



Participatory Budgeting in Indonesia: from the Policy Innovation to the Democracy Innovation

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Abstract

Community participation in the government budgeting process provides opportunities for wider and deeper public participation. This paper uses a systematic literature review method with a meta-synthetic approach that aims to examine the practice of participatory budgeting (PB) in Indonesia by comparing PB programs in the early reform era with PB programs in the reform era. The results show that the PB model in the early era of World Bank-sponsored reforms such as the Musrenbang (PNPM and KDP) is a technocratic administrative policy innovation because it has standard rules, innovation comes from the government and the community becomes the object of government policy. In addition, this study also finds that Prodamas indirectly strengthens Musrenbang because of its participation at the RT level. People at the lowest level are encouraged to participate more. Therefore, the researcher hopes that Regional Regulations have greater power.

Keywords: *participatory budgeting, democratic innovation, prodamas.*

Paper type: *Research paper*

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INTRODUCTION

Participatory budgeting (PB) is a democratic decision-making and discussion process in which ordinary city citizens can determine the allocation of related budgets and negotiate the distribution of public resources. This approach to PB was initiated in 1989 by the City of Porto Alegre in Southern Brazil (Abers et al., 2018). PB has spread from 12 Brazilian cities in 1990 to several hundred cities across the country, but the process differs in actual implementation and generally fails to achieve measurable improvements in welfare. The PB in Porto Alegre was spearheaded by the left-leaning and pro-poor Labor Party (Haussy, 2021).

The development of the PB model is in line with the party's platform and objectives. Its implementation took place soon after the Labor Party elected its first mayor. By promoting the co-management of public resources, PB can make municipal governments more responsive and transparent and reverse the cycle of patronage politics that newly empowered local elites threaten to perpetuate. As a result, it became a mechanism to strengthen the credibility of the Labor Party. As a result, it characterizes the municipal government controlled by the Labor Party (Faedlulloh, 2019). Through PB, citizens can gain direct knowledge about government activities and programs, influence government policies, hold the government accountable, and strengthen inclusive government governance (Andhika et al., 2019). However, this model is often used in practice to build a political support base (Susanto, 2019).

Governments around the world have now adopted the PB process mainly in an attempt to replicate the success of the original process in Porto Alegre. Participatory process adaptation is gaining popularity both in the context of international development and democratic governance (Satriani et al., 2022). Citizens are placed as the center of attention, and their position in the structure of power relations is seen more sharply. A participatory budgeting approach, which involves all stakeholders in the implementation of development programs and projects, is used to gather aspirations and create a sense of belonging among these stakeholders (Sinaga, 2022). Currently, it is estimated that there are over 3000 PB worldwide. The World Bank, in particular, has promoted PB extensively, but sometimes with different aims from its founders (Franco & Assis, 2019).

However, more recent developments of participatory institutions often deviate substantially from the original form of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre. PB in some local government units has only been a consultative process, whereas, in other units, it has become a tool to create the impression of innovation by local authorities. For example, Krenjova & Raudla (2018) effect the reality of the Estonian local government, where the spread of PB is influenced by the desire to follow emerging trends. Often there are no immediate consequences for the final budget because most of the critical budget decisions have already been made, and citizen participation in budgeting meetings only legitimizes those decisions.

In the context of developing countries, there are more substantial criticisms of how PB is perceived to undermine trust between politicians and citizens. For example, in their study of PB in Sri Lankan local government, Kuruppu et al., (2016) describe how the PB process is appropriated by politicians and exploited to extend political tenure and secure higher political positions echelons. Several studies provide information on PB activities, Lee (2014) from the results of his research, found that the Korean State adopted a preliminary feasibility study to improve fiscal efficiency, giving effect to budget decisions to prevent potential non-neutral behavior of stakeholders in the budget process.

Despite criticisms of its implementation in several countries, which are no longer the same as the initial design in Porto Alegre (both due to different socio-political contexts and driving factors), PB concepts and practices are trusted to have a positive impact on democratization at the local level (Fadri, 2020). With PB, public participation in public budgeting gets a bigger space. It can represent the majority of the public's interests because there is no limit to submitting proposals for budget allocation needs. PB also strengthens the democratic process where community members can directly decide how to spend part of the public budget (Miller et al., 2019).

PB, in practice, can also formulate budget policies that favor the interests of the community, especially the interests of small communities, by encouraging the birth of budget policies that support citizen priority programs as discussed at the sub-districts level and decided at the city development deliberation forum. The extent of community involvement and direct citizen interaction will also impact

improving government performance and the quality of democracy (Ríos et al., 2017). Although involving the community in the budgeting process, there may be very complex problems. For example, people who are less critical of various government activities can be caused by insufficient knowledge of the community in general, which will result in little planning and decision-making, and community participation has the potential not to represent the majority of interests (Hendriks, 2019).

In Indonesia, several participatory institutions were born during the reformation period, namely the World Bank Sub-District Development Program (PPK), the National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM) of Independent Rural Areas, and the National Development Planning Consultation (Musrenbang). PPK is a participatory planning agency embedded in formal budgeting procedures. Participatory institutions aim to improve governance, information sharing, and responsiveness of political agents to citizens, leading to accountability and fiscal efficiency (Jung, 2021). PPK provides direct grants to sub-districts at the village or district level in Indonesia, allowing it to determine how funds are spent. However, unlike most processes identified as PB, this budget was initially managed by the World Bank, not by the national government. The transition to government control began later, and eventually, the program was intended to be fully incorporated into the Indonesian government's participatory planning process (Grillos, 2017).

Next is PNPM Mandiri in Rural, which was launched by the Government of Indonesia in 2007 and is part of PNPM in the form of a policy framework as the basis and reference for implementing community empowerment-based poverty reduction programs (Risnawan, 2018). The empowerment program is a refinement of the World Bank's KDP, which has been implemented since 1998 with the support of funding sourced from the allocation of the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN), the allocation of the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD), participation from CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) and grants and loans from several aid institutions and countries under the coordination of the World Bank (Apriyani & Irhamna, 2016). In its implementation, it is through harmonization and development of program systems and mechanisms and procedures, provision of assistance, and stimulant funding to encourage community

initiatives and innovations in efforts to reduce poverty in a sustainable manner (Murbeng et al., 2017).

The government's move to develop PB regulations is symbolic of the radical decentralization policy of the reform period that gave municipal governments autonomous self-government powers. However, the institutionalization of democratic change and participatory processes undermines the role and power of civil society. In line with the reform era, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) seem to have a more significant role in creating social change, especially in a democratic society (Simangunsong, 2021).

