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Baseline Study on Multi-Stakeholder Collaboration for Mainstreaming Gender Equality, Disability, and Social Inclusion (GEDSI) in Indonesia

November 2025

BASELINE STUDY ON MULTI-STAKEHOLDER COLLABORATION FOR MAINSTREAMING GENDER EQUALITY, DISABILITY, AND SOCIAL INCLUSION (GEDSI) IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Baseline Study on Multi-Stakeholder Collaboration for Mainstreaming Gender Equality, Disability, and Social Inclusion (GEDSI) in Indonesia

Palmira Permata Bachtiar, Ana Rosidha Tamyis, Wiwin Purbaningrum, Fitri Ayunisa, dan Asri Yusrina

The baseline study of the Sinergi dan Kolaborasi untuk Akselerasi Layanan Dasar/Synergies and Collaboration for Basic Service Delivery Acceleration (SKALA) program is aimed at analyzing the institutional capacity of civil society organizations (CSOs) and their external relations with provincial governments in multi-stakeholders collaborations to mainstream gender equality, disability, and social inclusion (GEDSI). The study adopts quantitative and qualitative methods in six SKALA provinces, namely Aceh, North Kalimantan, Gorontalo, Maluku, West Nusa Tenggara, and East Nusa Tenggara. The study finds that mainstreaming GEDSI continues to encounter structural barriers stemming from fragmented coordination, leading to problems in policy execution. The study reveals that the participation of CSOs in the formal planning at the provincial level is still limited despite the existing national regulations that ensure CSO engagement in regional planning processes. Additionally, the study finds that many CSOs are able to contribute to the formulation of GEDSI-related policies and regulations by leveraging their experience, expertise, and regulatory knowledge. On the issue of trust and confidence surveys, the study indicates a generally positive level of trust of CSOs in provincial governments.

Keywords: CSO, provincial government, multi-stakeholder, collaboration, planning and budgeting

Foreword

Ministry of National Development Planning/ Bappenas

We express our deepest gratitude to God Almighty for the successful completion of this ***Final Report of the Baseline Study on Multi-Stakeholder Collaboration for the Mainstreaming of Gender Equality, Disability, and Social Inclusion (GEDSI) in Indonesia.***

The Ministry of National Development Planning (Bappenas), through the Directorate of Family, Caregiving, Women, and Children, recognises the critical importance of mainstreaming gender equality and social inclusion throughout all stages of national and sub-national development, as mandated under the 2025-2045 National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) and the 2025-2029 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). These mandates affirm that inclusive and equitable development can only be achieved when all members of society have equal access to opportunities and benefits and can participate meaningfully in the development process. In line with this imperative, a thorough understanding of the current state of multi-stakeholder collaboration is essential as a foundation to strengthen the implementation of GEDSI mainstreaming strategies across various levels of government.

This study is expected to provides a comprehensive overview of the collaboration between civil society organisations actively promoting GEDSI and provincial governments, including the level of trust and confidence among stakeholders. By presenting an empirical picture of the prevailing situation, challenges, and opportunities that influence collaborative efforts to advance more gender-responsive and inclusive basic services for vulnerable groups, the findings are intended to inform national policy direction led by Bappenas, while also serving as a valuable reference for line ministries, sub-national governments, development partners, and civil society organisations in strengthening collective action towards inclusive and equitable development.

We are confident that the baseline data and findings will strengthen the formulation of strategic measures to enhance the delivery of gender-responsive and inclusive basic services, foster evidence-based policymaking and programming, and accelerate the achievement of inclusive development outcomes at both national and regional levels.

Finally, we extend our sincere appreciation to SKALA for facilitating this study, to the SMERU Research Institute as the research lead, and to all parties who have contributed their support. We hope this report becomes an important foundation for advancing a more just, equitable, and inclusive transformation of basic services for all.

Qurrota A`yun

Director of Family, Parenting, Women, and Children

Foreword

SKALA Program

We express our deepest gratitude to all engaged in the completion of this Final Report of the Baseline Study on Multi-Stakeholder Collaboration for the Mainstreaming of Gender Equality, Disability, and Social Inclusion (GEDSI) in Indonesia. This study was commissioned by the Ministry of National Development Planning (Bappenas) through the Directorate of Family, Caregiving, Women and Children, and undertaken by the SMERU Research Institute with support from the Indonesia-Australia Partnership Program, Synergies and Collaboration to Accelerate Service Delivery (SKALA).

This baseline study reinforces Indonesia's commitment to governance that truly serves all people. Integrating GEDSI into government practice requires strong institutional support and effective partnerships between local governments, civil society, and diverse stakeholders across Indonesia's communities. This research maps the current landscape of collaboration, identifying opportunities to deepen partnerships and improve inclusive planning and budgeting from national through to local levels.

The findings reveal that regulatory frameworks related to GEDSI continue to be strengthened across various provinces. However, implementation still faces several challenges. These range from uneven institutional capacity and limited access to comprehensive, reliable data, through to consultation and decision-making processes that do not yet fully include vulnerable groups. Civil society organisations have been instrumental in helping to bridge these gaps, by connecting community aspirations with policy processes. Noted, however, is that CSOs also face varying levels of capacity and resource availability.

These insights highlight that ongoing collaboration between local governments and civil society networks holds significant potential to elevate the quality of planning and budgeting, strengthen public service accountability, and ensure the voices of vulnerable groups are heard and inform planning and budget decisions. With growing opportunities for meaningful participation and the expansion of local advocacy initiatives, there is a real opportunity to establish more structured, sustainable, and evidence-based collaborative mechanisms.

It is our hope that this study serves as a valuable reference for all stakeholders in strengthening strategic partnerships towards more inclusive development. By fostering constructive dialogue, shared capacity-building, and collaborative models, we can accelerate improvements in public services for all members of society.

Yours sincerely,

Petrarca Karetji
Team Leader, SKALA Program

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Boxes

List of Appendices

List of Abbreviations

APBD	*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah*	Regional Budget
Bappeda	*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah*	Regional Development Planning Agency
Bappenas	*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional*	National Development Planning Agency
CSO		civil society organization
DPO		**disabled people's organization**
DPRD	*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*	Regional House of Representatives
FGD		focused group discussion
FKP	*forum konsultasi publik*	public consultation forum
GAP		Gender Analysis Pathway
GBS		Gender Budget Statement
GEDSI		gender equality, disability, and social inclusion
KLHS	*Kajian Lingkungan Hidup Strategis*	Strategic Environmental Assessment
KUA	*Kebijakan Umum Anggaran*	General Budget Policy
litbang	*penelitian dan pengembangan*	research and development
MBO		membership-based organization
musrenbang	*musyawarah perencanaan pembangunan*	development planning meeting
NGO	*organisasi nonpemerintah (ornop)*	nongovernmental organization
NTB	Nusa Tenggara Barat	West Nusa Tenggara

NTT	Nusa Tenggara Timur	East Nusa Tenggara
OPD	*organisasi perangkat daerah*	local government organization
ormas	*organisasi kemasyarakatan* or *organisasi massa*	societal organization or mass organization
perda	*peraturan daerah*	regional regulation
Pokja PUG	*kelompok kerja pengarusutamaan gender*	gender mainstreaming working group
PPAS	Prioritas dan Plafon Anggaran Sementara	Provisional Budget Priorities and Ceilings
PUG	*pengarusutamaan gender*	gender mainstreaming
PUGIS	*pengarusutamaan gender dan inklusi sosial*	gender mainstreaming and social inclusion
Puspa Forum	*Forum Partisipasi Publik untuk Kesejahteraan Perempuan dan Anak*	Public Participation Forum for Women and Children's Welfare
RAD PUG	*Rencana Aksi Daerah untuk Pengarustamaan Gender*	Regional Action Plan for Gender Mainstreaming
RAPBD	*rancangan Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah*	draft Regional Budget
renja	*rencana kerja*	work plan
renstra	*rencana strategis*	strategic plan
RKA	*Rencana Kerja dan Anggaran*	Work and Budget Plan
RKPD	*Rencana Kerja Pembangunan Daerah*	Regional Development Work Plan
RPD	*Rencana Pembangunan Daerah*	Provincial Development Plan
RPJMD	*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah*	Regional Medium-Term Development Plan
RPJMN	*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional*	Nasional Medium-Term Development Plan
RPJPD	*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Daerah*	Regional Long-Term Development Plan

RPJPN	*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Nasional*	National Long-Term Development Plan
SKALA	*Sinergi dan Kolaborasi untuk Akses Layanan Dasar*	Synergies and Collaboration for Basic Service Delivery Acceleration
Stranas PPRG	*Strategi Nasional Percepatan Pengarusutamaan Gender melalui Perencanaan dan Penganggaran yang Responsif Gender*	National Strategy for the Acceleration of Gender Mainstreaming through Gender-Responsive Planning and Budgeting
TAPD	*tim anggaran pemerintah daerah*	Regional government budget team

Executive Summary

Civil society organizations (CSOs) are important actors in promoting inclusive planning and budgeting processes. These processes are often used by marginalized and vulnerable groups to amplify their aspirations and perspectives. Therefore, fostering an effective partnership between CSOs and government agencies is essential to ensure that their meaningful engagements are reflected in the planning and budgeting process.

While partnerships might appear to contradict CSOs' role as accountability watchdogs, trust is often cited in the literature on CSOs and governance as a key component of effective partnerships with the government. CSOs are key actors in advocating for the rights, needs, and concerns of marginalized groups. They are also uniquely positioned to connect with people and raise awareness of important issues. Effective engagement between CSOs and government agencies in promoting inclusive planning and budgeting requires mutual trust and confidence. It also necessitates a range of capacities and skills tailored to the specific context.

This baseline study, commissioned by Sinergi dan Kolaborasi untuk Akselerasi Layanan Dasar/Synergies and Collaboration for Basic Service Delivery Acceleration (SKALA), is a part of its End of Program Outcomes (EOPO) 3 focus, which centers on greater participation, representation, and influence for women, persons with disabilities, and other vulnerable groups. It aims to address an overarching question: how can SKALA refine its strategies to enhance the capacity of CSOs to build meaningful engagement with subnational governments? This engagement is crucial for mainstreaming gender equality, disability, and social inclusion (GEDSI) strategic issues in planning and budgeting. Specifically, this study is aimed at the following objectives: (i) the extent to which GEDSI-focused CSOs are capable of delivering quality advocacy for mainstreaming GEDSI in provincial planning and budgeting; (ii) the trust and confidence of the provincial government in CSOs, and vice versa; (iii) the recommendations to improve GEDSI-focused CSOs' capacity for better advocacy and more effective collaboration with subnational governments.

The study adopts an analytical framework in which the internal capacity and external relations of CSOs are explored to comprehensively capture their capacity to influence regional planning and budgeting. The research is designed as a mixed-method approach by utilizing qualitative and quantative methods. The qualitative approach is used to provide a situational analysis of CSOs' capacity and their advocacy engagement with the government. The quantitative approach is used to supply baseline information on the current state of mutuality between CSOs and the government.

The study involves key actors at the national level and from six SKALA provinces, i.e., Aceh, West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), East Nusa Tenggaran (NTT), North Kalimantan, Gorontalo, and Maluku. Data is collected through desk review, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), and surveys, as predetermined by SKALA. The data collection activities mainly take place in the provincial capital,

where all government agencies are located. For interviews with CSOs, the data collection is focused on CSOs based in the provincial capital.

Over the past two decades, the institutional governance of GEDSI in Indonesia has undergone substantial transformation. GEDSI mainstreaming, formally mandated through Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development, has become a foundational step for the development of the National Strategy for the Acceleration of Gender Mainstreaming through Gender-Responsive Planning and Budgeting (Stranas PPRG) that was officially institutionalized in 2012. Subsequently, this Stranas PPRG was updated as the National Strategy for the Acceleration of Gender Mainstreaming (Stranas PUG) in 2020 by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection. A series of supporting regulations, including ministerial regulations and joint decrees, have progressively institutionalized gender integration at both national and subnational levels. Most recently, the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2025–2029 and the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) 2025–2045 have marked a pivotal shift toward a more inclusive approach through the integration of gender and social inclusion under the unified framework of gender mainstreaming and social inclusion (PUGIS).

Although gender mainstreaming has been formally embedded in national policy frameworks and guided by strategic plans over the years, its translation into subnational regulations remains limited and uneven across regions. This study shows that while some provinces have adopted comprehensive regulations, particularly in relation to gender mainstreaming and the rights of persons with disabilities, many provinces still lack adequate legal instruments and action plans, especially concerning older persons issues. Despite efforts by many ministries to strengthen institutional frameworks and promote gender-responsive planning and budgeting, several structural challenges persist. These include the lack of disaggregated data; limited capacity in GEDSI mainstreaming planning, budgeting, and implementing; a lack of commitment from regional governments; and fragmented coordination across government institutions. Therefore, addressing these gaps is essential to ensuring that the principles of GEDSI are not only formally recognized, but also effectively understood and implemented at all levels of Indonesia's governance.

Indonesian CSOs have played a significant role throughout Indonesia's history, existing even before the country gained independence. However, the regulatory framework governing CSOs has been highly politicized across different political regimes—from the Old Order and the New Order to the post-reform era. In recent times, efforts to centralize control over both domestic and foreign CSOs have introduced obligations and prohibitions that risk leading to their dissolution. Accurate data on CSOs remains elusive, in part because many informal groups choose not to register. Additionally, records are fragmented, maintained separately by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights and the Ministry of Home Affairs. A basic typology distinguishes CSOs as either membership-based or nonmembership-based organizations.

The literature identifies various roles for CSOs, but this study only focuses on three: public policy advocacy, social control, and community empowerment. These functions are not mutually exclusive; a single CSO may engage in one or several simultaneously. The advocacy strategies employed by CSOs

are shaped by these roles. Moreover, stronger collaboration between CSOs and government actors is seen as essential to advancing democracy. Drawing on evidence from six provinces, this study proposes four models of collaboration between CSOs and subnational governments.

Based on existing regulations, community members—including CSOs—are legally entitled to participate in the regional development planning and budgeting processes. In the planning process, CSOs may contribute through some channels, namely public consultation forums (FKP), development planning meetings (musrenbang), local government organization (OPD) forum, and Strategic Environmental Assessment (KLHS). CSOs can participate through these channels if they receive an invitation from the regional government. In the budgeting process, the existing regulations also recognize the right of the public to participate in drafting the General Budget Policy (KUA) and the Provisional Budget Priorities and Ceilings (PPAS). The regulations also ensure access to planning and budget documents. However, the findings reveal that CSO participation in provincial-level FKP and musrenbang remains limited and generally restricted to government-recognized CSOs. A similar pattern is evident in CSOs' participation in OPD forums and the preparation of KLHS. CSOs' involvement is often perceived as procedural rather than substantive, as technocratic and political considerations dominate the planning and budgeting process. No CSOs were involved in the budgeting processes across all study locations. The government perceives the regional budget formulation as the exclusive executive and legislative domain. The study also finds minimal CSO access to planning and budget documents at the provincial level. Draft regional planning documents are restricted to CSOs invited to and participating in FKP or musrenbang, while draft budget documents remain inaccessible to them. The public can access officially enacted planning and budget documents. However, the accessibility, completeness, and timeliness of these documents vary significantly across provinces.

The provincial government encountered several challenges in implementing CSOs' recommendations. These challenges stem from internal government conditions, including fiscal and budgetary constraints, limited understanding of GEDSI issues among regional government staff, and a lack of cross-sectoral collaboration in GEDSI mainstreaming. On the CSO side, obstacles include misalignment between CSO recommendations and regional development targets. Additionally, governance-related challenges persist, particularly regarding the division of authority between provincial and kabupaten (district)/kota (city) governments, as well as regulatory barriers to mainstreaming GEDSI and promoting inclusive musrenbang.

Although the relationship between CSOs and the provincial government exhibits varying dynamics, survey findings indicate a generally positive level of trust of CSOs in the provincial government. The survey also reflects favorable satisfaction levels with education and health services for marginalized groups, while highlighting areas for improvement in public infrastructure. Most CSOs reported strong confidence in the provincial government's openness to receiving input during planning processes and its willingness to collaborate in mainstreaming GEDSI within development planning. This confidence is primarily attributed to positive interactions, as government actors respond constructively to CSO recommendations. However, qualitative data suggests that multiple factors

influence final decision-making. Moreover, some CSOs expressed diminished confidence in the government's collaborative intent, particularly regarding funding. CSOs argue that although the provincial government supports CSOs, they often lack budget allocation for collaboration.

To conclude, the study provides recommendations for each important finding. Firstly, the study finds that mainstreaming GEDSI continues to encounter structural barriers stemming from fragmented coordination, leading to problems in policy execution. Therefore, provincial governments should continue developing regional action plans on gender, disability, and older persons. SKALA can support provincial governments by offering technical assistance to enhance inclusive and evidence-based policymaking capacity.

