

Indonesian Feminists' Discourse and Politics

Editorial

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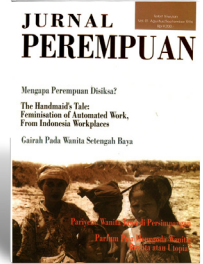
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Anita Dhewy and Bella Sandiata

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Indonesian Feminists' Discourse and Politics

The political reform in 1998 has brought a change to Indonesia's political situation, from an authoritarian system to democracy, from a centralized to a decentralized government, and from military supremacy to civilian supremacy. This change also had implications for the socio-political movements in Indonesia, including the women's movement.

The Indonesian women's movement was actively involved and became an important part of the fight for reformation. Furthermore, the women's movement introduced a new political culture based on the ethics of care in the midst of masculine political culture. This can be seen in the actions and strategies taken by the women's movement in the face of the May 1998 riots and social conflicts using the issues of SARA (ethnicity, religion, race and intergroup) in various regions.

During the era of reformation, the Indonesian women's movement also offered new discourses, which broke the separation between the private and the public. This discourse was embodied in policies that favor women, such as the Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence in 2004. The Indonesian women's movement has also incorporated women's issues into the political agenda. This can be seen in the birth of a 30 percent quota policy for women's representation in the Election Law and Political Party Law since 2002. At policy level, a number of pro-women laws have been ratified even though the implementation in many instances is still somewhat lacking.

In short, after 20 years of reformation, the women's movement and feminist discourse continues to develop. The development of the women's movement is evident in the emergence of various organizations established to voice and defend women's interests in various issues, such as diversity of gender identity, disability, indigenous women, women migrant workers, domestic workers, and much more.

However, twenty years after the reformation, the fundamental issues that women have fought for long ago have not been fully resolved yet. Until now, women still face fundamental problems such as maternal mortality, child marriage, human trafficking, and the wage gap. The issue of violence and discrimination based on gender still continues, such as rape and sexual abuse, as well as persecution of LGBT.

The struggle of the women's movement is not over simply because there has been an emergence of various regulations and policies that accommodate gender inequality. The reformation also provided space for the emergence of religious-based conservatism and puritanism, which exercise control and restrictions on women. The state increasingly facilitates the tendency of violence and discrimination against women through regional regulations that discriminate against women and marginalized groups.

Faced with this situation, the women's movement continues to look for ways and discourse to push the political agenda of women in the public sphere, starting from the national level to the grassroots. Women's collective action is one method of the women's movement that aims to bring demands in the public sphere while still carrying on women's gender identity. The women's movement does not stop at women's issues, but also penetrates wider public problems, environmental sustainability and social justice. The articles in this edition of *Jurnal Perempuan* show the efforts of women's movements and feminist discourses to keep fighting in various domains and issues, starting from the basic movement at the grassroots level to advocacy movements at policy level, from a small scope at village level to national scale.

All collective actions involving collective actors and gender discourse emphasize that women's movements have an impact and push for important social change—not only for families, but also communities, governments and society at large. **(Anita Dhewy)**

Abstracts Sheet

Titiek Kartika Hendrastiti (Public Administration Department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Bengkulu, Bengkulu, Indonesia)

Oral Story of Women's Anti-mining Group in Sumba: A Narrative of Subaltern Movement for Food Sovereignty

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 1-11, 1 table, 2 image, 15 ref.

This article analyzes the meaning of the anti-gold mining group oral story from Praikaroku Jangga Village, Central Sumba Regency, East Nusa Tenggara. This documentation is important to record the dynamics of the history of local women's movements in the post-reformation era Indonesia in 1998. This study uses a postcolonial feminist ethnographic approach. The female anti-gold mine forces identify as a subaltern movement, whose struggle goes beyond practicality rejecting the gold mining corporation operations. Their speeches about the movement show that the direction of their resistance leads to food independence and sovereignty from extractive business aggression. To maintain their space of life, the women's forces were only connected by words of experience and knowledge of *adat* and tradition. Postcolonial feminist ethnography explains the dis/interconnectivity between the interests of the state, political economic power, local-national-global. The construction of this anti-mining women's discourse shows the strength of women as agents in caring for natural resources.

Keywords: Central Sumba women's movement, food sovereignty, postcolonial feminist ethnography, subaltern, women's agency

Anne Lockley¹, Lies Marcoes¹, Kharisma Nugroho¹ & Abby Gina² (¹Migunani, Yogyakarta, Indonesia; ²Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Women's Collective Action for Empowerment in Indonesia

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 13-24, 7 table, 1 image, 6 ref.

Women's groups in Indonesia have used women's collective actions since the early 20th century. The collective action of women in this study is defined as the formal or informal formation and activity of groups or networks of predominantly women that aim to bring about positive changes in women's lives. Eight case studies of women's collective actions discussed in this study reveal a variety of backgrounds, motives and agencies in those collective actions. This variety exists due to the different and specific conditions and needs of each of the women's groups. The object of the study in this research were eight collective actions, namely: Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA), Serikat Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA), Sekolah Perempuan, Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia Parepare branch, Migrants Workers United Wonosobo (MUIWO), Kelompok Bunda Kreatif, Community Center, and Posko Lestari and Mentari. The data of the research was collected through document reviews, surveys, and in-depth interviews. This research finds that the involvement of women in collective actions stems from gender inequality that they experience in their daily lives. Through the collective actions, the women were empowered to strengthen their access to social services and legal protection. This research also finds there was a growing understanding about the concept of gender inequality among the women who were involved in the collective actions.

