyze community participation in the process of development planning and APBD formulation in Malang City. This research uses a qualitative approach and the data is sourced from document studies, literature studies and in-depth interviews with informants selected by a purposive method. The results show that even though the process of dialogues in the implementation of Musrenbang RKPD has been well involving various elements of society in order to plan the development of the regions, the final decision remains dominant in the government hands. Moreover, the spaces of community participation in the post-musrenbang stage are also known to be inadequate. There are four factors hampering the community participation: low political commitments of the government elites, not yet optimal channels of the community participation, less supportive government bureaucrats, and lack of public awareness. There are four strategic efforts to strengthen the community participation: provide political education to civil society, implement the community aspiration ceiling in the Musrenbang RKPD, form the community forum in the post-musrenbang stage, and implement a public planning and budgeting system that supports the principles of good governance.

Keywords:

APBD; Musrenbang RKPD; Participatory Budgeting; Community Participation

Introduction

Public policy and development are a unified entity that is interrelated and cannot be separated (Boehmke and Skinner, 2012; Bowler and Donovan, 2004). This should be realized because every public policy is present as the main instrument for development. Development

is an activity process that takes place continuously and consists of various independent stages (Blair, 2004), but the stages are interrelated with each other (Boehmke and Skinner, 2012; Heilmann and Melton, 2013). Development requires a plan. The planning must be systematically arranged including a government

agenda that will be carried out by stakeholders in the future (Coglianese and Walters, 2016). Development planning can be translated as a response to various public problems that require a follow-up (Ackoff, 1977), so that the list of problems must be scheduled in a structured manner as a means for stakeholders to formulate public policy proposals (Buchholz and Rosenthal, 2004; Howlett, 2014; Nascimento et al., 2018; Weale, 2004). In the context of regional autonomy, development needs synergy between central and regional government scopes (Brodjonegoro and Asanuma, 2000; Pradana, 2021; Wasistiono and Polyando, 2017).

One of the policies that is considered strategic and has a high level of sensitivity to the success of regional government development programs is the budget policy (Ippolito, 2015). The level of community participation in the development planning process and budget policy formulation in the region will basically reflect the quality of the effectiveness and efficiency of the budget allocation (Aiyar and Behar, 2005; Neshkova and Guo, 2012; Pradana, 2018; Shah, 2007). In this case, to ensure that regional governments can prepare and allocate their regional budgets in accordance with the needs and interests of the public, active community involvement in the development planning process and budget policy formulation in their regions is absolutely necessary (Abers, 1998; Aiyar and Behar, 2005; Fung and Wright., 2001; Shah, 2007). Related to this point of view, participatory budgeting ideas; namely a model of public budgeting based on community participation (Shah, 2007), seems to be very relevant, especially if it is associated with the principles of good governance in the context of regional autonomy.

Shah (2007) states that participatory budgeting is the process of making budget policy decisions through negotiations by the community on the distribution of public resources. Participatory budgeting can be defined as a

mechanism that allows citizens, both individuals and groups, to be directly involved in deciding or contributing to decisions made regarding all or some of the available public resources (Afonso, 2017; de Soysa, 2022; Gret and Sintomer, 2005; Wampler, 2007). The terms “directly” or “contribute to decisions” are very important to underline. According to Luwihono (2006), this term indicates that participation must be distinguished from merely providing information and consultation.

In Indonesia, the Law No. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government has given the regions the authority to be able to carry out broad, real, and responsible autonomy (Pradana, 2018, 2021). The success of implementing regional autonomy certainly cannot be separated from the availability of regional government’s financial resources that are able to support the implementation of budgeting for its development programs (Brodjonegoro and Asanuma, 2000; Pradana, 2021). The regulation is explicitly stated in Law No.33 of 2004 concerning Financial Balance Between Central and Regional Government.

In line with that, the enactment of Government Regulation No.12 of 2019 concerning Management of Local Government Finance provides guidelines for regional governments in formulating and managing their budget policies. Development planning in this case is an integral part of the formulation of budget policies (Nasution, 2016; Pradana, 2018; Prasodjo, 2003), which is also the manifestation of the policy agenda in which various lists of problems are then conceptualized and selected to become a shorter list for further processing (Howlett and Ramesh, 1995; Kingdon, 1984). In this stage, the space for community participation has been formally accommodated in the development plan deliberation forum (*musrenbang*) (Pradana, 2018). Based on Law No. 25 of 2004 concerning National Planning System, *musrenbang* is a meeting forum between stakeholders in order to

prepare development plans. This forum is a means for all stakeholders in formulating budget policies (Antlöv et al., 2010; Bunnell et al., 2013).

In the implementation of the musrenbang, the results of the planning are then compiled in the Regional Government Work Plan (RKPD) document. The RKPD is made based on the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) and Regional Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPD) and is aligned with the Central Government Work Plan (RKP). The RKPD document becomes a reference for regional governments in formulating the Regional Budget (APBD). The budget prepared by the regional government in the APBD is an annual development funding that comes from the people (Kristiansen et al., 2009; Neldysavrino et al., 2007). Therefore, the APBD must be able to absorb the aspirations that develop in the midst of the community and synergize with the interests and needs of the wider public.

This study takes a locus in Malang City. It was conducted by looking at the process of community participation in the Musrenbang RKPD and in the formulation of the APBD. Early findings indicate that community participation still have many problems. The reason was based on number of problems referred to Pradana (2018), Sutrisna (2012), Sopanah (2009) and Luwihono (2006), starting from the APBD which is considered to often deviate from Musrenbang RKPD, budget policies that are not effective and efficient, to the emergence of corruption cases related to the APBD. The selection of Malang City as the object of study was based on the severity of policy problems as a result of political decentralization in Indonesia (Prasodjo, 2003). The fact is that in 2017 there was a case of mass corruption that ensnared high-level government officials and, for the most part, DPRD members of Malang City which all lead to the closure of the budgeting process; the worst case in the history of Indonesia's regional autonomy era seen from the massiveness of the parties involved (Pradana, 2018).