Secondly, the study finds that CSO participation in the formal planning at the provincial level is still limited despite existing national regulations that ensure CSO engagement in regional planning processes. If SKALA intends to leverage CSO engagement at the provincial level and support meaningful CSO contributions to the formal planning process, it must foster collaboration between CSOs and provincial policymakers by establishing regular dialogues in the CSO-government network. It is in the interest of the provincial government to conduct a quality planning and budgeting process; therefore, they should publish and disseminate public documents, including planning and budget documents, disaggregated GEDSI data, and GEDSI regulations, on accessible platforms.

Thirdly, the study finds that many CSOs have demonstrated strong internal capacity for quality advocacy by leveraging their experience, expertise, and regulatory knowledge to influence GEDSI-related policies. Provincial governments should develop a comprehensive mapping of GEDSI-focused CSOs and their specific expertise. To address CSO capacity, SKALA should support and broaden the impact of advocacy efforts by supporting CSO networks where development actors, such as development partners, philanthropies, and religious institutions, are engaged to provide support for CSO initiatives.

I. Introduction

1.1. Background

Civil society organizations (CSOs) play a crucial role in promoting inclusive planning and budgeting processes, as these processes are often used by marginalized and vulnerable groups to amplify their aspirations and perspectives (Munene and Thakhathi, 2017). Therefore, fostering an effective partnership between CSOs and government agencies is essential to ensure that CSOs' meaningful engagements are reflected in the planning and budgeting process. Although partnerships might appear to contradict CSOs' role as accountability watchdogs, the literature on CSOs and governance has often cited trust for being fundamental in ensuring an effective partnership between CSOs and governments (Van Wessel et al., 2020).

Despite their critical roles in inclusive development, CSOs often face challenges related to institutional capacity and sustainability. Many CSOs struggle with limited resources, including funding and expertise, which can hinder their ability to effectively advocate for inclusive planning and budgeting (OECD, 2020). Addressing these challenges requires providing ongoing support and investing in capacity-building initiatives, as well as fostering partnerships with government agencies and leveraging CSO networks. Strengthening CSOs through enhancing their capacity to engage in inclusive planning and budgeting processes can contribute to the creation of more equitable and sustainable communities.

CSOs are key actors in advocating for the rights, needs, and concerns of the marginalized groups. They are also uniquely positioned to connect with people and raise people's awareness of important issues (UNDP[1], 2013). CSOs' effective engagement with government agencies to promote inclusive planning and budgeting necessitates trust and confidence between both sides, as well as a range of capacities and skills tailored to this specific context. Thus, it is important to examine the various factors influencing the levels of trust and confidence between CSOs and government agencies and CSOs' capacity to deliver quality advocacy. In the context of how CSOs can best advocate to the government in the development process—particularly in planning and budgeting—this study focuses on the relationship between CSOs and the government.

This baseline study, commissioned by Sinergi dan Kolaborasi untuk Akselerasi Layanan Dasar/Synergies and Collaboration for Basic Service Delivery Acceleration (SKALA) as part of its End of Program Outcomes (EOPO) 3 focus, centers on greater participation, representation, and influence for women, persons with disabilities, and other vulnerable groups. The study aims to address an overarching question of how SKALA can refine its strategies to improve the capacity of CSOs in building meaningful engagements with subnational governments to mainstream gender equality,

[1] United Nations Development Programme

disability, and social inclusion (GEDSI) strategic issues in planning and budgeting. Specifically, this study is designed to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent are GEDSI-focused CSOs capable of delivering quality advocacy for mainstreaming GEDSI in provincial planning and budgeting?
    a. How do their existing knowledge, skills, and resources support them in building effective engagements with government agencies?
    b. What are the technical capacity gaps among GEDSI-focused CSOs in relation to gender-disaggregated data utilization and analysis?
    c. What factors influence the effectiveness of the collaboration and partnerships between GEDSI-focused CSOs and provincial governments?
2. How trustful and confident are provincial governments and the representatives of GEDSI-focused CSOs in each other?
    a. Faktor apa saja yang memengaruhi tingkat kepercayaan dan keyakinan antara kedua belah pihak?
    b. Dengan tingkat kepercayaan saat ini antara kedua belah pihak, seberapa besar kemungkinan mereka dapat berkolaborasi secara efektif dalam mengarusutamakan isu strategis GEDSI dalam perencanaan dan penganggaran subnasional?
3. Rekomendasi apa yang dapat diberikan guna meningkatkan kapasitas OMS GEDSI untuk advokasi yang lebih baik dan kolaborasi yang lebih efektif dengan pemerintah subnasional dalam mengarusutamakan isu strategis GEDSI dalam perencanaan dan penganggaran?

1.2. Research Framework and Methodological Approach

To comprehensively capture CSO capacity to influence regional planning and budgeting, two aspects of institutional capacity, namely internal capacity and external relations, are explored (Figure 1). To advocate for CSO interests with the government, a CSO must navigate the 'soft' system, which is built upon mutual trust and institutional confidence, while leveraging existing networks and collective action to influence decision making processes (Chandranshu, Regenmortel, and Twagilimana, 2023).

The building blocks of an effective collaboration or partnership between CSOs and the government stem from a learning process aimed at seeking common ground, which will eventually be transferred to the 'hard' system—a formal, explicit, and regulated platform for participatory policy processes—thus creating opportunities for joint partnership (Blagescu and Young, 2006). Competencies related to advocacy engagement with the government and networks fall under the external relations theme in this research.

Figure 1. Scope of Situational Assessment

Source: authors' elaboration

The research is designed as a mixed-method approach by utilizing qualitative and quantative methods. The qualitative approach is used to provide a situational analysis of each CSO's capacity and its advocacy engagement with the government. The quantitative approach is used to supply baseline information on the current state of mutuality between the CSOs and the government.

This study adopts the definition of trust and confidence in Earle and Siegrist (2006: 386). They stated, "Trust is the willingness to make oneself vulnerable to another based on a judgment of similarity of intentions or values." Meanwhile, "Confidence is the belief, based on experience or evidence, that certain future events will occur as expected." Confidence determines the specific standards or measures by which performance is judged. Considering this framework, the trust score is collected from quantitative surveys, while the confidence score is derived from qualitative data collection, where respondents can justify the score they provide.

Operationally, the study involves key actors at the national level and from six SKALA provinces, i.e., Aceh, West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), North Kalimantan, Gorontalo, and Maluku. Data is collected through desk review, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), and surveys, as predetermined by SKALA. In total 266 people participate in this study (table 1). The data collection activities mainly take place in the provincial capital, where all government offices are located. For interviews with CSOs, the data collection is focused on CSOs based in the provincial capital.

Table 1. List of Participants

	In-depth interview	Survey	FGD	
			Provincial government staff	CSO staff
National level	7			
Aceh	9	16	8	8
Kaltara	8	15	9	12
Gorontalo	9	15	9	11
Maluku	9	15	9	11
NTB	13	15	8	7
NTT	11	15	6	11
Total	66	91	49	60

Source: Research team analysis

1.2.1 Qualitative Data Collection

The qualitative data collection employs more than one method to ensure that data is validated through triangulation. By designing the same questions for different data collection methods, researchers are able to validate data accuracy. For example, some important questions appear in the in-depth interview and FGD instruments. Although our primary objective is to capture the relationship between CSOs and regional governments at the provincial level, it is also important to interview other stakeholders at the central government level. The selection of key actors follows the guideline provided by SKALA.

1.2.2 Quantitative Data Collection

This study uses two surveys, as defined by SKALA: (i) one to measure the trust of GEDSI-focused CSO representatives in the provincial government and (ii) another to assess the trust of provincial government actors in GEDSI-focused CSOs. The survey design is adapted from the OECD trust survey, evaluating the trust in the government based on such criteria as responsiveness, reliability, integrity, openness, and fairness. Additionally, the GEDSI-focused CSO instrument gauges the satisfaction with the government services and their experience interacting with the provincial government.

The sampling follows SKALA's guidelines. In each SKALA province, five GEDSI-focused CSOs—which are women's, disability, and older persons' organizations—are selected based on consultations with SKALA and partners like INKLUSI. These five organizations represent various GEDSI issues, with three key respondents (director, secretary, and board) per organization. For government respondents, the survey includes three officials from relevant agencies having direct interactions with GEDSI representatives.

II. The Institutional Governance of GEDSI in Indonesia

GEDSI mainstreaming is a key element in inclusive and equitable development policies. This is evident in how the issue has evolved and become one of the national development strategies over various periods (Appendix 1), with increasing emphasis on operationalizing gender integration in planning and budgeting processes (Appendix 2). While several central regulations have been issued to guide the formulation of regional policies, some provinces have yet to fully develop comprehensive regulations on gender mainstreaming (Appendix 3), disability (Table 6), and older persons. As a result, several challenges persist in governing GEDSI issues, including the lack of disaggregated data, limited understanding of and capacity for gender mainstreaming in planning, budgeting, and implementation, as well as coordination difficulties and the absence of a clearly designated GEDSI lead sector.

2.1 Gender Mainstreaming Policy and Institutions

Gender mainstreaming in national development was first formally mandated through Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000[2]. However, it was not until 2010 that gender mainstreaming gained significant momentum and was incorporated into the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). The integration of gender mainstreaming into a strategic national planning document catalyzed the issuance of various supporting regulations, including the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 67 of 2011[3]; the Joint Decree of Four Ministers of 2012[4]; and the Decree of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 900.1.15.5-1317 of 2023[5]. These legal frameworks have progressively strengthened the institutionalization and implementation of gender mainstreaming across sectors and levels of government.

The policies outlined above were further supported by three additional regulations aimed at providing gender protection, particularly for women and children, including the Regulation of the Minister for

[2] on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. This regulation mandates government bodies to adopt a gender perspective in policy planning, budgeting, implementation, and evaluation. However, it is not yet part of the national legal framework.
[3] on the Amendment to the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 15 of 2008 on General Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the Regions. This regulation provides the general guidelines for regional gender mainstreaming and encourages local governments to establish the gender mainstreaming working groups (Pokja PUG) in each region.
[4] on the Gender Responsive Budget. This joint decree ensures that gender-responsive budgeting can realize more inclusive and equitable budget allocation across genders.
[5] on the Amendment to the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs No. 050-5889 of 2021 on the Results of Verification, Validation, and Inventory of the Updating of Classification, Codification, and Nomenclature of Regional Development Planning and Finance

Women's Empowerment and Child Protection No. 13 of 2021[6]; Law No. 12 of 2022[7]; Presidential Regulation No. 55 of 2024[8], and the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 67 of 2011[9].

Gender mainstreaming has consistently remained a national development priority as reflected in multiple iterations of the RPJMN (Appendix 1). In RPJMN 2025–2029 and the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) 2025–2045, however, gender mainstreaming has now begun to be explicitly linked with social inclusion, resulting in the use of the combined term of PUGIS (gender mainstreaming and social inclusion) (Box 1). These recent planning documents mark a shift toward a more integrated approach, emphasizing the state's growing commitment to inclusive human development in order to ensure that no vulnerable group is left behind.

In fact, the notion of social inclusion is not entirely new in Indonesia's national development priorities. From RPJMN 2010–2014 to RPJMN 2020–2024, social inclusion had often been mentioned in the context of enhancing human resource empowerment and ensuring the fulfillment of vulnerable groups' rights. However, social inclusion remained less prominent, as the national development mainstream still largely focused on gender. Among social inclusion groups, disability has received the most attention, followed by the increasing 'attention' to the needs of older persons. Yet, major gaps also remain in translating these priorities into local policies and ensuring adequate regulatory support.

Box 1. Greater Visibility of Gender Mainstreaming and Social Inclusion in PUGIS

The RPJMN 2025–2029 and RPJPN 2025–2045 mark a significant shift in Indonesia's development policy by explicitly integrating gender mainstreaming with social inclusion under the term of PUGIS (gender mainstreaming and social inclusion). While gender mainstreaming has been a consistent feature in past national planning documents, its connection with social inclusion was previously implicit or underemphasized.

Although social inclusion has appeared in RPJMN 2010–2014, mainly it was in the context of empowering human resource empowerment and protecting vulnerable groups' rights, it remained secondary to gender-focused strategies. The shift from PUG to PUGIS reflects a renewed and broader commitment to ensuring that development efforts address intersecting vulnerabilities, including those faced by Indigenous peoples, persons with disabilities, and remote communities. This evolution underscores Indonesia's attention to leave no one behind in its long-term development agenda.

Source: analysis of the research team

[6] on Public Participation in the Field of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection
[7] on Sexual Violence Crimes
[8] on the Regional Technical Implementation Unit for the Protection of Women and Children
[9] This regulation has continued to serve as a reference for developing action plans for gender mainstreaming at the regional level in Indonesia until today.

Moreover, the effort to institutionalize gender mainstreaming in development has not been limited to its national priority agendas. This commitment has been further reinforced through a series of technical regulations issued by the Minister for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection; they are aimed at operationalizing gender integration in planning and budgeting processes (Appendix 2).

To some extent, the presence of Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 served as a foundational step that was later followed by the formulation of the National Strategy for the Acceleration of Gender Mainstreaming through Gender-Responsive Planning and Budgeting (Stranas PPRG). Although Stranas PPRG was officially enacted in November 2012, the implementation of gender mainstreaming through gender-responsive planning and budgeting had already begun in various regions as early as 2009, marked by the establishment of gender mainstreaming steering and technical teams within local government institutions, including in North Sumatera (Seknas Fitra, 2020).

Stranas PPRG was formally institutionalized in 2012 through a joint circular letter issued by four key ministries[10]. The national strategy in this period had emphasized (i) integrating gender issues into development planning and budgeting processes; (ii) strengthening institutional frameworks and human resource capacities at both national and subnational levels through the use of gender analysis tools, such as the Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP) and Gender Budget Statement (GBS); and (iii) promoting the establishment of regional gender mainstreaming mechanisms, including Pokja PUG, PUG focal points, and gender-responsive budgeting technical teams.

Years after Stranas PPRG was introduced, it was renamed and relaunched as the National Strategy for the Acceleration of Gender Mainstreaming (Stranas PUG) by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection in 2020. This updated national strategy not only reaffirmed the commitment to achieving gender equality and justice but also sought to institutionalize and enhance analytical capacities for gender integration into development planning and budgeting. Yet, it also emphasized the need for local governments to improve the use of disaggregated data and increase community participation in the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies.

Accordingly, gender mainstreaming has been institutionalized as a national policy for over two decades and further articulated through a national strategy over periods to strengthen its implementation at the subnational level, but many provinces have yet to adopt comprehensive regional regulations on gender mainstreaming (Appendix 3). So far, only three provinces, namely NTB, NTT, and Aceh, have fully enacted a range of local regulations addressing gender mainstreaming and gender-responsive planning and budgeting.

Moreover, most provinces, including NTB, NTT, North Kalimantan, Maluku, and Gorontalo, have also adopted a single regulation to address multiple issues. Reflecting on NTB, for instance, it integrates four gender mainstreaming regulations applied under a single regional regulation and the most up-to-date Public Participation Forum for Women and Children's Welfare (Puspa Forum) is still in progress.

[10] including the Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection

Similarly, NTT has even consolidated five gender mainstreaming regulations under a single regional regulation to streamline gender-related policies in the province. Meanwhile, both Kaltara and Gorontalo have not yet established a Puspa Forum. Additionally, Kaltara and Maluku so far have no regulation regarding Regional Action Plan for Gender Mainstreaming (RAD PUG).

2.2 Governing Disability and Older Persons Issues

The issues of disability and older persons are integral components of GEDSI policies and regulations in Indonesia. So far, there are several ministries that play a vital role in ensuring the rights and welfare of people with disabilities (Table 6). Each ministry is instrumental in designing inclusive policies and programs, and coordinating with related government agencies at the provincial and kabupaten (district)/kota (city) levels. Disability and older persons issues have also developed to become one of the national priorities in RPJMN over the periods from 2010–2014 to 2025–2029 as explained below.

2.2.1 The Evolving Policy Landscape in Development Planning Frameworks: Persons with Disabilities

such as orang cacat (disabled persons). In this period, persons with disabilities were included in the targets for equitable economic development, whose focus remained limited to social assistance within poverty reduction programs. However, attention to disability and older persons remained limited, as the development goals tended to prioritize infrastructure development over social inclusion.

The shift began to take shape in RPJMN 2015–2019, marked by a terminological change to penyandang disabilitas (persons with disabilities). In this period, there was growing acknowledgment of employment barriers faced by persons with disabilities and older persons working in both formal and informal sectors. Although this RPJMN began encouraging their participation in village-level development processes, it lacked concrete, inclusive mechanisms for its implementation. It also did not provide clear guidance for translating this policy intention into comprehensive and inclusive implementation strategies.