Keywords: women's collective action, empowerment, gender inequality, participation

Akhmad Misbakhul Hasan¹, Betta Anugrah¹ & Andi Misbahul Pratiwi² (¹Seknas FITRA, Jakarta, Indonesia; ²Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Gender-Responsive Budget Analysis on Social Protection Programs in Indonesia: A Case Study in Two Districts and A City

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 25-38, 2 table, 6 graph, 16 ref.

Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 9 of 2000 concerning on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development has an impact on the planning and implementation of public policy in Indonesia. Public policy becomes an important arena for the struggle to realize gender equality and justice. One of the government's commitments in this matter can be seen through Gender-Responsive Budgeting (GRB). This study analyses gender-responsive budgeting in social protection programs in Indonesia, with case studies in three locations, namely Gunungkidul Regency, North Lombok Regency, and Padang City. Data collection is carried out by in-depth interviews and literature studies, including the Indonesian Budget and Regional Government Budget documents. This study conducted GRB analysis in three regions with three categories of budget expenditure analysis, namely specifically identified gender-based expenditure, equal employment opportunity expenditure, and mainstream budget expenditure. The results of the study show that in several regions there have been gender-responsive specific budget allocations for affirmation programs for women, children, the elderly, and people with disability. However, it can be seen that the budget and gender-specific expenditure are still centralized in services that are identical to women's affairs, and not yet mainstreamed in all of the budget allocation.

Keywords: Gender-Responsive Budget, Social Protection Program, Gunungkidul District, North Lombok District, Padang City, Budget Analysis

Adivya Perdana and Delia Wildianti (PUSKAPOL LP2SP FISIP Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia)

Women Political Movements After 20 Years of Reformasi in Indonesia

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 39-47, 1 table, 21 ref.

This article raises the important question of the achievements of women political movements after 20 years of reformasi in Indonesia. This article intends to elaborate on two main issues, namely the reasons underlying the women's political movement, which has stagnated, and the offer of a strategy that needs to be discussed to attract young women to politics. There are three main issues that are important concerns in the women's political movement after the 1998 Reformation. First, the character of civil society organizations and political parties in Indonesia has its own peculiarities. Second, there is a space of political interaction that has been sufficiently built between political parties and groups of NGOs and women's organizations. Third, in electoral competitions, one of the important issues that still need to be explored further is the effort to win female candidates and regional head candidates so that the number of women's representation can be achieved. Connectivity between millennials and political parties needs to be an important means to be carried out in the near future when parties feel the need for nominating women and their victory must be immediately overcome.

Keywords: gender and politics, elections, women's political representation

Retno Agustin, Indriyati Suparno¹, Samsidar² & Bella Sandiata³
(¹KOMNAS Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia; ²Forum Pengada Layanan, Indonesia; ³Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Integrated Service for Empowerment: The Assessment of P2TP2A in 16 Provinces

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 49-62, 2 table, 5 graph, 8 ref.

The increasing number of violence against women every year raises question about the effectiveness of intergrated service programs for the women victims of violence. The government established the Integrated Service Center for Empowerment of Women and Children (Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak/ P2TP2A) in 2002, supported by National Commission on Violence against Women (KOMNAS Perempuan), in the effort to provide protection and empowerment of women victims of violence. However, the increasingly diverse forms of violence against women have resulted in complex needs of the victims. The question arises whether the function and performance role of P2TP2A has fully answered the needs of victims or not. This article focuses on assessments conducted by KOMNAS Perempuan and Forum Pengada Layanan (Service Provision Forum/FPL) in 16 provinces to re-examine the role of P2TP2A's functions and performance in meeting the needs of victims. Based on the findings of the assessment, there are still shortcomings in the system and performance of P2TP2A in taking care of victims' needs, such as lack of awareness as service providers, coordination problems among institutions and limited budget. This assessment uses in-depth interviews and document studies, by including the lessons from the P2TP2A Surakarta city, Bandung district and Central Java Province.

Keywords: P2TP2A, victims, integrated service, violence against women

Linda Susilowati and Petsy Jessy Ismoyo (Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Salatiga, Indonesia)

Women's Role in Central Java Agriculture: A Case Study on Qaryah Tayyibah Peasants Association

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 63-71, 18 ref.

This research proves the importance of the role of women in the agricultural sector in Central Java through a case study of the Peasants Union Society movement Qaryah Thayyibah, in Salatiga, Central Java. This research uses qualitative methods, with data collection techniques through literature studies, observations, FGDs and in-depth interviews. The analysis technique uses categorization, interpretation and conclusions from the results of data collection. This research shows that women have a key role in the development of the agricultural sector. Therefore SPPQT's programs for empowering female farmers include: (1) women's political education, (2) involvement of women in the Production Assembly and Peasants' Association, (3) Women's involvement in the Village Development Council (Team 11). The findings also show obstacles to community resistance for the third point. This can be overcome again by SPPQT's vision, gender equality needs to be seen as a solution to improve the agricultural sector.

