



Participation Deficit in Local Governance in Contemporary Indonesia

TB Massa Djafar^a, Hari Zamharir^b, Firdaus Syam^c, ^{a,b,c}Department of Political Science School of Postgraduate, Universitas Nasional, Jakarta, Indonesia, Email: tb.massa@civitas.unas.ac.id, hari.zamhurir@civitas.unas.ac.id, firdaus.syam@civitas.unas.ac.id

Democracy development in Indonesia has been ongoing for 20 years. However, the prevailing democracy is very liberal, and causes the distortion of participation in local democracy. This research focuses on the practice of local democracy at the district level, as an arena of study. The approach and theory of deliberation of democracy as a concept is used to describe and analyse the practice of local democracy. This study uses qualitative methods, collecting data through direct observation, documents and in-depth interviews with political actors in the process of development deliberations. The findings of this study indicate that the political participation of the community in the decision-making process is less than the maximum. This is because the decision-making process at the district level is not supported by a mechanism of dialogue or in-depth discussion of development plans at the sub-district level.

Key words: deliberative democracy, development deliberation and community participation

Introduction

Since the 1980s, political reform in Indonesia has created a rising expectation that democratic governance will eventually be underway, both nationally and locally. Unfortunately, several empirical studies of people's participation in public policy in local governance reveal a range of participation deficit. Such deficit is more serious when 'participation' is viewed from a deliberative democracy perspective.

This study was the first stage of analysis of such participation that used theoretical concepts of deliberative democracy. The study considered ten case studies that focused on public involvement in policymaking. Some scholars wrote them in their respected fieldwork and

different local governance across Indonesia. Such public participation especially took place in the form of *Musrenbang*, or development planning processes, where local communities were involved. The mechanism itself was based on the regulation that was stipulated by the central government, and the subsequent legal products in the lower levels of the government. Public involvement was defined in terms of ‘participation’.

The study started with a brief description of the various meanings of ‘participation’ with their particular ideological inclination. The varieties of the purpose reflected the relative influence of global social science in economic development in Indonesia. Then, the deliberative theory of democracy was used to expose the distinctive features of ‘deeper participation’ that the theory recommended. Then, a summary of the data was made. An analysis was undertaken to seek the nature of participation deficit in the deliberative perspective.

Participation and Ideology

Developed from the work of Ife (1995), Thomas (2002), and Cornwell (2002), Agusta presents the varieties of nature, or the significance of participation, as follows:

Chart 01: Participation by School of Thought in Social Sciences

Ecology Concept	People-Centered Development	Market Interventionism	State’s Interventionism	Structuralism
Participation	Participation as a process	Participation is required for the efficiency of the development fund	Effectiveness	Participation is a deposit of fulfilling rights of the poor
Sample	InpresDesaTertinggal (IDT)		P2SPP*) (2006)	
			State-based community empowerment	

*) Program Pengembangan Sistem Pembangunan Partisipatif.

Agusta stated that, in the 1980s, the meaning of ‘participation’ was more society-based and promoted by NGOs. The focus towards people’s participation was made as a response to the existing approach of top-down, government-dominated, processes of development. Following a ten-year-long introduction and some success stories, the donor agencies then adopted the principle. The state’s control was lessened, as was done by NGOs, with the project-based work

of development. The chart below shows that since the 1980s, the era of Suharto, NGOs had utilised an alternative approach to development, which placed society in a prominent position. As the alternative showed some success, in the 1990s, donor countries adopted the NGOs' approach with some modifications, including the state role remained eliminated. In the reform era of 2003, the state initiated the government's central position by introducing 'participatory development' or state interventionism that was stipulated in the Government Decree No. 17/2003.

