

Women's Accessibility and Production of Gender-Responsive Policies through Thematic *Musrenbang* in Malang City, Indonesia

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Abstract: The ineffectiveness of the Deliberation of Development Planning/*Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan (Musrenbang)* forums to serve the aspirations of citizens, particularly the marginalized groups, has prompted several local governments in Indonesia to innovate in holding Thematic *Musrenbang* forums, one of them in Malang City. This research aims to describe the accessibility and role of women's groups in the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* and how gender-responsive policies are created in these activities. From a feminist perspective, this research uses qualitative methods with FGDs, in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentary studies as data collection methods. The results showed that women's groups in Malang City were accessible in the development planning process, which was represented by civil society organizations and community-based organizations. Substantially, some progress has been achieved through the incorporation of aspirations from *Musrenbang* participants. However, the absence of gender analysis within the planning process, coupled with the predominant technocratic approach and the limitations in the application of the local development planning system, has impeded the full of the objectives of the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang*. This research offers a novel examination of participatory development planning in Indonesia by focusing specifically on the effectiveness of Thematic *Musrenbang* forums, a relatively new and under-researched approach to incorporating citizen input. Ultimately, the findings offer practical recommendations for policymakers and practitioners to improve the design and implementation of Thematic *Musrenbang*, ensuring these forums genuinely serve the needs and aspirations of all citizens, particularly women.

Keywords: *Development Planning; Thematic Musrenbang; Women's Participation; Gender-Responsive Policy; Feminist Institutional*

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INTRODUCTION

During the presidency of Soeharto, development planning was predominantly shaped by the technocratic process embedded within the planning bureaucracy. Although there was Deliberation of Development Planning/*Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan (Musrenbang)*, these too became very elitist because public participation was conducted through a system of elite representation (Hariyadi, 2021; Umar, 2014). When the New Order era ended in 1998, the foundations of top-down and centralized government transformed and became more democratic

by boosting and enhancing public participation in different decision-making processes, including development.

The *Musrenbang* approach of participatory development planning is implemented in a phased manner, beginning at the village/kelurahan level. A participatory approach, one of the five approaches stated in Law Number 25 of 2004 addressing the National Development Planning System, retrieved in this *Musrenbang* activity. Participation is considered the most important aspect of development planning activities. Through public participation, development activities are expected to be more effective (Khaerah & Mutiarin, 2016; Sugiarto & Mutiarin, 2017).

The *Musrenbang* has a significant impact, as its outcomes influence all the development activities. Unfortunately, public aspirations are not always equitably considered, and participatory practices often prove ineffective. Numerous studies highlight the challenges faced by public involvement in the *Musrenbang* process, such as the dominance of the government and community organizations actors that are closely aligned with the government, limited public awareness about the urgency of *Musrenbang*, the lack of public knowledge about the *Musrenbang* technicalities, and the inadequate of infrastructure (Fakhira & Salam, 2023; Taufiq & Listyani, 2017; Rafinzar & Mardianto, 2023) Along with the need to open up space for the participation and aspirations of all community groups, a series of *Musrenbang* forums in several regions were organized thematically as a breakthrough.

Musrenbang forums are organized thematically in many regions to extend and enhance public participation and aspirations. The Women's Action Plan Meeting (*Musrena*) in Aceh has been promoted since 2007 by the municipal administration and the civil society organizations GTZ-SLGSR (Masrizal, 2016). The Thematic *Musrenbang* for kids has been conducted in Yogyakarta since 2017, and in 2021, it expanded to eight themes, including rivers, garbage, youth, poverty, gender, women, and CSR, as well as children (Rusqiyati, 2021). Then, in 2016 (Ferry, 2016), Sukoharjo Regency hosted a *Musrenbang* for organizations with impairments. Then, in March 2021, the City of Probolinggo hosted a *Musrenbang* for the Islamic Boarding School group (PPID Kota Probolinggo, 2021). The existence of Thematic *Musrenbang* activities in various regions demonstrates awareness of the necessity to include underrepresented groups in development practices.

In addition to the four districts/cities previously listed, Malang City has been hosting Thematic *Musrenbang* since 2018 (for the 2019 fiscal year), with four themes: the elderly, children, disabilities, and women. A new topic, the Youth theme, was also added in 2021. The Malang City Local Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) sponsors the topic *Musrenbang*, which invites aspirations from civil society organizations (CSOs). Specifically with the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang*, the distribution of development output should basically be shared fairly and equitably by male and female citizens. The integration of women's interests is essential when it comes to creating public policies. Therefore, this research aims to focus on the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* in Malang City as the object of study.

Gender-based existing conditions in Malang City still exhibit discrepancies. The Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR), which includes eight deaths in 2018 and nine deaths in 2019 and 2020, is acknowledged to be present every year in the health sector (Tugu Malang, 2021). The infant mortality rate (IMR), which had 66 fatalities in 2018, 39 in 2019, and 49 in 2020, is likewise comparatively high. In addition to MMR and IMR data, 52 babies each in 2018 and 2019 were underweight, which is a significantly high number. In the field of education, it was observed that women's illiteracy rates remained higher than men's, 2.55 for women and 1.42 for males. In addition, the number of women in the local parliament has not reached 30%, with only 12 out of 45 members (26.6%) being female, despite there never having been a female mayor. Then, out of a total of 20 services or agencies, up to four women (20%) rose to the position of head of service or agency.

All these gender disparities data underscore the critical need for gender-responsive policies. In this context, the role of *Musrenbang* becomes pivotal, as it provides women with a platform to promote their needs within the development planning process. Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* has the potential to enhance women's quality of life in Malang City. However, this potential should be put under scrutiny to investigate the effectiveness of Thematic *Musrenbang* in dealing with women's issues.

According to a literature review, at least eight articles have been identified. Of the eight, three deal with research on women in rural development planning (Abdullah et al., 2019; Agnes et al., 2016; Nurhalimah & Edison, 2018); the remaining four (Masrizal, 2016; Muttalib, 2018; Silalahi & Ratnawati, 2017) deal with women and development planning in urban areas. Two articles about the Women's Action Plan Deliberation (Musrena) in Banda Aceh City were found among the eight pieces on women and the subject of *Musrenbang* itself (Masrizal, 2016; Silalahi & Ratnawati, 2017). Only one thesis research on the Malang City *Musrenbang* itself was identified, titled "Efforts of the Women's Coalition for Leadership (KPuK) in Encouraging Gender Issues on the Malang City Thematic *Musrenbang* Agenda" and written on behalf of Fastabiqul Khoiroti (2019). In general, the results of earlier research demonstrate two pivotal findings: 1) how crucial it is for the political infrastructure—in this case, civil society organizations—to participate in taking marginalized groups' interests into account; 2) although not comparable, the connection between local government and CSOs is characterized as interdependent in the context of development planning (Khoiroti, 2019; Masrizal, 2016; Silalahi & Ratnawati, 2017).