Keywords: the role of women, farmer groups, marginalization

Anita Dhewy and Bella Sandiata (Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Political and Legal Novelty as the Contribution of Indonesian Women's Movement in the Advocacy on Affirmative Policy in Election and Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence

DDC 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 73-82, 10 ref.

This article discusses the novelty of the women's movement in encouraging women's political representation and advocating for the elimination of domestic violence. Data is obtained through interviews with actors involved in the women's movement, especially actors from civil society organizations. The results of the study show that the women's movement in the Advocacy on Affirmative Policy in Election becomes a sign of the inclusion of women in the political agenda. While the women's movement in the advocacy for Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence dismantles private and public dichotomies that are detrimental to women in the context of domestic violence. This study also shows that women's movements need strong concepts, adaptive strategies and synergies with various elements to be able to push the women's agenda and encourage change.

Keywords: women's movement, women's political representation, affirmative action, Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence

Gender-Responsive Budget Analysis on Social Protection Programs in Indonesia: A Case Study in Two Districts and A City

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Abstract

Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 9 of 2000 concerning on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development has an impact on the planning and implementation of public policy in Indonesia. Public policy becomes an important arena for the struggle to realize gender equality and justice. One of the government's commitments in this matter can be seen through Gender-Responsive Budgeting (GRB). This study analyses gender-responsive budgeting in social protection programs in Indonesia, with case studies in three locations, namely Gunungkidul Regency, North Lombok Regency, and Padang City. Data collection is carried out by in-depth interviews and literature studies, including the Indonesian Budget and Regional Government Budget documents. This study conducted GRB analysis in three regions with three categories of budget expenditure analysis, namely specifically identified gender-based expenditure, equal employment opportunity expenditure, and mainstream budget expenditure. The results of the study show that in several regions there have been gender-responsive specific budget allocations for affirmation programs for women, children, the elderly, and people with disability. However, it can be seen that the budget and gender-specific expenditure are still centralized in services that are identical to women's affairs, and not yet mainstreamed in all of the budget allocation.

Keywords: Gender-Responsive Budget, Social Protection Program, Gunungkidul District, North Lombok District, Padang City, Budget Analysis

Introduction

The women's movement in Indonesia is more than a century old, starting from the Dutch colonial period until now, 20 years after the reformation. The women's movement has championed many issues concerning women's opportunities and welfare, both in public and private spheres. The transition from the authoritarian New Order era to the Reformation Era marked a new chapter of women's movements in Indonesia. In the reformation era, opportunities for women to be present in public spaces are becoming more, not only as "tools" of the government, but as individual agents of development. This is supported by Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 concerning Gender Mainstreaming in National Development.

This situation allows the women's movement to advocate for public policy, which largely regulates and contains traditional ideas for women's roles. Based on this fact, existing public policies are suspected of strengthening women's subordination, both in public and private spheres. This causes the male patriarchy to transform into a patriarchal state. Women tend to be

dependent when they and their children are not given the opportunity to improve their skills, gain access to housing, food and health protection (Conway, Ahern & Steuernagel 2005, p. 6). Thus, public policy becomes one of the important arenas for the struggle to realize gender equality and justice.

In the context of gender equality and justice, one way to see government's commitment is through gender-responsive budgets. Gender-responsive budget as a derivative of Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 does not only focus on providing a gender mainstreaming budget, but also on realizing justice for women and men in gaining access, benefits, participation in decision-making processes and having control over resources. Besides that, GRB (Gender-Responsive Budget) also embodies equality for women and men in choosing and enjoying the results of development.

Indonesia's Gender Development Index (IPG) in 2016 was 90.82 or decreased by 0.21 points or 0.23% from the previous year, which had reached 91.03. Meanwhile, during 2010-2015, the GPA always increased. The closer the number of GPA to 100, the smaller the development

gap between men and women (BPS 2017). There are a number of problems to be faced so that the number of Indonesian GPA has declined, including the issue of poverty, education and health. One public policy that targets this problem is social protection policies.

Another fact shows that gender inequality occurs in the education, health, employment and political sectors. Until 2016, the long-term expectations of girls and women attending school were only 7.5 years, compared to 8.41 years for boys and men. This means that women in Indonesia only go to school on average until grade 8, namely grade 2 in junior high school. Meanwhile, men's education usually lasts one year longer than women, namely up to grade 9, which is grade 3 of junior high school (KPPA 2016).

Furthermore, in the workforce, women's income has not been equal to that of men, which is reflected in the average wage of male workers of Rp2.43 million per month, higher than women who only earn Rp1.98 million per month (BPS 2017). For similar jobs, the average hourly wage earned by female workers is only around 70% of the hourly wage of male workers (AIPEG 2017). Meanwhile, the role of women in politics and decision making in public spaces is also still limited. This is reflected in the low representation of women in the DPR, which was only 17.32 percent in the 2015-2019 period, decreasing from the 2009-2014 period, which reached 17.86 percent.