With the government embedding and channeling citizen participation into formal processes, NGOs are marginalized and lose their capacity to engage the government critically (Waskitijati et al., 2016). As a result, PB has not brought about a significant change in how government works, citizen participation in the PB process has become a sign, and citizens have become disillusioned. So, the government is currently doing “business as usual”. Indonesian civil society needs to rethink its role as a watchdog and its ability to engage the government critically to ensure inclusive and effective participation (Feruglio & Rifai, 2017).

The implementation of PNPM Mandiri as a development of KDP was strengthened by launching a participatory development planning scheme called “Musrenbang”. As stated in Law Number 25 of 2004 concerning the National Development Planning System. The musrenbang process allows citizens at the neighborhood, district, and city levels, to express their priorities for development projects. Apart from democratization at the local level by electing a political leader every five years, the implementation of the musrenbang is a rare opportunity for many citizens to express their needs and desires for the communities in which they live. It has great potential but is often treated as a kind of non-binding wish list (Feruglio & Rifai, 2017).

Pusat Kajian Anggaran Badan Keahlian DPR RI (2016) emphasized that less attention was paid in the literature to parallel participatory processes carried out by the Indonesian government itself. The first time it was piloted in Solo in 2004, the central government mandated that the Musrenbang process are carried out in every region of the country. Imtihan et al. (2017) say that the national

musrenbang is only a non-binding consultation process that shares citizens' preferences with policymakers but does not mandate that policymakers directly address these preferences in finalizing government agency budgets.

Another problem related to musrenbang was revealed by Ambarwati (2019) which stated that the community as stakeholders felt and assessed themselves only as objects of participation, not as subjects of participation. Elite groups still dominate the subject of participation from the executive and legislative sides and other interest groups. Participatory policies such as musrenbang are only used as a “magnetic field” to symbolize the importance of participation and that the musrenbang process is only “just a formality”. As a result, the Musrenbang process shows minimal impact on actual outcomes with limited citizen participation (Fitrah, 2017).

Another outcome of the reforms is the empowerment of cities to innovate with local policies. In this context, policy innovation will only be innovative if the policy encourages the impact of competitiveness and provides benefits for the public interest. One of the essential prerequisites to encourage the growth of policy innovation is the creativity of the bureaucracy in creating the power of change and new ideas (Sururi, 2017). For the PB process to grow, city leaders must invest in equity, expand project feasibility and funding, and scale up PB to the city level (Davidson, 2018). However, the design of policy innovations will only be optimal with political support.

The government's move to develop PB regulations symbolized the radical decentralization policy in the reform period that gave local governments autonomous self-government power (Simangunsong & Hutasoit, 2018). However, in its implementation, the institutionalization of participation has not been able to fully increase the role and power of civil society because it is designed to be formal and elitist and has not accommodated various existing community groups (Natalia, 2018). As a result, the PB designed at the beginning of the implementation of regional autonomy did not bring significant changes in the nature and workings of the government. The participation of citizens in the PB process has only become a symbol, and it is as if the government is only carrying out its primary duties as usual (business as usual). Indonesian civil society needs to rethink its role as a watchdog and its ability to engage the government critically to ensure inclusive and effective participation (Feruglio & Rifai, 2017).

However, after a decade of autonomy policy, there have been government innovations in various forms as a result of democracy at the local level. Some of these innovations are identical to PB in the early stages, such as KDP and PNPM, or by modifying Musrenbang schemes such as Solo, Surabaya, Makassar, and the City of Kediri (Grillos, 2017). Specifically for the City of Kediri, the implementation of PB tends to be more progressive compared to other cities that have also adopted PB, namely setting RT (Rukun Tetangga) as the locus of activity with a budget allocation of 50 million to 100 million. As the Porto Alegre PB process emerged as a local innovation spearheaded by the Brazilian Labor Party, Prodamas is an adaptation of local innovation to community participation in development. It is part of the promise of Mayor Abdullah Abu Bakar and his Deputy Lilik Muhibbah (Mas Abu-Ning Lik) during this period. Regional head election campaign (election 2014). Prodamas is designed as an effort to accelerate equitable development throughout the city of Kediri. The implementation of Prodamas is based on suggestions from residents who have been collected through community discussion forums in each neighborhood unit (RT), the lowest administrative unit (Pemerintah Kota Kediri, 2015).

Like the World Bank's KDP program, which directly delegates funds to the sub-district level, Prodamas in Kota Kediri directly provides funds to the ward. Through Prodamas, discretionary funds are transferred directly to the ward sub-unit (the administrative unit directly under the sub-district) based on the RT area. The Prodamas process functions similarly to the World Bank's KDP but operates at the lowest level of administrative units. Substantial differences were observed between proposed expenditure priorities (decided during the annual participatory meeting) and actual expenditures reported later during the implementation phase, making it an interesting case to study the differences across stages in a single process.

As mentioned in the previous section, participatory budgeting varies from place to place depending on the style of participation, city resources, and population size (Cabannes, 2004 dalam Sinaga (2022)). To analyze participatory or PB budgeting, Cabannes (2004) proposes four. First the financial dimension. The financial dimension shows the number of resources allocated for participatory budgeting. Participatory budgeting generally reflects between 2 and 10 percent of

the implemented budget. He also stated that in Porto Alegre, 100 percent of the budget is considered participatory because the Budget Council Participatory (COP) discusses and influences the entire budget before it is sent to the city council.

Second is the participatory dimension. One of the main characteristics of participatory budgeting in Brazilian cities is the recognition of the right of the community to have direct and individual participation, not through community representatives or organizations. Indonesia has adopted participatory budgeting through the implementation of Government Regulation No. 8 of 2008, which states that the development planning process must involve all stakeholders directly and indirectly affected by the policy (Pusat Kajian Anggaran Badan Keahlian DPR RI, 2016). Furthermore, participation is carried out through musrenbang (Soedjono et al., 2018).

Third, the legal and regulatory dimensions. Another discussion was on formalizing and institutionalizing participatory budgeting to ensure proper implementation. In some cases, formalization and institutionalization are produced by constitutions, laws, decrees, or municipal decrees (Primastuti, 2018). However, this dimension does not guarantee that the process will avoid the risk of “bureaucratization”, “instrumentalization”, and manipulation of participants.

Fourth is the territorial dimension. Participatory budgeting allows “priority reversal” in territorial terms. It has led to a reorientation of public investment to the most disadvantaged districts, which was decided through a participatory process and is expected to reduce the gap between rich and poor areas of the city. Regarding the marginalization of rural areas in the development process, the city government should conduct participatory budgeting both in urban and rural areas (Primastuti, 2018).

Participatory budgeting can be applied in Indonesia because the problems faced in society are pretty complex. In addition, regions in Indonesia also consist of a relatively large population and a fairly large area. Participatory budgeting procedures are expected to accommodate the above conditions. Considering this, the researcher asked questions about the contribution of Prodamas to community participation in the budgeting process.