In RPJMN 2020–2024, the government started to place greater emphasis on improving the quality and competitiveness of human resources, including persons with disabilities and older persons. Beyond social security, policies began supporting economic empowerment through access to capital and entrepreneurship development programs for persons with disabilities. Meanwhile, RPJMN 2025–2029 articulates a more comprehensive approach, emphasizing both access to basic services, economic opportunities, and social protection, and the active participation of persons with disabilities and older persons in development. Special attention is also paid to expanding healthcare services for older persons, indicating a maturing policy landscape that moves beyond protection toward meaningful inclusion.

While persons with disabilities and older persons are often grouped together in many RPJMN over the periods from 2010–2014 to 2025–2029, they are actually regulated by kabupaten/kota-level regulatory frameworks. In particular, various regulations have been drafted to ensure the fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities, which is separated from that of older persons. These regulations include Law No. 8 of 2016[11], Government Regulation No. 70 of 2019[12], and Presidential Regulation No. 53 of 2021[13]. The National Action Plan for Persons with Disabilities has been formulated, but it has not yet been explicitly included in the baseline and endline targets of national policies. However, its implementation has been reinforced by the Regulation of the Minister for National Development Planning No. 3 of 2021[14] .

Table 2. Overview of Regional Regulations and Regional Action Plans for Persons with Disabilities in Six Provinces

	NTB	NTT	Kaltara	Maluku	Gorontalo	Aceh
Protection and the fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities	Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2019[a]	Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2022[b]	Being drafted	Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2024[c]	Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2023[d]	Ratified, still unpublished
Action plan for persons with disabilities	Kick-off stage	Drafted, awaiting the government 's signature	Kick-off stage	Kick-off stage	Kick-off stage	Governor Regulation No. 53 of 2023[e][f]

Source: analysis of the research team
[a]on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
[b]on the Empowerment and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
[c]on the Implementation of the Respect, Protection, and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
[d]on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
[e]on the Regional Action Plan for the Respect, Protection, and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities 2024–2029

Based on the investigation conducted in the six provinces (Table 2), the findings reveal that four provinces, namely NTB, NTT, Maluku, and Gorontalo, have issued regional or governor regulations related to persons with disabilities. Meanwhile, Kaltara and Aceh are either still in the drafting stage or awaiting the official publication from the local governments. In the preparation of the Regional Action Plan for Persons with Disabilities, most provinces remain in the early stage (kick-off stage). Notably,

[11] on Persons with Disabilities. This law serves as the legal basis for regional governments to draft regional or governor regulations related to disability rights.
[12] on the Planning, Implementation, and Evaluation of the Respect, Protection, and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
[13] on the National Action Plan on Human Rights for 2021–2025. This regulation governs the National Action Plan for Persons with Disabilities through a human rights–based approach.
[14] on the Implementation of Government Regulation No. 70 of 2019 on Planning, Implementation, and Evaluation of the Respect, Protection, and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. This regulation provides a clear National Action Plan for People with Disabilities during 2021–2024, as well as outlines more structured and inclusive policy implementation in Indonesia.

Aceh is the only province that has ratified its Regional Action Plan for Persons with Disabilities, as shown in Table 6.

2.2.2 The Evolving Policy Landscape in Development Planning Frameworks: Older Persons

Unlike regulations on persons with disabilities which were established only a few years ago, the national policy on older persons has been regulated for quite a long time in Law No. 13 of 1998 on the Welfare of Older Persons. As of today, regulations on older persons remain unchanged with no comprehensive updates or replacements introduced. Nevertheless, several other regulations have been enacted, including Government Regulation No. 43 of 2004[15], Law No. 40 of 2004[16], and Law No. 11 of 2009[17].

So far, there are no current regulations available on the National Action Plan for the Welfare of Older Persons. As a result, the preparation of Regional Action Plans for the Welfare of Older Persons still largely depend on each regional government's policy. The issue of older persons has also been integrated into the national strategy through Presidential Regulation No. 88 of 2021[18], which outlines the National Strategy for Older Persons. The Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture is responsible for overseeing the implementation of this national strategy (Kemenko PMK[19], 2021).

Some strategies[20] are identified to address older persons issues as referred to in Presidential Regulation No. 88 of 2021 Article 4. This regulation serves as a reference for ministries, institutions, and regional governments in monitoring, evaluating, and reporting programs and policies concerning older persons. It also aims to bolster cross-sectoral coordination between central and regional governments.

However, the National Strategy for Older Persons is only valid for the 2020–2024 period, meaning that it is essential to develop a new national strategy for the subsequent period to ensure continuity in policies and sustainable welfare programs for older persons in Indonesia. Currently, Bappenas is leading the preparation of the new regulations and strategies, with the Ministry of Social Affairs and the National Population and Family Planning Agency as the primary partners in the process. So far, regulations concerning older persons at the regional level still refer to Law No. 13 of 1998, which serves as the foundation for formulating older persons welfare policies in various regions. Like the previous issues, there are also several ministries—including the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Health,

[15] on the Efforts to Improve the Social Welfare of Older Persons, which outlines six efforts to improve social welfare and health services, employment, education and training, social protection, the provision of social assistance, and the granting of awards to the community

[16] on the National Social Security System, which includes provisions for national security covering health insurance, occupational accident insurance, retirement benefits, pension benefits, and death benefits

[17] on Social Welfare, which not only provides social protection, but also covers social rehabilitation, social security, and social empowerment

[18] on the National Strategy for Older Persons

[19] Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Pembangunan Manusia dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia, or the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia

[20] (i) enhancing social protection, health services, and quality of life; (ii) developing communities and creating an older persons-friendly environment; (iii) strengthening institutions that implement elderly programs; and (iv) improving respect, protection, and fulfillment of the rights

the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, and Bappenas—that are involved in promoting the welfare of older persons.

Based on the investigation conducted in the six provinces, the findings reveal that none of the provinces have yet finalized their regional/governor regulations or Regional Action Plan for Older Persons. Among these provinces, Gorontalo has shown the most initiative, having approved the draft regional regulation in 2020. However, there has been no significant follow-up since its approval, leaving the regulation incomplete until today. The rest of the provinces either are still in the planning stage or has yet to prioritize older persons-related issues.

The lack of a national-level regulation on the welfare of older persons has led to the absence of Regional Action Plans for Older Persons in many regions. To address this issue, a regulation on a National Action Plan for the Welfare of Older Persons needs to be established, along with updates to existing national regulations, one of which is Law No. 13 of 1998.

Nevertheless, these efforts require adequate financial support as well, as the national budget allocation for the social protection of older persons currently stands at only 2%, far below the 14.6% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita spent by various middle-income countries (PRAKARSA, 2020).

Although regulations and policies regarding persons with disabilities and older persons promote the establishment of inclusive planning forums to support vulnerable groups, these forums have not yet been implemented at the regional level. The majority of local government agencies cited budget constraints and the lack of specific directives from the central government as the main challenges in establishing these forums.

2.3 Constraints and Challenges in Governing GEDSI Issues

Despite the ongoing efforts outlined above, the implementation of GEDSI in Indonesia continues to face several significant challenges, including the following.

2.3.1 The Lack of Availability and Accessibility of Disaggregated Data

The absence of comprehensive disaggregated data at the regional level remains a significant barrier to evidence-based policymaking for GEDSI. Several factors that contribute to this issue are (i) capacity constraints among local government agencies in collecting and analyzing sectoral data to be presented to the public; (ii) limited awareness of the role of data in the formulation of inclusive policies; (iii) and inadequate budget allocations to support data collection and management.

The lack of disaggregated data leaves regional governments without a strong analytical foundation to design and implement targeted and inclusive policies. This leads to a disconnect between policy priorities and community needs in some regions.

> **If they [local governments] do not have disaggregated data, they cannot do analysis; their perspective is still neutral.** (Informant 24, female, in-depth interview)

Even when disaggregated data exists, public access is limited, and regional datasets are often incomplete. Therefore, there is a need to strengthen data systems and analysis to ensure that the GEDSI approach can be systematically applied throughout all stages of regional development planning and implementation.

2.3.2 The Lack of Understanding and Capacity in GEDSI Mainstreaming Planning, Budgeting, and Implementation among Regional Government Agencies

Although the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection has promoted gender mainstreaming through the Regulation of the Minister for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection No. 4 of 2014[21], which provides technical guidance for gender-responsive planning and budgeting (PPRG), many local agencies are concerned that implementing the regulation would require increased budget allocations for gender-related programs.

In reality, GEDSI mainstreaming in budgeting does not necessarily mean allocating additional funds, but rather enhancing the GEDSI leverage of already budgeted activities. This means that existing budgets can be used more effectively to address gender disparities without requiring additional financial resources.

Moreover, this limited understanding is compounded by the lack of capacity among regional government staff. Many of them are still lacking the necessary skills and knowledge to effectively plan, implement, and monitor GEDSI mainstreaming programs. In some cases, GEDSI-related content is merely copied and pasted from previous work plans, with little reflection or evaluation of its relevance and impact. The central government has made efforts to promote collaboration and discourage repetitive or symbolic inclusion of GEDSI elements.

> **I keep encouraging them to collaborate [with other partners]. I said, 'I am not asking you to change existing programs, but to ensure [that] the analysis you use is directed at the right targets, stages, and beneficiaries so that you do not always create copy-paste programs** (Informant 24, female, in-depth interview)

Yet, not all regional government agencies understand that ensuring effective GEDSI mainstreaming requires strong cross-sectoral collaboration and is not solely the responsibility of GEDSI-focused agencies. As a result, collaboration across sectors—including agencies responsible for education, employment, health, and others—remains limited, which in turn slows progress in gender

[21] on the Guidelines for Monitoring the Implementation of Gender-Responsive Planning and Budgeting for Regional Governments

mainstreaming. Many agencies continue to prioritize their core mandates without fully integrating GEDSI into their programs' planning, budgeting, and implementation.

> **In fact, GEDSI is actually a major thematic issue that cuts across other agencies, such as dealing with inequality in sectors like education, economy, and employment. However, their involvement is still lacking I would say.** (Informant 29, female, in-depth interview)

2.3.3 Lack of Commitment from Regional Governments

Indeed, the existence of GEDSI-related regulations at the subnational level reflects a formal commitment that should be upheld by every local government in Indonesia. However, the real challenge lies in how this commitment is translated into practice. A genuine commitment would be reflected, for instance, in retaining government staff who have been trained and appointed to GEDSI-related positions. Ideally, when replacements are needed, the newly appointed should also possess relevant educational backgrounds or experience in gender mainstreaming.

In practice, however, this is often not the case. There are instances where staff members or leaders assigned to gender mainstreaming roles lack the appropriate background or capacity. Even those who have demonstrated strong competencies in GEDSI are frequently rotated to other positions or locations. This raises concerns about knowledge transfer—as it is often not effectively communicated to other staff members—and it calls into question the consistency and seriousness of local government commitment to GEDSI. Furthermore, many staff members within regional governments also recognize this lack of commitment.

> **Indeed, the issue of misinformation is largely driven by staff rotations and the lack of information-sharing processes, particularly when leaders assigned to GEDSI roles lack the necessary understanding of the issue.** (Informant 71, male, FGD)

Beyond that, some CSO representatives have also raised concerns regarding these practices, which affect their advocacy progress. When CSOs invest time and resources in building relationships and delivering capacity-building support to local government staff and/or leaders, the appointment of new leaders who lack proper training or understanding of GEDSI agendas can significantly disrupt their progress. Such turnover often forces CSOs to backtrack or even restart their advocacy from the beginning. As a result, these dynamics pose a serious risk to the sustainability of GEDSI implementation—not only at the local, but also in maintaining its alignment with broader subnational development efforts.

> **The challenge becomes even more significant when targeting policymakers, such as heads of agencies, those who are at Echelon 2 or 3 levels, as these individuals are the decision-makers. This situation is distinct from working with staff members, who do not have the authority to make decisions. Moreover, these heads of agencies are often rotated, which forces advocacy efforts to be restarted from the beginning** (Informant 738, male, in-depth interview)

2.3.4 Complexity of Coordination and Absence of a Lead Sector

GEDSI issues are currently managed by multiple ministries and agencies, leading to fragmented coordination. Each institution plays a critical role but often works in silos, making cross-sectoral collaboration difficult. A closer look at national-level responsibilities reveals the following:

a) Bappenas plays a strategic role in mainstreaming GEDSI through two key directorates. First, the Directorate of Family, Women, Children, Youth, and Sports leads the implementation of strategic national programs that integrate gender mainstreaming as an essential part of sustainable human resource development. Second, the Directorate of Poverty Alleviation and Community Empowerment addresses GEDSI issues within the framework of inclusive development and poverty reduction strategies.
b) The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection focuses on formulating policies and programs to protect vulnerable groups (particularly women and children), promoting gender-responsive budgeting, and collaborating with Statistics Indonesia/Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) to develop gender-related data, indicators, and indexes in Indonesia.
c) The Ministry of Social Affairs develops social protection and empowerment policies for vulnerable groups, coordinates with other ministries and regional government agencies on the rights of persons with disabilities and older persons and manages the Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) System to optimize the delivery of social assistance.

Despite the presence of numerous regulations, GEDSI mainstreaming remains suboptimal. Many ministries and institutions have yet to fully implement these policies, with only 30 out of 48 currently reported to have adopted gender mainstreaming tagging.

> **Mainstreaming [GEDSI] is not that easy. Even though we have had Presidential Instruction [No. 9 of] 2000 and Joint Decree of Four Ministers of 2012 for budget tagging in the RKAL [Ministry/Institution Work and Budget Plan], not all ministries have implemented it. Only 30 ministries are willing to do the gender mainstreaming tagging.** (Informant 60, male, in-depth interview)

Moreover, the lack of a designated leading sector and special work order for GEDSI has led to confusion at the regional level, making it difficult to translate national policies into concrete actions.

> **All aspects [of policies and programs] are included in GEDSI, but how does the business process work, who is the leading sector, and how should the regulation and governance be [implemented]? These are things that we still need to work on to increase capacity.** (Informant 60, male, in-depth interview)

Although gender mainstreaming working groups (Pokja PUG) have been established in some regions, their effectiveness continues to depend heavily on inter-agency coordination and strong leadership

> **Here, the Regional Development Planning Agency [Bappeda] serves as the head of the Driver Working Group, [while] DP3A acts as the secretary. However, we hope that the secretary can take a more active role, as this would allow the head to simply follow the schedule prepared by the secretary.** (Informant 3, female, in-depth interview)

III. The Landscape of CSOs in Inclusive Development: A Literature Review

This chapter explores the literature to provide context on the role of CSOs in contemporary development in Indonesia. It begins with a discussion of issues related to the regulatory context and statistics of CSOs, followed by the development of a CSO typology. After that, the chapter reviews literature on the roles performed by CSOs. Finally, it examines the shift in CSO engagement from confrontation to collaboration.

3.1 The Regulatory Context, Statistics, and Typology of CSOs

Organizations, village associations, environmental and women's rights groups, farmers' associations, faith-based organizations, labor unions, cooperatives, professional associations, chambers of commerce, independent research institutes, and not-for-profit media (OECD, 2010). Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are a subset of CSOs that focus on development cooperation and are typically more aid-dependent than other CSO categories, such as unions or professional associations. While all NGOs are CSOs, not all CSOs are NGOs; organizations defined by their constituency are considered CSOs (UNDP, 2013).

In Indonesia, terminology further complicates this distinction. First, the term *organisasi nonpemerintah (ornop)*, a direct translation of "nongovernmental organization," implies opposition to the government. During the New Order era, such opposition was prohibited, prompting NGOs to adopt the term *lembaga swadaya masyarakat* (LSM), meaning "self-reliant community organizations,"

to avoid conflict (Billah, 2000). Second, Indonesian legislation has historically grouped various types of societal organizations together to facilitate easier government control (ICNL[22], 2024). Law No. 8 of 1985 on Societal Organizations, or *Organisasi Kemasyarakatan* (Ormas), used the term *ormas* ambiguously to refer to both CSOs and mass organizations *(organisasi massa)*, leading to confusion due to their differing characteristics.

Box 2. Not All Ormas Are CSOs

In Indonesia, the term ormas is broadly defined. Tohari, Sarwitri, and Riyadi (2022) proposed stricter criteria, suggesting that an ormas should be nonprofit, nonpolitical, nonviolent, inclusive, and respectful of human rights to qualify as a CSO. Organizations that do not meet these standards—including those focused on profit, affiliated with political parties, or with histories of violence—are categorized as non-CSO ormas. Their framework also excludes region-based and religion-based organizations, and religious educational institutions due to concerns about inclusivity.

3.1.1 The Regulatory Context of CSOs

CSOs have played a significant role in Indonesia's history; they have even existed before the nation's independence. Early examples include educational, religious, and professional organizations, such as Budi Utomo, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Syarikat Dagang Islam. These associations were recognized under the colonial government's Staatsblad 1870 No. 64 (DPR RI[23], n.d.).

Despite their contributions to Indonesia's independence, the regulatory framework governing CSOs has been highly politicized. During the Old Order regime, many CSOs were state-owned and controlled entities. The New Order government continued this trend, with CSOs often seen as extensions of the state and funded accordingly. Law No. 8 of 1985 enforced the Pancasila ideology, banned communist ideology, and mandated a single organization for each profession, leading to a proliferation of government-affiliated associations.