Chart 02: Agust's Mapping of Participation in Development in the Indonesian Context

	Description		
In the 1980s (Society)	NGOs promoted, bottom-up mechanism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical of, and alternative to, top-down (modern sector, state dominance) 	The 1950s–1960s (worldwide, developing countries) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • End 1960 	Mobilising public participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Big, multinational projects
In the 1990s (Market)	Donor promoted <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project basis • Less state's regulation 	The 1970s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Projects basis • Response to weaknesses of big, multinational
2003 (Decree No. 17/2003) (S)	Adopting participation development by the state		

The crucial issue was, who defined 'participation'?

Based on the above mapping of participatory development and the conception of 'participation', the setting of participatory development in contemporary Indonesia (during the reform era) was constructed as follows (See Chart 2). Commencing from 2003 of the Reform Era onward, state interventionism has been practiced. There is a mix of both state and global market interventionism, with the global market in the front line of development.

If this mapping is correct, it could be said that, in theory, the term 'participation' in development in the Era of Reform had weakened. Therefore, from the normative point-of-view, it could be said that the participation deficit in democratic governance was caused by its format or the system of the government.

Chart 03: Participation as applied in Indonesia’s Politics of Development in the Era of Reform

Elements Issue	Historical	Political Setting	Implication
State’s Structure	UU No. 17/2003 Starts the State’s interventionism	Reform Era (1999–2014) • Present a welfare state vis-à-vis-global interventionism	Potential to Market Interventionism
Society	-	• Anomaly = transition to ‘anomaly’ democracy	
Local Governments	-	• Little capacity of the State’s apparatus	

‘Participation’ would also imply one’s inclination to specific economic and/or political ideology. Market-bias ideology was implicit when participation was defined by the World Bank (WB) in 1994 as a “*proses di mana stockholders mempengaruhi dan membagi kontrol atas inisiatif pembangunan, keputusan serta sumber daya yang mempengaruhi mereka*”¹ (a process whereby respective stakeholders influence and control over the initiatives of development, decision, and resources that influence them).

Agust noted that the above definition weakened society. Agust compared it with the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development’s (UNRISD) definition, which was formulated by the end of the 1970s, of participation as “*upaya terorganisasi dari kelompok atau gerakan yang semula terpisah lalu untuk meningkatkan kontrol atas sumber daya dan institusi penyusunan aturan*”² (an organised effort by group or movement that was formerly excluded, to increase their control over resources and institution formulating rules). From the two definitions above, it was evident that the one by the WB was inclined to market interventionism, whereas, the other by UNRISD was inclined to market structuralism.

Methods of the Study

First, the study made use of several empirical studies by scholars whose papers were published as either an article in journals and/or as a thesis.

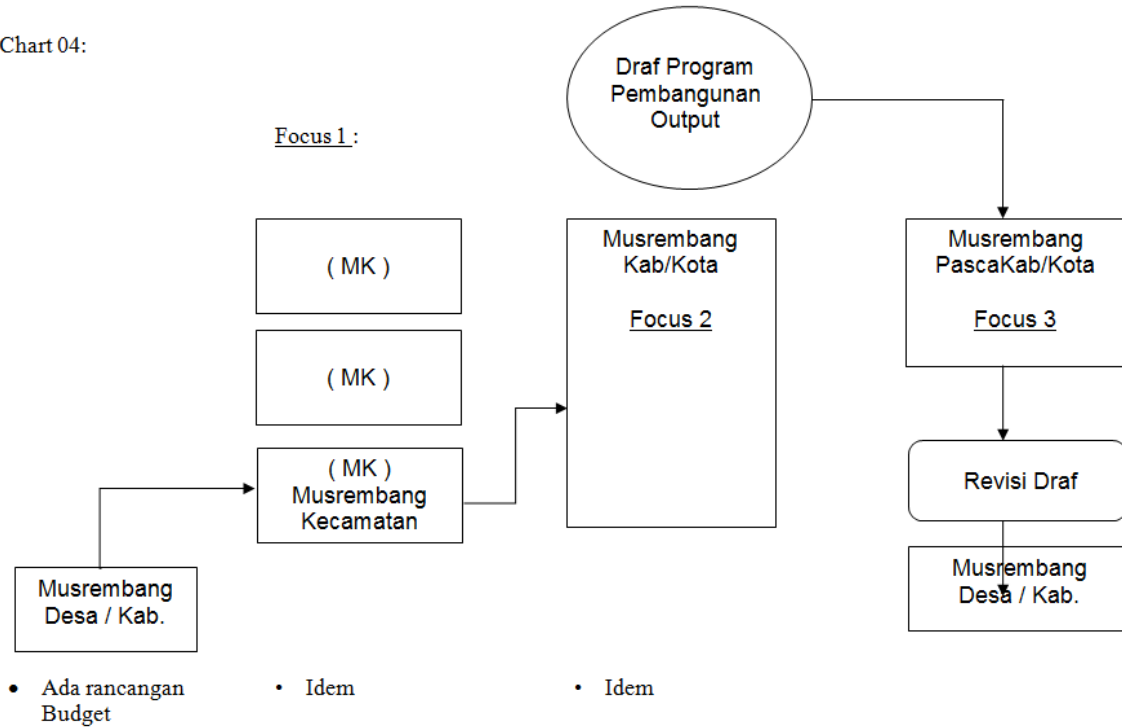
Second, in this research project, the focus of public participation were the events of participatory development or Musrembang. It focused on (1) Musrembang at the Kecamatan