The novelty offered in this study generally lies in the material coverage of the research objectives. In this case, various studies only examined community participation partially, both on the Musrenbang RKPD stage or, which is much rarer, on the stage of the APBD formulation. In fact, Musrenbang RKPD is an integrated part and is the previous stage of the public budgeting process (Nasution, 2016; Prasodjo, 2003), so that in viewing a holistic public policy formulation process, the two stages cannot be ignored. In this case, the study will focus on examining the issue of community participation both in the development planning stage and in the formulation of APBD policies holistically and how the linkage between the two stages in responding to the various complexities of the problems that occur.

Based on these findings, this study seeks to deeply examine community participation, various factors that hinder community participation, as well as strategic efforts that can be made to strengthen community participation in the development planning process and budget policy formulation by relying on the case study in Malang City. This is intended to encourage participatory budgeting practices in order to realize the APBD in accordance with the needs and interests of the wider community.

Method

This study uses a qualitative approach to be able to provide an in-depth understanding of social phenomena (Creswell, 2003). It is developed from the interpretive paradigm that views humans in the sense of social beings who daily act, instead of behave (Neuman, 2003; Rubbin and Babbie, 2008). This study takes a loci in Malang City and conducted in 2018 – 2020 by looking at the process of community involvement in the Musrenbang RKPD and in the formulation of the APBD. The study combines primary and secondary data collection techniques to obtain accurate data and information related to the

community participation in the development planning and the formulation of APBD.

As for obtaining primary data, the technique used in this study is through the in-depth interview method, which is a data collection technique to explore more information from various related informants (Patton, 1990). Interviews conducted with key informants selected by the purposive method as referred to Neuman (2003). The key informants must be fully involved or understand the main problems related to the weak community participation, both in a series of development planning stages that have been formally accommodated in the Musrenbang RKPD as well as in a series of the APBD formulation process. The informants in this study include Regional Secretariat (Setda) and Planning, Research and Development Agency (Barenlitbang) as an actor from executive government; Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) as an actor from legislative government; Regional Research and Information Center (PATTIRO) and Malang Corruption Watch (MCW) as an actor from the Non-Government Organizations (NGOs); experts in the public sector budget policy and citizen that is actively involved.

To obtain secondary data, the data collection techniques used are as follows. First is the literature study, namely data collection techniques by understanding various reading materials such as books and scientific journals related to the work of relevant experts (Neuman, 2003; Patton, 1990) related to the concept of community participation in the context of democracy and good governance, public policy formulation, development planning, public budget policy formulation, participatory budgeting, and regional autonomy. Second is the document study, namely data collection techniques by reviewing various documents and archives related to the object of study (Patton, 1990), including documents related to the implementation of the Musrenbang RKPD, minutes of meetings related to the formulation of APBD,

relevant regulations related to regional financial management and community participation.

The data processing techniques used in this study are as follows. Unit processing is the stage of reviewing all data that has been collected from various relevant sources which then produces an abstraction by making a summary of the core and refining the data (Neuman, 2003). The next stage is data categorization. The categories are arranged on the basis of certain criteria, thoughts, and intuition on the data obtained, which are then determined according to the purpose of the study (Neuman, 2003). The next step is to validate the data using the triangulation method. As referred to Meloeng (2007), the triangulation used in this study is triangulation of data sources; the data from in-depth interviews will be mutually confirmed with each other, both between informants and with various literature reviews, document studies and related written archives.

Results and Discussion

Community participation in Indonesia's regional development planning and budgeting process has been constitutionally guaranteed in the Basic Law of 1945, especially in the article 23 which emphasizes that every community has the right to participate in the process of preparing and making decisions in the public budget policy. In this article, the public interest is the basis for the entire financial management process; carried out in an open and responsible manner for the greatest benefit of the people. As referred to Pradana (2018), the importance of community participation in development planning and regional budget formulation is then clarified in Law No. 17 of 2003 concerning State Finance; Law No. 25 of 2004 concerning the National Development Planning System; Law No. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government; Government Regulation No. 12 of 2019 concerning Management of Local Government Finance and Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 86 of

2017 concerning Procedures for Preparation, Control and Evaluation of Regional Development Plans.

Community Participation in the Stage of Development Planning

As an initial stage in the formulation of APBD, the space for community participation in Malang City development planning has been formally accommodated in the Musrenbang RKPD. The implementation guidelines are carried out through a top-down and bottom-up approach, where the planning is harmonized through deliberation carried out starting from the level of neighborhood meetings (*rembug warga*), urban village meetings (*musrenbang kelurahan*), sub-district meetings (*musrenbang kecamatan*), to district meetings (*musrenbang kota*) in order to synergize the achievement of the targets of the Malang City development plan (Pradana, 2018; Sopanah, 2009; Sutrisna, 2012). Apart from the Musrenbang RKPD, the community participation space is also facilitated by the DPRD in the form of a community aspirations net, both through working visits during the recess period and through a forum for direct delivery of public aspirations (Pradana, 2018).

The critical notes on the implementation of the community participation in the Musrenbang RKPD at each level based on the existing findings are as follows.

(1) Neighborhood Meetings

At this grassroot level, residents could participate by attending directly in the forum without a limit on the number of participants. The implementation of the meeting had been carried out by the neighborhood (*rukun warga*) and with coordination from the Urban Village Community Empowerment Institution (LPMK). However, the findings of this study indicate that the forum was often attended only by neighborhood officials and rarely attended by residents. According to

the informant, the main cause was the people's indifference. The absence of residents resulted in a consensus regarding the priority results of the neighborhood proposals that were only taken by officials who were present in the forum.

(2) Urban Village Meetings

Starting from this level, the presence of residents was limited by invitation; represented by delegates who were selected at the *rembug warga* to represent their neighborhood in the *musrenbang kelurahan*. This study found that the discussion process in the *musrenbang kelurahan* had been facilitated by LPMK and each neighborhood delegation was invited to submit proposals. The approval of the priority of each proposal has been carried out by consensus.