Following the Reform era, Law No. 17 of 2013 on Societal Organizations was enacted but faced criticism for centralizing CSO control under the Ministry of Home Affairs, reversing decentralization efforts. The law grouped CSOs with legal entities, such as foundations and associations, alongside those without legal status, and imposed obligations and prohibitions that could lead to dissolution. It also introduced stringent controls over foreign CSOs.

[22] International Center for Not-for-Profit Law
[23] House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia

In 2017, Law No. 16 of 2017[24] replaced the previous legislation, allowing CSOs to be dissolved without legal proceedings (ICNL, 2024). This law was used to ban organizations, such Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and Forum Pembela Islam. Despite challenges from human rights activists, the Constitutional Court upheld the law, affirming the government's authority to revoke legal statuses or registrations of CSOs under administrative law.

3.1.2 The Regulatory Context of CSOs

There are also no clear statistics of CSOs. After the collapse of the New Order government in 1998, civil society flourished and the establishment of CSOs increased significantly. As the doktrin wadah tunggal—where the government only recognized one labor union, for example—was no longer valid, "there are no less than 40 national labor organizations, 300 labor unions; 10,000 labor associations at the corporate level. Social-religious groups, research institutions, study groups, and think tanks have also grown in number" (Antlov, Ibrahim, and Tuijl, 2005).

CSO statistics are kept by two umbrella organizations: the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, which holds registration data, and Ministry of Home Affairs, which is responsible for CSO empowerment (Tohari, Sarwitri, and Sofyan, 2024). This situation adds to the complexity of the CSO database, as duplication is highly possible. On the other side, DPR RI (n.d.) stated that the statistics might be far from accurate, as many organizations were not interested in registering themselves.

Table 3. The Statistics of Indonesian CSOs Over Time

Source of Data	Type of CSO	2013	2017	2022	2024
Ministry of Law and Human Rights	Foundation and association	25.406	321.482	470.996	568.884
Ministry of Home Affairs	Without legal entity, but is registered in the ministry	65.577	22.486	2.601	2.,897
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Foreign CSOs	108	71	58	46
Total		**91.091**	**344.039**	**473.655**	**571.827**

Source: Library of Congress (2013); Setkab[25] (2017); Tohari, Sarwitri, and Riyadi (2022); Tohari, Sarwitri, and Sofyan (2024); and Kemensos[26] (2024)

Table 3 shows data for registered CSOs only. Problematically, tracing the existence of these CSOs is extremely difficult. Tohari, Sarwitri, and Sofyan (2024) stated that they were unable to access the data from the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. They argued that the data was largely misleading because it has accumulated without regular updates.

[24] on the Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 2 of 2017 on the Amendment to Law No. 17 of 2013 on Societal Organizations to Become Law

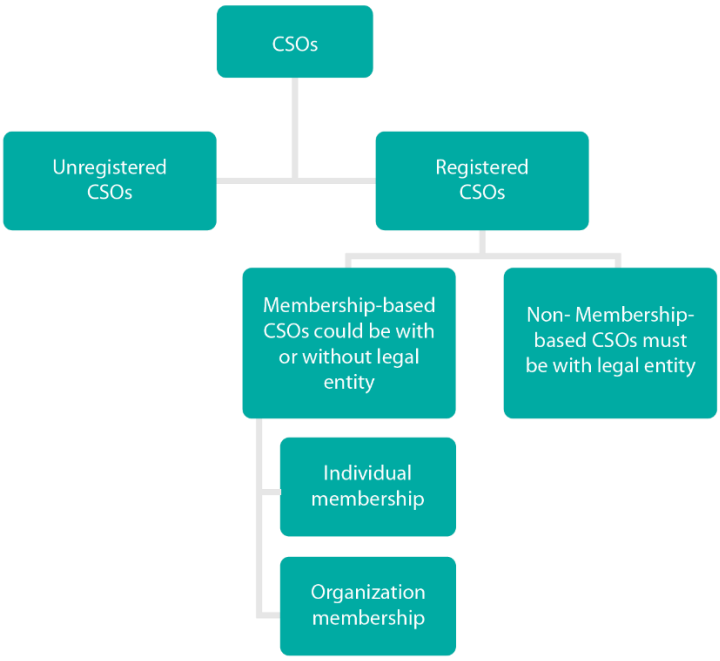
[25] Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, or Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia

[26] Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia, or Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia

3.1.3 The Typology of CSOs

It has been extremely difficult to find a clear typology of CSOs in Indonesia, as this aspect is lacking in the regulations. Article 10 of Law No. 17 of 2013 only differentiates CSOs based on whether they have legal entity status and whether or not they are membership based (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Typology of CSOs: Membership Based and Nonmembership Based



Source: adapted from USAID (2018)
Note: Informal CSOs are included in the typology because this type was encountered during the study. They are vibrant organizations engaged in various activities, yet they remain unregistered.

Based on the categorization in Figure 2, Table 4 presents a mapping of the typology of CSOs surveyed across six provinces. Among these, membership-based CSOs—particularly those with legal entity status—are the most prevalent. Disabled people's organizations (DPOs) are included in this category.

Table 4. The Typology of 30 CSOs Surveyed

Types of CSO				Total
Unregistered CSOs				2
Registered CSOs	Membership based	With legal entity status	Individual membership	5
			Organizational membership	9
		Without legal entity status	Individual membership	2
			Organizational membership	2

	Nonmembership based	With legal entity status		10
Total				**30**

Source: authors' calculation

USAID (2018) also categorized CSOs into membership-based and nonmembership-based types. Membership-based CSOs, which serve the interests of their members, mostly take the form of (i) mass organizations, (ii) associations, (iii) professional associations, and (iv) trade unions or networks. As for nonmembership-based CSOs, they are grouped into (i) issue-based organizations (e.g., grassroots community development groups, policy advocacy organizations, service providers, grant-making organizations); (ii) charity organizations (e.g., Dompet Dhuafa); (iii) quasi-government organizations (e.g., Puspa Forum, Family Empowerment and Welfare/PKK); (iv) social welfare organizations (e.g., social welfare institutions/LKS); and (v) semibusiness organizations (e.g., Yayasan Dana Bakti Astra).

The categorization of CSOs based on membership and nonmembership types is also applied by Banks, Hulme, and Edwards (2015). They specifically referred to nonmembership-based CSOs as professional NGOs. The authors argue that while NGOs play a crucial role in linking civil society with the state, their legitimacy is often undermined by limited grassroots connections, restrictions on political engagement, and a tendency toward "overprofessionalization." Table 5 presents a comparison between these two categories.

Table 5. Orientations and Attributes of Membership-Based Organizations (MBOs) and NGOs

Category	MBOs	NGOs
Relation with the state	Oppositional	Accommodating
Constituents	Members	Staff
Accountable to	Members	Donors
Program design	Demand-side approach	Supply-side approach
Community participation	Political	Nonpolitical
Strategy	Development as leverage	Development as service delivery
Development ideology	Development as social, political, and economic change	Project-based and target-oriented development
Tackling/addressing	Root causes of poverty	Symptoms of poverty

Source: Bank, Hulme, and Edwards (2015)

3.2 CSOs' Roles in Fostering Inclusive Development

Hollander (2018) identified four roles of CSOs: education, communication, representation, and cooperation. Externally, CSOs educate members and the public, helping citizens monitor governments through activities such as awareness campaigns, research, and policy reports. They also represent marginalized groups by defending their interests and providing platforms for expression through protests or petitions. Internally, CSOs facilitate communication between citizens and the state, fostering a democratic public sphere and connecting citizens with authorities via multi-stakeholder partnerships. Additionally, they cooperate with policymakers as experts or partners in policy implementation to drive change.

This framework aligns with tools used by think tanks to enhance impact (Start and Hovland, 2004). Think tanks prefer cooperative, advisory methods over confrontational activist tactics and corporate lobbying, prioritizing the public good. They engage in balanced advocacy, promoting ideas without compromising scientific independence. This balance between confrontation and cooperation, combined with the choice between evidence-based and value-driven arguments, results in four policy influence strategies: advising, advocacy, lobbying, and activism. The authors note that it is challenging for one organization to embody both ends of this spectrum; think tanks typically lean toward cooperative approaches.

Eldridge, as cited in Gaffar (2006), proposed three CSO roles based on their relationship with the government. The first is *high-level partnership*: grassroots development, where CSOs engage in participatory development activities without involving political processes, focusing on influencing government policies to benefit grassroots communities. The second is *high-level politics*: grassroots mobilization, where CSOs concentrate on political activities, defending community interests by protecting rights and addressing policy issues, often favoring advocacy and community mobilization over government collaboration. The third is *empowerment at the grassroots level*, where CSOs focus on raising awareness and empowering grassroots communities about their rights, operating independently of government interactions, believing that societal change stems from enhanced community capacity rather than governmental intervention. Tohari, Sarwitri, and Riyadi (2022) categorized these roles as 'public policy advocacy', 'social control', and 'community empowerment'.

Table 6. Comparative Illustration of Various Roles Performed by CSOs

Hollander	Start and Hovland	Eldridge
Edukatif secara internal	Advocacy	Community empowerment
Edukatif secara eksternal		Social control
Representatif secara tidak langsung		
Representatif secara langsung	Activism	
Komunikatif	Lobbying	Public policy advocacy
Kooperatif	Advising	

Source: Hollander (2018); Start and Hovland (2004); and Eldridge in Gaffar (2006)

Table 6 presents a comparison of three frameworks outlining the roles of CSOs. These roles are not mutually exclusive, meaning that a single CSO may perform some or even all of these roles simultaneously.

This study adopts the CSO roles outlined by Eldridge in Gaffar (2006), which are considered simple yet sufficiently comprehensive to encompass the roles performed by the 30 CSOs surveyed. These three roles also serve as advocacy strategies that CSOs may choose from based on their competitive advantage.

Based on the data collected on CSO roles and activities in the field, this study defines the public policy advocacy strategy as one that utilizes knowledge and data, combining both normative and empirical approaches (Box 3).

Box 3. Three Types of Knowledge for Public Policy Advocacy

Jones (2011), citing Lomas et al., highlighted that policy decisions are influenced not only by scientific evidence but also by everyday knowledge, such as values, political judgment, tradition, and professional expertise. He identified three types of knowledge relevant to policymaking:

a) **Research-based knowledge:** derived from systematic studies and empirical data
b) **Practice-informed knowledge:** gained through professional experience and practical application
c) **Citizen knowledge:** stemming from individuals' daily lives and direct experiences. This type is particularly crucial for promoting inclusive policymaking.

In contrast, the resources for a social control strategy may include victim assistance and public campaigns. Both the public advocacy and social control strategies are categorized as direct advocacy approaches. Meanwhile, the community empowerment strategy is considered an indirect advocacy approach. In this strategy, CSOs empower communities to speak for themselves and enable them to

advocate effectively in the future. This strategy may take the form of group empowerment and the development of local cadres and volunteers.

Figure 3. Types of CSOs' Advocacy Strategies

Source: authors' analysis

Figure 3 illustrates the advocacy strategies employed by the 30 surveyed CSOs. The majority of these CSOs have used CSO networks to advocate for public policy to the government, often with the support from development partners. Receiving assistance from development partners and international CSOs—while working collaboratively within networks—has become their main strategy for policy advocacy. This is particularly true because CSOs often possess more specialized knowledge about GEDSI compared to the provincial government.

However, the use of data among CSOs for policy advocacy remains a challenge and requires capacity strengthening. The surveyed CSOs are also promoting GEDSI issues through their roles in social control and community empowerment.

3.3 CSO Engagement: From Confrontation to Collaboration

Enhanced collaboration between civil society and the government has become a key development trend since the 1990s. Beckmann (1991), for example, identified several factors contributing to this shift. First, the global spread of democracy has resulted in democratic governments being more supportive of NGOs than authoritarian regimes. Second, there has been a notable shift in how governments view their role in supporting citizens. By the 1990s, skepticism had grown regarding the

ability of public bureaucracies to independently address development issues, prompting policymakers to emphasize the contributions of NGOs as part of the "third sector". Third, the attitudes of NGOs toward the government have also evolved. While NGOs previously focused on community-level work, the debt and development crises of the 1980s, along with environmental challenges, led some to broaden their focus to national and international issues. The relationship between NGOs in the Global South and their counterparts in the Global North remains a contentious topic. Some Southern NGOs advocate for reduced direct involvement from Northern partners. As they seek to reduce dependency on funding from industrialized countries, they are increasingly exploring alternatives such as local contributions and government funding.

Box 4. Some Issues in CSO Collaboration with the Government

Issue	Cons	Pros
Funding or power balance (issues with the government)	Funding relationships can limit opportunities for meaningful participation and equal influence in collaboration with the government.	Collaboration is not necessarily detrimental if mutuality can counterbalance funding dependency.
Managerialism or social transformation (issues with donors)	Donors often promote partnerships to achieve short-term efficiency and effectiveness rather than long-term social transformation.	Flexibility is crucial to navigate institutional pressures—for example, by using a Theory of Change approach rather than logframes
Insider or outsider (issues with constituents and the public)	Close collaboration can institutionalize CSOs as insiders, undermining CSO engagement and weakening their support base.	Being an insider can reduce the need for public action. Sharing responsibility with the government can offer opportunities for policy influence without public dissent.

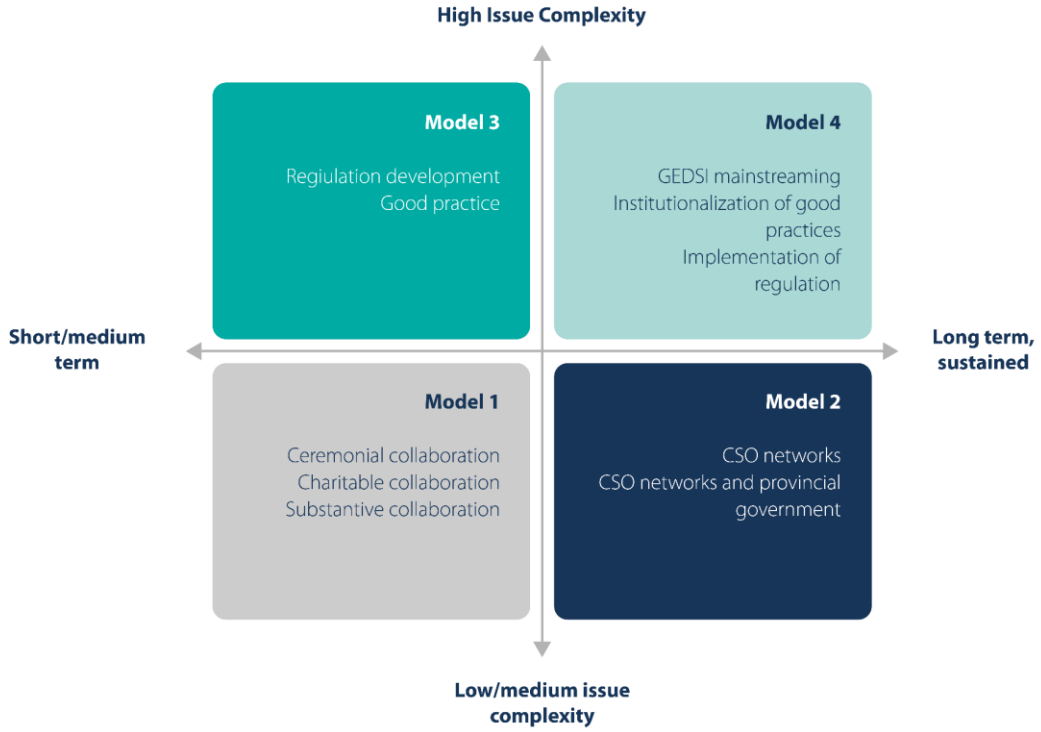
Source: Van Wessel et al. (2019)

Beckmann's argument that greater democracy fosters increased collaboration also applies to Indonesia. After the end of the authoritarian regime in 1998 and the subsequent expansion of political opportunities, CSOs began engaging more directly with the government. They participated in various assistance teams to support the implementation of development programs across different ministries (Perdana, 2015). Moreover, according to Antlov and Wettenberg (2011), the reform era was followed by a shift in CSO engagement from confrontation to collaboration. Their study, which collected data from civil society activists between December 2005 and February 2009 in 45 partner jurisdictions across six provinces, shows that demonstration—previously the second most common activity in 2005—became the least common in 2009. Instead, other forms of engagement, such as lobbying, regulation drafting, and media campaigns, gained popularity.