¹Agusts, P. 180

²Agusts, P. 180

or sub-district level, (2) Musrembang at the Kabupaten/Kota or regency/city level, and Musrembang Pasca Kabupaten/Kota or province level (See Chart 04).

Chart 04:



Third, the technique of analysis used meta-analysis, where the findings and empirical evidence gathered were then analysed again. Fourth, the account was completed in the framework of the deliberative conception of democracy.

Theoretical Concepts of Deliberative Democracy

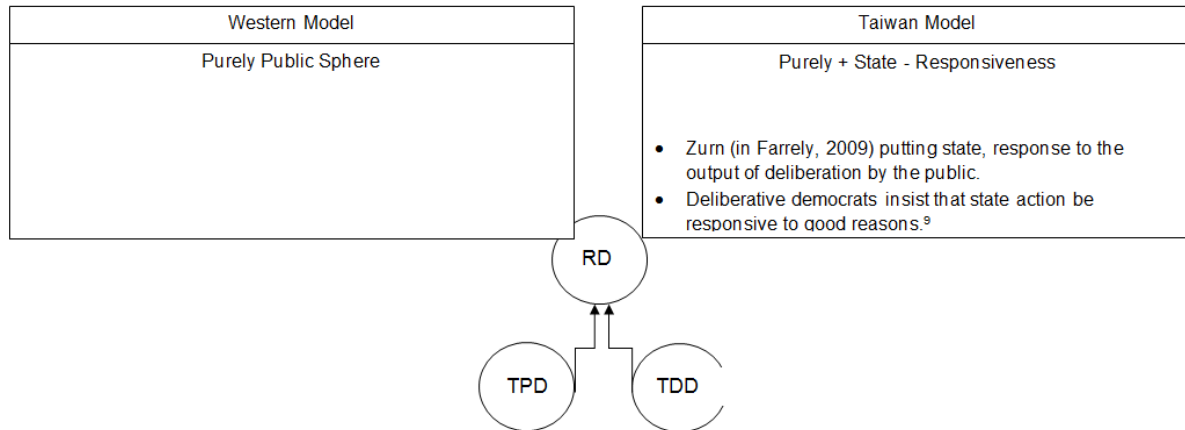
Among the many studies of Taiwanese consensual democracy, some of the results are (1) Equity and Community in Public Deliberation; Genetic Democracy in Taiwan by Taiwan and China (2008); (2) Dharma's Democracy: Religious Reform and Democratisation in Taiwan by Madsen. The statement is "By a deliberative democracy, I shall mean, roughly, an association whose affairs are governed by the public deliberation of its members. I propose an account of the value of such on the association that treats democracy itself as a fundamental political ideal and not simply as a derivative ideal that can be explained in terms of the value of fairness on equity of respect".³

³Joshua Cohen, "Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy" in Derek Matravers & Jon Pike. 2003. *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*. Routledge – The Open University. PP. 342 – 360.