Despite previous literature exploring women's roles in rural and urban development planning, a notable research gap persists regarding the specific involvement of women in the *Musrenbang* across different cities in Indonesia. There remains a scarcity of comprehensive research specifically focused on the *Musrenbang* as they pertain to women's perspectives and participation, particularly in cities outside of Banda Aceh. In other words, developing and implementing policies that specifically target Women *Musrenbang* is still a new area. Substantially, prior studies note that women's participation in the *Musrenbang* is beneficial. However, challenges are still faced, particularly in achieving political empowerment, indicating the need for targeted strategies to increase women's role in decision-making processes. Furthermore, the dynamics of the role of CSOs, especially issues of accessibility and agency, have not been seriously addressed in former studies.

This research is of significant urgency in the context of Thematic *Musrenbang* planning. It delves into the under-explored areas of gender-responsive policies and women's accessibility with the use of an institutional feminist perspective that has never been used before. The novelty of this research lies in its focus on under-researched aspects of the Thematic *Musrenbang*, particularly women's participation in Malang City, which has been insufficiently explored in previous literature. Using an institutional feminist perspective that has not been applied before, this study examines the period from 2018 to 2022, analyzing how women-friendly policies can be formulated and implemented effectively. The study contributes to the academic discourse by addressing gaps in understanding women's participation, the role of CSOs, and accessibility issues within the *Musrenbang* framework. This research provides the new insights into gender-responsive governance, this research aims to guide policymakers and stakeholders in improving development practices, ultimately advancing inclusive governance and equitable development outcomes.

RESEARCH METHOD

To reveal women's experiences and gender relations from a female standpoint, this study adopted a "feminist perspective" methodology. Rooted in the critical paradigm, feminist methodology has several characteristics. First, it views social reality as complex, human-made, and full of contradictions based on oppression and exploitation. Second, humans experience alienation and exploitation, restricted and distanced from their potential. Third, social living conditions can be changed to be more empowering based on rational values and impressions. Fourth, research aims to explain, interpret, and empower social life. One distinctive that sets feminist research apart from other types of research is that feminist research raises issues from the perspective of women's experiences (Susanti, 2022).

This research was conducted using the qualitative method. It was considered the most suitable method for feminist research, with the aim of understanding the nature of gender inequality through an examination of women's social roles and lived experiences. A feminist research perspective is necessary for qualitative approaches to enrich the social science research areas (Gervais et al., 2018; Mohajan et al., 2022). Feminist qualitative research begins with the understanding that all knowledge is situated in the bodies and subjectivities of people, particularly women and historically marginalized groups (Freeman, 2019). Therefore, this research seeks to

uncover women's experiences and knowledge that have been marginalized and overlooked in prior research on women.

At the beginning of this research, we raised women's issues and set a research objective that clearly defined the research goals. Subsequently, we collected data in four ways: FGDs, interviews, participant observation, and document studies. Data retrieval methods are stated in the table as follows:

Table 1. Data Retrieval Methods

No	Data Retrieval Methods	Activity
1	Focus Group Discussion	Conducted with representatives from 15 institutions, consisting of government representatives and civil society groups.
2	in-depth interviews	Conducted with representatives of Bappeda and KPuK as representatives of civil society groups
3	Participatory observation	Carried out through researchers participating in a series of activities of the Women's Thematic <i>Musrenbang</i> in 2022 and 2023. In the participatory observation, researchers also conveyed aspirations, provided comments, and participated in the process of inputting the aspirations of the public into SIPD.
4	Document study	Conducted on documents owned by the government, namely data on aspirations from the public.

Source: Processed by the author, 2024

After the data was collected, we analyzed the data using two theories from a feminist perspective, namely institutional feminism and women's agency. Feminist institutional, particularly the institutionalization of gender planning (also known as gender-responsive planning), can help us to understand the gap between formal institutional change and its outcomes. Interconnected with feminist institutionalism is the theory of critical actors and/or women's agency, which focuses on women's ability to act and take action to achieve their desired goals. While feminist institutionalism analyzes the structures that shape women's experiences, women's agency theory emphasizes how women can exercise power and influence within those structures. Together, they can provide an understanding of gender dynamics and women's empowerment in the context of development planning.

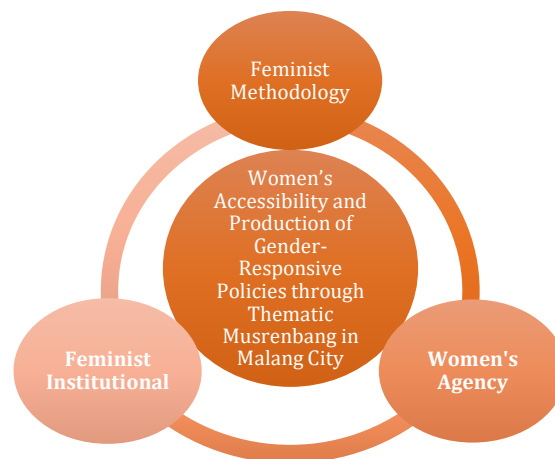


Figure 1. Research Framework

Source: Processed by the author, 2024

Planning from a gender perspective is institutionalized when gender-based interests, which are intimately linked to the idea of power, are taken into account. The term "institutionalization" refers to the process of developing institutions through ingrained behaviors or activities that are formed and accepted to address recurrent issues. The stages of institutionalization that Boubaker,

Harguem, and Nyrhinen defined are habitualization, objectification, and sedimentation. Habituation is the phase in which the structure is created based on the adoption of rules and regulations. Developing socially acceptable interpretations that are associated with people's actions is referred to as objectification. Deposition then refers to the consistency of behavior. The naturalization of sexist culture over time, notably in the field of development planning, can be better understood by comprehending this idea of institutionalization (Brion & Reginaldo, 2021). Governmental entities must keep developing their capability as they institutionalize gender mainstreaming.