In line with this evidence of collaboration, this study examines various forms of collaboration between the surveyed CSOs and governments at the village, kabupaten/kota, and provincial levels. Two key

parameters are used to categorize collaboration models: (i) the duration of the collaboration, ranging from short-term, one-off engagements to medium- or long-term partnerships; and (ii) the complexity of the issues involved, from less complex to highly complex matters. These parameters form four distinct collaboration models (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Four Collaboration Models between CSOs and Subnational Governments



Source: authors' analysis

Model 1 represents incidental, ad-hoc collaboration on relatively simple issues, such as ceremonial events, charity work, or invitations to serve as resource persons. Model 2 involves long-term networking between CSOs and government agencies, as exemplified by initiatives like Puspa Forum. Model 3 refers to collaboration facilitated by key stakeholders—particularly development partners—and includes activities such as joint budget programs, development of good practices, and regulatory drafting. Model 4 represents long-term collaboration on complex issues, such as replicating good practices, implementing regulations, and institutionalizing GEDSI mainstreaming.

In the six SKALA provinces, Model 1 dominates collaboration between CSOs and subnational governments. Most of these provinces have also established Puspa Forum, where CSOs and provincial governments can work together, demonstrating Model 2. The majority of the provinces also apply Model 3 for drafting GEDSI regulations, often under the auspices of development partners. Finally, Model 4 is present in a few examples across several provinces.

IV. Mapping CSO Participation in the Planning and Budgeting Process

The government has enacted regulations to ensure CSO participation in regional development planning and budgeting, including access to key documents. CSOs have a positive level of trust in the provincial government and high confidence in its willingness to consider their planning input and collaborate. Nevertheless, provincial governments face multiple obstacles in integrating CSO recommendations into the regional planning process.

This chapter explores CSO participation in planning and budgeting, as well as their access to key documents, by comparing the provisions of existing regulations with their implementation at the regional level. It then discusses the challenges faced by the government in implementing CSO recommendations and concludes with an analysis of CSO trust and confidence in provincial governments.

4.1 CSO Participation in the Formal Planning and Budgeting Process: Regulation versus Implementation

4.1.1 Regulation on the Regional Planning Process

The terms *planning and budgeting* in development are often used interchangeably. However, they are distinct yet interrelated processes. The regulatory frameworks governing planning and budgeting also differ, as do the stakeholders involved in each process.

The planning stages of regional development are governed by several regulations, including Law No. 25 of 2004[27], Law No. 23 of 2014[28], Government Regulation No. 45 of 2017[29], and the Regulation of Minister for Home Affairs No. 86 of 2017[30]. These regulations delineate the framework for conducting the development planning process and underscore the critical importance of inclusive community participation, including the active involvement of CSOs.

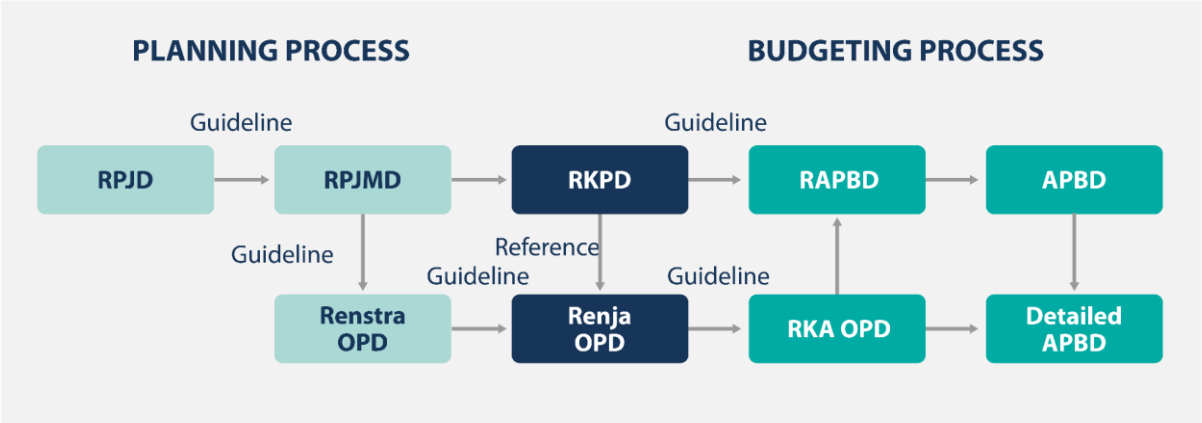
Law No. 25 of 2004 establishes the overarching national and regional development planning framework. Meanwhile, the Regulation of Minister for Home Affairs No. 86 of 2017 provides detailed

[27] on the National Development Planning System
[28] on Regional Government
[29] on Community Participation in the Administration of Regional Government
[30] on the Procedures for Planning, Controlling, and Evaluating Regional Development, Procedures for Evaluating Draft Regional Regulations on the Regional Long-Term Development Plan and the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan, as well as Procedures for Modifying the Regional Long-Term Development Plan, Regional Medium-Term Development Plan, and Regional Government Work Plan

technical guidelines on the regional planning process, including the stages, expected outputs, and roles of stakeholders.

According to these regulations, regional development planning takes place as follows. The National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) serves as the primary reference for the Regional Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPD), which spans the same planning period (2025–2045). The RPJPD informs the formulation of the five-year Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD). The regional government translates the RPJMD into annual operational priorities through the Regional Development Work Plan (RKPD). At the level of local government organizations (OPD), the regional government translates the RPJMD into five-year sectoral programs through each OPD's strategic plan (renstra), which is then further detailed in the OPD's annual work plan (renja) (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Regional Planning and Budgeting Process



Source: adapted from Bappenas (2013)
Note: RAPBD: draft Regional Budget; APBD: Regional Budget; RKA OPD: OPD's Work and Budget Plan

Under the Instruction of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 70 of 2021[31], provinces whose RPJMD period ended in 2022 must prepare a Provincial Development Plan (RPD) for 2023–2026. Gorontalo and Aceh provinces are among the six study locations required to prepare the 2023–2026 RPD. The RPD is aligned with the RPJMN and RPJPD, and serves as a reference for the formulating OPD's *renstra*.

Law No. 25 of 2004 and the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 86 of 2017 highlight the imperative of community participation, including the involvement of CSOs in regional development planning processes. Specifically, the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 86 of 2017 mandates regional governments to ensure the meaningful and systematic engagement of marginalized groups in development planning, thereby integrating their perspectives into public policy formulation. CSOs may contribute to preparing the RPJPD, RPJMD, and RKPD through public consultation mechanisms, such as the public consultation forum (FKP) and development planning

[31] on the Preparation of Regional Development Planning Documents for Regions with Regional Head Whose Term of Office Ends in 2022

meetings *(musrenbang).* Furthermore, CSOs may contribute through FKP during the formulation of the RPD. For the OPD renstra and renja, CSOs may engage through the OPD forum at the respective organizational level. As part of collaborative governance, the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 5 of 2017[32] designates the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) as the lead institution responsible for organizing FKP and *musrenbang*, and for coordinating with other regional agencies. The nomenclature of Bappeda may vary across study locations.

According to the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 86 of 2017, local governments must complete the RPJPD and RPJMD with a Strategic Environmental Assessment (KLHS), which integrates sustainable development principles into the development planning process. Furthermore, the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 7 of 2018[33] stipulates that the KLHS drafting team should involve various stakeholders, including CSOs. Under this regulation, Bappeda, in collaboration with the regional secretariat and environmental agency, leads the KLHS formulation by coordinating and facilitating stakeholder engagement throughout the process.

Law No. 23 of 2014 provides the legal foundation for institutionalizing community participation in regional planning and development processes. The law obliges regional governments to actively promote public engagement in planning and budgeting, recognizing participation as a critical component of governance. Such participation may include public consultations, deliberative forums, strategic partnerships, submission of public aspirations, community-based monitoring, and other forms of involvement in accordance with existing laws and regulations. In support of this mandate, Government Regulation No. 45 of 2017, issued as a derivative of Law No. 23 of 2014, requires local governments to facilitate community involvement in drafting preliminary development documents and during the *musrenbang* for the RPJPD, RPJMD, and RKPD.

4.1.2 Regulations on the Regional Budgeting Process

Law No. 17 of 2003[34], Government Regulation No. 12 of 2019[35], and the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 77 of 2020[36] provide the legal and implementation framework for regional development budgeting. The RKPD serves as the primary reference for formulating the RAPBD. Guided by the RKPD, the regional government budget team (TAPD) prepares the General Budget Policy (KUA) and Temporary Budget Priorities and Ceilings (PPAS), which are subsequently deliberated and agreed upon by the regional head and the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD). The KUA-PPAS becomes the fiscal parameters for OPD when drafting their respective Work and Budget Plan (RKA OPD). TAPD conducts a technical and strategic review of the RKA OPD to ensure coherence with the approved KUA-PPAS and alignment with performance indicators. Following this review, the regional government

[32] on the Guidelines for the Nomenclature of Provincial and *Kabupaten/Kota* Apparatuses Performing Supporting Functions in the Administration of Government Affairs
[33] on the Formulation and Implementation of Strategic Environmental Assessment in the Preparation of Regional Medium-Term Development Plans
[34] on State Finance
[35] on Regional Financial Management
[36] on Technical Guidelines for Regional Financial Management

prepares the regional regulation on Regional Budget (perda on APBD) and the regulation of the regional head on the detailed APBD. Once enacted, the APBD and the detailed APBD become the legal and operational basis for preparing budget execution documents for each OPD (Figure 5).

Regulations on regional finance position the community as both beneficiaries and active participants in the budgeting process. Government Regulation No. 12 of 2019 and the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 77 of 2020 underscore that regional financial management must be oriented toward delivering tangible public benefits. Law No. 23 of 2014 and Government Regulation No. 45 of 2017 establish the legal framework for public participation in regional development budgeting. These provisions require regional governments to promote inclusive public participation in formulating the KUA-PPAS. Participation may involve submitting aspirations, joining public consultations, or contributing to forums on the draft KUA-PPAS. Moreover, the public may attend DPRD forums where the draft KUA-PPAS is discussed.

4.1.3 CSO Participation in the Regional Planning and Budgeting

Although the regulatory framework formally supports CSO participation in regional development planning, empirical evidence from the study indicates that such inclusion remains selective. At the provincial level, CSO involvement in FKP and musrenbang is often limited to government-recognized CSOs with formal legal status, perceived technical capacity, established relationships with government actors, or institutional affiliations. A similar pattern is observed in OPD forums and KLHS drafting teams. Only CSOs with programmatic collaborations or those recognized by OPDs are actively invited to participate.

The study finds varying levels of CSOs engagement. While some CSOs are regularly invited to participate in provincial planning processes, others are only occasionally involved and several are excluded entirely. Participation also differs by administrative level: some CSOs are more active at the provincial level, while others engage more in *kabupaten/kota* or village planning processes.

Provincial governments often lack comprehensive and up-to-date databases of CSOs and face significant budget constraints, which further hinder meaningful CSO inclusion.

> **During FKP, due to budget constraints, only a few representatives are invited, such as representatives from civil society organizations [and] disability groups** (Informant 71, male, FGD)

Many CSOs are skeptical about their involvement in planning, perceiving it as a procedural formality aimed merely at fulfilling regulatory obligations rather than a platform for enabling substantive engagement. Several CSOs reported being invited only after plans had already been finalized, leaving little to no room for meaningful input. The predominance of technocratic procedures and political bargaining in planning and budgeting processes further marginalizes CSOs. Final decisions typically rest with executive and legislative bodies, whose agendas often reflect institutional or political

interests rather than community priorities. As a result, the process remains largely top-down, with limited room for participatory, community-driven contributions.

> **Ideally, we should be involved in the early stages, providing input and identifying strategic issues that must be incorporated. Later, we should be invited again to review the outcomes and assess whether our concerns have been accommodated. But that does not happen. ... Instead, every year, the discussions remain the same, the process remains the same, and nothing changes.** (Informant 37, female, FGD)

> **We are often presented with finalized plans that are difficult to change. We hope to be invited and to ensure a focus on GEDSI perspectives. In budget planning, inclusive programs are not considered. We have voiced our concerns repeatedly, but in every musrenbang, in the end, persons with disabilities are only left with leftovers.** (Informant 28, male, FGD)

Community participation in regional development planning also encounters regulatory challenges. In the sample areas of the study, no regional regulations specify the technical procedures for facilitating public involvement in planning, despite Law No. 23 of 2014 mandating that mechanisms for community participation in development planning are further elaborated through regional regulations aligned with national guidelines.

The study's findings reveal that the budgeting process remains predominantly exclusive to regional executive and legislative bodies across all surveyed provinces. CSOs are systematically excluded from budget deliberations, as budget discussions are considered confidential and closed to public participation. This institutional stance limits opportunities for external input or oversight by CSOs.

> **For CSOs, being involved in budgeting discussions is difficult because many budgets are confidential. Budget data cannot be published.** (Informan 3, Perempuan, FGD)

This limited participation is also closely tied to regulatory shortcomings. Nowadays, no regulations comprehensively govern the technical mechanisms for public involvement in regional budgeting. This results in a lack of awareness among provincial governments and CSOs regarding the public's participatory rights in fiscal planning. Although Government Regulation No. 45 of 2017 provides a legal mandate for public participation in regional budgeting, it has not been followed up with implementing technical regulations that would enable its operationalization. Moreover, the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 86 of 2017, which details regional planning procedures, does not include provisions on public participation in budgeting. This regulatory misalignment is partly attributable to the sequence of enactment: the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No.

86 of 2017, as a technical regulation, was issued before Government Regulation No. 45 of 2017, thereby excluding key participatory elements introduced later.

4.1.4 CSO Access to Regional Planning and Budget Documents

Law No. 14 of 2008[37] and the Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 2 of 2014[38] guarantee transparency in public data and information. The Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs Regulation No. 3 of 2017[39] further strengthens the guidelines for managing information and documentation services within regional governments.

Specifically, Government Regulation No. 45 of 2017 requires regional governments to disseminate planning and budget documents—including the RPJPD, RPJMD, OPD's *renstra and renja*, and RKPD—to encourage public participation. The drafts of KUA-PPAS may be shared via information systems, the media, or notice boards. Government Regulation No. 12 of 2019 also supports public access to budget documents, mandating access to regional financial information. This regulation upholds transparency as a core principle. Regional governments must ensure that financial information related to budget, budget execution, and financial reporting is readily accessible to the public.

However, study findings show that CSO access to planning and budget documents remains limited across all study areas. Access to draft planning documents is typically granted only to CSOs that are invited and participating in FKP or musrenbang. Budget documents are closed and developed without CSO or public participation, preventing CSOs' access to the draft budget documents.

The public can access officially enacted planning and budget documents, which may be obtained through formal offline requests to regional government agencies or via online government portals. However, the accessibility, completeness, and timeliness of these documents vary significantly across provinces. CSOs frequently encounter barriers such as the unavailability of documents for public access, unclear procedures for obtaining documents, technical limitations of digital platforms, and slow responses from government officials. Consequently, many CSOs must rely on informal networks or personal connections to obtain the necessary planning and budget information.

> **"Regional regulations are public documents accessible to the general public, as they primarily contain sectoral and planning information. However, RKPD documents are typically published only with their cover pages, while access to their full content and details requires direct contact with Bappeda due to concerns over potential misuse. The RKPD work plans include detailed information, such as subactivities and budget allocations, whereas the RPJMD primarily outlines policy directions."** (Informant 3, female, in-depth interview)

[37] on Public Information Openness
[38] the Management of the Documentation and Legal Information Network (JDIH) of the Ministry of Home Affairs and Regional Governments
[39] on the Guidelines for the Management of Information and Documentation Services in the Ministry of Home Affairs and Regional Governments

4.2 Challenges Faced by the Provincial Government in Realizing CSO Recommendations

4.2.1 Fiscal Constraints and Limited Budgets

Provincial governments have faced challenges due to fiscal constraints and limited budgetary capacity. Between 2020 and 2024, most of the provinces in the study sample demonstrated low to very low fiscal capacity (Table 7).

Table 7. Regional Fiscal Capacity, 2020–2024

Year	Aceh	NTB	NTT	Maluku	Gorontalo	North Kalimantan
2020	0,220	0,318	0,786	0,189	0,103	0,302
2021	0,303	0,408	0,454	0,218	0,160	0,294
2022	1,789	1,465	1,470	1,796	1,350	1,841
2023	1,049	1,375	1,505	1,498	1,421	2,347
2024	0,849	1,241	1,221	1,360	1,279	2,431

Source: adapted from the Regulation of the Minister for Finance No. 120/PMK.07/2020, Regulation of the Minister for Finance No. 116/PMK.07/2021, Regulation of the Minister for Finance No. 193/PMK.07/2022, Regulation of the Minister for Finance No. 84 of 2023, and Regulation of the Minister for Finance No. 65 of 2024, all of which are on the Map of Regional Fiscal Capacities.
Note: = very low = low = middle = high = very high

Fiscal constraints and limited budgets significantly hindered the provincial governments' ability to finance regional development initiatives effectively. Major expenditure commitments, such as undertaking disaster response, managing the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic, organizing the National Sports Week (PON) events, and administering elections, further strained already limited fiscal resources.