⁹Zamharir, 2012. "Mewujudkan Pancasila" in *Jurnal Ilmu Budaya*, Vol. 36 No. 29. PP. 3191 – 3212.

The other model is the Western Advanced-Nation Model that is partly public, but partly state-responsiveness. This model has been practiced in the (eastern) Taiwan context.

Chart 05: Western and Taiwan Model of Deliberative Democracy



RD: Theory of Representative Democracy

TPD: Theory of Participatory Democracy

TDD: Theory of Deliberative Democracy

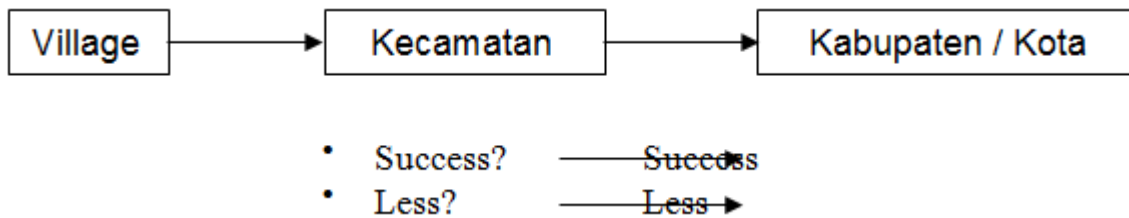
Several of the distinctive features of the three (3) theories are worth describing:

1. RD emphasises the crucial role of the representatives who, while the public is also heard, run the interests of the people. Eventually, there is a more significant gap between the ones representing the public and the public, which creates a disproportionate fulfillment of the benefits of the people.
2. TPR promotes the broader and more intense participation of the public and does not rely heavily on a few or a centralised representation, where the low level and small participation are preferred.

	Assumption	Mode of Grouping & Mechanism
TPR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Party politic • Factional politics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political grouping, factionalism • Interests-based • Dominant vis-à-vis peripheral participants are acceptable • State development program runs the interests of the winning parties.
TDD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communitarianism politics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Associationism • Reasons-based

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equally respected members of the association • State-responsiveness is good reasons-based.
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Musrenbang at the sub-district (Kecamatan) level seems to be crucial to the success of participatory development, if many sub-districts perform. Then, it is expected a better participatory development process at the regency (Kabupaten) or municipal city (Kota) level will take place. This is a result of the power of the sub-districts as the holders of communities and resources. All projects and programs of (economic) development are to be run at the sub-district level. In other words, municipal cities (Kabupaten/Kota) play only a coordinating role.¹⁰



Where the theoretical conception is concerned, participatory development should be carefully used. There are assumptions, like the level of community awareness and the lesser role of the State, that may not fit both in the bureaucracy and the communities of Indonesia. The fact that some governments hire facilitators reflects the above statement, that participatory development should be carefully used. Hiring facilitators is an indication of the awareness to ‘modify’ the conception of participatory development. Public participation is still encouraged and promoted, not to mention, the higher level of ‘culture’ and attitudes that is called for by TDD. The implications of this study:

- (1) The mechanism or procedure of musrenbang should cover a shift (of government apparatus) to facilitate.
- (2) The mechanism should provide a learning process of discussion and deliberation.
- (3) The conceptual framework should move from ‘participatory democracy’ to ‘DD’.

To put the Musrenbang institution or mechanism at a micro-level, requires a lot of improvement to be made. The expected output of Musrenbang is greater by making the mechanism and the substance of consensus better. However in reality, Musrenbang lives within the context of the macro-level, that it is a part of a more complicated and more extensive mechanism with local and central government’s control. The existing governance system makes local government

¹⁰ A big Question, how would nation-wide Musrenbang be instituted as is now underway?

apparatus highly occupied or too busy to perform well, with so many things to do. In this constellation only good leadership, either in the sub-district or at the regency level, will eliminate such traps, enabling sub-districts and regency/city to achieve more.