We get a similar picture when it comes to gender profiles in the health sector: the ratio of maternal mortality in Indonesia is still high. In 2015, the ratio was 126 per 100,000 births (WHO 2015; UNICEF 2012). This figure is far above the MDG target of 102 per 100,000 births in 2015, and above neighboring countries such as Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines.

Based on this situation, this study focuses on social protection functions, which in the allocation of government spending in 2018 are budgeted at Rp162.6 trillion, up by around Rp4.8 trillion from 2017, which amounted to Rp157.8 trillion. The social protection program is the focus of research as it is one of the government's efforts to provide access for and empower vulnerable groups. In social protection programs, improvements in the situation of women and girls are possible. Thus, the social protection program is expected to also mainstream the needs and interests of women in budgeting, which in turn can result in gender-just social protection programs. This research is an analysis of gender-responsive budgeting (ARG) in social protection programs in Indonesia to see the commitment of local governments to realize gender equality and justice in Indonesia.

Research Method

This study uses data collection methods through in-depth interviews and literature and document studies. The documents reviewed are the State Budget (APBN) and the Local Budget (APBD). The results of document review and in-depth interviews were analyzed by the budget expenditure analysis method offered by Debbie Budlender, namely specifically gender-based expenditure, equal employment opportunity expenditure, and mainstream budget expenditure. The budget expenditure analysis method offered by Budlender allows us to see the circulation of the budget with a more clear and comprehensive categorization, and assess gender mainstreaming in budget allocations.

This study looks at the scheme of using and allocating gender-responsive budgets in social protection programs aimed at minimizing gender inequality. It focuses on programs, activities, and social protection budgets in the Education Office, Health Service, Social Service, Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, and Employment Service in three areas, namely Gunungkidul District, North Lombok District and Padang City. These three locations were chosen as representative working areas of the MAMPU Program for thematic areas of social protection.

The Social Protection Policy Scheme in Indonesia

The concept of social protection in Indonesia is contained in three laws, namely the Social Welfare Law (No. 11/2009), the Law Regarding the Poor (No. 13/2011), and the National Social Security System/SJSN Law (No. 40/2004). Social protection includes various instruments controlled by the government to secure households, reduce vulnerability, and support groups or individuals who deserve assistance. Assistance is not limited to groups with the attribute 'only' and does not always concern 'poor people', but mainly is including women, children, the elderly, persons with disabilities, all of whom are experiencing vulnerability. Social protection includes: 1) Social assistance, which is divided into social rehabilitation and social empowerment; and 2) Social security. One of the constraints is on financing sources. Social assistance is funded directly by the state through APBN/APBD taxes, while social protection is financed through contributions, although for people who are not able to pay contributions, they are borne by the state through the Contribution Aid (Penerima Bantuan Iuran/PBI) scheme of the APBN/APBD.

In the New Order period, social protection was still limited to social security programs aimed at civil servants and formal private workers. These programs consisted of health insurance, pension insurance, death insurance and disability insurance for civil servants (Askes and Taspen); health insurance, pensions, death benefits, work accident insurance and disability insurance for TNI members (ASABRI); health insurance, old age savings, death insurance and work accident insurance for private workers in the formal sector (Jamsostek). Social protection aimed at the poor only begun since the enactment of Law Number 6 of 1974 on Social Welfare with a social protection framework. The leader of the policy sector was the Ministry of Social Affairs, which had the task of managing and distributing social assistance.

Social protection began to be noticed when Indonesia experienced an economic crisis in 1997-1998 (the era of the leadership of President Soeharto and Habibie) and later 2004 (Megawati) towards comprehensive social security, with the stipulation of Law Number 40/2004 on the National Social Security System. The crisis had a major impact on the economic and social life of the community, and showed economic vulnerability and the need for social protection for all residents (Sumarto et al. 2002). In response to the crisis, the Habibie administration launched the Social Safety Net Program (Jaring Pengaman Sosial/JPS) in 1998. The scheme that was built was cash assistance, distribution of rice and basic necessities (nine basic commodities), as well as assistance for education and health costs for the poor and near poor. These programs were later further developed in the era of Megawati Sukarnoputri's administration with the Health Safety Net Program for Poor Families (Jaring Pengaman Kesehatan Keluarga Miskin/JPK Gakin). Furthermore, Megawati formed a Working Committee on Social Welfare Systems (2001), which was tasked with designing the new Social Security System, which was stipulated through Law No. 40 of 2004 on the National Social Security System (SJSN).

Under the presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), the social welfare program continued to experience diversification, and continued in the Joko Widodo administration with modifications to the program and name. The flagship program during the SBY administration included the Community Health Insurance (Jamkesmas), Direct Cash Assistance (BLT) as compensation for the removal of fuel subsidies, and the Poor Rice Program (Raskin). The government also began to develop other programs such as the Family Hope Program (PKH), the Child Social Welfare Program

(PKSA), Poor Student Assistance (BSM), and Childbirth Assurance (Jampersal). During SBY's reign, regulations that were born included Law No. 11 of 2009 concerning Social Welfare, Republic of Indonesia Regulation No. 15 of 2010 concerning the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction, and Law No. 24 of 2011 concerning the Social Security Organizing Agency (BPJS), and RI Presidential Regulation No. 96 of 2015, which regulates the establishment of a National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K), chaired by the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia.