> **Sometimes, we have prepared the plans but cannot get the budget, because the money is not available.** (Informant 4, male, in-depth Interview)

> **Our fiscal condition depends heavily on the central government, so our flexibility is minimal. The General Allocation Funds [DAU] are block grants and specific grants. However, all specific grants are centrally regulated, with predetermined allocations for particular activities, leaving regional governments with no discretion over their use.** (Informant 71, male, FGD)

> **COVID-19 worsened the situation, even though recovery is now visible. However, many sectors are struggling to recover quickly.** (Informant 2, female, in-depth Interview)

Due to financial challenges, regional governments face significant human resource gaps in functions related to GEDSI. Budgetary limitations constrain their ability to recruit specialized personnel, weakening institutional capacity to implement GEDSI-related recommendations proposed by CSOs.

> **Idealnya satu pekerja sosial mendampingi empat orang..Kondisinya saat ini satu orang pekerja sosial menangani 10 orang dan ini menjadi kurang maksimal untuk pendampingan. Belum lagi kondisi di Pusat Layanan Sosial, pekerja sosialnya satu, perawat masih minim, psikolog tidak ada, ini menjadi tantangan. Musrenbang jadi tempat memberikan masukan ke pemerintah provinsi tentang kebutuhan sumberdaya manusia..namun lagi-lagi terkendala oleh anggaran yang masih minim** (Informan 55, Laki-laki, FGD)

4.2.2 Limited Understanding of GEDSI Issues among Regional Government Staff

Regional government staff's understanding of GEDSI varies widely. Many staff members, including those involved in development planning and budgeting, lack knowledge of GEDSI principles and how to integrate them into planning and budgeting processes. Financial constraints hinder the implementation of capacity-building training.

> **Gender-responsive budget is significantly related to knowledge. … Every local organization has developed its budget, but they do not know whether the budget is gender-responsive or not.** (Informant 30, male, in-depth interview)

> **Capacity building should be conducted regularly every year. However, funding constraints make it difficult to support this initiative.** (Informant 36, female, FGD)

Additionally, knowledge transfer between trained personnel and other staff is inconsistent, and access to training opportunities is unequal. Job transfers and rotations further disrupt knowledge retention, as trained personnel are frequently reassigned to different departments.

> **Planners are trained in developing gender-responsive programs and activities. However, trained staff are often relocated or reassigned to different institutions. New personnel replace those who attended the initial training in subsequent sessions.** (Informant 32, female, FGD)

4.2.3 Lack of Cross-Sectoral Collaboration in GEDSI Mainstreaming

Cross-sectoral collaboration on GEDSI mainstreaming remains limited, as many regional government entities do not see it as a priority requiring a coordinated, multi-sectoral response. Commitment to GEDSI mainstreaming varies across OPD and frequent leadership turnover often disrupts policy continuity. When newly appointed officials lack commitment to GEDSI principles, prior initiatives are often deprioritized or abandoned, undermining sustained progress.

> **A change in leadership is like starting over from scratch, disrupting program continuity. Political considerations in staff rotations and reassignments can have detrimental effects, as these decisions often overlook professional capacity in relevant fields.** (Informant 48, male, FGD)

> **The key issue in GEDSI is the commitment of regional government leaders. Budget allocation decisions for each regional department ultimately rest with its respective leader. If the leaders understand the importance of GEDSI, it will be prioritized.** (Informant 19, male, in-depth Interview)

4.2.4 Division of Authority between Provincial and Kabupaten/Kota Governments

Jurisdictional boundaries between provincial and kabupaten/kota governments pose significant challenges. Government Regulation No. 38 of 2007[40] delineates governmental functions with strict administrative clarity, thereby limiting the ability of provincial governments to respond to recommendations that fall outside their jurisdiction. CSOs, which are sometimes unaware of these institutional boundaries, frequently submit recommendations that exceed the scope of government provincial authority. These situations result in misaligned expectations and unaddressed development needs.

> **Our jurisdiction is at the provincial level; we do not have direct authority over community-level matters, as those fall under the kabupaten/kota governments.** (Informant 6, female, FGD)

> **During the verification process, we always assess whether the proposed initiatives fall within our jurisdiction. If the recommended activities are outside our mandate, they cannot be implemented.** (Informant 4, male, FGD

[40] on the Division of Government Affairs between the Central Government, Provincial Governments, and *Kabupaten/Kota* Governments

> **The provincial government does not help our foundation. They say, 'We are helping the older persons in the institution', [whereas] our foundation [works with the older persons] outside the institution. So the provincial government could not help us, [as] it is the domain of the kabupaten/kota government. … The provincial government has the money, but if they help [us], it will become [an audit] finding**. (Informant 7, male, in-depth Interview)

4.2.5 Misalignment between CSO Recommendations and RPJMD/RKPD Targets

Recommendations submitted by CSOs often do not align with the targets and priorities articulated in the RPJMD or RKPD. This situation presents substantial challenges for policy implementation. Recommendations that fall outside the scope of these official planning documents are generally deemed ineligible for implementation or public funding, thereby reducing their potential to influence public policy.

This misalignment primarily stems from CSOs' limited understanding of the technocratic processes underpinning regional planning and budgeting. Specifically, many CSOs lack knowledge of the procedural requirements for submitting recommendations, the vision and mission of the regional head, the distribution of authorities across levels of government, regional priorities, and the budgetary entry points relevant to their recommendations. The knowledge gap substantially undermines their capacity to engage meaningfully in government planning mechanisms and contribute to evidence-based and structured policy formulation.

> **Sometimes, they [CSOs] meet with our leaders and provide input directly without first reviewing the relevant documents, even though all the necessary information is already there. This is why discussions and FGDs with them are essential—to help them understand what falls within the authority of the provincial government and what does not.** (Informant 3, female, in-depth interview)

> **They [CSOs] believe that their recommendations must be accepted. However, they are unaware of the regulations and the budgeting process. Additionally, CSOs do not have a comprehensive understanding of the rules regarding governmental authority.** (Informant 4, male, FGD)

> **Sometimes, the community's needs [aspired by CSOs] are not included in the regional government's information system, making them impossible to implement.** (Informant 8, male, FGD)

Box 5. Regulatory Barriers in Mainstreaming GEDSI and Inclusive Musrenbang

Provincial governments argue that the absence of a regulatory mandate for inclusive musrenbang undermines efforts to institutionalize participatory and inclusive planning and budgeting processes. Furthermore, existing regulations do not explicitly obligate local governments to oversee the mainstreaming of GEDSI within these processes, resulting in limited accountability and institutional commitment.

I am questioning the legal basis for implementing inclusive musrenbang because the RKPD process should be derived from regulations issued by the Minister for Home Affairs. (Informant 4, male, FGD)

So, we do not have any subactivities explicitly designated for GEDSI—none. This is because our primary focus is on meeting the minimum service standards. (Informant 8, male, in-depth interview)

Source: SMERU in-depth interview

4.3 The Trust and Confidence of CSOs in the Provincial Government

A survey was carried out to measure the level of trust CSO respondents have in the provincial government's ability to plan and budget in ways that meet the needs of marginalized groups. Table 8 summarizes the characteristics of the CSO officials that responded.

Table 8. Summary of CSO Respondents' Characteristics across the Six Provinces

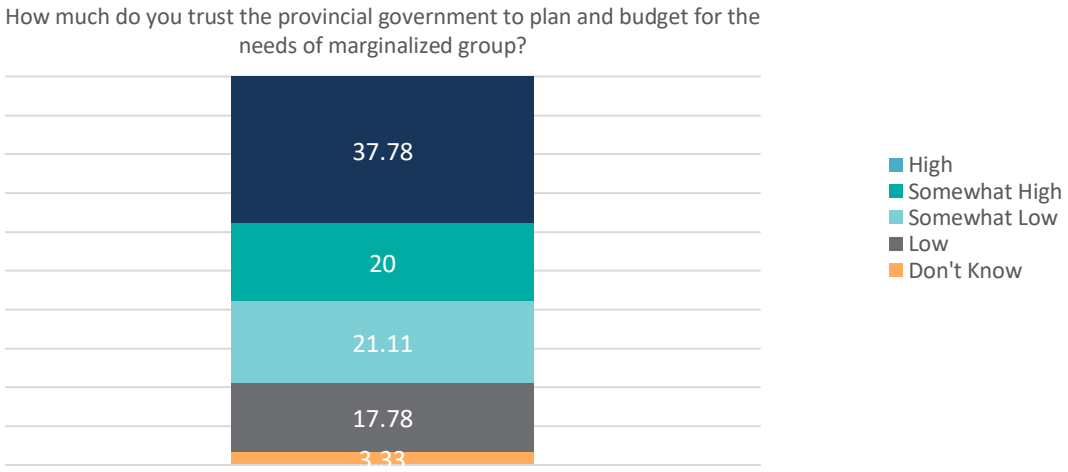
Characteristic	Overall	Female	Male
Number of respondents	**90**	**54**	**36**
Average age (mean, SD[a])	**39,74 (12,80)**	**38,79 (13,07)**	**41,16 (12,44)**
Min (years)	20	20	22
Max (years)	77	75	77
Disability status (%)			
No disability	75,56	79,63	69,44
With disability	24,44	20,37	30,56
Average working duration (mean, SD)	**82,05 (76,61)**	**82,98 (74,44)**	**80,66 (80,81)**

Characteristic	Overall	Female	Male
Less than 12 months (%)	**10,00**	**12,96**	**5,56**
Min (months)	1	1	6
Max (months)	302	259	302
Education level (%)			
Did not complete elementary school	1,11	1,85	0
Completed elementary school	0	0	0
Completed junior secondary school	1,11	1,85	0
Completed senior high school	15,56	14,81	16,67
Completed diploma	3,33	1,85	5,56
Completed bachelor's degree	58,89	57,41	61,11
Completed master's/doctoral degree	20,00	22,22	16,67

Source: SMERU survey, 2024
[a]SD: standard deviation

The survey showed a generally positive level of trust. Figure 6 depicts that the majority of respondents (37.78%) indicated a "high" level of trust, followed by 21.11% who showed "somewhat high" trust. Those with "low" trust made up 17.78%, while 20% reported "somewhat low" trust. Only a small percentage (3.33%) responded with "don't know." Further analysis revealed no significant differences in trust levels based on respondents' gender or average length of work experience. These results indicate that, regardless of gender and length of work experience, CSO personnel showed a positive level of trust in the provincial government.

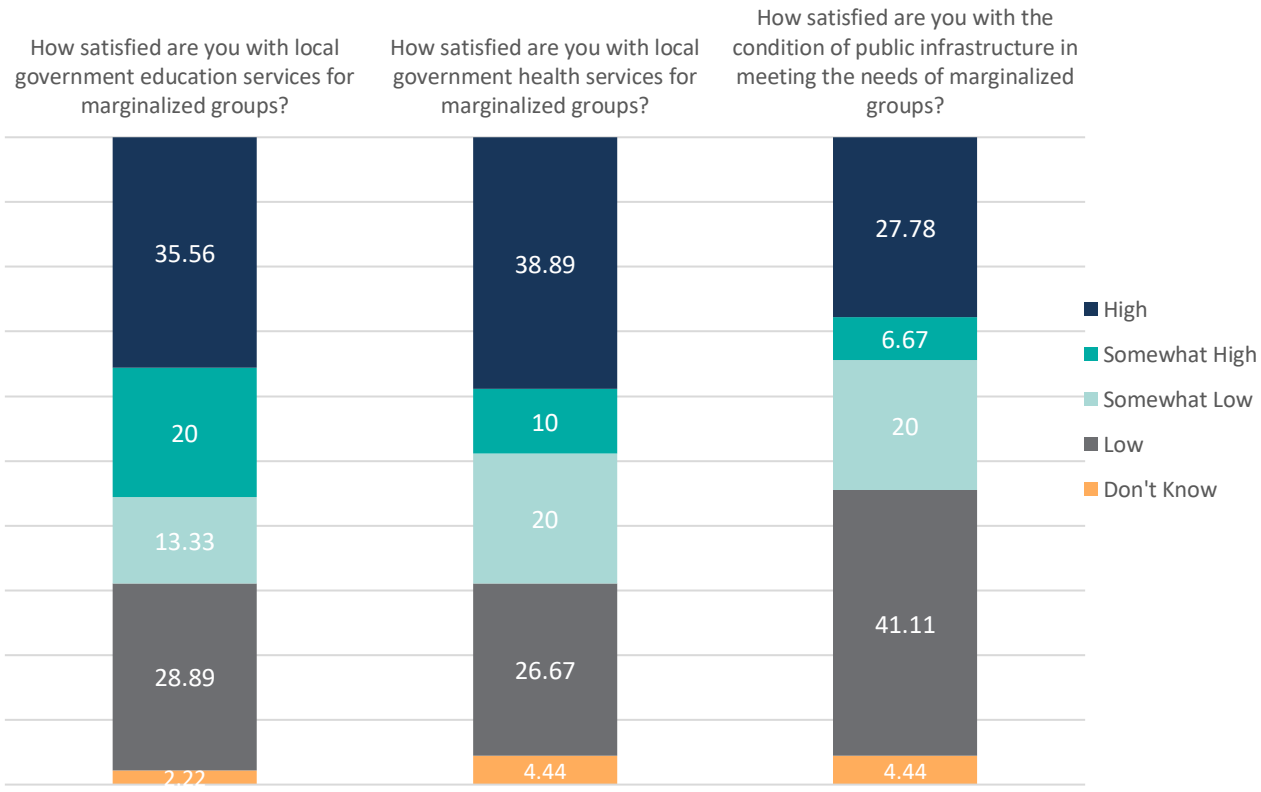
Figure 6. CSOs' Level of Trust in the Provincial Government



Source: SMERU survey, 2024

The survey also measured CSOs' satisfaction levels with provincial government services for marginalized groups across the six provinces. Figure 7 shows that CSOs were most satisfied with health services (38.89% reported "high" satisfaction), followed by education services (35.56% indicated "high"). Satisfaction levels with public infrastructure that meets the needs of marginalized groups were considerably lower, with only 27.78% reporting "high" satisfaction and 41.11% expressing "low" satisfaction. Overall, the survey suggests that while satisfaction with education and health services is generally positive, there is significant room for improvement in public infrastructure to better meet the needs of marginalized groups.

Figure 7. CSOs' Level of Satisfaction with Provincial Government Services



Source: SMERU survey, 2024

Table 9 shows that most CSOs have high confidence in the provincial government's willingness to consider planning input. This confidence comes from positive interactions with the government, which generally responds well to their suggestions. However, qualitative findings indicate that final decisions depend on budget availability, policy alignment, the regional government's authority, and

priorities. CSOs acknowledge SKALA's role in facilitating the delivery of their concerns and recommendations to the regional government.

> **Input cannot be implemented for various reasons, including policy constraints, budget limitations, and misalignment with current government priorities, requiring time for follow-up. If it is about accepting proposals, they will undoubtedly be received. However, the real issue is whether the proposals are acted upon or not. … The acceptance of a proposal depends on the issue itself and how significant it is to the local government.** (Informant 16, female, in-depth interview)

> **SKALA once mentioned that the important thing for CSOs is to move forward and voice their concerns during the musrenbang, while SKALA will take care of the rest. … SKALA will facilitate and open pathways for the government to become more receptive** (Informant 22, female, in-depth interview).

Table 9. CSOs' Level of Confidence in the Provincial Government's Willingness to Accept Planning Input and Collaborate with CSOs

Category	CSOs' Level of Confidence in the Provincial Government's Willingness to Accept Planning Input	CSOs' Level of Confidence in the Provincial Government's Willingness to Collaborate with CSOs
High (7–10)	17	17
Somewhat high (6)	5	4
Somewhat low (5)	6	3
Low (0–4)	4	7
No response	2	2
N	34	34

Source: SMERU in-depth interview, 2024

CSOs also demonstrated high confidence in the provincial government's willingness to collaborate in mainstreaming GEDSI in planning (Table 9). This high level of confidence is attributed to the perception that the provincial government remains open to collaboration as a viable alternative in the face of limited resources.

> **So far, the local government has been quite willing to collaborate; there is always room for discussion. … The provincial government lacks sufficient resources for technical matters and must meet performance targets. Thus, collaboration becomes a strategic choice.** . (Informant 34, male, in-depth interview).

However, some CSOs expressed a lack of confidence in the provincial government's willingness to collaborate due to various challenges, particularly related to funding.

> **When the collaboration is funded by the CSO, the local government is enthusiastic and eager to participate. However, when the funding is expected to come from the local government, they tend to reject it with various justifications, such as saying that they will try, that the process is ongoing, and so on.** (Informant 16, female, in-depth interview)

> **The government is generally supportive of collaboration. However, many obstacles exist, such as the government's lack of budget allocation.** (Informant 49, male, in-depth interview)

V. CSOs and Quality GEDSI Advocacy in Planning and Budgeting

Advocacy for GEDSI mainstreaming by CSOs is a dynamic and multifaceted process. It is influenced by their ability to build and maintain their engagement with subnational governments. This section elaborates on the factors that shape GEDSI-focused CSOs' capacity to engage meaningfully with subnational governments, as well as the challenges they face in their advocacy journey.