This study will be an essential part of democratic innovation. Referring to Wana et al. (2021), it can be said that democratic innovation is the subsequent development of the latest variant/model of democracy. The first publication that

examines democratic innovations is relatively comprehensive by Graham Smith. According to him, participation in democratic innovation does not only involve political actors and civil society elites but also encourages the involvement of ordinary (non-political/laypeople) groups in society (Dean et al., 2020).

Moreover, democratic innovation is also expected to be able to ensure that the participation of citizens can formally have an impact on policies in a sustainable and institutional manner. Therefore, Smith (2011) defines democratic innovation as “...an institution specifically designed to increase and deepen citizen participation in the political decision-making process”. The reform that this journal offers is a shift from policy innovation to democratic innovation, where participation gives citizens a voice in more profound and progressive decision-making. Thus enabling citizens to exert influence on decision-making

METHODS

This review focuses on examining PB practices in Indonesia by comparing PB programs at the start of reform with PB programs in the reform transition era. This study needs to be carried out to determine how hegemonic knowledge is used, especially when critical investigations into the PB process and the use of qualitative methodologies in collecting data through previous research and not making direct observations. The fundamental research question for this review is, is there any democratic innovation in the context of PB through Prodamas, and how is this democratic innovation represented in a systematic literature review (SLR).

SLR is a research method to identify, study, evaluate, and interpret all relevant research results related to specific research questions, certain topics, or phenomena of concern (Watajdid et al., 2021). SLR will be very useful for synthesizing relevant research results so that the facts presented to policymakers become more comprehensive and balanced (Triandini et al., 2019).

Since qualitative research is defined as “a positioned activity that places the observer in the world... and involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach” (Denzon & Lincoln, 2017), it is possible to use a qualitative approach in SLR to be used to synthesize (summarize) research results that are descriptive qualitative. This method is called "meta-synthesis," a technique of integrating data to get new

theories or concepts or a deeper and more thorough level of understanding (Creswell, 2019).

The qualitative SLR includes the following steps: (1) formulating the research question. Research questions (RQ) or research questions are based on the chosen topic's needs (Siswanto, 2010). The following are research questions in this study, namely how PB is implemented in Indonesia and whether there are democratic innovations.

(2) Conduct an SLR search (a systematic literature search). The search process is the stage of searching and exploring the literature. The researcher uses several keywords such as "Participatory Budgeting", "Public Participation in Budgeting", "Democracy Innovation", "Musrenbang", "Prodamas", and "Systematic Literature Review". These keywords are used to capture the available literature. The databases used for this review are Anthrosource, Google Scholar, Portal Garuda, Proquest Social Science, Sage Journals, Science Direct, and Scopus. Researchers assess whether the database can be used as an accurate source to answer the research question.

(3) Screening and selecting appropriate research articles (screening and selecting appropriate research articles). This stage is carried out to decide whether the data found are suitable for use in SLR research or not. Articles are eligible to be selected if criteria include literature in the form of e-books, articles, and conferences with whole text nature and presented in English and Indonesian.

(4) Analyzing and synthesizing qualitative findings (analyzing and synthesizing qualitative findings). This stage uses meta-synthesis (synthesis of qualitative data) with meta-aggregation (meta-aggregation) because it aims to answer research questions (research question) by summarizing various research results (summarizing). In meta-aggregation, PB is elaborated to produce a conceptual framework. Then, in the PB, relevant research articles are searched, compared, and summarized between them. Thus, the results of PB synthesis in Indonesia are an "aggregate" of different research results.

(5) Implementing quality control (maintaining quality control). At this stage, the literature determined as a reference source and assessed as relevant to the research topic will be identified based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria described previously. This question was made to see the feasibility of the selected literature. The questions are determined based on inclusion and exclusion criteria:

is the literature used in the form of e-books, articles, and conferences with whole text nature and presented in English and Indonesian? Does the literature discuss participatory budgeting, policy innovation, and democratic innovation? After the identification stage, the literature will get information based on the questions above. "Yes" is used for the category of literature that meets the criteria, and the answer "No" is for the category of literature that does not meet the criteria.

(6) Prepare a final report (presenting findings). This stage refers to analyzing and elaborating on the findings obtained from the selected literature. The findings are presented in the form of conclusions used as the basis for solving problems and answering the predetermined RQ.

Table 1.
Previous article selection results

Quotation	Article Title	Target Population	PB Focus	Main Outcome	Approach
Andhika et al.	Regional Budgeting Participation Innovations Through Social Media Platform Models	Social media	Participatory budgeting framework	Participatory budgeting models through social media, the community is more democratic to participate in planning, decision-making, and budget oversight.	<i>Conceptual article</i>
Amin	Bottom-Up Budgeting Approach in Local Government Budgeting (Study on Participatory Budgeting in Poor Fishermen's Communities in the Prigi Coastal Area, Trenggalek Regency)	Local community	Participatory forums in the form of Musrenbang	Direct participation of fishing communities in Musrenbang forums is limited to the Village Musrenbang, which is more representative. In terms of quality, it is also less intensive because it is caused by several factors, namely low education levels, citizen apathy, and inappropriate implementation time.	Qualitative descriptive
Andri	Community Participation Model in Active Alert Village Program in Salor Indah Village, Kurik District, Merauke Regency	Local community	Community Participation Model	In the CLEAR model, there are sources of information and knowledge obtained through posters and instructions for active standby village services.	Qualitative descriptive

Quotation	Article Title	Target Population	PB Focus	Main Outcome	Approach
Asmoro & Setianingsih	Accountability and Transparency of “Prodamas” Fund Management in Realizing Good Government Governance at the Village Level	Local government	<i>Good Government Governance</i>	Prodamas fund management at the Kelurahan level The Kediri City Government is good because it is accountable and transparent in managing funds.	Quantitative descriptive, Survey method
Farhan	Kediri City Government Strategy in Improving Community Welfare Through Prodamas	Local government	Strategy	Prodamas does not provide in the form of money but in kind from the results of deliberations approved by RT residents	Qualitative descriptive
Feruglio & Rifai	Participatory Budgeting in Indonesia: Past, Present and Future	Civil society organizations	PB Musrenbang	This practice paper explains and reflects on Indonesia's history and evolution of participatory budgeting.	Qualitatif, <i>Library Research</i> , FGD
Grillos	Participatory Budgeting and the Poor: Tracing Bias in a Multi-Staged Process in Solo, Indonesia	Local government	RAB Factor	Results vary across neighborhoods. More poor people receive a smaller percentage of funding than their share of the population	Mix Method
Haliim	Grant Program in Distributive Political Perspective: A Case Study of Prodamas	Local government	Distributive Politics	From a distributive political perspective, Prodamas is seen as a political tool for the incumbent	Case study
Jayasinghe et al.	Multiple rationalities of participatory budgeting in indigenous communities: evidence from Indonesia	Indigenous peoples	PB processes in indigenous peoples	This paper analyzes the unintended consequences of attempts to implement technically rational accounting reforms and practices in indigenous settings	Qualitative and interpretive case studies
Quotation	Article Title	Target Population	PB Focus	Main Outcome	Approach
Maulana	Budget Policy Innovation Through Participatory Budgeting In The Provincial Government Of Banten	Local government	PB Innovation	The study results show that participatory budgeting is only a new concept practiced in Indonesia, especially in Banten Province	Qualitatif, Literature Studies
Rahmawati & Supriatono	Participatory Budgeting Implementation in Indonesia	National	Implementation	In its implementation, there are several challenges to be faced, but there are great opportunities in developing PB practices	<i>Library research</i>