In the Jokowi era, social protection policies and programs continued with various modifications. Today's excellent programs, for example the National Health Insurance (JKN) program, Smart Indonesia Card (KIP), Rice for Prosperous Families (Rastra), Family Hope Program (PKH), subsidies for farmers and fishermen and others, resulted from the further development of the previous programs. The structure remains mainly the same and has not seen an integration of the programs with each other (Djani 2018).

Gender-Responsive Budget Allocation Policy for Social Protection Programs in Indonesia

Government budget allocation is an important element to trace the implementation of a social policy. The budget determines which programs must increase, decrease, need to be eliminated, need to be developed, and need to be expanded. Review of budget lines and comparison with other allied lines in social policy, in this case social protection, can help the advocacy process or policy intervention to be on target. The most important thing in budget analysis in social policy is not only seeing the magnitude of costs, but also the efficiency of allocations (Knapp 1984).

Gender differences have a large influence on differences in needs, interests and priorities between men and women. A gender-sensitive approach considers and accommodates these differences so that the two groups benefit equally. The budget is a very important state instrument, and reflects the priorities of state policies, both in the economic and social fields. The budget can be a benchmark for government commitment in certain issues. Thus, countries that are committed to gender equality tend to show that commitment in the form of gender-sensitive budgets. The state budget is not gender neutral. The budget has a different impact on men and women, can reflect the distribution of power in society, as well as socio-economic disparities (UN Women 2018).

Table 1. Trends in APBN Expenditures for the 2016-2018 Social Protection Function

Code	Expense Base On Function	LKPP 2016 (Trillion Rp)	%	LKPP 2017 (Trillion Rp)	%	APBN 2018 (Trillion Rp)	%
1	Public Services	275.123	23,8%	307.147	24,3%	429.918	29,6%
2	Defense	98.249	8,5%	117.507	9,3%	107.578	7,4%
3	Order & Security	113.350	9,8%	135.748	10,7%	131.901	9,1%
4	Economy	288.345	25,0%	307.788	24,3%	355.117	24,4%
5	Living environment	8.942	0,8%	10.614	0,8%	15.210	1,0%
6	Business & public facilities	27.817	2,4%	27.277	2,2%	29.919	2,1%
7	Health	59.639	5,2%	57.225	4,5%	64.301	4,4%
8	Tourism & Creative Economies	4.380	0,4%	5.771	0,5%	7.163	0,5%
9	Religion	8.463	0,7%	8.870	0,7%	9.086	0,6%
10	Education	131.974	11,4%	138.507	10,9%	141.894	9,8%
11	Social Protection	137.737	11,9%	148.906	11,8%	161.544	11,1%
	Total APBN Expenditures	1.154.018		1.265.359		1.453.630	

Source: LKPP APBN 2016-2017 and APBN 2018, obtained through FITRA

In the 2018 APBN, the budget allocation for the Social Protection Function reached Rp161,544 trillion. Nominally, the amount increased by Rp12,638 trillion compared to the amount of budget realization for the Social Protection Function in the 2017 State Budget or an increase of Rp23,807 trillion compared to the 2016 State Budget for the same function. However, if the percentage is compared to the Total APBN Expenditure, Expenditures for the Social Protection Function tend to decrease every year, from 11.9 percent (2016), to 11.8 percent (2017), and 11.1 percent (2018). However, spending on the social protection function still ranks third in the distribution of central government spending, behind the spending on public services and economy.

The budget allocation for social protection programs is essentially to boost the quality of human life. All ministries and institutions, including the Ministry of PPPA, direct all their strategic plans and annual work plans based on the blueprint for national development priorities contained in the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN), namely good governance, SDGs agreements (sustainable development goals), and the Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) strategy. (RS, Assistant Deputy of KPPPA Gender Equality 2018, interview)

The statement of the Assistant Deputy of Gender Equality of Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA) above shows that the budget allocation for social protection program policies must be followed by the principle of equality and justice, so that the benefits of the program can be enjoyed by all, including women. Gender-based budget allocation also has links with global agreements on sustainable

development, which explicitly mention gender equality as one of its goals. Thus, KPPPA has the responsibility to encourage and oversee gender-responsive budget policies.