The urban village (*kelurahan*) area as the lowest government apparatus that is closest and even in direct contact with the community, makes its position strategic in public services. In relation to the *musrenbang kelurahan*, this can be seen from the role of its forum which is given the authority to agree on community proposals that will be financed by LPMK grants and non-governmental funds. The LPMK grant is a fund that has been specifically allocated from the APBD through grant expenditures originating from indirect expenditure posts. Meanwhile, non-governmental funds obtained through voluntary contributions from community groups donation or private organizations through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) funds.

(3) Sub-District Meetings

In this level, delegates were selected at the *musrenbang kelurahan*. Community participation in the *musrenbang kecamatan* had been well accommodated. This could be seen at least from the two forms of community participation, namely the presence of community representatives and discussions between communities and between the community and the government in the sub-

district (*kecamatan*) area. In the *musrenbang kecamatan*, the mutually agreed upon agendas were proposed activities that will become development priorities in the *kecamatan* area in the context of preparing the sub-district work plan (*rencana kerja kecamatan*).

In contrast to the *musrenbang kelurahan*, the deliberative participants in the *musrenbang kecamatan* were more varied from various elements and interest groups, such as delegates representing institutions that were in contact with public services, such as schools, Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*), health centers, nursing homes and so on in the *kecamatan* area, as well as various organizations both profit and non-profit.

(4) District Meetings

Findings show that at this level, the discussion of community proposals was more focused on technical matters. This made it difficult for citizens (community delegates from the *musrenbang kecamatan*) to participate in the discussion sessions that take place in the forum due to the limited information and understanding they had regarding these technical matters. The community involvement in the forum tended to be passive and only listen to the information presented by the government. In this level, the deliberations were no longer focused on the process of selecting proposals, such as at the *musrenbang kelurahan* and *musrenbang kecamatan*, but rather focused on discussing the development planning of the district-level on a macro basis, with the output of the draft of RKPD.

Although it was known that there were minimal discussions, the presence of the community delegates still occupied a very crucial role. It was because of the community's interest in overseeing the various proposals they had brought from their respective *kecamatan*. However, the discussion session provided the widest possible opportunity for all representatives to convey various inputs for the realization of an optimal

development plan. This was often used by critical NGOs who were invited to the forum to express their opinions.

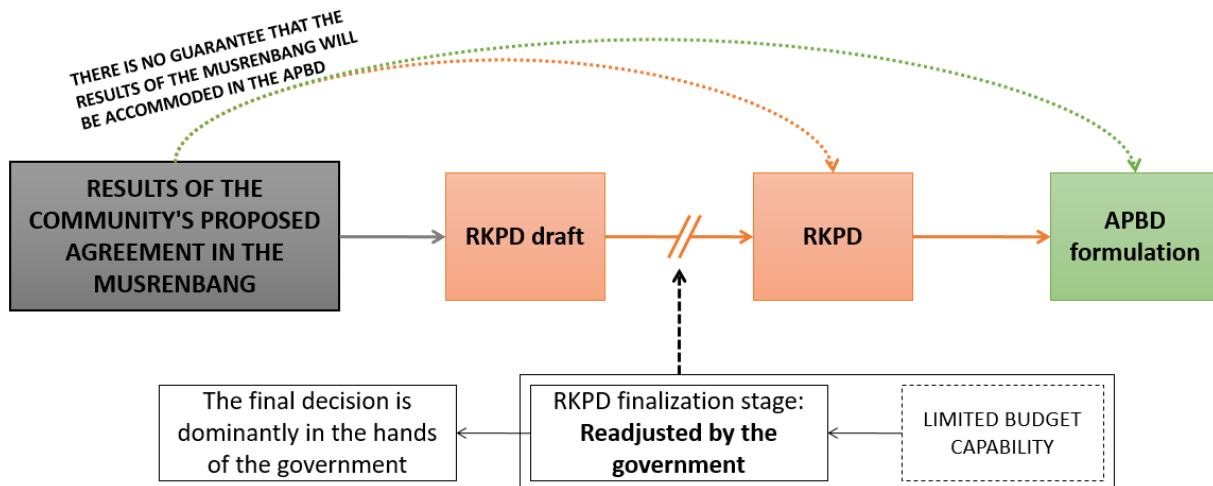
Since the output is still in the form of a draft of RKPD, it is possible that various proposals from the community that have been agreed upon in the *musrenbang kota* will not be accommodated in the final. This is due to budget constraints and development priorities outlined in the RPJMD. The budget constraint in this case is the main triggering factor why the government has to readjust the community's proposals that have been agreed upon in the forum to then actually be accommodated in budget policy (figure 1). Given the limited budget, the government will prioritize community proposals that can be in line with the performance targets of the RPJMD.

In accordance with the provisions of the Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 86 of 2017 concerning Procedures for Preparation, Control, and Evaluation of Regional Development Plans, space for public participation, apart from the Musrenbang RKPD, is also available through the main ideas of DPRD members who are captured from their constituent, both during the recess agenda as well as a forum for direct delivery of public aspirations. The explanation of these findings will be put together in the next section regarding community participation in the formulation of the APBD.

Community Participation in the Formulation of APBD

According to informants from citizens who were actively involved as community representatives in the Musrenbang RKPD, community participation in the post-musrenbang stage was non-existent. According to the statement, the involvement of the community practically only lasted during the Musrenbang RKPD, and then the proposals were submitted entirely to the government regarding follow-up actions. The various proposals they put forward in the

Figure 1.
The Relation of the Results of the Musrenbang RKPD to the APBD Formulation



Source: processed by author.

forum will only be known for the follow-up after official socialization from Barenlitbang when the formulation of the APBD has been completed or even after the proposed programs and activities have actually been realized in the field.

In fact, the space for community participation in the process of APBD formulation is legally still available. The community participation spaces and their applications are in accordance with the findings of the study summarized below.