Setianingsih	Budgeting for the Kediri City Community Empowerment Program (Prodamas)	Local government	RAB Factor	The factors of the village, PPTK, assistants, and RT/RW residents affect the Prodamas Budget Plan (RAB).	Qualitative descriptive
Sopanah	Ceremonial Budgeting: Public Participation in Development Planning at an Indonesian Local Government Authority	Local government	PB Musrenbang	Proses penganggaran The budgeting process is mostly ceremonial because only certain people can access information about the program's objectives, namely the community's low level of socialization of stakeholders	Phenomenological Studies
Sopanah	Community Participation Development Model in the APBD Preparation Process	Local stakeholders	Community participation development model	The factors that influence the ineffectiveness of community participation are derived from the APBD preparation policy and the planning and budgeting process factors	<i>Participatory Action Research dan Focus Group Discussion</i>

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Literature Study on Participatory Budgeting in the World

The PB concept was introduced in 1989 in Porto Alegre, the capital of the southern Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul, through a network of political parties and later non-governmental organizations (NGOs). PB is intended as a means for the poor and their environment to receive a more significant allocation of public spending. The disparity of income and quality of life between the rich and the poor became the background of ideas and challenges for the government at that time. The community is given the authority to determine budgeting priorities at mutually agreed locations (Silvia & Lutfi, 2022). Priority determination is carried out in public discussions and takes place regularly every year by prioritizing transparency, participation, and accountability principles. The local government facilitates the discussion and provides advocacy to the community regarding the budget. During the implementation period (between 1989–1996), this PB model brought several significant improvements in finance and development in Porto Alegre. Based on the results of the research by the Center for Budget Studies of Pusat Kajian Anggaran Badan Keahlian DPR RI (2016), the achievements include: (1) Increasing the percentage of household access to drinking water from 80 percent to 98 percent;

(2) Increasing the percentage of population sanitation from 46 percent to 85 percent; (3) The number of children enrolled in public schools has doubled; (4) Paving 30 kilometers of roads per year; (5) A 50 percent increase in tax revenue resulted from increased transparency in tax rates, and payments received, which has boosted tax payments.

Abers et al., (2018) study show that in Porto Alegre, PB has succeeded in becoming a model for mobilizing the community, including the poor, increasing access to small-scale infrastructure and services, and changing citizenship. Over time, the city's leaders' political support for the PB has declined, and the current Porto Alegre leadership has suspended the process, questioning its long-term influence. So, in his study, he recommends that participatory budgeting can continue to support transformative urban change. Budgeting must be well structured to ensure the participation of various actors throughout society, have adequate financial resources, be rooted in institutions that are responsive to changing political realities, and be accompanied by a commitment to implement the proposals generated by the process.

Hundreds of cities worldwide are developing PB in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere. In the 2000s, PB attracted the attention of international development agencies and activists in the Global North who studied it through the World Social Forum. Since 2000, the World Bank and UN agencies have, in one way or another, helped bring PB to Asia and Africa in countries such as Turkey, Fiji, Senegal, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe. Furthermore, at the same time, European cities are starting to implement this idea, once described as “the return of the Caravels” by Giovanni Allegretti and Carsten Herzberg (Andhika et al., 2019). Over time, the PB has become the official government policy in Venezuela, Peru, and the Dominican Republic. More recently, it has been actively promoted by the next Labor government in the UK. Furthermore, the NT has become completely polyvalent politically. Various actors, such as the World Bank and the Chavez government in Venezuela, promote it (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014).

In South Korea, PB, as a leading citizen participation program under participatory governance, has been introduced and used in the context of citizen-led democratization and NGO efforts to address resource scarcity issues and increase local government accountability and responsiveness to the needs of its

citizens. Since 2011, all local governments in Korea have been required to adopt and implement a PB system by the Local Finance Act. PB policy in Korea can be an excellent example for studying the structure, process, and impact of participatory governance in Korea (Kim, 2016) (Chongwhan, 2015).

The case of PB programs in Korea presents a vital policy diffusion process from a bottom-up to a top-down approach to intergovernmental relations for implementing citizen participation programsa (Kim, 2016). A study by Jung (2021) shows that the PB system contributes to the quality of democracy and increases fiscal efficiency and accountability by functioning as a bottom-up governance mechanism. Overall, Jung's study provides a strong argument for the PB system that empirically supports its efficiency-enhancing effect.

PB allows the community to express their aspirations in budgeting because it is the community that better understands the problems in their area. This model can be applied in government according to the government's level and conditions or characteristics. In its implementation, there are several challenges to be faced, but there are great opportunities in the development of PB practices (Rahmawati & Supriatono, 2019).

Table 2.
Participatory Budgeting Challenges and Opportunities (Processed)

Challenge	Opportunity
Educate citizens/the public in formulating projects according to their needs and timeframe	Utilization of digital technology that makes it easier for citizens/the public to prepare participatory budgets. Thus opening a more accurate and real-time public engagement space
Understand that the government remains the leading actor providing funds (public budget) and ensuring commitment to citizens.	Provide data and information that the public can easily access. It makes it easier for citizens/public to decide on programs that suit their needs and budgetary capabilities
Understand that some broader issues may require government involvement at the regional (provincial) or national (central government) level in solving development problems in the budget cycle.	Opening space for consultation and collaboration with government institutions (both vertical and horizontal) and various stakeholders such as universities, NGOs, companies, and others. To be able to place programs at the local level that are linear and synergistic with planning at higher levels

Formulating the PB is a challenging job. Several challenges remain in implementing the participatory budget process effectively at various levels of government. In the process, so that PB can be implemented at all levels, broad

community participation is needed, such as collaboration with government leaders by providing special allocations for the PB budget, thus requiring dedicated community members to be willing to devote time and energy to simplify the process. While it is clear that opportunities exist at all government levels, the practice has proven most useful at local and municipal levels. Its implementation at the national government level is still minimal (Almén, 2016).