In Indonesia, the institutionalization of gender planning is present in the gender mainstreaming strategy, which has been established in formal steps such as gender-responsive planning and budgeting (PPRG). This formal step must be applied to all state institutions in planning and implementing policies. As an analytical tool to see how women's interests are integrated, gender responsiveness is attributed to outcomes that consider understanding gender roles and inequalities. This means that it is more pro-community, especially the weak, marginalized, neglected, and affected by discrimination. As a powerful tool in advancing gender equality and women's empowerment, the purpose of gender-responsiveness is to promote accountability and transparency and increase gender-responsive participation (Community of Democracies, 2023; Prasastiana et al., 2024).

In connection with public policy, Caroline Sweetman conducts a critical analysis of both the conceptual and applied aspects of gender mainstreaming in development. Since women are frequently just added to gender mainstreaming, there has allegedly been "misapplication, abuse, and misunderstanding" of it, claims Sweetman. In light of this, development organizations must commit to revolutionary gender mainstreaming (Siscawati et al., 2020).

Qualitative data analysis techniques typically involve data reduction, which aligns the data with the research objectives, followed by the organization and presentation of the data in a coherent and interpretable pattern. This process culminates in the drawing of conclusions and their subsequent verification. In qualitative research, the researcher serves as the primary instrument for data analysis, allowing for immediate interpretation of the data as it is obtained. Therefore, in this research, the analysis was not confined to a discrete phase but was an ongoing process, beginning during data collection, aimed at extracting meaning and generating new questions that would necessitate further data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section comprises two subsections: Women's Accessibility in Thematic *Musrenbang* and Gender Policy Production. Both will be investigated from institutional feminism, an approach that critiques new institutionalism for its perceived gender blindness despite women experiencing gender-based exclusion in political institutions (Waylen, 2014; Bogaards, 2022; Clavero & Galligan, 2020; Holmes, 2020; Thomson, 2018). Both new institutionalism and feminist institutionalism emphasize institutions as explanatory variables, with the primary principle that changes are driven by the internal dynamics of institutions. However, gender analysis must be integrated to determine how gender-neutral structures, rules, norms, and practices resulted in women. From the institutional perspective, this article sees Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* as a formal institution that is exclusively created to accommodate women's interests through gender mainstreaming.

Women's Accessibility in Thematic *Musrenbang*

Musrenbang is a forum to gather aspirations from the local community, progressing in parallel from the village level to the national level. In the context of local-level development, community aspirations from *Musrenbang* are considered by the Local Apparatus Organization/Organisasi Perangkat Daerah (OPD) program based on the specification of certain fields (BPK Jatim, 2020). The output of the *Musrenbang* is the draft of the Local Government Work Plan/Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Daerah (RKPD), which refers to the Work Plan previously developed by the Local Work Units/Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah (Renja-SKPD).

In Malang City, Thematic *Musrenbang* has been held annually since 2018. The number of themes covered expanded over time. During the implementation of Thematic *Musrenbang*, the number of themes promoted increased. Initially, from 2018 to 2021, four themes were prioritized:

elderly, women, disabilities, and children. In 2022, a fifth theme, youth, was introduced. Each theme culminates in the development of a draft RKPD, which serves as a foundational document for the formulation of the following year's RKPD.

In the framework of development, the consideration of women's interests in development has been regulated by Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) policy. Regarding PUG, parties that should be involved in gender mainstreaming activities also include civil society, especially women's groups. This is consistent with the way women's organizations are included as actors in the development planning process by the women's topic *Musrenbang*. Through Presidential Instruction Number 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in Development, PUG was first regulated in Indonesia. Following the presence of the Presidential Instruction, additional arrangements were made, such as the creation in 2007 of a gender analysis guide for development planning by the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) and the State Ministry for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kemenppa). The GAP tool, which applies a gender lens to access, benefits, participation, and control aspects, was used to create this guide (Fithriyah, 2017). This indicates that during the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang*, gender-responsive policies in Malang City provided an opportunity for the formulation of gender-responsive policies. However, it is crucial to consider the policy development procedures to enable a more thorough analysis of whether the policies generated through *Musrenbang* are truly optimal.

Technically, the implementation of the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* in Malang City is carried out directly at the city level by inviting groups appointed by the City Government. Therefore, the stages of the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* are different from the stages of *Musrenbang* in general, which usually start at the village level. When referring to a similar activity in Banda Aceh, the Women's Action Plan Deliberation (*Musrena*) also starts at the Gampong/village level, continues to the district level, and ends at the city level (Masrizal, 2016; Silalahi & Ratnawati, 2017). Based on this fact, The Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* in Malang City has been conducted in a participatory manner, engaging various women's groups from both CSOs and CBOs. However, the implementation did not commence at the village level, thus failing to adhere to the bottom-up approach in development planning fully.

To critically examine the unequal power dynamics within social structures, this research emphasizes the knowledge and experiences of women who have participated in *Musrenbang* activities. That's why mapping the actors involved (especially female actors) is the important first stage. In Malang City, the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* is performed on several stages, which include development actors. The actors involved in the 2022 *Musrenbang* activities are included in the table below:

Table 2. Participants in the 2022 Women's Thematic *Musrenbang*

No	Executive Agency/Office	Community-Based Organizations (CBOs)	Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)
1	Local Development Planning Agency	Family Welfare Program Driving Team (TP. PKK) Malang City	Inspirational Women
2	Social Office	TP. PKK Blimbing Subdistrict	Women's Coalition for Leadership (KpuK)
3	Public Works Office	TP. PKK Lowokwaru Subdistrict	Aisyyiah Muhammadiyah
4	Environmental Office	TP. PKK Klojen Subdistrict	Fatayat NU
5	Industry and Trade Office	TP. PKK Sukun Subdistrict	Gusdurian
6	Population and Civil Registrar Office	TP. PKK Kedungkandang Subdistrict	WCC Dian Mutiara
7	Cleanliness and Park Office	Association of Women's Organizations	Regional Research and Information Center
8	Manpower Office	Indonesian Sports Women's Association (Perwosi)	Indonesian Home Worker Women Partners (MWPRI)
9	Health Office	Interreligious Women	Independent Women as the Source of Change (Preman Super)