The PUG strategy in social protection programs is intended to parse the problem of inequality and target vulnerable groups. The government acknowledges that there are still gaps between men and women in various sectors. For this reason, the main objectives of social protection programs are directed at community groups with different needs, such as women, children, people with disabilities, the elderly, and other vulnerable groups. With the issuance of Law No. 8 of 2016 concerning Disability, the government is required to pay special attention to persons with disabilities. (RS, Assistant Deputy of KPPPA Gender Equality 2018, interview)

Gender-responsive budgeting is a budget that ensures that the allocation of public financial resources is utilized effectively in an effort to improve gender equality and empower women. Gender-responsive budget does not mean that there is a separate budget for women or simply increasing the budget allocation for women, but budgeting is based on an in-depth analysis of policies that promote women’s rights. Gender-responsive budgets analyze the different needs of men and women, and ensure the budgeting system accommodates these differences, including to overcome discrimination (UN Women 2016). GRB is part of gender mainstreaming, which is an effort to ensure that a gender and gender equality perspective is part of all policies. Gender mainstreaming must be included in the planning, budgeting, implementation and supervision of the policy.

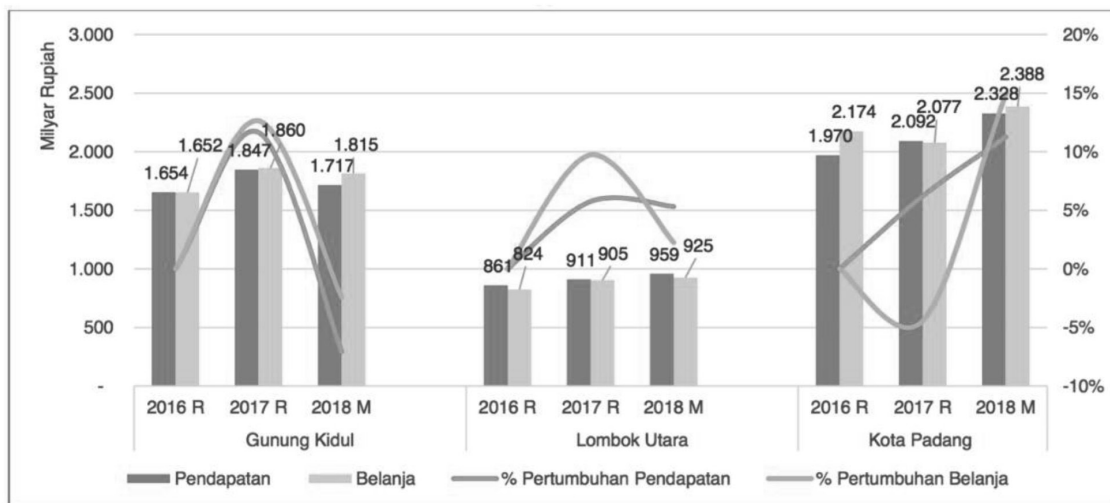
The main target groups of the social protection program (PKH) are poor families fulfilling certain requirements such as pregnant women, toddlers, elementary-high school students, severe disabled, and the elderly. The target groups were obtained from the Integrated Data Base (Basis Data Terpadu/BDT), managed by the Ministry of Social Affairs. The BDT is validated through a development consultative process organized by the village government and district / city government. This is where PKH assistants have a very strategic role to verify and validate BDT data. (AR, Head of Public Complaints Service-Family Hope Program Ministry of Social Affairs 2018, interview)

In order to be right on target and evenly distributed, social protection programs that target vulnerable groups of the economy, education and health need a comprehensive data collection system. The data collection of beneficiaries of social protection programs is managed by the Ministry of Social Affairs. The importance of this integrated data received special attention through the issuance of the Minister of Social Affairs Regulation (Permensos) No. 28 of 2017 on General Guidelines for Integrated Data Verification and Validation for Poor and Handicapped People and Decrees of the Minister of Social Affairs (Kepmensos) No. 30/HUK/2017 on Integrated Data Management Working Group for Management of the Poor. The Working Group consists of the Ministry of Social

Affairs, the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture (Kemenko PMK), Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri), National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), Central Statistics Agency (BPS), and National Team for Accelerating Poverty Reduction (TNP2K). This proves that PUG in social protection programs is carried out across different sectors and ministries.

Analysis of Gender-Responsive Budget in Local Budget Documents of Gunungkidul Regency, North Lombok, and Padang City

Of the three regions studied, the Padang City is an area with a large budget and fiscal capacity compared to the Gunungkidul and North Lombok regencies. Gunungkidul Regency and North Lombok Regency on average manage APBD of Rp1.7 trillion and Rp884.7 billion in the 2016-2018 range. Meanwhile, the City of Padang manages a larger budget than the other two, which averages Rp2.2 trillion. The value of revenue and expenditure growth in each region fluctuates every year, with an average growth of around 4 percent. This indicates that the amount of income and expenditure in the APBD in the three regions is relatively stagnant. The following is a portrait of the APBD of the three study locations:



Sumber: APBD 2016-2018 Kab. Gunung Kidul, Lombok Utara, & Kota Padang, diolah oleh FITRA

Graph 1. Revenue (Pendapatan), Expenditures (Belanja) and Growth (Pertumbuhan) Trend of Local Budget for Fiscal Years 2016-2018