PB is an example of public participation in government decision-making processes. It is a local budgeting practice that allows the public to participate, discuss, negotiate and decide where and how to spend public money. This study highlights the importance of designing an inclusive organizational structure in participatory budgeting to encourage public participation (No & Hsueh, 2020). Not only does budget transparency encourage public participation, but also public participation is needed to increase budget transparency (Ríos et al., 2017).

Identification of Participatory Budgeting Implementation in Indonesia

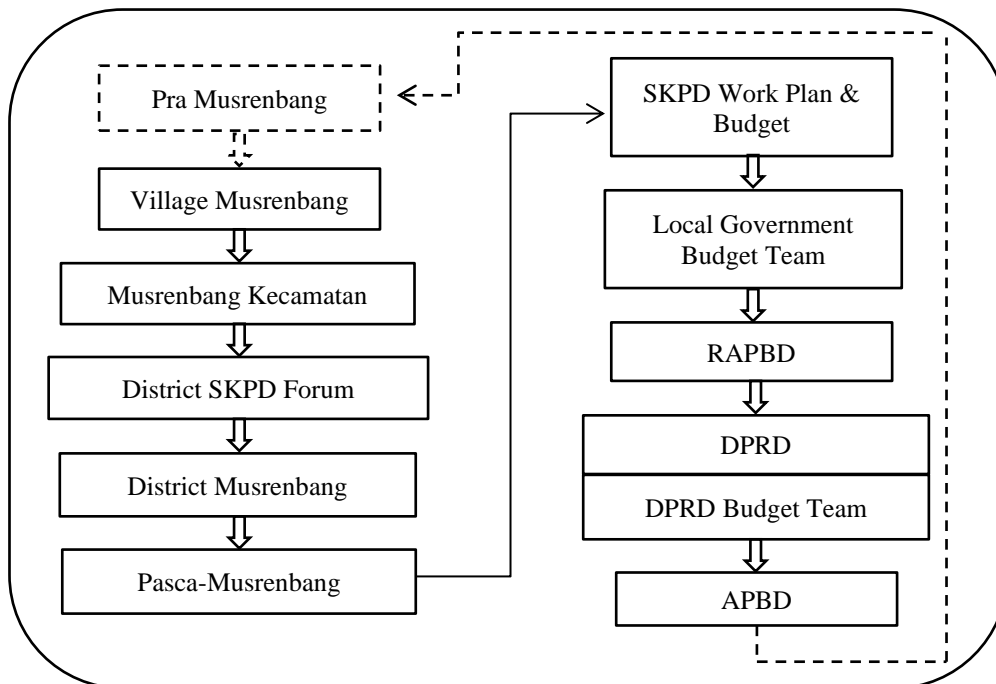
In contrast to implementing PB in Brazil, which has been widely referred to by other countries in the world, participatory forums in the context of implementing PB in Indonesia have rarely directly involved the business community (private sector). This community has a significant role in the budget cycle, especially in the “budget implementation” phase (Amin, 2020). The PB model is more adapted to the characteristics of each region. In the national order, this model is also adapted to the prevailing political and development planning systems.

In Indonesia, community participation in the development planning process is based on a bottom-up scheme stipulated in the Undang Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 25 Tahun 2004 Tentang Sistem Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional. This regulation clearly states that the development planning process must involve stakeholders. They have mandated local entities to hold public participation meetings at all stages of the budget cycle. Local government entities in countries that wish to continue to receive funding from the central government have no choice but to involve citizens in PB (Jayasinghe et al., 2020).

Based on this regulation, the Musrenbang mechanism is carried out from the lowest level, namely village, ward, and sub-district, to a higher level, namely Regency/City Musrenbang, Province, and at the National level. This Musrenbang activity can provide a space for the community to voice their needs to the

government (Pivaldi, 2016). In addition, Musrenbang also makes transformative changes. The World Resource Report (WRR) defines transformative urban change as change that affects multiple sectors and institutional practices, continues in more than one political administration, and is sustained for more than ten years (Beard et al., 2016).

Figure 1.
PB Cycle in Indonesia (Annual Musrenbang)



Musrenbang is divided into the plans discussed: (1) Deliberations on Long-Term Development Plans (RPJP, 20 years), National Long-Term Musrenbang, and Long-Term Regional Musrenbangs shall be held no later than 1 (one) year prior to the end of the current RPJP period. (2) The Medium-Term Development Plan Deliberation (RPJM, five years), the National Medium-Term Musrenbang, is held no later than 2 (two) months after the President is inaugurated, the same as the Regional Medium-Term Musrenbang which is conducted 2 months after the Regional Head is inaugurated. (3) Deliberations on the preparation of the Government Work Plan (RKP, one year), are held by April (National) and March (Regional).

Several participation models, starting from the development planning stage to determining the SKPD budget priority program, are carried out by involving various levels of society, including (Pusat Kajian Anggaran Badan Keahlian DPR RI, 2016). First is formulating priority programs for the SKPD Budget Work Plan in Jepara. Since 2001, the NU LAKPESDAM (Institute for the Study and Development of Human Resources) in Jepara has established community forums that mobilize common interests and are outside formal political institutions. Discussions were conducted participatory, and everyone was encouraged to express their ideas.

Second, setting priorities through limited group discussions in Solo. The PB model has been implemented in Solo since 2000. Through the concept of a partnership between local governments, universities, and NGOs. This idea originated from the reality that community participation through the Musrenbang mechanism felt inadequate because it did not involve sectoral communities such as street vendors, buskers, rickshaw drivers, domestic workers, sex workers, hawkers, street artists, parking attendants, laborers, and scavengers. So that the SKPD Forum that takes place only involves specific stakeholders and only uses internal mechanisms in the formulation of the budget. On the other hand, the community's proposals often need to appear when entering the stages of formulating KUA/PPAS, RKPD, RKA SKPD, and RAPBD.

In response to the need for participation of sectoral, poor, and marginalized communities in Musrenbang, the City of Surakarta has dared to make a breakthrough by issuing the Mayor of Surakarta Number 27-A of 2010. The regulation regulates the implementation of Musrenbang regionally/territorially (Musrenbangkel/cam/kot) and as a whole. Specifically regulates sectoral community involvement mechanisms as a quick response to the issuance of Permendagri No. 54 of 2010. Then the Surakarta City Government tried to organize Musrenbang through two territorial and sectoral channels (Limited Group Discussion/DKT). This sectoral pathway requires all SKPD/Dinas to go through the DKT stages, such as identifying the sectoral communities responsible for ensuring which communities should be involved, providing space for absorption of aspirations, and each sectoral community holding a meeting to formulate problems and the solution.