(1) Public Hearing

Public hearing between DPRD and communities (RDPU) to discuss public issues, including the regional regulation that are being drafted, has been guaranteed in Law No. 17 of 2014 concerning People's Consultative Agency (MPR), House of Representatives (DPR), Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) and Regional Representatives Council (DPD). This law has also been revealed in the DPRD of Malang City Regulation No. 1 of 2018 concerning The DPRD of Malang City Code of Conduct.

The findings show that the RDPU related to the preparation of the draft of APBD had never been implemented at all. The underlying reason was because the DPRD had captured the

aspirations of the people, both in the Musrenbang RKPD as well as community aspiration net. In fact, neither the law nor the code of conduct provide a guarantee that the aspirations expressed by the community will be accommodated in the budgeting stage. RDPU itself is not an obligation that must be carried out by the DPRD. RDPU will be implemented based on the needs of DPRD members themselves, or if they are willing to accept the community's request to implement the RDPU.

(2) Community Aspiration Net

Community aspiration net conducted by DPRD members in their respective electoral districts during the recess period, as its mandate has been stated in Law No. 17 of 2014 concerning MPR, DPR, DPRD, and DPD, has in fact not been able to become an optimal forum to encourage community participation. The results of this study, similar to previous findings from Pradana (2018) and Juliani (2016), show that the community aspiration net is still an exclusive space that can only be attended by a handful of people who have close relationships with members of DPRD. Reports on recess activities often do not reflect the reality on the ground and often contain vested interests.

The findings show that the main ideas of DPRD members that should be absorbed from the aspirations of the people in fact often deviate from the interests of the community and are only infiltrated by the personal interests of the political elite. This is, in fact, often the root cause that eliminates the interests of the community itself. Meanwhile, the forum for direct delivery of community aspirations does not have an adequate follow-up. It has not really become an optimal forum for the community to be able to convey their aspirations.

(3) Public Opinion

Public opinion, as referred to in this study, is the delivery of personal and/or group opinions in public spaces, including in places that can be visited and seen by everyone. This is regulated in Law No. 9 of 1998 concerning the Freedom to Express Opinions in Public. The forms can be carried out through: i) demonstrations, namely the submission of opinions in public to express thoughts; ii) parades, namely the expression of opinions using processions on public streets; iii) general meetings, namely open meetings held to express opinions with certain themes and iv) free pulpit, namely the activity which is carried out openly without certain themes.

In the current era, public opinion can also be done without having to be physically present in one place as in previous forms of action. The form of expressing opinions in public is through: v) media, namely the delivery of opinions through media intermediaries, both print and electronic, where the media can be accessed widely.

Expressing opinion in public has often been done by all elements of society in Malang City. For example, and perhaps the most recent case, is related to the corruption of APBD year 2018 that ensnares high-level government officials and, for the most part, DPRD members, which all lead to the closure of the budgeting process (Pradana, 2018). This issue was initially, and then to a large

extent, driven by the voices of the public who find many irregularities in the APBD posture.

Even though this forum is considered more optimal than the other, basically there is still no guarantee that the various voices conveyed in these demonstrations will be actually followed up by the government. This depends on the magnitude of the noise that arises in the public, the impact on the community, and ultimately leads to political interests.

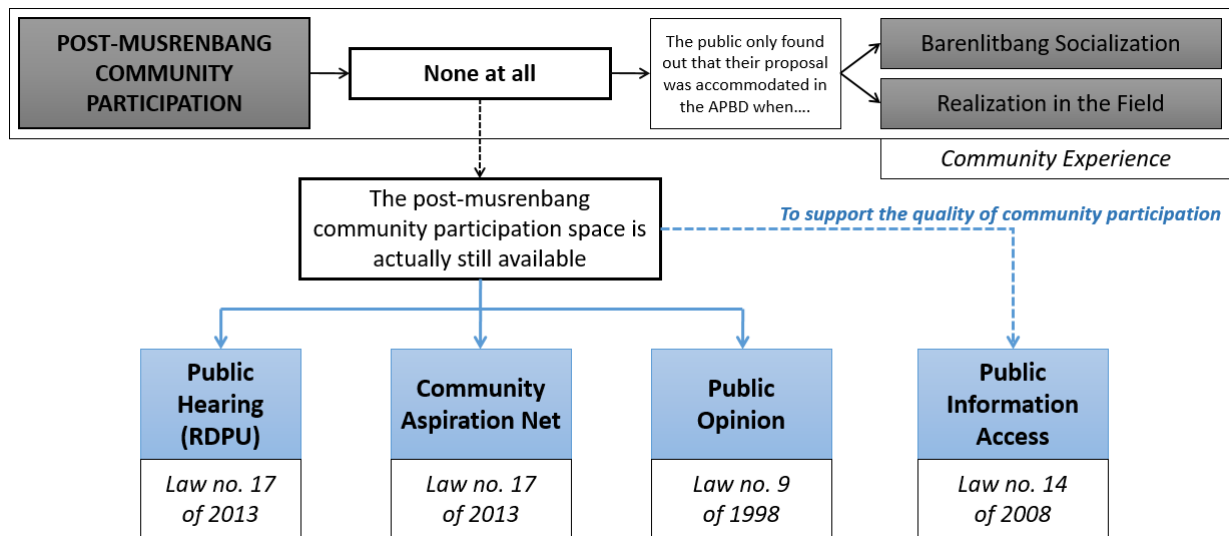
(4) Public Information Access

The findings in this study show that access to public information related to APBD formulation is still not optimal. In fact, easy access to public information and its provisions has been mandated in the Law No. 14 of 2008 concerning Public Information Disclosure. The absence of a system for the community to practically obtain information to participate in the budgeting process, in this case, is the main obstacle. This information is important, not only as an effort for the government to be transparent and accountable, but also as a provision of data for the community to participate.

Besides that, various meetings in the DPRD related to the discussion of APBD formulation are often done behind closed doors and legally permissible, referring to the Law No. 17 of 2014 concerning MPR, DPR, DPRD and DPD. This makes it difficult for the community to control the dynamics of the discussion process that arises.