5.1 CSOs' Institutional Capacity to Deliver Quality Advocacy

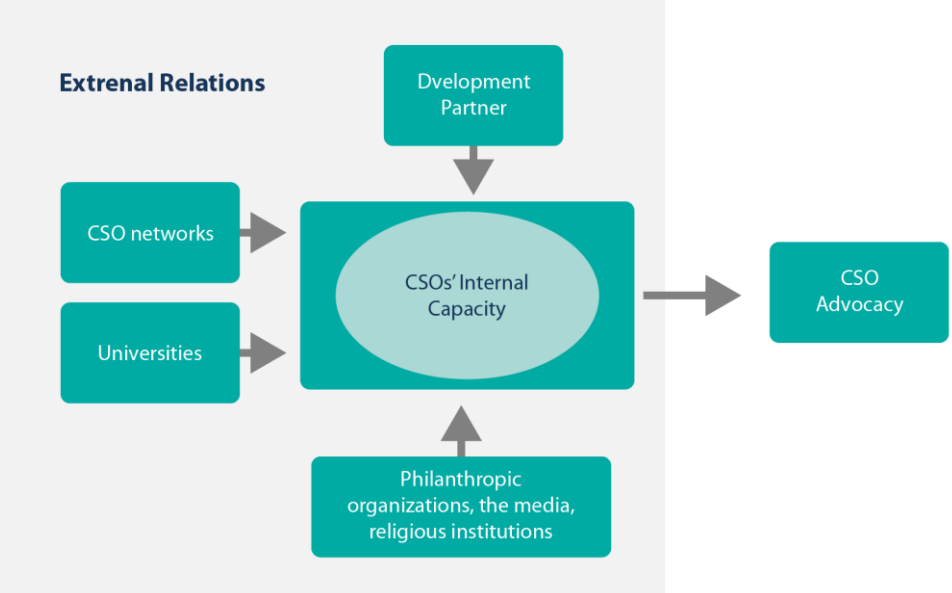
The capability to build and maintain consistent partnerships with provincial governments varies among CSOs. While some have managed to sustain their engagement, others have experienced fluctuating levels of interaction. Most CSOs in our study reported stronger engagement with subprovincial governments often because the responsibility for specific GEDSI issues lies at that level.

Box 6. Government Recognition: A Pathway to Planning and Budgeting

Funding from the development partners can enhance CSOs' recognition and visibility in policy advocacy. When CSOs are recognized and visible to government entities, they are more likely to be included in formal planning and budgeting processes. While recognition creates pathways for CSO advocacy, collaboration needs to be fostered through continuous engagement with the government.

CSOs' ability to build and sustain their engagement with subnational governments is shaped by both their internal capacity and the influence of external enabling actors. While internal capacity—encompassing the skills of individual members and the overall strength of the organization—is essential, it is not enough to guarantee effective advocacy. External support from development partners, CSO networks, universities, philanthropic organizations, and, in some instances, religious institutions plays a crucial role in enabling CSOs to deliver quality advocacy (Figure 8).

Figure 8. CSOs' Organizational Capacity: Internal Capacity and External Relations



Source: SMERU in-depth interviews and FGDs

5.1.1 CSOs' Internal Capacity to Deliver Quality Advocacy

The study's sample CSOs use various institutional resources to engage with GEDSI stakeholders at both the national and subnational levels. Experience and expertise have enabled CSOs to drive change in subnational government policies and regulations related to GEDSI. Our findings show that many CSOs have been involved in formulating subnational-level regulations, such as regional regulations/Islamic bylaws (qanun) on disability and violence handling, the Regional Action Plan for Gender Mainstreaming (RAD PUG), and the Regional Action Plan for Disability (RAD PD). In NTT, for example, CSO 738 was involved in formulating the KLHS mandated by Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 7 of 2018 on the Formulation and Implementation of Strategic Environmental Assessments in the Preparation of Regional Medium-Term Development Plans.

CSOs often leverage their knowledge of relevant regulations to conduct direct advocacy. In Gorontalo and NTB, for example, CSOs used regulations, such as Law No. 8 of 2016, to approach higher education institutions and the private sector to advocate for inclusive education and employment for persons with disabilities. In addition, CSOs focusing on gender issues often refer to Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes and Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence as legal foundations for advocating government intervention in cases of violence.

> **Knowledge of regulations and policies is very important because that is what is used in advocacy. For example, [in] the [case of] uneven distribution of inclusive schools in NTB, ... we collect data on which schools have not accepted students with disabilities, and we advocate for this with the school principals. We mention that the laws exist, [and] the regional regulations exist.** (Informant 25, male, in-depth interview)

CSOs' capacity to collect and analyze simple primary and secondary data on GEDSI has proven an important tool for evidence-based advocacy. Our findings reveal that CSOs utilize data in various ways: informing provincial agency programs, contributing to academic drafts of GEDSI regulations, drafting funding proposals to subnational governments and philanthropic organizations, providing input for the Annual Notes on Violence against Women (CATAHU), and supporting internal organizational needs. Many CSOs recognize that providing data to government agencies is essential, as they often may lack up-to-date data and the necessary information for effective policymaking, creating a critical space for CSOs to contribute.

> **One government agency [we know] failed to obtain data on cases of violence that occurred in Islamic boarding schools *[pesantren],* [so] they contacted us. We had data [on violence in *pesantren* that we collected] through media tracking; the media had direct access. If we use government data, it is a mess.** (Informant 67, male, in-depth interview)

> **Data is important so we do not make false assumptions. Data [from the government] is not updated, so [it is] less accurate.** (Informant 48, male, FGD CSO)

Sumber daya nyata juga memperkuat kemampuan OMS untuk berinteraksi dengan pemerintah subnasional. OMS GEDSI di Aceh, NTB, dan Maluku, misalnya, memanfaatkan rumah aman milik mereka sendiri untuk mendukung Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (DPPPA) setempat dalam melindungi perempuan dan anak korban kekerasan. Di Aceh, kolaborasi tersebut mendorong DPPPA untuk mendirikan rumah aman mereka sendiri.

> **Before we [the OPD] had our own shelter, we used to entrust our victims to one of the NGOs that provided safe home.** (Informant 6, male, in-depth interview)

The availability of volunteers significantly strengthens CSO's capacity to advocate for GEDSI mainstreaming. While their contributions may be temporary, volunteers provide invaluable support, particularly in assisting survivors of violence, offering legal aid, facilitating program implementation, and campaigning for GEDSI issues. These volunteers come from diverse backgrounds, such as university law students (paralegals) and village youth, bringing a variety of skills and perspectives to the work of CSOs. The knowledge and skills transferred from CSOs to their cadres ensure wider reach and impact, context-specific advocacy, and long-term sustainability, which are especially important given CSOs' frequent staffing and financial challenges. In Maluku, where the islands are geographically dispersed, CSO advocacy efforts depend heavily on cadre or volunteer support to remain financially viable.

> **Human resources [are] the biggest support. ... Why it [CSO] can exist until now is because of its human resources. Even though there are no donors, [and] even though there is no budget support from outside, it still exists. Its existence is indeed because of its human resources.** (Informant 17, female, in-depth interview)

CSOs' capacity to conduct indirect advocacy, such as online campaigns to raise community awareness and disseminate their work, often depends on digitally savvy individuals within the organization. CSOs with youth activists among their members are particularly adept at leveraging social media for such advocacy. This online presence not only enhances CSOs' visibility among potential donors and development partners but also often unlocks access to diverse resources, ultimately helping CSOs build stronger capital for their broader advocacy efforts.

5.1.2 Enabling Actors Supporting CSOs' Capacity to Deliver Quality Advocacy

The robust presence of various enabling actors serves as a crucial catalyst for effective advocacy. Across the six provinces, CSO networks emerged as particularly significant. These networks provide valuable platforms for CSOs to collaborate—exchanging knowledge on emerging issues, sharing data and funding information, and conducting capacity-building activities. Such collaborative efforts contribute significantly to strengthening CSOs' capacity to deliver high-quality advocacy. In some cases, CSOs frequently leverage these network connections to amplify their impact when advocating for stronger responses to violence against women and children, collectively pressing authorities for more decisive action. For example, through a CSO network called Gerak Bersama Perempuan Maluku (Women's

Solidarity Movement of Maluku), GEDSI-focused CSOs in Maluku engage in confrontational advocacy to urge stronger law enforcement in cases of violence against women.

Development partners also play an important role in facilitating CSO engagement with subnational governments, particularly for newly established DPOs. In the six study provinces, development partners such as SKALA have helped expedite the formulation of GEDSI-related regulations and increased CSO participation in the process.

> **The impact of SKALA, because it is still new, cannot yet be fully measured. But one of the impacts is producing a regional regulation within three months** (Informant 32, female, in-depth interview)

Universities can also play a crucial role in facilitating and strengthening CSO engagement with regional governments, as regional governments often place greater trust in academic institutions than in CSOs. Furthermore, the involvement of academics in CSO membership strengthens their ability to provide robust, research-based evidence in support of their advocacy efforts. Experts and legal aid from universities also prove to be important resources for CSOs.

> **It depends on the capacity of the CSOs—some are already quite good. Those who are heard more are mostly academics, even though academics also use data from CSOs. There is a trust issue. They [CSOs] entrust their data to academics to be conveyed to the government.** (Informant 40, female, in-depth interview)

CSOs also leverage diverse partnerships with philanthropic organizations, religious institutions, and the media to enhance their advocacy efforts. In North Kalimantan, the National Board of Zakat (BAZNAS) enabled CSO 353 to bridge a critical gap by funding the return of domestic violence survivors to their families, a service not provided by the local Regional Technical Implementation Unit (UPTD). In Maluku, a collaboration between CSO 586 and a local church established a vital safe haven for survivors of violence, demonstrating the power of inter-institutional cooperation.

5.2 Challenges Faced by CSOs in Delivering Quality Advocacy

CSOs face various challenges when advocating for GEDSI mainstreaming. These include internal issues, such as a lack of human resources and limited financial capacity. To a certain extent, these constraints influence CSOs' capability to deliver quality advocacy. This study identifies two main types of barriers: internal and external.

5.2.1 Barriers to CSOs' Internal Capacity

a) Slow Cadre Development: A Threat to CSO Sustainability

Human resources are critical to the success of CSOs, particularly in engaging effectively with regional governments. However, many CSOs in this study face limitations regarding human resources, particularly due to slow cadre development. They reported difficulties with personnel recruitment and retention, citing the nonprofit nature of CSO work as less attractive to young people.

> **Not everyone has the opportunity to do good. We have the opportunity to do so. That is the motivation that we can give so that they will stay. The strength of humanitarian work lies in that [doing good].** (Informant 20, female, in-depth interview)

The presence of youth personnel is particularly important, as they are often described as "catalysts for various social innovation" (Dezelan and Yurttaguler, 2021). Our findings reveal that among the 30 CSOs surveyed, those with youth staff members tend to have a stronger social media presence. With social media being the most effective way of disseminating information (McKell, 2020), CSOs can reach a larger audience to promote their advocacy.

b) Limited Technocratic Knowledge

Basic knowledge of technocratic processes is essential for CSO to deliver effective advocacy to the government. However, our findings suggest that some CSOs, particularly DPOs, lack the necessary understanding of the planning and budgeting processes, including their purposes and mechanisms. Consequently, CSOs often find it difficult to provide meaningful input or engage in substantive discussions, even when invited to participate to the planning process.

> **We have never been involved in the budgeting process, so we do not know how it is planned: where it is going, what the goals are, [and] how the planning process works. Once we are invited, it is like being served a ready-made meal that we have to accept because we are hungry.** (Informant 25, male, FGD)

> **There is a fundamental issue: firstly, we are not involved. Most importantly, we do not know what the planning and budgeting processes are like in the government. The government needs to start thinking about how CSOs like us need to know how the government plans and budgets.** (Informant 39, male, FGD)

c) Lower Educational Attainment: A Barrier to DPO Advocacy

DPOs face additional challenges related to the educational attainments of their personnel. While many gender-focused CSOs have built strong institutions supported by well-educated staff, DPOs often struggle with staffing issues. Many staff members within these organizations have limited access to higher education and some may even lack Braille literacy. This lower level of education and poor literacy hinder their ability to navigate complex advocacy landscapes. While all disability types face challenges in accessing technology, the obstacles vary. For example, Deaf individuals may find proposal writing particularly challenging due to grammatical differences between sign and spoken languages, while those with visual impairments may struggle with mobility orientation.

5.2.2 Barriers to CSOs' External Relations

a) Limited Financial Capacity and Funding Opportunities

Shifting donor priorities have triggered a decline in funding, severely limiting the financial capacity of many CSOs. Heavily reliant on donor support for staff salaries, these organizations face persistent financial instability. This precariousness often forces personnel to seek alternative employment or supplementary income, especially upon program completion, compromising their full dedication to advocacy. Consequently, the quality of CSO advocacy work is inevitably jeopardized.

> **This is related to the contestation of issues. The issues we are dealing with are not necessarily in line with global issues, even though funding flows from there.** (Informant 61, 2 women, in-depth interview)

This global trend of diminishing donor funding poses a major threat to CSOs, driving them to scale back essential activities and pursue alternative funding streams (Thaker and Akbar, 2024). Ultimately, this financial strain directly impacts the vulnerable populations they serve, as highlighted by McDonough and Rodríguez (2020).

b) Reliance on Personal Connections

Personal connections with government officials can indeed provide valuable informal networks for policy advocacy. Our findings reveal that close ties with government officials benefit CSOs in several ways. They streamline access to official data and documents, which are essential for advocacy yet often difficult to obtain. Additionally, personal connections with government officials were reported to

enhance the effectiveness of CSOs' advocacy efforts, as they increase the likelihood of CSOs being invited to formal planning meetings.

> **Personal connections are important. ... So, institutions that have personal connections with the government or high-ranking officials have a strong bargaining position.** (Informant 34, male, in-depth interview)

However, over-reliance on such connections may pose significant sustainability risks for CSOs' engagement. The frequent rotation and reassignment of government personnel mean that CSOs heavily dependent on these relationships must constantly rebuild connections with new officials, hindering long-term advocacy efforts.

> **Our institution is often invited to government activities because we have personal ties with several agencies in Kabupaten [District of] Lombok Utara.** (Informant 49, male, in-depth interview)

c) Unhealthy Competition among CSOs

While most CSOs benefit from strong networks, some experience unhealthy competition. This can jeopardize CSOs' advocacy efforts, as they may focus more on their own interests than on collective voices. One informant reported that there remains organizational ego particularly between DPOs with different types of disability. For example, when an self-centered representative of a DPO attends a meeting, they will "silence" the vision and mission of other organizations. Such practices will foster conflicts of interest within DPOs, potentially hindering the sharing of vital disability rights information.

d) Geographical Constraints

Some regions have distinctive geographical contexts which make advocacy efforts challenging. For large and archipelagic provinces, such as North Kalimantan, Maluku, NTB, and NTT, high travel costs to smaller islands add to CSOs' financial constraints. On top of that, poor infrastructure, including poor internet connection in a remote area, poses communication and mobility constraints, especially for DPOs.

> **CSOs in remote areas remain excluded due to geographical factors. North Kalimantan is a vast region with a dispersed population and poor infrastructure. So far, CSOs collaborating with the regional government are those located not far from the provincial capital of North Kalimantan.** (Informant 4, male, in-depth interview)

e) Sociocultural Context

CSOs in several provinces also face challenges rooted in sociocultural norms. In Aceh and NTB, for example, gender—let alone LGBT—is considered a sensitive issue and often excluded from formal discussions. This presents a major barrier to CSOs' gender mainstreaming advocacy and thus social inclusion will remain a long way off.

> **[The issue of] LGBT is not allowed to be included. So, when we talk about gender, what comes up [in people's mind] is LGBT and so on. Our Islamic Law does not accommodate that. The gender aspect that we promote is related to vulnerable groups, children, and persons with disabilities.** (Informant 3, female, in-depth interview)

> **What is difficult is the movement to stop child marriage, even though it is collectively advocated. It is a tradition passed down for generations in the villages. It is the same as polygamy, especially when local leaders and religious leaders practice it. We cannot oppose polygamy, but what we do oppose and advocate against is violence potentially inflicted by polygamy.** (Informant 38, female, in-depth interview)

5.3 Provincial Government's Trust and Confidence in CSOs' Capability

A survey was carried out to measure the level of trust that provincial government officials have in CSOs that represent marginalized groups in their area. Table 10 presents the demographic characteristics of 18 respondents, disaggregated by gender, consisting of 9 females and 9 males. The average age of the respondents is 50.27 years, with an age range of 37 to 58 years for both genders.