Table 2. Participants in the 2022 Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* (cont')

No	Executive Agency/Office	Community-Based Organizations (CBOs)	Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)
10	National Unity and Politics Agency	Corporate Social Responsibility Forum	Gender Studies Centre Brawijaya University
11	Youth and Sports Office		
12	Cooperatives Office		
13	Communication and Informatics Office		
14	Law Office		
15	Food and Agriculture Office		
16	Local Disaster Management Agency		

Source: Processed by the author, 2022

The participants of Malang City's Thematic *Musrenbang* can be divided into three groups. The first is the group of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) like NGOs and entrepreneur groups. Second is Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) like the Family Welfare Program (PKK) and the Indonesian Sports Women's Association (Perwosi), whose establishment, support, and operations are dependent on the government. The last is the executive agency/office (SKPD), which encompasses all governmental offices and agencies in Malang City. Among the three groups involved, CSOs and CBOs are positioned as primary proponents of proposed initiatives. Throughout the process, representatives from the executive branch were present to provide justifications and to either accept or reject proposals put forward by the other two groups.

The first group is highly diversified, as illustrated in Table 1. Several NGOs, including KPUK, WCC Dian Mutiara, MWPRI, and Pattiro, are integral components of the CSOs. In addition to these NGOs, participants from academic groups, such as the Center for Gender Studies at Universitas Brawijaya, contributed to the discussions. Religious Mass Organizations/Organisasi Masyarakat (Ormas), including Aisyiyah and Fatayat, also played a role. Lastly, a group of female entrepreneurs, represented by Preman Super and Perempuan Inspiratif, participated in the forums.

There are several distinctions between the various categories of CSOs described. These differences include but are not limited to, the focus of their activities, the level of voluntarism, the degree of organizational independence, and the presence of a mass base. However, there is a lack of a consistent and reliable mass base among marginalized women within both academic institutions and women's NGOs concerning this demographic. This is undoubtedly distinct from large-scale religious organizations, which not only boast extensive membership but also exert control over key infrastructure, such as their educational institutions.

As a result of the diverse experiences of CSOs, the focus of proposals among these groups also varies. For instance, religious mass organization groups presented numerous proposals aimed at educational facilities such as Early Childhood Education Programs/Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini (PAUD) and kindergarten run by their organization during the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* in 2022 (for the 2023 budget year). Meanwhile, the NGO group proposed activities based on their prior experiences, including the development of sex education modules for young children (PAUD), drafting local regulations to combat plastic waste, socializing prevention and handling of criminal acts, providing technical guidance on prevention of domestic violence, counseling and increasing the use of contraception for men through RISUG (Reversible Inhibition of Sperm Under Guidance)/ KB/Vasectomy and conducting training for community-level health professionals, among others.

Then, it has to do with the CBOs that make up the second group. A CBO is an organization founded by the community in response to needs that works with the government to empower the community, according to Minister of Home Affairs Regulation/Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri (Permendagri) Number 5 of 2007 about Guidelines for the Arrangement of CBOs. Rauf and Munaf (2015) highlighted that community-based organizations, in practice, help the government with development, social issues, and community empowerment to varying degrees between one social institution and another.

As a result, it is insufficient to compare CBOs in this study to CSOs because CBOs are developed, acknowledged, and supported at all levels of government. CBOs do not meet the requirements of civil society, which are characterized by a degree of independence and autonomy in interactions with the state based on these traits.

Women from CSOs and CBOs have had access to development planning under the topic of *Musrenbang*. However, it is important to acknowledge that the types of proposals put forward by each women's group have been influenced by differences in institutional contexts. PKK Malang City proposed several activities for the 2022 Thematic *Musrenbang* (for the 2023 fiscal year), including baking character cookies, training in MC and protocol, advice on enhancing family character, advice on urban farming, PAUD-related activities, socialization regarding stunting prevention, and so forth. The PKK's recommendations appear to be distinct from those made by the aforementioned CSOs. NGO recommendations focus primarily on the topic of violence against women, whilst the PKK proposed numerous actions in the family locus and adjust their activities to the focus and targets of government policies such as stunting.

The diversity of organizations taking part in the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* demonstrates the range of experiences that serve as the foundation for their knowledge. Understanding of the types of proposals made by each faction during the *Musrenbang* varied. Particularly, the first two groups—CSOs and CBOs—both have distinct perspectives on the issues that should be raised for women in Malang City.

Gender is placed as an analytical category in feminist perspective research, and “difference” becomes a keyword for the formation of gender knowledge, as a different beginning from the formation of dominant knowledge that occurs and becomes a benchmark for criticism from a woman's perspective (Santoso, 2010). The process of recording women's experiences as a source of information has been aided by Thematic *Musrenbang*. Based on the development of the aspirations from CBOs and CSOs, both provide good recommendations and can help to raise the standard of living for women and children. The variety of ideas put out by each group has given rise to both individual and group potential for change.

From this perspective, it appears that the varying experiences of women have contributed to differences in knowledge among individuals/groups. Each of the women's participants has become an agency that takes part in the Thematic *Musrenbang*. Women's agency is understood as the ability of women to act and take action to accomplish the intended goals. The ability to design strategic judgments, manage resources, and manage decisions to affect significant life outcomes are all aspects of agency (Pratiwi & Boangmanalu, 2019; Yulianti, 2017). Therefore, the Women's Agency and empowerment concept are related. Women's agency refers to women's freedom to do and achieve goals or values that are considered important. It includes efforts to overcome obstacles, question or confront situations of oppression, and challenge or change norms and institutions that perpetuate women's subordination. Women's agencies specify women who can set goals and act on them, and their presence is critical to advancing gender equality and women's empowerment (Donald et al., 2020; Hanmer & Klugman, 2016)).

Because they are founded on work experience in the community, aspirations from both CSOs and CBOs have been made. The two organizations take part in the campaign for change for other women in Malang City through Thematic *Musrenbang*. Their experience has evolved into an empirical source that is embodied in the aspirations made during the development planning process.

Women's organizations in NGOs, who have previously participated in campaigning for gender justice, were included in the formal decision-making process. Women's local political activism includes their participation in Women's Thematic *Musrenbang*. Through the Women's Coalition for Leadership (KpuK), they are also expanding their collective agency by building learning environments and workspaces based on networks between NGOs and academia that concentrate on women's issues.