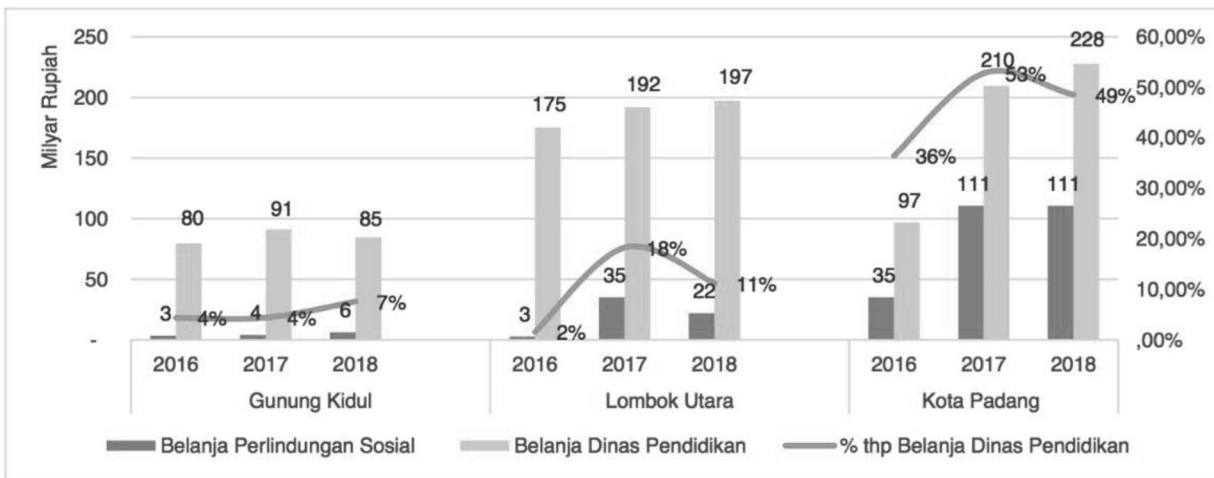
With the amount of the budget, the regional government then allocates budget based on affairs, local government organization (OPD), and programs/activities. The budget for social protection programs spreads through programs and activities managed by various OPDs. The following is an overview of budget allocations for social protection programs and activities:

Social Protection Expenditures for the Education Agency

North Lombok and Gunungkidul Districts have allocated an education budget of more than 20% of the total APBD, while the number for the Padang City is only at 8%. However, the Padang City has the highest nominal for the education budget. The obligation to pay regional expenditure for education affairs is at least 20 percent of

the total local budget expenditure, which is a mandate of the 1945 Constitution and article 49 Paragraph (1) and Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System (Sisdiknas). Gunungkidul District has allocated a budget for education affairs reaching an average of 40 percent from Rp1.7 trillion in regional expenditure during 2016-2018. Likewise with North Lombok District, the average expenditure on education matters is around 21 percent of the local expenditure of 884.6 billion. As for the Padang City, the budget allocation for education matters is achieve 37% percent of total regional expenditure, which has a nominal value of Rp2.26 trillion.

Specific budget allocations as well as those supporting the social protection program appear to be relatively small and complementary from the State Budget. Gunungkidul District allocates an average of around Rp4.6 billion per year or 5 percent of the total education department expenditure. While North Lombok District allocated a budget of Rp20 billion or 10 percent of the total expenditure of the Education Office. Meanwhile, Padang City on average allocates a budget for the Social Protection Program of Rp111 billion or around 46 percent of the total expenditure of the Education Office. More in the graph below:



Sumber: APBD 2016-2018 Kab. Gunung Kidul, Lombok Utara, & Kota Padang, diolah oleh FITRA

Graph 2. Trends in Social Protection Expenditures for the Education Agency for the Fiscal Year 2016-2018

The use of the social protection program budget in the area is implemented through the same and different activities between regions. For example, Gunungkidul District uses its budget, among others, for (1) Organizing package A equivalent to SD; (2) The pursuit of package B equivalent to junior high school; (3) The provision of supplementary food for school children; (4) The implementation of equality and literacy education; and (5) The development of equality education and institutional courses.

Specific social programs for education targeting and empowering women's groups are also good findings in this study such as those found in North Lombok District. In this region there are affirmative programs such as the Women's School in Desa Bayan which consists of eight women's learning groups. Women's School members numbered 276 people and 23 members of the Women's School were leaders at the kelurahan level. Women's Schools are also found in Sukadana and Sokong villages.

The Women's School focuses on efforts to foster literacy and create an enabling environment to improve quality of life.

Women's Schools are a model of "community education", which is a learning forum for increasing women's participation and leadership from the poor. Women's Schools contribute to strengthening the capacity of poor women to increase critical awareness, monitoring abilities, life skills, so that their participation and leadership strengthens in the private and public spheres. The establishment of Women's Schools is motivated by the many social programs that are not well targeted and the position of civil society is weak in carrying out the functions of control and evaluation. Thus, it is expected that poor women and other marginal groups who have only been placed as passive groups and only beneficiaries can monitor and advocate for social protection programs with a gender perspective (KAPAL Perempuan 2016).