In addition, several cities in Indonesia, based on research by Feruglio & Rifai (2017) have a track record of policy innovation in taking a progressive PB approach. One of them is Surabaya, a city that innovates with an online version of the Musrenbang, as Makassar, the largest city in eastern Indonesia, also does so. However, even though the government provides a budget for financing, community meetings, and discussions, in reality, access to the platform is only given to community leaders, who ultimately make decisions without consulting the rest of the community.

Meanwhile, various forms of PB are also taking place in several areas such as Bandung, where there is progressive leadership that encourages 'smart' cities, in Kebumen City, where the community plays a vital role in encouraging musrenbang in rural areas, as well as a study conducted by Amin (2020) in Trenggalek which targets poor fishing communities to be involved in village musrenbang. Although there were many variations of PB programs at the beginning of the reform, such as KDP, PNPM, and its development, namely Musrenbang, and later also developed by several regions, this is part of the development that has not yet reached the lowest level of participation, namely at the RT level.

From the description of the implementation of PB in several Indonesian cities, there are new policy innovations carried out by the city government of Kediri in the PB process. Conceptually, Fahmi et al. (2017) said that policy innovation is the existence of new policy initiatives and directions. It means that every policy issued in principle must contain something new. Edler & Fagerberg (2017) also explain that policy innovation is a new policy for countries that adopt it, regardless of how outdated the program is or how many other countries have adopted it.

Before explaining further, it should be noted that public participation in development planning in Kediri City has been carried out since 2006, and long-term development planning has been carried out. Implementation of public participation in joint forums between local governments, represented by Bappeda, and the community. Several working groups were formed to identify and hold discussions with various stakeholders on long-term development directions and priorities by the task areas of each working group. Bappeda followed up the process of identifying problems and priorities with support from LGSP (USAID Local

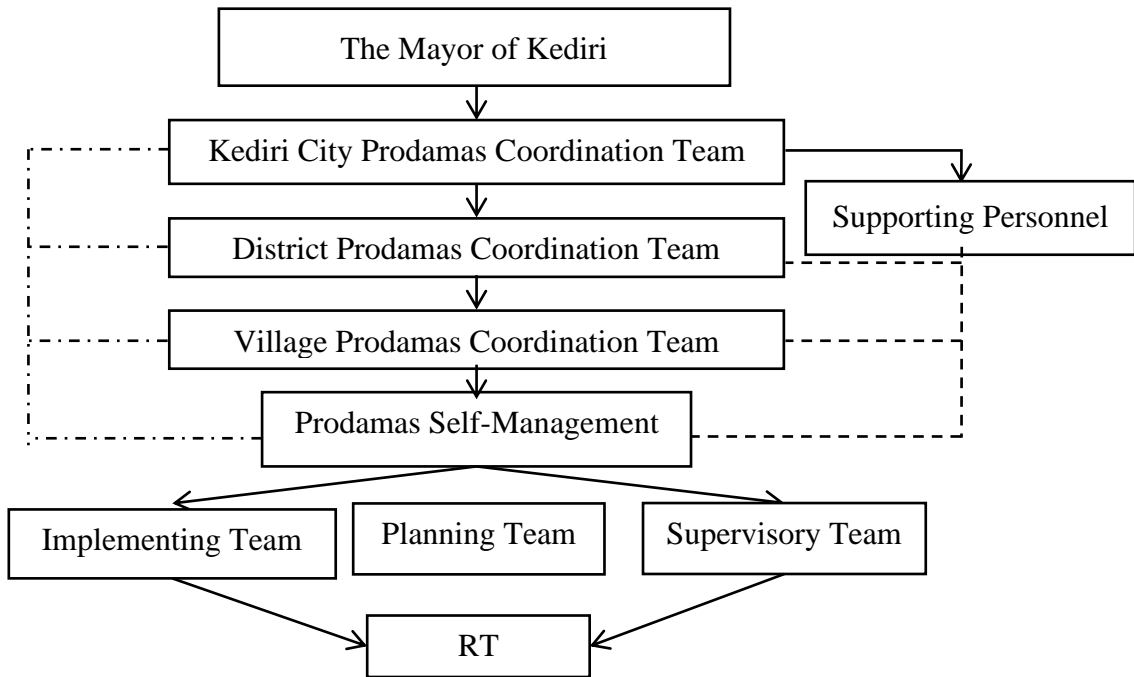
Government Support Program) by submitting a public questionnaire on the essential planning components to determine the main regional priorities (Udjianto et al., 2021).

The difference in the form of government, with the assumption between democratic and royal systems, lies in the culture influencing the perception of the need for citizen participation and policies that often dictate citizen participation to encourage access to government activities. However, in his study, Hertanto et al. (2017) noted that in Indonesia as a democratic system, public participation is still not directly involved in the budgeting process. Constraints include the time difference between the implementation of the budgeting process between the local government and the community, time constraints in following the budgeting process, lack of knowledge, and community apathy. So this cannot be said to be a transformation of policy innovation towards democratic innovation.

In 2015, the Kediri City Government realized the Community Empowerment Program (Prodamas), better known as the Rp 50 million programs. This program is a political promise offered by Mayor Abdullah Abu Bakar and Deputy Mayor Lilik Muhibbah (Mas Abu-Ning Lik) during the simultaneous regional head election (pilkada) campaign in 2014 and only realized the following year. Because Prodamas is a political contract between Mas Abu-Ning Lik and the community, Prodamas is carried out as the responsibility of regional leaders and becomes a flagship program.

Figure 2

Mechanism of Prodamas Implementation Stages



Information:

- > - Command Flow
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Assistance Flow
- - Monitoring and Evaluation Flow

Suppose it is observed from each process described by Asmoro & Setianingsih (2019), In that case, the difference between Prodamas and Musrenbang lies in the presence of Prodamas's assistants and the inclusiveness of development planning funds. In addition, the ongoing Prodamas can reduce some proposed Musrenbang activities because they have been covered by Prodamas (Pemerintah Kota Kediri, 2016) so that priority programs cannot be realized in the Musrenbang can be covered through Prodamas (Kediri.jatimtimes.com, 2019). The Prodamas model is adapted to the characteristics of each region up to the RT level.

In the implementation of Prodamas, the City Government of Kediri disburses a Rp 50-100 million budget to each RT. In 2020, for example, the Kediri City Government was required to allocate a budget of 147.8 billion, or about 10 percent of the total Kediri City APBD 2020. The preparation of this program itself takes almost a year, starting from planning, issuing a legal umbrella, forming a

supervisory team, and others (Farhan, 2017). In general, the purpose of Prodamas is to reduce the role of the Kediri City Government and suppress community participation in development (with 60% physical-infrastructure development components and 40% economic-social) (Pemerintah Kota Kediri, 2015).