One of the most notable aspects of the *Musrenbang* process for women in Malang City was the formation of the Women's Coalition for Leadership (KpuK). Following their meeting, NGOs and academics collaborated to establish KpuK, a network aimed at strengthening and expanding their existing alliances. The Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* gathering in 2018 promoted other collective actions through networks that reinforce one group against another, showing a continuum in the activity of women's agencies. KpuK networking activities take the form of formal

collective actions, such as participating in the annual Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* forum, holding various seminars with cross-funding, utilizing radio media networks to obtain regular broadcast portions, and conducting fund-based collective research and mentoring on the problem of child marriage in 2022. Additionally, informal collective actions have taken place, including internal discussions within networks on women's issues in the "Malang Raya" areas (Malang City, Batu City, and Malang Regency).

In previous research, Musrena in Banda Aceh City also succeeded in strengthening the role of civil society organizations (Masrizal, 2016; Silalahi & Ratnawati, 2017). In Malang City, the formation of KPuK shows the existence of strategic coalition development and effective networks to influence decision-making in the planning and budgeting process in the regions to implement participatory budgeting.

Despite the shortcomings of the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang*, which did not start at the village level, the involvement of women's groups from both CSOs and CBOs, as well as the formation of KPuK, has shown that critical actors attended the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang*. Regarding critical actors, this concept holds a significant place in institutional feminism. This concept could help to identify individuals capable of driving gender change in political institutions. In some cases, a small group of critical individuals can be more effective than a large number. Alongside institutional feminists, the critical actor concept can enhance our understanding of why some institutions resist change (Thomson, 2018). In this research, critical actors' practices can be seen in how women from CSOs and CBOs understand and advocate for women's interests.

Previous studies on women in *Musrenbang* generally show the low presence and quality of women's proposals in development planning. However, the involvement of CSOs at the grassroots level has contributed to increased women's participation through empowerment and advocacy activities (Muttalib, 2018; Taufiq & Listyani, 2017). Meanwhile, in the context of the Thematic *Musrenbang* in Malang City, CSOs and CBOs serve as the primary proponents of aspiration. Their extensive experience in activism has enabled them to play an active role in the *Musrenbang*.

Gender Policy Production

The mayor of Malang, Sutiaji, stated that women have a variety of rights, including rights in public life and politics, as well as rights in employment, health, and education. The third mission of the 2018–2023 RPJMD states that the Local Government of Malang City is committed to enforcing these rights (Achmad, 2022). According to this assertion, decision-making officials seem to comprehend and support the idea of inclusive growth that takes women's interests into account. The emphasis on women's issues mentioned in the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang*, including the disciplines of socioeconomics, law, and human rights, as well as politics and policymaking, is articulated in this alignment (Ratri, 2018).

The Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* in Malang City comprises two main stages: the Thematic Pre-*Musrenbang* and the actual Thematic *Musrenbang*. However, the Pre *Musrenbang* stages are not addressed in key legal frameworks, including Law Number 25 of 2004 on the National Development Planning System, Government Regulations/Peraturan Pemerintah (PP) Number 8 of 2008 on the Stages, Procedures for Preparation, Control, and Evaluation of the Implementation of Local Development Plans, or Permendagri Number 54 of 2010 on the Implementation of PP Number 8.

Previous literature shows that the Pre-*Musrenbang* stages were implemented in various regions with different objectives. As an illustration, the Pre *Musrenbang* in the North Sumatra Province compiles classifications of activity planning in the Regency/City to be coordinated with the development of the Province and contains evaluations of economic and social performance. The Pre *Musrenbang* in the West Java Province is constantly bustling with coordination efforts to choose the topics for the development planning documents (Pemkab. Karawang, n.d.). The Pre *Musrenbang* agenda is packed with several agendas in East Kalimantan Province after that, including agreement on local development issues, setting local development priorities, local development policy directions, and agreement on a program or activity to the target of the local work plan (Bappeda Prov. Kaltim 2021). Meanwhile, in Malang City, this research informant stated that the Thematic Pre-*Musrenbang* agenda was filled with discussions and compiling a list of proposals for each theme group. Bappeda Malang City states the following:

"In this Pre-Musrenbang, proposals for each industry are given in the form of a working paper. When discussing women and children, the health sector is first introduced, followed by panel discussions, presentations from each group, the creation of minutes, and the selection of delegates between 3-5 as necessary. (2021 FGD, Bappeda Representative, October 14).

The RPJPD, RPJMD, and RKP from the previous year should preferably be evaluated as evaluation material and prepared for the *Musrenbang* at the Pre-Musrenbang stage. Unfortunately, during the Malang City Women's Thematic *Musrenbang*, this kind of assessment agenda was not implemented.

The outcomes of the proposed activities that were gathered during the Pre *Musrenbang* are completed and included in the Thematic *Musrenbang* agenda. The issue emerged as a result of Bappeda's request that the participants in the Thematic *Musrenbang* process synchronize the activity proposals with the development programs that had been assembled in the proposal lexicon/*kamus usulan*. The government created this proposed lexicon, and only city government employees were involved in the compilation process. The development of a proposed vocabulary, which was discussed solely during the four Thematic *Musrenbang* sessions, has hindered and delayed participants' ability to effectively implement their proposed activities. Ina Irawati, a WCC representative, relayed the following to Dian Mutiara, a KpuK member:

"Not all of our aspirations have received a response for reasons not listed in the proposal lexicon. The procedure for calculating volume and cost is mentioned in the lexicon, but what exactly is it? We believed Bakesbangpol to be the correct agency during the checking process, but it turned out that Bakesbangpol did not accept it since it did not fall under their purview (Interview 2021, Ina WCC Dian Mutiara, October 17).

Participants in the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* did not receive sufficient information on the supporting materials used in the development planning process. According to the Bappeda Kota Malang website (Bappeda Kota Malang 2022), the *Musrenbang* lexicon plays a crucial role in shaping the development discourse. Its availability helps the community understand the priorities of Malang City and serves as a guide for *Musrenbang* proposals. This proposed lexicon compels each community proposal to conform to the "program language" offered by the government's proposed lexicon. Therefore, community aspirations that are unrelated to the program in the proposed lexicon must be discarded. Unfortunately, this lexicon was not provided promptly, which hindered participants from fully realizing their aspirations. Furthermore, the proposed lexicon fails to prioritize gender-related issues.