The existence of e-government has now given a bigger role for the community to encourage clean government (Pradana, 2018). Although it is still difficult to provide best practice in implementing e-government in Indonesia, Jakarta (Manghayu, 2018; Rahayu, 2019) and Surabaya City (Manghayu, 2018; Noveriyanto et al., 2018; Yunas, 2017, 2020) are seen as the closest cities to be referred to in an effort to empower the community through an online-based governance system.

Figure 2.
Community Participation in the Formulation of APBD



Source: processed by author.

Various Factors Inhibiting Community Participation

The essence of participatory budgeting in this case lies in the community's contribution to influence every action decided by the government (Parker and Murray, 2012). Without this contribution, community participation will be classified as pseudo. The understanding of pseudo in this case is participation in moderation, as a waiver of obligations and only to show that the community has been involved and the budget policy formulation has been carried out in a bottom-up and participatory manner (Pradana, 2018). However, it does not provide real benefits to the public.

This study found at least four main problems that hinder community participation in the process of development planning and APBD formulation in Malang City. These problems are the low political commitment of the elites, not yet optimal channels for community participation, less supportive government bureaucrats and the lack of public awareness. But basically, the various factors of these problems are closely related to each other. The analysis of these problems is summarized below.

(1) Political Commitment of the Elites

This fact can be clearly seen from the difficulty of the community to initiate RDPU in order to provide views and constructive input to the DPRD related to the draft of APBD that is being discussed. Various other meetings in the DPRD related to the discussion of the draft of APBD which could actually be open, in fact, are often held in secret. In addition, the absence of concrete steps by the government to implement a budgeting system that can make the community easier to participate in is also strong evidence of the low political commitment of the elites in Malang City.

These findings are in line with the view expressed by Goldfrank (2006), that political will plays a crucial role in the succession of participatory budgeting. The political commitment of the elites to meaningfully involve the community in order to share power with the government in the development planning and public budgeting process is one of the main requirements in realizing participatory budgeting practices (de Soysa, 2022; Nascimento et al., 2018; Pradana, 2018; Shah, 2007). This commitment, based on the findings, is not yet owned by the government's elites in Malang City.

(2) Community Participation Channels

The current law does not explicitly provide a guarantee that various interests as well as aspirations and input from the wider community will be channeled, both in the Musrenbang RKPD, RDPU, community aspiration net and through a series of demonstrations. Community accessibility to data and information related to public budgeting is also still difficult, even though the Law No. 14 of 2008 concerning Public Information Disclosure has guaranteed easy access and availability of public information documents for the public.

Discussions related to the formulation of the APBD between DPRD and executive governments, as stipulated in the provisions of the Law No. 17 of 2014 concerning MPR, DPR, DPRD and DPD, does not require the meeting to be opened. This becomes the legal basis for conducting discussions behind closed doors; it is often used as a powerful excuse to close the meeting.

This finding is in line with Goldfrank (2006) statement, that a legal foundation is needed in the succession of participatory budgeting. Existing regulations must be able to provide a clear legal basis and explicitly regulate the mechanism for meaningful community participation in the development planning and public budgeting process (Afonso, 2017; Neshkova and Guo, 2012; Pradana, 2018; Shah, 2007).

(3) Government Bureaucrats

This finding shows that government apparatus in Malang City have not fully worked professionally in accordance with their respective duties and responsibilities. In fact, it is clear that the succession of participatory budgeting is also dependent on the role of the bureaucrats themselves who in this case regulate, coordinate and facilitate community participation.

This is in line with the view expressed by Goldfrank (2006), that bureaucratic competence plays a very important position in the succession of participatory budgeting. In this case, the

regional bureaucracy must be managed by competent bureaucrats and fully support the practice of participatory budgeting (Haltofova, 2018; Nasution, 2016; Pradana, 2018; Shah, 2007).

The results of interviews with the government, NGOs and experts found a common thread that the problem of human resources in the government apparatus in Malang City lies in the soft skills side, especially related to their unprofessional character and lack of integrity in working to provide public services. This is clearly illustrated in the various problems in the Musrenbang RKPD. Many forums were not attended by Barenlitbang resource persons and there was no submission of information on last year's Musrenbang RKPD proposal that had been accommodated in the APBD, even though it had been regulated in technical guidelines.

In addition, the difficulty of the community in accessing public budgeting documents, both printed and electronic, is also an authentic finding. The community is still faced with complicated bureaucratic problems in applying for document access to the Information Management and Documentation Officer (PPID).

(4) Public Awareness

Public awareness to participate in Malang City, according to the findings in this study, is still relatively low. This can be proven, one of which is during the implementation of the Musrenbang RKPD. In *rembug warga* where the community can actually participate in the forum without a limit on the number of participants, community participation is, in fact, still minimal. According to the informant, the problem of residents' indifference is indicated to be the cause of their lack of participation in *rembug warga*.

On the other hand, the public's understanding of the importance of their involvement in the formulation of APBD is still limited to the meaning of their participation in the Musrenbang RKPD.

This can be seen from the results of interviews with citizen involved, which can be summarized that the space for community participation in the post-musrenbang budgeting process is not available at all, and the community only submits all their proposals that have been agreed upon in the musrenbang to the government. In this case, the community does not have any further initiatives to demand from the government that their involvement must really provide benefits and the various proposals that have been submitted can be seriously followed up by the government. In other words, public awareness is still hampered by the lack of public understanding of the main purpose of their participation.

As referred to Pradana (2018), the community's unwillingness to participate can generally be categorized into two groups. The first group is people who are not willing to be involved due to a lack of public understanding regarding the importance of their involvement or inadequate capabilities in public budgeting issues. These groups can be encouraged by providing the understanding in order to build public awareness regarding the importance of their presence in the government. The second group is people who do not want to be involved because of ignorance or distrust of the government; or can be called apathetic groups. Building awareness in this community group is relatively more difficult than the first. According to the informants, this role must be accompanied by the government's concrete steps to show them that their involvement in the public budgeting process is truly meaningful.