Empirical Evidence in Several Studies of Local Governance

Chart 06: Some Findings and Facts in Several Empirical Studies

No	Research Question	Methods	Process of Musreimbang	Findings
1	Has Yemi: Bagaimana kemitraan LPMD dengan Kader in Village Dev. Planning through Musreimbangdes mechanism	Penelitian Deskriptif (Pendekatan Kualitatif)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pre-Musreimbang 2. Musreimbang Sessions. Three priority groupings of programs: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Infrastructure b. Socio-Culture c. Economy 3. Decisions made. 	2013 Village, Musreimbang in Sumber Ngepoh has been held, using the norms set forth by the decree. Top-Down-Bottom-up.
2	Alizar: How sustainable is participation in purel dev. plan and project implementation?	In-depth interview, with purposive to snowball sampling.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pre-Musreimbang <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hiring facilitators • Brainstorming at sub-village associations, involving women's association of- PKK • Musreimbang at the RW level 2. Musreimbangdesa <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflicts of interests exist among RW, between local religious groups 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conform to the guidelines. Village elites are still dominant (given the time limit and custom of villagers to rely on their elites), little access to information still exist. 2. Project(s) do not conform to overall programs.

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representatives of RW do voting 3. Infrastructure. 4. Socio-Culture. 5. Economy. 6. Decisions made.	3. Egotistical among RW personnel. 4. Little participation after a program.
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No	Research Question	Methods	Process of Musrembang	Findings
3	Agus: How well is participation planning been done in MusrembangKecamatan?	A qualitative case study, in-depth interview <u>ad.</u> (Findings) (1) Kualitas hasil Musrembang Kecamatan Pemalang (Ja-Teng);rendah (2) Stakeholders tidak terwakili secara menyeluruh dalam Musrembang Kec. Pemalang”.	1. Pre-Musrembang 2. Musrembang a. Brainstorming b. Problem statement c. Identification of potentials and resources d. Objective formulation e. Detailed activities f. Budgeting Note: No sufficient events are described to indicate problematic situations.	1. Participation exists only in the brainstorming stage and problem statement. 2. Little cooperation exists at the stages afterward. 3. Recommendation: The facilitator should be hired to improve public participation.
4	Irma/(Tesis, 2008. UNDIP Semarang.	Interactive Model.	“Ditingkat Musrembang	Tahapan penentuan

	KecamatanCibadak – Jawa Barat	Analysis deri Miles danhuberman; purposive sampling.	Kecamatan beberapa tahapan proses perencanaan pembangunan belum dilaksanakan, terutama Memutuskan prioritas kegiatan yang akan diajukan ketingkat Kabupaten”	prioritas belum dilaksanakan di beberapa desa/kelurahan sebagai input bagi Musrembang Kecamatan.
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N o	Research Question	Methods	Process of Musrembang	Findings
5	Has Yemi: Bagaimana kemitraan LPMD dengan Kader in Village Dev. Planning through Musrembangde s mechanism	Penelitian Deskriptif (PendekatanKualitatif)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pre-Musrembang 2. Musrembang Sessions. Three priority groupings of programs: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Infrastructure b. Socio-Culture c. Economy 3. Decisions made. 	2013 Village, Musrembang in Sumber Ngepoh has been held, using the norms set forth by the decree. Top-Down-Bottom-up.
6	Alizar: How sustainable is purel dev. plan and project implementation	In-depth interview, with purposive to snowball sampling.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pre-Musrembang <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hiring facilitations • Brainstorming at sub-village associations, involving women’s 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conform to the guidelines. Village elites are still dominant (given the time limit and custom of villagers to