During the first four years, the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* demonstrated the absence of a clear explanation regarding the proposal lexicon. In general, the Thematic *Musrenbang* participants expressed dissatisfaction due to difficulties they encountered, including, first, difficulties in adapting their proposals to the proposed lexicon, which meant there was a chance that their proposals would not be accommodated. This issue was compounded by the fact that the revised lexicon was only available at the time of proposal finalization. Second, participants found it challenging to provide specific details on the volume, price, and units required for their proposals.

The women's Thematic *Musrenbang* procedure has improved since the previous four *Musrenbangs*, as of 2022. These improvements comprise. First, the proposal lexicon is no longer distributed at the RKPD draft finalization table; instead, it was distributed to the group representatives during the initial activity proposal coordination conference. Second, one of the *Musrenbang* participants is permitted to enter all of the participants' proposals into the Local Device Information System (SIPD).

As an important note, the lexicon still does not outline the priorities of the programs or activities of each SKPD. Instead, it provides information on the activities that have already been determined and are set to be implemented by each SKPD. As a result, representatives of community groups proposing activities must adjust their aspirations to align with the details of the activities outlined in the lexicon.

Table 3. The 2022 Thematic *Musrenbang* Proposal Lexicon

Regional Office: Health Office				
Nomenclature of Affairs Code	Affairs/Programmes/Activities/Sub-activities	Proposed Dictionary Description (Proposed in SIPD)	Unit	Description
1.02.02.2.02.02	Management of Maternal Health Services	1) Capacity building in maternal infection prevention	People	
1.02.02.2.02.07	Management of Health Care in Old Age	1) Capacity building of elderly cadres	People	57 participants (1 person per neighborhood)
1.02.02.2.02.08	Management of Health Services for People Suspected of Tuberculosis	1) TB-HIV socialization in the community	People	150 people (30 people per sub-district) Target: RW heads in Malang City
1.02.02.2.02.11	Management of Health Services for Patients with Hypertension	1) Socialisation of non-communicable diseases for the community	People	30 people (6 people per sub-district)
1.02.02.2.02.15	Management of Community Nutrition Health Services	1) Community stunting prevention	People	150 participants (30 people per sub-district)

Source: Bappeda Malang City, 2022

The *Musrenbang* Proposal Lexicon serves as a guide for identifying the key priorities that a region should focus on. These priorities are derived from the compilation and elaboration of the local head vision statements, which refer to the local RPJP and RPJM documents. By providing such a lexicon, stakeholders' development recommendations can be aligned with the region's development goals, including the formulation of gender-responsive policies.

The Malang City Government's commitment to enhancing community participation is also reflected in the accessibility of the SIPD filling by the CSOs/CBOs groups. However, the process of completing the SIPD presents challenges for CSOs, particularly in relation to specific proposal requirements such as activity budget and location, just like in the proposed lexicon. For instance, when proposing a location for an activity, it was found that the Domicile Certificate from the designated institution needed to be updated.

Ainun, as a representative of Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* participants who inputted proposals into the SIPD, stated:

"It turned out that because my institution used the deed of location for establishment in Sukun Village, all of my proposed activities could only be carried out in Sukun Village, even though the proposals from my institution mostly targeted the entire city of Malang, for example, such as proposing a local regulation against plastic waste and proposing the preparation of prevention modules, and the handling of sexual violence against children for PAUD teachers throughout Malang City (Interview 2022, Ainun KPuK, August 19).

The experience of submitting a proposal raises the question of the program implementation location, which must be aligned with the institution where the proposal is submitted. However, further findings revealed that the government treated the submitting group as if it were a mass base. In other words, the proposed activities were assumed to be carried out by the proposer within the area where the mass base is situated.

The issue arises from the fact that not all CSOs involved in the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* have a clear mass base. Some of these groups are NGOs, with activities that are not always directly linked to community empowerment. Indeed, the groups involved are also

community organizations such as Aisyiyah and Fatayat, which established a mass base and organizational infrastructure such as PAUD and TK. However, it appears that the basis for filling in the SIPD assumes that all the participating groups involved have a mass base, leading to the misconception that the proposals submitted represent the aspirations of these group's mass base.

The Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* process in Malang City continues to present various challenges, particularly for CSOs, as illustrated in the previous discussion. While CSOs often struggled to navigate the technocratic planning framework, it is important to acknowledge the advancement in the proposal lexicon and SIPD filling during the 2022 Thematic *Musrenbang*.

In addition to being addressed through the thematic *Musrenbang* process, gender issues can also be integrated into SIPD through an alternative channel, specifically the "Main Thoughts" (Pokok-Pokok Pikiran) of the Malang Local Parliament. The Malang City Bappeda Representative made the following comments regarding the Malang City development planning process:

"There are two rooms in SIPD (proposed by the *Musrenbang* community), and the second room is from the recess or the council committee. It can be concluded that the channel for Thematic *Musrenbang* does not appear in the system. That is why this Thematic *Musrenbang* is held before the regular *Musrenbang*" (2021 Interview, Bappeda, October 5).

Unfortunately, the "Main Thoughts" of the Malang City Local Parliament did not yield more favorable outcomes than the results of the Thematic *Musrenbang*, which proposed activities including (1) Knitting/cibori women's training, (2) Cosmetology women's training, (3) Delivery women's training & hand bouquet, (4) Character cookie training for women, (5) Cosmetology training for women, (6) Development of home industries, (7) Technical guidance on strengthening family character, (8) Technical guidance on preventing domestic violence. The opinion of the Malang Local Parliament was also conveyed in the *Musrenbang* event. However, the contents of the "Main Thoughts" document received criticism from participants from CSOs, especially from NGO groups. Critics arose not only due to the lack of explanation regarding the urgency of the proposal and the reasons for selecting the target participants but also because, from year to year, the same proposals often continued to appear so that the usefulness and sustainability aspects of participants from previous years were also questioned.

With regard to the funding, the Thematic *Musrenbang* results are narrowed down into four areas, namely health, economics and empowerment, social, and education. The following is the result of activity budget planning for the four sectors during the 2021 *Musrenbang* (for the 2022 fiscal year).