The importance of public awareness to be involved in the budget formulation process as one of the main factors determining the succession of participatory budgeting is also in accordance with the view expressed by Wampler (2007). The wider community must be willing to participate (Luwihono, 2006; Nascimento et al., 2018) and also have adequate competence to contribute to

the budget policy negotiation process (de Soysa, 2022; Shah, 2007).

Strategic Efforts in Strengthening Community Participation

Efforts that can be made in order to strengthen community participation in the development planning and public budgeting process certainly cannot only be done by one party, but all stakeholders have an important role (Buchholz and Rosenthal, 2004). Meanwhile, all stakeholders in this case are related to the mutually constructive relationship between the government and the community. This is because the succession of participatory budgeting requires a series of interrelated and synergized roles between the government and the community as the main actors of participation (Parker and Murray, 2012).

On the one hand, the absence of the government's commitment to open meaningful channels of participation will in the end only result in increasingly apathetic community groups, who do not care in government (Luwihono, 2006; Nascimento et al., 2018; Pradana, 2018). They felt that their involvement would be in vain; the involvement does not really affect the attitude of the government to be able to decide something that is able to provide real benefits to the public. On the other hand, the results of this study show that community apathy will only lower community control over the budget planning prepared by the government. This can provide opportunities for certain groups to have a bad consensus in order to achieve their vested interests.

The efforts that must be and continue to be made to strengthen community participation is to build awareness of the community. Building public awareness in this regard is not only limited to providing an understanding of the importance of their involvement in development planning and APBD formulation process. More than that, the community must also be equipped with

an understanding of the importance of having a quality and integrity government. This is a mandatory effort for all existing stakeholders, both from NGOs, mass organizations, universities, and various other groups, to continuously provide political education to the community in order to encourage their awareness to participate.

The succession of participatory budgeting is highly dependent on the political commitment of the ruling elite (Afonso, 2017; Haltofova, 2018; Parker and Murray, 2012; Wampler, 2007). The provision of political education to civil society to support advocacy activities in public budgeting, according to various informants, is in fact still being carried out by various groups, especially critical NGOs around Malang City. However, building public awareness of course requires a large amount of resources and time. These efforts will also not be able to have an immediate impact. So in this case, the government should be able to provide a stimulus to encourage community participation in a more meaningful direction. The strategic effort that can be taken by the government is to open the widest possible channel to be able to provide space for meaningful community involvement in development planning and the formulation of the APBD. Some of these strategic efforts include the following.

(1) Community Aspiration Ceiling in Musrenbang RKPD

The problem encountered in the implementation of the Musrenbang RKPD in Malang City is the lack of certainty of various community proposals that have been agreed upon in the Musrenbang RKPD to be further accommodated in APBD. The uncertainty about the follow-up makes the musrenbang appear to be only a forum to capture and accommodate community's proposal as many community proposals as possible to show that development planning in Malang City has been carried out in a bottom-up and participatory manner.

The community aspiration ceiling is a number of budget ceilings that are specifically intended to accommodate development plans that are purely derived from community proposals in the Musrenbang RKPD. This ceiling is the main guide for the community in proposing their various priority programs and activities that will be accommodated in APBD.

The community aspiration ceiling is part of the government's effort to provide certainty to the community. This is in the form of an estimate of the budget amount available to fund community proposals in the musrenbang. According to Pradana (2021) and Goldfrank (2006), regional governments must be able to control the available budgetary resources to enable them to invest in various programs and activities that are chosen with the community.

As referred to de Soysa (2022), Cabannes (2014) and Shah (2007), the concept of a ceiling on community aspirations can be wrapped with a discourse of equitable development which then results in the formulation of a quality of life index. Regions with higher poverty rates, denser populations and poorer infrastructure and public services will receive higher budget ceilings than better and wealthier regions. The formulation of the ceiling for the community's aspiration is calculated using weighting based on the scale of the specific problems that exist in each region.

This concept becomes important, because in addition to providing certainty to the community's proposals that will be accommodated in the city budget, participatory budgeting also makes it possible to create regional development based on the principle of justice (Cabannes, 2014; Wampler, 2008). The regions that are more lagging behind getting a larger portion of the budget ceiling than others (Shah, 2007).

(2) Post-Musrenbang Community Forum

In Malang City, the existence of community delegations to fight for and guard various

proposals of the community practically only occurred during the Musrenbang RKPD. There was almost no room for meaningful involvement after the musrenbang. This resulted in the process of guarding aspirations carried out by the community to be interrupted in the middle of the road.

In addition, the absence of meaningful participation space at the stage of the APBD formulation process makes community control over the budget prepared by the government to be low. As a result, it is not about the community's proposals that have been agreed upon in the musrenbang that are ultimately dropped by the government, but more than that, the APBD that is then decided by the government often does not reflect the interests and needs of the wider community.

The community forum is a forum formed from various community groups such as community delegates from the musrenbang forum, delegates from NGOs, mass organizations, universities, and various other community delegations that aim to be a medium of control over the government during the APBD formulation process. This forum facilitates various community delegates to be able to follow the stages of the post-musrenbang budgeting process.

Community forums are inspired by the concept of direct democracy, which is of course adapted to the complex conditions of today's modern cities (Bruce, 2004; Perry, 2015; Wampler, 2008). Furthermore, community forums, as an inspiration of direct democracy in this case, are a real form of participatory democracy. Participatory democracy itself is an alternative solution to a representative democracy which, according to Fadri (2020) and Afrizal (2003), often only gives birth to community representatives; in this case the DPRD, which has vested interests.

From these findings, it can be concluded that although these two forums, both DPRD and community forums, are a forum that functions

as community representation, the dividing line in this case is clear, namely the interests of the community representatives. This means that the community forum will only function properly if they can avoid various hidden interests and cooptation of certain parties. Community forums must be outside the government, filled with professional and independent delegates, overseeing discussions on the APBD formulation done by the government and conveying the results to the public openly.