			<p>association of-PKK</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Musrembang at the RW level. 2. Musrembangdes a • Conflicts of interests exist among RW, between local religious groups. • Representatives of RW do voting <p>3. Infrastructure 4. Socio-Culture 5. Economy 6. Decisions made</p>	<p>rely on their elites).</p> <p>2. little access to information still exists</p> <p>3. Project(s) do not conform to overall programs.</p> <p>4. Egotistical among RW personnel.</p> <p>5. Little participation after a program.</p>
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No	Research Question	Methods	Process of Musrembang	Findings
7	Agus: How well is participation planning been done is MusrembangKecamatan	A careful study, qualitative, in-depth. Interview <u>ad.</u> (Findings) “Kualitas hasil Musrembang Kecamatan Pernalang (Ja-Teng) rendah, stakeholders tidak terwakili secara menyeluruh dalam Musrembang	<p>1.Pre-Musrembang 2. Musrembang</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Brainstorming b. Problem statement c. Identification of potentials and resources. d. Objective formulation e. Detailed activities f. Budgeting <p>Note: No sufficient events are described to indicate</p>	<p>Participation exists only in the <u>tahap penyelidikan</u> (brainstorming) stage and problem statement. Little participation exists at the stages afterward.</p> <p>Recommendation: The facilitator should be hired to improve public participation.</p>

		Kec. Pemalang”.	problematic situations.	
8	Irma KecamatanCibadak Jawa Barat	Interactive Model. Analysis dari Miles dan Huberman; purposive sampling. Tahapan penentuan prioritas belum dilaksanakan di beberapa desa/kelurahan sebagai input bagi Musrembang Kecamatan.	“Ditingkat Musrembang Kecamatan beberapa tahapan proses perencanaan pembangunan belumdilaksanakan, terutama Memutuskan prioritas kegiatan yang akan diajukan ketingkat Kabupaten” (Tesis, 2008. UNDIP Semarang.	

No	Research Th	Method	Process	Findings
9	Bowo/Kab. Sleman Apakah ruang partisipasi yang diciptakanoleh Negara memungkinkan keterlibatan warganegara secara luas dan signifikan.	In-depth Interview; Document Informan: purposive sampling Size :Duadesadaridua (2) Kecamatan. Over generalisasi. Harusnya, dari kasus dua desa pada dua Kecamatan di Kab. Sleman ini ada indikasi praktekMusrembang yang belum partisipasif.....	-	Dasarlegalitas yang adaloo hade “dimanfaatkan” aparat (desa) untuk abaikan partisipasi warga desa. “PemkabSleman terlihat tidak serius dalam melibatkan wargadalam proses pembuatan APBD (2006).

10	<p>Poerwanti : <u>Musrembang</u> What: Program and priorities (proses desa, dst)</p> <p><u>Budgeting</u> What : Financing (level Kab/Kota)</p>	<p>Observasi, wawancara, dokumen</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kasus Kab. Bantul • Kasus Kb. Gunung Kidul 	<p>“..... UU No. 25 (2004 tentang perencanaan pembangunan) dan UU No. 32 (2004 tentang pemerintahan daerah) menyebutkan perlunya partisipasi sebagai upaya meningkatkan efisiensi dan efektivitas penyelenggaraan pemerintahan daerah (h.29)</p>	
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One interesting fact was taken from the Bantul Sub-district (Central Java), in which deliberation seemed to have been practiced.

CASE PBET (Participatory Budgeting Expenditure Tracking) 2006 – Kab.Bantul

- 12 Aug 2006, instituting REWANG “Rembug Warga Peduli Anggaran” (or Community’s Deliberation on Budget)
- Its prime motive was to assist the local government in implementing more effective governance. (Jw. Ngrewangi means to support, help, participate, contribute).
- Four (4) areas of capacity building (of REWANG): (1) participating in Musrembang, (2) Reading and indyzing APBD, (3) monitor and note the expenditure of APBD’S implementation, and (4) monitor public service.
- Strategy for gaining ‘room for participation’:
 - (1) The recruits, after being trained, were sent back to their village.
 - (2) They enrolled themselves to participate in a Musrembang
 - (3) At the Kabupaten level: the recruit and Bappeda invite them to Musrembang.
“Cara seperti ini baru REWANG yang melakukannya. Elemen masyarakat sipil lainnya hanya menunggu untuk diundang oleh Bappeda itu pun, undangan sejumlah 5 orang Cara inilah yang diterjemahkan REWANG sebagai bentuk strategi merebut ruang partisipasi perencanaan daerah” (h. 33).