Table 4. Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* Budget Plan

Field	Budget
Education	Rp 1.000.000.000
Health	Rp 600.000.000
Economy	Rp 1.464.000.000
Social	Rp 1.000.100.000
Total	Rp 3.065.100.000

Source: Results of the Women's *Musrenbang* Agreement, 2021

Only 0.11 percent of Malang City's entire Local Income and Expenditure Budget/Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah (APBD) funding, which totals 2.54 trillion in 2021, is allocated to advancing the interests of women. The following are ideas for the 2021 Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* that were approved and rejected:

Table 5. Proposed RKPD Women's *Musrenbang* List for 2022

No	Activity	Target Group	Information
1	Privacy Space for handling/assisting cases of violence against women	Women	Rejected
2	Post-mortem costs for victims of gender-based abuse	Women	Accepted
3	PRT/PRTA (Domestic Worker)	Domestic helpers/FDWs	Accepted

Table 5. Proposed RKPD Women's Musrenbang List for 2022 (cont')

No	Activity	Target Group	Information
4	Workshop before the wedding for aspiring brides	Inhabitant	Rejected
5	Facilities for products as a result of women's empowerment	Inhabitant	Accepted
6	Creation of a father/mother support group for strengthening families	Inhabitant	Rejected
7	Girls-only institution	Vulnerable Family	Accepted
8	Socialization and support for the early prevention of violence	Children, youth, parents	Accepted
9	Optimizing Shelters for Children and Violence Victims	WCC, LBH, and Victim's Companion	Rejected
10	Operational Funds for Monitoring and PMKS and Disaster Assistance	PMKS Group	Rejected
11	Social workers and social services coordination	PMKS Group	Accepted
12	Protection of Women and Children Victims of Violence Executive Review of Perda Number 12 of 2015	Women, Children	Accepted
13	According to Permen PPPA Number 4 of 2018's guidelines for the establishment of local technical implementation units for the protection of women and children, the UPTD PPA Academic Needs Study was conducted.	Women, Children	Accepted
14	Protection of women and children (PPA) Mayor Regulation (Perwal) UPTD	Women, Children	Accepted
15	Arrangement between the Malang City Government and Saiful Anwar Hospital for the Financing of VeR & VePsi Using Malang City APBD Funds	Public	Rejected
16	Raperda employment and the NA Public Test	Public	Accepted

Source: Bappeda Malang City, 2022

There are 16 proposals under the women's topic *Musrenbang* for 2021. Six proposals in all, or the equivalent of 37.5% of the 16 proposed activities, were turned down. Although the number of applications was less than ideal, the fact that more than 50% of the proposals in the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* were approved demonstrates the progress that women have made in Malang City. Similar results were obtained in the 2022 women's *Musrenbang* for the 2023 fiscal year. Only one of the 40 submitted proposals was really accepted, after which the status of the "SKPD recommendations" stood at 10 and the "provincial/regency/city *Musrenbang* recommendations" at 35. The status of these proposals is contingent upon the documents received by KPuK, which have not yet received a further explanation from the Malang City Bappeda.

Table 2 reflects certain advancements. However, it is important to note that the proposals that were rejected remain of critical importance and urgency. For instance, the proposed pre-marital workshops, the creation of a center for family resilience, the creation of a room for handling and providing assistance in cases of violence against women, the proposal for improving the shelter for victims of violence and children, as well as the proposed MoU facilitation activity for the Malang City Government with RSSA regarding VeR (*visum et repertum*) and VeP financing. (Evoked potential by *visum*). These recommendations are all directly tied to concerns about women's health and violence against them.

Violence against women continues to be a persistent issue in Malang City. According to data from the Social Service-P3AP2KB, there were 25 victims in 2018, which decreased to 10 victims in 2019. However, the number of reported cases increased again in 2020, with 15 victims recorded, a figure that remained consistent through the period from January to August 2021, with 15 reported cases (Pratama, 2021).

Ina Irawati, representative of WCC Dian Mutiara, explained that the cost of a post-mortem examination is often prohibitively high, particularly for victims of violence who are typically from marginalized or economically disadvantaged groups. This is especially true for children and adolescents who remain financially dependent on adults. Despite the clear need for such services,

the Malang City Government consistently rejected this proposal at the three Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* meetings held in 2018, 2019, and 2020 (Interview 2021, Ina WCC Dian Mutiara, October 17).

Another challenge associated with the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* process is a sense of disempowerment experienced by CSOs when they feel they have lost control over their proposed activities following the conclusions of the *Musrenbang*. Sri Wahyuningsih from WCC Dian Mutiara said:

"We are unable to report on the final result of the *Musrenbang* procedure since we are unaware of its implementation or non-implementation. Furthermore, it is unclear whether the *Musrenbang* results will last; why, therefore, are resource people from East Java present? After that, a seminar-style question and answer period follows. This implies that Pre-*Musrenbang* and *Musrenbang* are unrelated. A reflection or starting point for prior preparation should be the *Musrenbang* outcomes from the previous year." (2021 FGD, Sri Wahyuningsih WCC Dian Mutiara, October 14).

Although the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* in Malang City has drawn some criticism, there is no doubt that these *Musrenbang* activities have led to effective practices and results. When looking at the Gender Development Index/Indeks Pembangunan Gender (GDI/IPG) data, BPS Malang City notices an increase in GDI from year to year following the Thematic *Musrenbang*. According to the most recent data, the GDI achievement was 94.72 in 2019, 94.97 in 2020, and 95.24 in 2021. Similar growth was noted in the Malang City Gender Empowerment Index/Indeks Pemberdayaan Gender (GEI/IDG) number, which started with a 2018 score of 71.05 before increasing to 78.11 in 2019 and 78.06 in 2020 (BPS Kota Malang, 2020). Malang City placed fifth out of 38 regencies/cities in East Java Province according to the 2020 GDI rankings. Malang City, one of 38 regencies and cities in the East Java Province, came in sixth place according to GEI's accomplishments.

All description of the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* process in Malang City reflects at least three key points: first, it demonstrates that the public (CSOs and CBOs) have had access to the process of developing development policies through the Thematic *Musrenbang* mechanism. However, this access is not fully provided, as various barriers limit their ability to meaningfully participate, exert control over the outcomes, and ultimately benefit from the system. Furthermore, efforts to advocate for initiatives that address the needs of women continue to encounter numerous obstacles from governmental officials.