It shows that Prodamas is a policy of providing direct budget allocations to the community in a development scheme focused on the Village/Kelurahan as the smallest government unit. Structurally and demographically, within the village and sub-district areas, there are still Rukun Warga (RW) and Rukun Tetangga (RT) structures with different population numbers and characteristics. Looking at the empowerment policy through budget allocations, before the Prodamas of Kediri City, there have been similar program schemes run by the government (both central and regional), such as PPK/PNPM Mandiri Rural by the central government. However, what differs from the City of Kediri is the domain/level of its policies which are more micro at the RT level. Although structurally, the RT is part of the government hierarchy, its existence is more informal because the smallest government unit in the regional autonomy scheme in Indonesia through Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning regional government is the village/ward.

Sopannah (2012) stated that public participation in budgeting at that time was still meager, causing distortions in preparing the APBD. It is because, at that time, the strategy of regional heads began to emerge to enter into work contracts or political promises to the community, which then significantly impacted community participation. The high enthusiasm of the community is reflected in the community deliberations and becomes a daily discussion/citizen dialogue at the respective RT level. This statement is confirmed by Bächtiger et al., (2018) who state that the existence of community participation can also strengthen democratization.

Prodamas Contribution

Prodamas, according to Peraturan Walikota Kediri Nomor 4 Tahun 2019 Tentang Perubahan Keenam Peraturan Walikota Kediri Nomor 40 Tahun 2014 Tentang Pedoman Pelaksanaan Program Fasilitasi Pemberdayaan Masyarakat is a program of community development activities at the village level based in the Rukun Tetangga (RT) area. The presence of Prodamas has made many proposals fulfilled and what the people in the area want because they plan and implement them. Although according to Farhan (2017), the scope of Prodamas development is

limited to a small scale, Prodomas is not only a product of policy innovation but also an effort to realize democratic innovation by increasing the ability and independence of the community in infrastructure development, improving the community's economy, and social welfare so that it can significantly encourage community participation in development down to the lowest administrative unit (RT).

Throughout the Prodomas process, the Kediri City Government made a breakthrough by increasing the Prodomas level to the level of competition/competition between RTs throughout the City of Kediri. This competition is in the Prodomas Award container. The Prodomas Award, which has entered its third stage, has involved at least 1,447 RTs throughout the city of Kediri. Each RT will compete for the best title in the fields that the Kediri City Government has determined. It starts from infrastructure development and social and economic fields. There are also particular areas that the RT can contest, namely the field of community participation and the performance of the RT chairman (Haliim, 2019).

The impact of the implementation of Prodomas has produced positive results for the performance of the Kediri City Government. In January 2018, the Kediri City Government received a prestigious award in terms of performance accountability given by the Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform (MenPAN-RB) of the Republic of Indonesia. Mas Abu, as Mayor of Kediri, received the Government Agency Performance Accountability System (SAKIP) award from the MenPAN-RB. This award is a giant leap for the Kediri City Government because it increased the CC predicate to the B predicate in performance accountability (Haliim, 2019).

Prodomas later became the flagship program of the ten programs the incumbent Mas Abu-Ning Lik campaigned for in the 2018 Kediri City election. It did not stop there, the grant funds prepared for Prodomas (Prodomas plus) increased from 50 million per year per RT to 100 million per year per RT (Beritajatim, 2022). Synchronization and consistency of the budget with the requirements of existing development planning in Prodomas is essential to ensure the city government's performance in achieving targets and efficiency in using resources (Rahmawati & Khoirunurrofik, 2021). It can be seen that Prodomas is not only a public policy that

aims to spur infrastructure and superstructure development in Kediri City but also a sustainable political agenda carried out by the incumbent to navigate the political moment in the 2018 Kediri election. The Kediri City Pilkada contestation with a winning percentage of 65% or 85,514 votes (previously, the same pair with a winning percentage of 45% or 67,915 votes in the 2013 Kediri City Pilkada) of the total 485 TPS in Kediri City (KPU Kediri Kota, 2018).

Democratic Innovation in Prodamas

The innovation actions carried out by government organizations are symptomatic. This is marked by the proliferation of special programs and services run by the government, both physical and policy. Over time, reality shows that government organizations are starting to move more flexibly and follow changes that occur in the environment (Ridlowi & Himam, 2018). Regarding democratic innovation, as explained by Escobar (2017), the primary concern of democratic innovation lies in how to integrate public participation in policy-making that goes beyond the local level. According to Christensen (2019) integrating public participation in the policy-making process at the city, state, and inter-country levels forces democratic innovation to be in contact with institutional strategies.

Democratic innovations are also moving beyond traditional approaches to institutionalizing public participation, which we know as elections and consultative practices. Democratic innovation focuses on how to design innovative designs so that public participation directly impacts political decisions (Pilet et al., 2022). Many studies on democratic innovation aim to develop an informal format of citizen engagement in civil society schemes and contrast them with formal political institutions. As a result, democratic innovation lies between two schools of thought: first, reforming formal democratic institutions to become more open and flexible in responding to public demands. Second, strengthening civil society through strengthening and empowerment, especially for those marginalized from power (Escobar & Elstub, 2019).

Research conducted by Jaske (2018) concludes that the higher the public trust in the government and politicians, the easier it is for democratic innovation to move the public. Jaske also conveyed the importance of institutional design as both a pre-condition and a potential consequence of implementing democratic innovations. Community participation in budgeting at Prodamas, when viewed

from the perspective of Jaske's research (2018), illustrates a process of democratic innovation in policymaking in which the city government invites citizens to provide input during the budgeting process and allows their influence in every stage of budget allocation.

Community involvement in the RT administration unit is an essential and crucial factor in implementing Prodamas. RT is the most central institution that can understand and control its environment in the social, economic, and infrastructure needs. The RT community is the leading actor who best knows the problems being faced and knows the potential of the community. Thus, community involvement is needed in all development planning forms with a deliberation mechanism (Haliim, 2019). The existence of Prodamas means that people's proposals and wishes are known effectively and efficiently.

Prodamas relates to decision-making because citizens and stakeholders are asked to advise the city government. This study shows that Prodamas aims to hear opinions or involve citizens in policymaking before making decisions. Adding a component in the lowest administrative unit (RT) increases and deepens public participation in policy decision-making (Smith, 2011). Prodamas emphasize the distribution of development as a whole, centralized in the city center and the outskirts of the city. In addition, Prodamas has also proven successful in minimizing inequality.

Moreover, Prodamas also shows that the City of Kediri carries out institutional innovations through co-governance innovations (governance innovations) and direct democracy innovations. Prodama's activities manifest the implementation of the principles of transparency, participation, and accountability of all actors involved in the context of PB. The democratic innovations that exist in Prodamas combine institutional and democratic designs to encourage the involvement of ordinary people groups (non-political/laypeople) and deepen the level of participation in the political decision-making process.