An interesting study on the shift to maritime economics is relevant to this research project because Salimi's study did not cover the issue of public policy by the local government. The political reform during 1998–2008, had a positive impact on this shift. The Rembang District's determination to institute KBT or Kawasan Bahari Terpadu (Integrated maritime-based area of development) reflected the local government's orientation to the development of fishery and maritime sectors.⁵

Concerning the crucial role of voluntary associations in the process of deliberative democracy, a study was conducted by a team of the local associative organisation of female teachers of non-government kindergartens (or Paguyuban Guru Wiyata Bakti) in the Bantul district in 2010. The result of their study was used to take further action, the same as the use of the critical concept of education of Paulo Freire, to demand equal treatment by the local authority. While the initiative to 'accommodate' the interests of the female teachers were taken and proposed by a government officer, the association turned out to establish WEMC (Women's Empowerment in Muslim Contexts), in the framework of empowering women. This critical wing of PGWB then took some actions to build the capacity of their organisation by negotiating and demanding better treatment.⁶

Ramadhan's study on the arts of negotiating interest among legislators, who represent the constituents' interests and government officers in budgeting and planning the regional development in the Malang District, in 2012, indicates the relative disparity of public involvement in policymaking.⁷ There is a spacious room for participation in the earlier stages of the process of development planning (especially under a chair of Musrenbang mechanisms), but less involvement or even non-existence of participation, in the latter stages where State's actors are dominant in various sessions of the budgeting and planning process.

As a consonant to the approach of both bottom-up and top-down, budgeting process decisions in the Pasuruan District, of East Java Province, in 2012, encountered a bottle-neck and hindrance. Owing to the bottleneck, there was limited access to information that was experienced by some segments of the population, causing the gap between what they proposed and the priorities that were set forth by the local governments. Apart from the issue of public participation, the budgeting process that is claimed to base itself on the performance of the local government, is hindered by limited competence in establishing performance indicators.⁸

⁵Moch.Salim, 2010, "Dinamika Kebijakan Kelautan dan Perikanan Kab. Rembang During 1998 – 2008 Reform & Regional Autonomy Master's Thesis, Universitas Diponegoro.

⁶"Inisiatif Perempuan", 2010 Research Report, WEMC – LSPPA Yogya. Yogya, 2010.

⁷Alvian Ramadhan, 2010. "Interaksi Kepentingan Eksekutif dan Legislatif (Studentang Proses Penyusunan dan Penetapan APBD bidang Pembangunan Tahun 2012 di Kab. Malang)". Paper.

⁸Anita Wahyu Wijayanti, et. Al. 2012, "Perencanaan Anggaran Berbasis Kinerja di Kab. Pasuruan", in *Wacana*. Vol. 15 No. 3, 2012, PP. 10 – 17.

A study by Budiyo et al. (2010) focuses on analysing the standing position of the government and civil society in the roles of achieving MDGs in the health program, especially the health of mothers and babies. Out of 32 questionnaires that were given to participants of a workshop on this issue, 23 questionnaires were completed. The design of the questionnaires employs Eden and Achermann's matrix of power interest. The study finds the roles played by elements of NGOs (PKK & LSM) are spread across the four quadrants. It seems unclear, given the lack of information on who represents society. The concept 'stakeholders' in the study are predominantly government apparatus.⁹

One interesting note from the study is that in the efforts of making the program (of KIBBLA or health of mothers and babies and children) successful, the forum (or in the study it is termed 'strategy'), to negotiate the ideal result, is mostly deliberative: (1) lobby is expressed by ten participants; (2) hearing is expressed by ten participants; (3) discussion is expressed by ten participants; and (4) *sosialisasi* (or meeting during which relevant regulation is informed to the public) by nine participants. Other modes of communication are not preferred.