As a result, the public (especially NGOs) are currently looking for new ways to restrict their recommendations after the *Musrenbang*. They become better at communicating both individually and collectively with critical institutions like legislative and local governments, particularly with organizations that are directly tied to the concerns of women. Collaborative seminars, which offered NGOs, academics, and female lawmakers in Malang City a forum for discussion, also helped to forge relationships with the institution.

Therefore, from the perspective of the CSOs, the aspect of women's agency can be seen in how individual and group initiatives emerge to solve women's problems. The emergence of initiatives is influenced by perceptions that arise from their experience, where this is manifested in their response to the development planning process through the Thematic *Musrenbang*.

There are always parties that react to or go against what the system desires in the concept of agency and in the structure of society. People try to foresee these situations and take action based on how they think a problem should be solved. The image of power emerging from CSOs to address issues includes power from within, which manifests itself in their efforts to continuously learn about development planning practices to improve the practice of proposals in the coming years. Their participation in the Thematic *Musrenbang* represents their ability to make a public impact. Power over or influence over other women, which shows up in solidarity and group efforts that increase their influence, both formally and informally. Power over or influence over other women, which shows up in solidarity and group efforts that increase their influence, such as the founding of KpuK. Their capacity to cope with a larger structure demonstrates their dominance, and one example of this is their attempt to increase their influence by taking the initiative to get in touch with the SKPD in Malang City.

Second, there is an asymmetrical role between the executive agency/office (SKPD) and CSOs. This situation is evident in the dominance of the technocratic approach, including the specific lexicon used in the proposal process, which severely limits the proposals from CSOs. From the institutionalization perspective on gender planning - often known as gender-responsive planning - this phenomenon implies how the institutionalization process that seeks to accommodate the proposals from women's groups must deal with power imbalances at the formal institutional level. Referring to the division of stakeholder influence in the construction of policy agenda, there are three types of stakeholders, namely key stakeholders, which include executive agency, primary stakeholders who have direct interests in policy issues, and secondary stakeholders who have decision-making authority (Darmawan & Nurmandi, 2015). These three groups of stakeholders are involved in Women's Thematic *Musrenbang*. Nevertheless, in the *Musrenbang* discussion, only key and primary stakeholders were involved. These two types of stakeholders have different specifications and characteristics in influencing policy agenda; therefore, the complexity of Thematic *Musrenbang* proposals is not only among the public (CSOs and CBOs) but also between the executive agency and the public.

Third, the gender mainstreaming guidelines or Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) do not appear to be referenced in the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* practice in Malang City. Several laws in Indonesia require gender mainstreaming in all development-related fields. Presidential Instruction Number 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming, Law Number 25 of 2004 on the National Development Planning System, and Minister of Finance Regulation PMK/Number130/PMK.02/2014 on Guidelines for the Preparation and Review of Work Plans and Budgets of State Ministries/Institutions are a few of the regulations that fall under this category. The National Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming through Gender Responsive Planning and Budgeting (PPRG) was also approved in 2012, 2014, and 2018.

To produce gender-responsive policies, gender mainstreaming in development planning aims to incorporate gender considerations into the planning process. The Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP), an analytical tool created by Bappenas and CIDA-Canada in 1998, serves as the mechanism. The answers to the following five questions are crucial to understanding the gender gap: (1) What is the gender gap's form? (2) Where and who experiences the gap? (3) What causes it? (4) What policy or action plan should be put in place to close the gap? (5) How should the gap's effectiveness/efficiency be measured (Fithriyah, 2017)?

Ideally, the use of Gender Mainstreaming, implemented through GAP, is crucial for the development of gender-responsive policies. In this context, Malang Mayor Regulation Number 35 of 2011 on Gender Mainstreaming in Local Development mandates the integration of PUG in every development process in Malang City. Nevertheless, in the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang*, PUG-based planning procedures have not been utilized. This indicates a gap between policy intention and actual implementation, which undermines the potential for gender-responsive development outcomes.

CONCLUSION

The Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* in Malang City has opened access and participation for the public, which consists of CSOs and CBOs members. Their involvement has two key points to note. First, institutional differences between these groups result in varying scopes of aspirations and priorities. Second, as the proposers themselves, the CSOs and CBOs, drawing on their activism experience, became critical actors, allowing them to play a significant role during the event. Consequently, while previous studies on women in *Musrenbang* often highlighted the limited presence and quality of women's aspirations, Thematic *Musrenbang* in Malang City has a different experience.

Women's involvement has led to several advancements in the development planning process. The outcome of this process can be seen in the rise of GDI and GEI of Malang City ever since the first held of Thematic *Musrenbang*. However, various challenges also arise during this process. Although Thematic *Musrenbang* represents an innovative initiative by the local government, its dynamics demonstrate how formal institutions have yet to support accommodating women's issues effectively. On the one hand, we found that on a certain scale, *Musrenbang* had limited the public's full participation. On the other hand, Women's lack of

political planning experience appears to complicate how to prioritize their conflicts of interest and negotiate effectively with decision-makers as well.

Moreover, the asymmetrical relations between the public and the executive agencies are perceptible in the technocratic and political planning approaches that dominate the process. Even though the public had to face some technical barriers, women's involvement in *Musrenbang* highlights not just their capabilities but also their critical role in shaping development planning processes. Women's participants have become an important agency within Thematic *Musrenbang*, demonstrating their ability to act and pursue their goals. Their strong foundation comes from their work experience in the community, where they have gained skills and knowledge.

From the PUG perspective, Thematic *Musrenbang* still creates a top-down gender mainstreaming bureaucratic model without using proper gender analysis. Whereas the most strategic gap to achieve gender equality and justice is through gender mainstreaming. Based on the results, this article recommends that producing significant changes requires a paradigm shift. Consequently, the Gender Analysis Pathway in the planning system must begin to be applied in the entire planning and budgeting process in the development.

In terms of limitations of the research, this study has been designed for a particular Thematic *Musrenbang* in one research location. To understand the importance and implication of the study limitation, we could emphasize how the feminist methodology must be able to contribute to the improvement of women's lives based on recommendations. Therefore, better recommendations might be ideal if future studies use a comparative method, which compares the Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* in several areas, such as Banda Aceh and Yogyakarta. Through a comparative analysis, a researcher can identify key trends, draw meaningful comparisons, and highlight best practices regarding the implementation of Women's Thematic *Musrenbang* in Indonesia.

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