(3) Public-Based Budgeting System

Meaningful community participation must also be supported by planning and budgeting system instruments. This system should be designed to facilitate, and further stimulate community participation at each stage (de Soysa, 2022; Nascimento et al., 2018). The systems must be fully integrated, starting from the development planning process to the APBD formulation stage, all of which must be built on the basis of good governance principles (Pradana, 2018).

With this system, the process of formulating the APBD can no longer be fully controlled by the government. In this case, the system will automatically eliminate various programs and activities that are not in accordance with the plans that have been made. Furthermore, the system must be open; which can be accessed and viewed by the wider community in order to facilitate all existing stakeholders to control each stage of the planning and budgeting process carried out by the government (Boehmke and Skinner, 2012; Heilmann and Melton, 2013; Pradana, 2018).

Based on the author's analysis of the results, the key to the success of a public planning and budgeting system that favors the community lies in the commitment of the government elite and its staff, as the managing agent and person in charge of the system. Some of the actions they must take include opening the data related to planning and budgeting documents through media channels

that are easily accessible to the public, publish the data in detail with the aim of providing space for the community in order to monitor and control every item budgeted by the government, and update the data in a timely manner according to the schedule in each stage of the planning and budgeting process.

Conclusion

As an integral part of the public policy formulation cycle, development planning is an early stage before entering the APBD formulation process. Based on Howlett and Ramesh (1995), this study concludes several things. The findings indicate that in the implementation of the Musrenbang RKPD, the community has the right to provide proposals (voice) and is given the widest opportunity to determine the decision (vote) which will be accommodated in the musrenbang. However, the community's agreement regarding the proposals in the musrenbang has not yet become a final decision compiled in the RKPD document.

In the stages of the APBD formulation process, community actors in a wide variety can actually be involved. The community is still legally able to provide various inputs, criticisms and opinions (voices) that aim to influence government actions in the process of formulating the APBD. This form is also part of the community's control over various government actions.

However, according to the findings, most of the community involvement spaces have not been properly implemented. On the other hand, these spaces do not have the powerful efficacy to be able to truly influence the government's actions to make a decision that is in accordance with the community's voice. In this case, the public is welcome to submit various inputs, criticisms and opinions, but there is no guarantee that these will be accommodated or, at least, be taken into consideration by the government in making APBD decisions.

In the APBD formulation process, the community only has the best opportunity to express their opinion (voice), but does not have the authority to participate in determining policies (vote). This makes community involvement often considered as a mere formality process without any essence of real participation. The concept of participatory budgeting in this study appears as a bridge between the "voice" owned by community actors and the "vote" which is legally only owned by government actors. Participatory budgeting is an effort to strengthen the community's "voice" in order to influence the government's "vote." This is done through four strategic efforts, as recommended in this study.

References

- Abers, R. (1998). From clientism to cooperation: local government, participatory policy and civic organizing in Porto Alegre, Brazil. *Politics and Society*, 26(4), 511–537.
- Ackoff, R. L. (1977). National development planning revisited. *Operations Research*, 25(2), 207–218.
- Afonso, W. B. (2017). Citizens engaging government: participatory budgeting in Greensboro, North Carolina. *Public Administration Quarterly*, 41(1), 7–42.
- Afrizal. (2003). *Public participation in the drafting of laws: case studies of the law of foundation and the law of broadcasting*. Post-Graduate Thesis at Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia.
- Aiyar, Y., & Behar, A. (2005). Budget work in India: civil society experiments in democratic engagement. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(2), 108–112.
- Antlöv, H., Brinkerhoff, D. W., & Rapp, E. (2010). Civil society capacity building for democratic reform: experience and lessons from Indonesia. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*,

- 21(3), 417–439. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-010-9140-x>.
- Blair, R. (2004). Public participation and community development: the role of strategic planning. *Public Administration Quarterly*, 28(1), 102–147.
- Boehmke, F. J., & Skinner, P. (2012). State policy innovativeness revisited. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 12(3), 303–329. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532440012438890>.
- Bowler, S., & Donovan, T. (2004). Measuring the effect of direct democracy on state policy: not all initiatives are created equal. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 4(3), 345–363.
- Brodjonegoro, B., & Asanuma, S. (2000). Regional autonomy and fiscal decentralization in democratic Indonesia. *Hitotsubashi Journal of Economics*, 41(2), 111–122.
- Bruce, I. (2004). *The Porto Alegre alternative: direct democracy in action*. London: Pluto Press.
- Buchholz, R. A., & Rosenthal, S. B. (2004). Stakeholder theory and public policy: how governments matter. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 51(2), 143–153.
- Bunnell, T., Miller, M. A., Phelps, N. A., & Taylor, J. (2013). Urban development in a decentralized Indonesia: two success stories? *Pacific Affairs*, 86(4), 857–876. <https://doi.org/10.5509/2013864857>.
- Cabannes, Y. (2014). *Contribution of participatory budgets to the democratization of local government*. Research Report on Contribution of Participatory Budgeting to Provision and Management of Basic Services: Municipal Practices and Evidence from The Field, International Institute for Environment and Development.
- Coglianesi, C., and Walters, D. E. (2016). Agenda-setting in the regulatory state: theory and evidence. *Administrative Law Review*, 68(1), 93–118.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). California: Sage Publication.
- de Soysa, A. (2022). *What is participatory budgeting?* Research Report of Participatory Budgeting: Public Participation Budget Processes Transparency International.
- Fadri, Z. (2020). Community development alternative to the democratic participatory model. *Alfuad Journal*, 4(2), 27–39. Retrieved from <http://ecampus.iainbatusangkar.ac.id/ojs/index.php/alfuad>
- Fung, A. and Wright, E. O. (2001). Deepening democracy: innovations in empowered participatory governance. *Politics and Society*, 29(1), 5–41.
- Goldfrank, B. (2006). *Lessons from Latin America's experience with participatory budgeting*. Presented at the Latin American Studies Association Meeting at San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- Gret, M., & Sintomer, Y. (2005). *The Porto Alegre experiment: learning lessons for better democracy*. London: Zed Books.
- Haltofova, B. (2018). Fostering community engagement through crowdsourcing: case study on participatory budgeting. *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management*, 13(1), 5–12.
- Heilmann, S., and Melton, O. (2013). The reinvention of development planning in China, 1993–2012. *Modern China*, 39(6), 580–628. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0097700413497551>.
- Howlett, M. (2014). From the “old” to the “new” policy design: design thinking beyond markets and collaborative governance. *Policy Sciences*, 47(3), 187–207. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-014-9199-0>.
- Howlett, M. and Ramesh, M. (1995). *Studying public policy, policy cycles and policy subsystems* (1st ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ippolito, D. (2015). *Why budget matter, budget policy and American politics; revised*