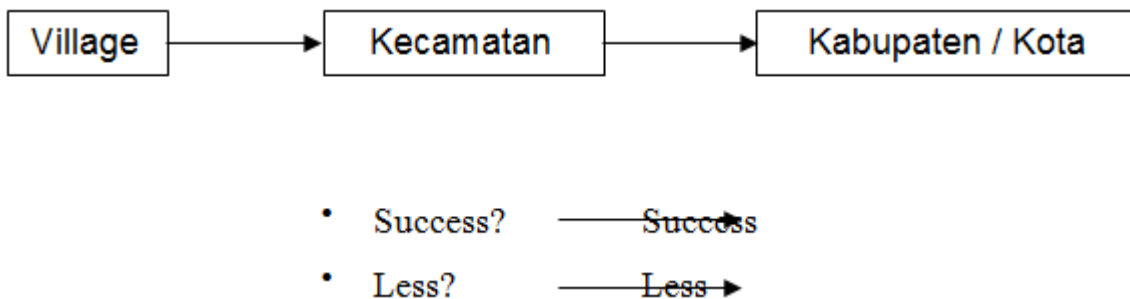
Some Empirical Evidence in Selected Local Governance (In Budgeting Cycle)

Cycle 1	Cycle 2	Cycle 3	Cycle 4
Budgeting Stage	DPRD Session	One Year Implementation	Performance Indicator
(Model Indonesia) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The local govt makes a draft, Ranwal RPJMD (5-year mid-term-plan) The public is asked for Consultation <div style="text-align: center;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: auto;">Output: Revised Draft</div>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legislators discuss the revised draft CSO (Civil Society Organization) can contribute <div style="text-align: center;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: auto;">Govt. Policy Program</div>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Monitor and Control 	"Elemen partisipasi dalam tahap ini adalah tanggapan masyarakat terhadap kualitas layanan publik".

⁹ Budiyo et. Al. 2010 "Posisi Stakeholders dan Strategi Advokasi KIBBLA Kab/Kota di Jawa Tengah," in *Jurnal Manajemen Pelayanan Kesehatan*, Vol. 13 No. 3, September, PP. 126 – 132.

Conclusion

Musrenbang at the sub-district and city levels was crucial in the success of participatory development, if many sub-districts were to perform. Then, it was expected that a better participatory development process at the regency or municipal city level would take place, given the fact that sub-districts hold power in the forms of communities and resources. All projects and programs of economic development were to be run at the sub-district levels. In other words, the regency and municipal city played only a coordinating role.¹⁰



Where theoretical conception was concerned, participatory development should be critically used. There were assumptions, like the level of community awareness and the lesser role of the State, that might not fit the bureaucracy and the communities in the country. The fact that some governments hired facilitators reflected the above note, in which participatory development should be critically used. Hiring facilitators was an indication of the awareness to ‘modify’ the conception of participatory development. Public participation was still encouraged and promoted, not to mention, the higher level of ‘culture’ and attitudes that was called for by TDD. The implications of this study:

1. The mechanism or procedure of musrenbang should cover a shift (among government apparatus) to facilitate.
2. The mechanism should provide a learning process of discussing and deliberation.
3. The conceptual framework should move from ‘participatory democracy’ to ‘PD’.

To put the Musrenbang institution or mechanism at a micro-level, a lot of improvement must be made. The expected output of Musrenbang was improved by making the mechanism and the substance of consensus better. However in reality, Musrenbang lived within the context of the macro-level, that was a part of a more complicated and more extensive mechanism with local and central government’s control. The existing governance system made local government apparatus highly occupied or too busy to perform well, with so many things to do.

¹⁰ A big Question, how would nation-wide Musrenbang be instituted as is now underway?



In this constellation, only good leadership either in the sub-district or the regency level would eliminate such traps, enabling sub-districts and regency/city to achieve more.



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