The implementation of prodamas also illustrates the willingness of all actors to synergize their political will. The delegation of the authority of the city government to carry out its affairs is used optimally to strengthen the efficient use of resources with a solid legal-format basis. Comparing the budget cycle and the

decision-making processes between Musrenbang/PPK and Prodamas shows that communities tend to distrust the Musrenbang/KDP process because this process is nothing more than an “annual routine” and local governments often use a technocratic approach in the development planning process.

In some cases, such as the Musrenbang, it is often found that the community's proposals need to be included or accommodated in the priorities of the SKPD program. Therefore, Prodamas is here to add a new process in regional development planning, especially in budget discussions, ensuring community involvement in all stages of budgeting for city development priorities, as well as the city government's commitment to accommodate Prodamas. Supervision activities in prodamas are another critical point when the program is realized transparently and accountable. It is a difficult task for the Prodamas Swakelola Team, considering that its role in replacing the formal mechanism for discussing the current budget is also not intended to reduce the legislative function.

Table 3.
Comparison of PB Implementation

| Comparison | PB
Porto Alegre | PB
(Policy Innovation) | PB
(Democratic Innovation) |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Program Name | - | PPK, PNPM, Block Grant Ward,
Musrenbang Online | Prodamas |
| Locus | City (16 Regions) | District and Village/Sub-district | RT
(Neighborhood Association) |
| Background | Political | Technocratic-Administrative
(Adoption of World Bank projects and
policy innovation in the regions) | Combination/Political-Technocr
(National policies and local
democracy) |
| Program
Implementation | Directed by the
ideology of the ruling
party (Labor Party),
progressively and
radically | Implemented by the program
design/facilitation of the World Bank
and the Central Government (National
Development Planning System Law) | Implemented as an implementation
of the Mayor's political promise
innovative institutional designs
accordance with the National
Development Planning System L |
| Participation
Rate | High and massive
(scope at the city level,
the result of coalitions
of progressive political
parties and progressive
civil society sector) | Limited with representation schemes
(through elites and local leaders) and
administrative (proposal submission) | High (involving the community
the RT level based on the Head
the Family through RT discussi |

CONCLUSION

As adopted and implemented in many countries, PB in Indonesia also has characteristics that distinguish it from PB in Porto Alegre. The literature search conducted in this study found two models of implementing PB in the Indonesian context: the policy innovation model and the democratic innovation model. The policy innovation model refers to the implementation of PB sponsored by the World Bank and adopted by Indonesia in the form of participatory development programs or projects (PPK, PNPM, Musrenbang) and innovatively modified by local governments in the form of Kelurahan Block Grant in Solo, Modified Musrenbang in Makassar and Surabaya. While the democratic innovation model is the PB that appears at the local level (local government) as a result of political democratization (elections), in this case, it is the Community Empowerment Program in the City of Kediri. The research findings show four different aspects between PB Porto Alegre, PB Policy Innovation, and PB Innovation Democracy: locus, program background, implementation, and level of participation. Locus is the area of program implementation which refers to the area of government administration where PB is run. Meanwhile, the background aspect of the program is the social and political context that underlies PB practices. At the same time, the aspects of implementation and participation are program design and its impact on public involvement in PB. PB Porto Alegre (as the first city for PB implementation) is carried out at the city level in the form of COP (Council of Participatory Budgeting), which is divided into 16 regions/regions consisting of 44 people from each region, development experts, and 2 additional people from community organizations. Determination of the COP through a process of community meetings on a massive scale with a series of stages (involving up to 14,000 people), which will later discuss and collaborate with the city government/bureaucracy in determining the program and its budget. The PB in Porto Alegre was able to run optimally because it was driven by the political and ideological forces of the Labor Party, which became the ruling party. Meanwhile, the adoption of PB with the policy innovation model in Indonesia is carried out at the level of government administration below the city, namely sub-districts and sub-districts/villages. If Porto Alegre emerged because of the political movement carried out by the Labor Party, the PB-Policy Innovation model was

motivated by programs initiated by the World Bank (PPK and PNPM) and strengthened by modified central government policies (musrenbang schemes) in the regions. Because it is project-based and top-down, the PB policy innovation model tends to be technocratic-administrative so that it touches on institutional design rather than actual community participation. Moreover, by determining the locus at the village/ward level, in practice, it is less able to provide space for residents at the local level to get involved. The deliberation process, which is expected to appear in the formulation of the program, is carried out through community representatives who bring development proposals. In contrast to the two previous models, PB-Democratic Innovation, as depicted in the implementation of the Kediri City Prodamas, is motivated by political and technocratic aspects. The political aspect of the PB-Democratic Innovation model appears as a result of democracy at the local level through the momentum of direct regional head elections (elections). Prodama Kota Kediri is implementing the Mayor's political promise to achieve equity and accelerate development conveyed during the campaign. However, in the context of a unitary state and regional autonomy, the political authority of the Mayor and the City Government of Kediri is narrower than that of Porto Alegre in designing progressive PB policies. As an autonomous region, the City Government of Kediri must comply with the central government's provisions and carry out the Law on the National Development Planning System (Musrenbang). Therefore, the PB-Democratic Innovation under the Prodama scheme combines political and technocratic aspects. Regarding locus and participation, the PB-Innovation Democracy model is carried out at the RT (Rukun Tetangga) level with a high level of participation from the community. In these two aspects, PB-Democratic Innovation is considered to be far more progressive than PB-Policy Innovation. The decision of the Kediri City Government to make the RT an area for implementing PB not only narrows down public problems that can be handled quickly, precisely, and accurately but also opens up a more expansive space for ordinary citizens to be involved in the development. With the program's scope at the RT level and a small population, PB's deliberation scheme and direct democracy can be run optimally. Although the PB-Democratic Innovation model, as an example of its implementation in the City of Kediri, has shown positive results and has begun to be adopted by several other cities in Indonesia, in the future, it will face complex challenges. The sustainability aspect is a problem that must be answered to ensure

that Prodamas can continue to run and develop. Until this study was conducted, the legal basis of Prodamas only relied on the Mayor's Regulation, so politically, it had weak power. As a flagship program that positively impacts the community, efforts need to be made to strengthen Prodamas in the Regional Regulation (Perda) scheme. To ensure the continuity of Prodamas regardless of the political dynamics of the post-conflict local election. In addition to strengthening the legal basis, the Government of Kediri City in the future also needs to take several steps as follows: First, develop digital technology (applications) that helps and makes it easier for citizens / the public to prepare participatory budgets, thereby opening a more expansive and real-time public involvement space. Second, providing data and information that the public can easily access makes it easier for RT residents to decide on programs that suit their needs and budgetary capabilities. Third, open a room for consultation and collaboration with government institutions (both vertically and horizontally) as well as various stakeholders such as universities, NGOs, companies, and others to place programs at the local level that are linear and in synergy with planning at higher levels.

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