- and updated edition. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Juliani, M. (2016). *The performance of members of the regional house of representatives in collecting the community aspirations: study of the third recess period of members of the DPRD of Malang City year 2015*. Undergraduate Thesis at Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Muhammadiyah Malang.
- Kingdon, J. W. (1984). *Agendas, alternatives and public policies*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press
- Kristiansen, S., Dwiyanto, A., Pramusinto, A., & Agus, E. (2009). Public sector reforms and financial transparency: experiences from Indonesian districts. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 31(1), 64–87. <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs31-1c>.
- Luwihono, S. (2006). *Participatory planning and budgeting for good governance*. Bandung: Publisher of Community Participation Development Forum.
- Manghayu, A. (2018). Participatory development planning in the implementation of e-musrenbang. *Jurnal Manajemen Pembangunan*, 5(2), 95–115.
- Meloeng, L. (2007). *Qualitative research method; revised edition*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Nascimento, S., Iglesias, J. M. R., Owen, R., Schade, S., & Shanley, L. (2018). Citizen science for policy formulation and implementation. In S. Hecker, M. Haklay, A. Bowser, Z. Makuch, J. Vogel, & A. Bonn (Eds.), *Citizen Science: Innovation in Open Science, Society and Policy*. London: University College London Press.
- Nasution, A. (2016). *Government decentralization program in Indonesia*. Asian Development Bank Working Institute
- Neldysavrino, S., Komarudin, H., & Siagian, Y. (2007). *Are community aspiration being accommodated in development plans? a lesson from collective action in Jambi*. Center for International Forestry Research
- Neshkova, M. I. & Guo, H. D. (2012). Public participation and organizational performance: evidence from state agencies. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 22(2), 267–288. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mur038>.
- Neuman, W. L. (2003). *Social Research Methods*. London: Pearsons.
- Noveriyanto, B., Nisa, L. C., Bahtiar, A. S., Sahri, & Irwansyah. (2018). E-government as a government communicatin service in Surabaya City: study of e-government maturity as a communication service for government to government, government to citizen and government to business (trans.). *Profetik Jurnal Komunikasi*, 11(1), 37–53.
- Parker, G. and Murray, C. (2012). Beyond tokenism? community-led planning and rational choices: findings from participants in local agenda-setting at the neighbourhood scale in England. *The Town Planning Review*, 83(1), 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.3828/tpr.2012.1>.
- Patton. (1990). *Qualitative and research method*. California: Sage Publication.
- Perry, M. S. (2015). Four dimensions of democracy. *Essays in Philosophy*, 16(1), 3–25.
- Pradana, A. W. (2018). *Analysis of community participation in the development planning and APBD formulation of Malang City for fiscal year 2017*. Post-Graduate Thesis at Faculty of Administrative Sciences, University of Indonesia.
- Pradana, A. W. (2021). Decentralization practice in developing countries: lessons for Indonesia. *Journal of Governance*, 6(2), 319–339. <https://doi.org/10.31506/jog.v6i2.12662>.
- Prasodjo, E. (2003). Problems and perspectives of political decentralization in Indonesia. In I. J. Pialang, D. Ramdani, A. Pribadi, & F. Basri

- (Eds.), *Regional Autonomy: Evaluation and Projection*. Jakarta: Yayasan Harkat Bangsa.
- Rahayu, S. N. (2019). E-government innovation in regional development planning: effectiveness of e-musrenbang in Jakarta. *Jurnal Administrasi Dan Kebijakan Publik*, 9(1), 1–26.
- Rubbin, A. and Babbie, E. (2008). *Research methods for social works (6th ed.)*. California: Thomson Brooks - Cole Publishing.
- Shah, A. (2007). *Participatory budgeting: public sector governance and accountability*. Washington: The World Bank.
- Sopanah, A. (2009). *Community participation model in the preparation of regional budget*. The 2nd Public Sector Finance Research Conference at Jakarta, Indonesia.
- Sutrisna, H. M. (2012). *Community participation in regional development planning: a case study on community involvement in the process of developing development programs in Malang City*. Undergraduate Thesis at Faculty of Administrative Sciences, University of Brawijaya.
- Wampler, B. (2007). *Participatory budgeting in Brazil: contestation, cooperation and accountability*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Wampler, B. (2008). When does participatory democracy deepen the quality of democracy? lessons from Brazil. *Comparative Politics*, 41(1), 61–81.
- Wasistiono, S. and Polyando, P. (2017). *Decentralization politics in Indonesia*. Institut Pemerintahan Dalam Negeri Press.
- Weale, A. (2004). Politics as collective choice. In A. Leftwich (Ed.), *What Is Politics? The Activity and Its Study*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Yunas, N. S. (2017). The effectiveness of the e-musrenbang in the Surabaya City in the development planning system with a community paradigm. *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 7(1), 19–27. Retrieved from <http://journal.unismuh.ac.id/index.php/otoritas>.
- Yunas, N. S. (2020). Implementation of e-government in minimizing the practice of rent seeking behavior in the government bureaucracy of Surabaya City. *Matra Pembaruan*, 4(1), 13–23. <https://doi.org/10.21787/mp.4.1.2020.13-23>.