The respondents' average length of work experience in their current position as government officials is 41.27 months (approximately 4 years). Notably, 22.22% of the respondents have less than 12 months of work experience, with this being more common among males (33.33%) than females (11.11%). The minimum work experience is 1 month for both genders, while the maximum is 162 months for females and 114 months for males.

In terms of education, 83.33% of the respondents hold a master's or doctoral degree, with a slightly higher percentage among males (88.89%) than females (77.78%). The remaining 16.67% have completed a bachelor's degree, with a slightly higher percentage among females (22.22%) than males (11.11%).

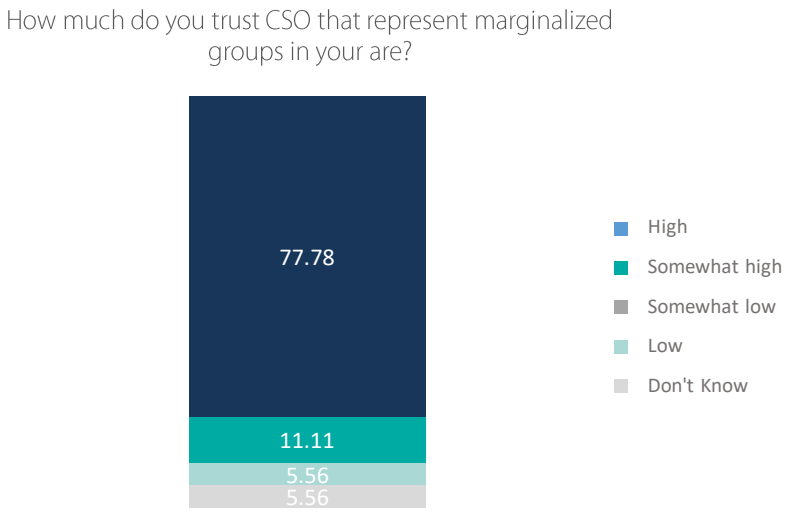
Table 10. Summary Characteristics of Respondents from Provincial Governments across Six Provinces

Characteristic	Overall	Female	Male
Number of respondents	**18**	**9**	**9**
Average age (mean, SD)	**50,27 (5,50)**	**52,55 (4,06)**	**48 (6,02)**
Minimum age (years)	37	46	37
Maximum age (years)	58	58	56
Average working experience (months, SD)	**41,27 (42,61)**	**51,77 (49,21)**	**30,77 (34,48)**
Less than 12 months (%)	**22,22**	**11,11**	**33,33**
Minimum work experience (months)	1	9	1
Maximum work experience (months)	162	162	114
Education level (%)			
Completed bachelor's degree	16,67	22,22	11,11
Completed master's/doctoral degree	83,33	77,78	88,89

Source: SMERU survey, 2024

The survey showed a generally positive level of trust. Figure 9 illustrates that the majority (78.95%) expressed "high" trust in these CSOs. Smaller percentages indicated "somewhat high" trust (10.53%), "low" trust (5.26%), and "somewhat low" trust (5.26%).

Figure 9. Provincial Governments' Overall Trust in CSOs



Source: SMERU survey, 2024

Similar to the level of trust, a majority of provincial governments officials demonstrated high confidence in the quality of CSOs' advocacy (Table 11). Of the 18 officials surveyed, 14 reported high confidence in CSOs. This positive perception of CSOs is likely driven by the support and facilitation provided by existing development partners. In the six study provinces, SKALA has played a crucial role in enhancing CSO participation in planning processes, which has contributed to provincial governments' confidence in their advocacy efforts. Beyond SKALA's intervention, CSOs' financial and nonfinancial resources, including data, as well as their established personal relations with government officials have also positively influenced provincial governments' confidence.

CSOs themselves also displayed strong self-confidence in their capability to advocate GEDSI mainstreaming. Out of 34 CSO personnel surveyed, 29 rated their confidence "high", while only 2 rated it "somewhat low". The reasons for their strong perception revolve around the organizations' internal capacity, including their experience and expertise in GEDSI, and personal relations with government officials that enhance their lobbying ability. Many CSOs also mentioned that they were open to collaboration with provincial governments when provided with meaningful opportunities for engagement.

Table 11. Provincial Governments' Confidence and CSOs' Self-Confidence in the CSOs' Capability to Deliver Advocacy

Category	Provincial Governments' Confidence in CSOs' Advocacy	CSOs' Self-Confidence in Their Own Advocacy
High (7–10)	14	29
Somewhat high (6)	2	0
Somewhat low (5)	1	2
Low (0–4)	0	0
No response	1	3
N	18	34

Source: SMERU in-depth interview

VI. Conclusion and Recommendations

This study aims to provide extended explanations in response to research questions posed. The questions include (i) the extent to which GEDSI-focused CSOs are capable of delivering quality advocacy for mainstreaming GEDSI in provincial planning and budgeting; (ii) levels of trust and confidence between CSOs and provincial governments; and (iii) improvement of CSOs' capacity for more effective advocacy and collaboration. Issues regarding CSOs' capacity building have also been extensively addressed in the provincial reports. This national report will then focus on findings related to the first two research questions. For the first research question, recommendations are categorized into GEDSI mainstreaming, provincial planning and budgeting, and CSOs' advocacy capacity. The recommendations are directed to both SKALA and the provincial government for every finding. For the second research question, its conclusion ends this chapter.

Firstly, the study finds that GEDSI mainstreaming continues to encounter structural barriers stemming from fragmented coordination, leading to problems in policy execution. Moreover, the absence of gender and disability action plans in some provinces indicates that integrating gender considerations in governance is still an issue. Equally important, the issue of regulations on older persons' welfare also remains unaddressed. Furthermore, inclusive and evidence-based policymaking is hindered by the lack of disaggregated data, limited capacity of provincial governments, and insufficient CSO engagement.

To address these regulatory issues, provincial governments should continue developing regional action plans on gender, disability, and older persons. The formulation of these regulations should inclusively involve local stakeholders, particularly CSOs. Many CSOs have advanced knowledge of recent GEDSI theories and concepts, which can be used to assist in the development of robust regulatory frameworks.

To accelerate GEDSI mainstreaming, SKALA can support provincial governments by providing technical assistance to enhance inclusive and evidence-based policymaking capacity. This includes strengthening skills in data collection, management, and analysis for both government officials and CSOs. These skills will enable them to use data for GEDSI policymaking. SKALA can also support gender mainstreaming through regular coordination meetings to enable inter-agency collaboration and promote knowledge-sharing among provincial government and CSO personnel. Considering the frequent staff rotations and transfers, SKALA can develop GEDSI training modules and standard operating procedures, preferably in video format, for onboarding new staff in government agencies.

Secondly, CSO participation in formal provincial-level planning is still limited, despite existing national regulations that ensure CSO engagement in regional planning process. CSO

engagement is still limited to formal planning at the village and kabupaten/kota levels and is mostly ceremonial rather than substantive. The gap between activities that CSOs recommend during the planning process and their implementation remains an issue. Some CSOs perceive their involvement as mere formality to comply with national regulations, lacking follow-up mechanisms. This can further reduce motivation to participate. To move toward meaningful participation, CSOs must acquire relevant competence. Moreover, access to documents is still restricted, particularly the draft versions.

If SKALA intends to strengthen CSO engagement at the provincial level and support meaningful CSO contributions to the formal planning process, it must foster collaboration between CSOs and provincial policymakers by establishing regular dialogues within CSO-government networks. CSOs' strong internal capacity and experience can enhance GEDSI policy advocacy. The platform will also increase CSOs' recognition and visibility so that their presence is within the radar of provincial governments. SKALA should also enhance collaborative networks exclusively among CSOs across the six provinces to enable knowledge sharing of best practices and advocacy efforts. It is also important to conduct capacity building to strengthen CSOs' capabilities, particularly in understanding technocratic issues and the use of data for effective policy advocacy. Equally important is addressing the issue of budget loops that CSOs can use to peg their recommendations. To support meaningful participation in the planning process, SKALA can conduct assessments of draft planning documents prior to CSO participation in the formal planning process. By doing this, CSO recommendations can fit within the technocratic format.

It is in the interest of provincial governments to conduct quality planning and budgeting processes; therefore, they should publish and disseminate public documents, including planning and budget documents; disaggregated GEDSI data; and GEDSI-related regulations, through accessible platforms. These documents are essential inputs for effective CSO advocacy. Provincial governments should ensure effective implementation of national regulations that support CSO participation in formal planning and budgeting processes. It is also essential to establish robust follow-up mechanisms to ensure that CSO contributions are valued and acted upon, moving beyond tokenistic participation.

Thirdly, the study finds that despite not being able to participate meaningfully in formal planning at the provincial level, many CSOs are able to contribute to the formulation of GEDSI policies and regulations by leveraging their experience, expertise, and regulatory knowledge. The effectiveness of CSO advocacy is strengthened by key enablers, such as CSO networks, development partners, universities, philanthropic organizations, and religious institutions. However, CSOs continue to face challenges such as financial constraints, human resource shortages caused by slow cadre development and low appeal of nonprofit work to the young generation, and overreliance on personal connections with government officials. DPOs in particular struggle with issues related to educational levels.

Provincial governments should conduct comprehensive mapping of GEDSI-focused CSOs and their areas of expertise. This would enable them to identify suitable partners for their programs.

Involving various CSOs in government programs will promote transparency by preventing exclusive relationships with select organizations.

To strengthen CSO capacity, SKALA should support and broaden the impact of advocacy efforts by supporting CSO networks where actors, such as development partners, philanthropic organizations, and religious institutions, are engaged to provide support for CSO initiatives. Training on how to prepare funding proposals and find alternative funding donors will benefit CSOs amidst declining global funding. SKALA can also invite universities to conduct joint research with CSOs and facilitate training for junior CSO staff. Most importantly, SKALA should assist provincial governments in strengthening their public information systems. This would reduce CSOs' reliance on personal connections with officials, promoting transparency and equitable access.

Lastly, regarding the issue of trust and confidence, the study indicates a generally positive level of trust by CSOs toward provincial governments. The majority (37.78%) reported a "high" level of trust. This aligns with confidence scores, as 17 out of 34 CSO respondents expressed "high" confidence that provincial governments are willing to accept input in the planning process and are willing to collaborate with CSOs. However, "willingness to accept input" often means only accepting it during the formal planning session, without clarity on whether the input will actually be implemented. The survey also shows "high" trust (78.95%) of provincial governments toward CSOs. This is consistent with the confidence scores expressed by provincial governments, where 14 out of 18 respondents gave "high" confidence scores in CSOs' advocacy abilities. Moreover, 29 out of 34 CSO respondents expressed "high" confidence in their own advocacy abilities.

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Undang-Undang No. 12 Tahun 2022 tentang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual

Appendices

Appendix 1.
Gender Mainstreaming in National Medium-Term Development Plans (RPJMN)

RPJMN	Gender Mainstreaming Focus
RPJMN 2010–2014 in Presidential Regulation No. 5 of 2010[a]	• Gender equality was not only a right issue, but it was also vital for improving the overall well-being of Indonesian society. • Gender mainstreaming was as important as other mainstreaming efforts in sustainable development and good governance. These forms of mainstreaming were to be embedded across all sectors and activities in government planning and implementation.
RPJMN 2015–2019 in Presidential Regulation No. 2 of 2015[b]	• During this period, gender mainstreaming was approached through several key strategies: - Enhancing human resource capacity in policy and program development - Strengthening gender mainstreaming mechanisms and networks through partnerships among various stakeholders (central and regional governments, universities, community organizations, etc.) - Developing monitoring and evaluation systems to ensure accountability in implementing gender mainstreaming and gender-responsive planning and budgeting
RPJMN 2020–2024 in Presidential Regulation No. 18 of 2020[c]	• Gender mainstreaming was emphasized to integrate gender perspectives and strengthen the ecosystem across various sectors to support sustainable and inclusive development. • Gender mainstreaming was positioned alongside other mainstreaming issues, such as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), social and cultural capital, and digital transformation.
RPJMN 2025–2029 in Presidential Regulation No. 12 of 2025[d]	• Gender mainstreaming is emphasized within a broader social inclusion framework, encompassing women, youth, persons with disabilities, and older persons. It aims to support human resource transformation and sustainable development. • Gender mainstreaming is also designated as the fourth priority among the eight national development priorities.

Source: research team's analysis
[a]on the National Medium-Term Development Plan 2010–2014
[b]on the National Medium-Term Development Plan 2015–2019
[c]on the National Medium-Term Development Plan 2020–2024
[d]on the National Medium-Term Development Plan 2025–2029

Appendix 2.
Regulatory Framework for Implementing Gender Mainstreaming in Development Planning and Budgeting

Regulations of the Minister for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection	Description
Ministerial Regulation No. 25 of 2010[a]	• It provides core guidelines for the gender-responsive planning and budgeting. • It introduces two tools—the Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP) and the Gender Budget Statement (GBS)—for gender-responsive planning and budgeting. GAP: It is a nine-step analysis tool used to develop gender-responsive five-year planning documents (e.g., the RPJMD and strategic plans of ministries/institutions and local governments) GBS: It contains five key components included in regional annual budget documents to ensure that gender perspectives are integrated into the work plans and budgets of each regional government organization (OPD).
Ministerial Regulation No. 4 of 2014	• It reinforces the use of GAP and GBS for both central and regional governments. • It is expanded with the addition of a provision to establish a monitoring and evaluation mechanism, including the supervision and implementation of gender-responsive planning and budgeting. • It is still used by the local government as the primary guideline for gender-responsive planning and budgeting efforts.

Source: research team's analysis
[a]on the Guidelines for Gender-Responsive Planning and Budgeting

Appendix 3.
Overview of Regional Regulations on Gender Mainstreaming in Six Provinces

Regulatory Category	NTB	NTT	Kaltara	Maluku	Gorontalo	Aceh
Gender Mainstreaming	Governor Regulation No. 39 of 2014[a]	Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2022[b]	Governor Regulation No. 13 of 2019[c]	Regional Regulation No. 7 of 2024[d]	Governor Regulation No. 50 of 2014[e]	Governor Regulation No. 95 of 2019
Gender-Responsive Planning and Budgeting	Governor Regulation No. 39 of 2014	Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2022	Governor Regulation No. 13 of 2019	Regional Regulation No. 7 of 2024	Governor Regulation No. 50 of 2014	Governor Regulation No. 6 of 2014[f]
Gender Mainstreaming conclusions	Governor Regulation No. 39 of 2014	Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2022	Not found	Not found	Governor Regulation No. 89 of 2018[g]	Governor Regulation No. 11 of 2023[h]
Gender Mainstreaming Working Group	Governor Regulation No. 39 of 2014	Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2022	Governor Decree No. 188.44/K.482 /2019[i]	Governor Decree No. 200 of 2019[j]. The Latest Regional Regulation of 2024 awaits the official law number from the Legal Bureau.	Governor Decree No. 189/04/VII /2008[k]	Keputusan Gubernur No. 000.7.3/850 /2024[U]
Women's Empowerment and Protection	Regional Regulation No. 8 of 2015[l]	Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2022	Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2021[m]	Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2012[n]	Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2016[o]	*Qanun* No. 6 of 2009[p] *Qanun* No. 9 of 2019[q]
Puspa Forum	Decree of the agency head (the governor decree is in progress.)	Governor Decree No. 238/KEP/HK / 2022[r]	Governor decree	Governor Decree No. 425 of 2023[s]	Not found	Governor Decree No. 263/52 of 2022[t]

Source: research team's analysis

[a]on the Technical Guidelines for Gender Mainstreaming in West Nusa Tenggara Province; [b]on Gender Mainstreaming in the Implementation of Development in the Region; [c]on the Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in North Kalimantan Province; [d]on Gender Mainstreaming; [e]on the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Gorontalo Province; [f]on the Guidelines for Gender-Responsive Planning and Budgeting in Aceh Government Work Units; [g]on the Regional Action Plan for Gender Mainstreaming of Gorontalo Province 2019–2022; [h]on the Regional Action Plan for Gender Mainstreaming 2023–2026; [i]on the Establishment of the Gender Mainstreaming Working Group of Maluku Province; [j]on the Establishment of the Gender Mainstreaming Working Group of North Kalimantan Province; [k]on the Establishment of the Gender Mainstreaming Working Group of Gorontalo Province; [l]on the Administration of the Protection of Women and Children; [m]on the Protection of Women and Children; [n]on the

Administration of the Protection for Women and Children Victims of Violence in Maluku; [o]on the Protection of Women and Children from Violence; [p]on the Empowerment and Protection of Women; [q]on the Administration of the Handling of Violence against Women and Children; [r]on the Public Participation Forum for the Welfare of Women and Children of East Nusa Tenggara Province; [s]on the Public Participation Forum for the Welfare of Women and Children of Maluku Province; [t]on the Public Participation Forum for the Welfare of Women and Children of Aceh Province; [u] on the Establishment of the Working Group and Technical Team for Gender Mainstreaming and Disability Inclusion in Aceh Province

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