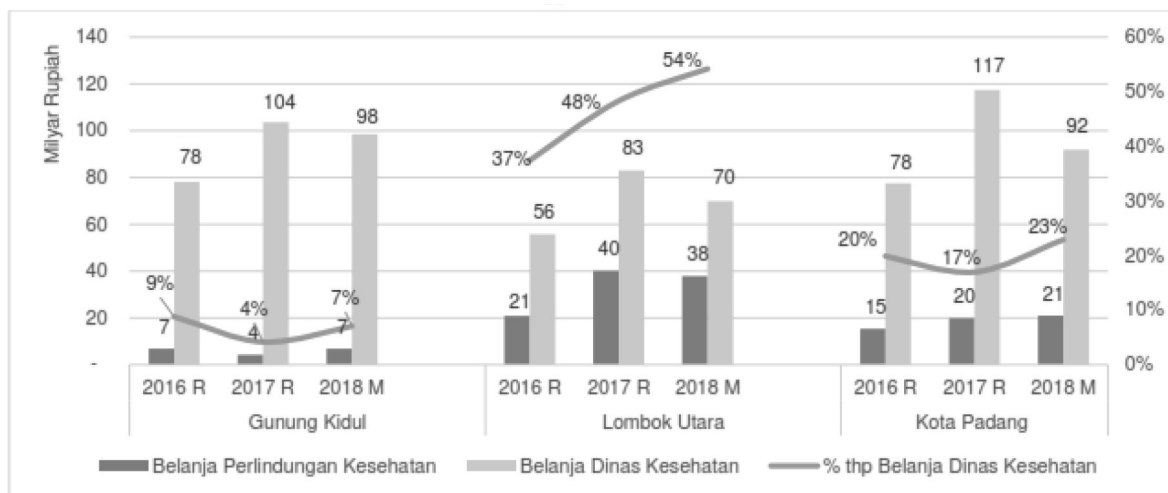
This study found several problems related to the implementation of social protection programs at the central and local levels. First, there was a problem with the banking access in remote areas in the case of distribution of the Smart Indonesia Program (PIP), for example in the North Lombok District. This can be seen when distributing, for example, channeling through a bank that is located far away so that many families cannot succeed in getting assistance. In addition, there are no special counters for PIP recipients, seen from long lines, and data that is not quickly inputted. Second, the distribution of PIP is not on target because the data in the area is not valid. The Size of Assessment of the Directorate General of Teachers and Education Personnel on social protection programs in the education affairs environment takes into account the number of targets of social protection programs that have not yet reached all levels of society, including teachers at the basic education level, given the limited budgetary amount.

Health Protection Expenditures for the Health Agency

The health budget in North Lombok and Gunungkidul Districts has fulfilled the mandate of the Health Law

article 171 Paragraph (2) of Law No. 36 of 2009 on Health, namely the amount of at least 10% of total Local Expenditures, excluding employee salaries. Only Padang City has not fulfilled the provisions of the Act. The Padang City allocates a budget for health matters with an average of only 8% in the last three years. In 2016, the budget for the health affairs of Padang City was pegged at Rp166.3 billion or 7.7 percent of total regional expenditure. In 2017, the budget rose to Rp211.3 billion or 10.2 percent but dropped back in 2018 which only reached Rp139.7 billion or 6 percent of total regional expenditure. North Lombok and Gunungkidul Districts each allocate 13 percent of their budgets for health matters.

Regarding Social Protection Expenditures at the Health Office, North Lombok District has an average percentage higher than the other two regions, although in nominal terms the social protection budget of the Padang City Health Office is greater. The North Lombok District Government allocates up to 47 percent of the total Health Department expenditure, or Rp32.9 billion. Meanwhile, Padang City allocated an average of Rp56.3 billion or 20 percent of total health expenditure in 2016-2018, and Gunungkidul District allocated Rp7.9 billion or 7 percent. More in graph 3 below:



Sumber: APBD 2016-2018 Kab. Gunung Kidul, Lombok Utara, & Kota Padang, diolah oleh FITRA

Graph 3. Trend of Social Expenditure for Health Agency for the Fiscal Year 2016-2018

The amount of the above budget is used by the health agencies of each region to finance various activities, including: maternal, adolescent and elderly health services; baby and child health services; prevention of nutritional problems; partnership public health insurance; health services for the poor; health management of adolescents and the elderly; and health counseling for pregnant women from underprivileged

families. Especially for the Padang City, from 2016 to 2018 there is a budget for the activities of Childbirth Assurance (Jampersal) from Non-Physical DAK of an average of Rp1.1 billion per year. The Padang City Government gets this budget by submitting a proposal to the Ministry of Health.

The results of the field study show that North Lombok Regency has a number of innovations in solving health

problems at the local level. The innovation program consists of activities, such as, first, SABERGEBUK (Clean Sweep of Malnutrition), which is devoted to the handling of malnutrition experienced by some people in North Lombok. In addition to the SABERDO (Clean Sweep Drop Out) program, this program involves health workers, such as village doctors, village midwives, Poskesdes (Village Health Posts), Pustu (Auxiliary Community Health Centers) and Posyandu (Integrated Service Posts). Moreover, there are also activities involving village government, community leaders and religious and traditional leaders. The Sabergebuk Team was ratified through a Regent Decree. The team also cooperates with the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency (P3A) when there are cases of violence and malnutrition.

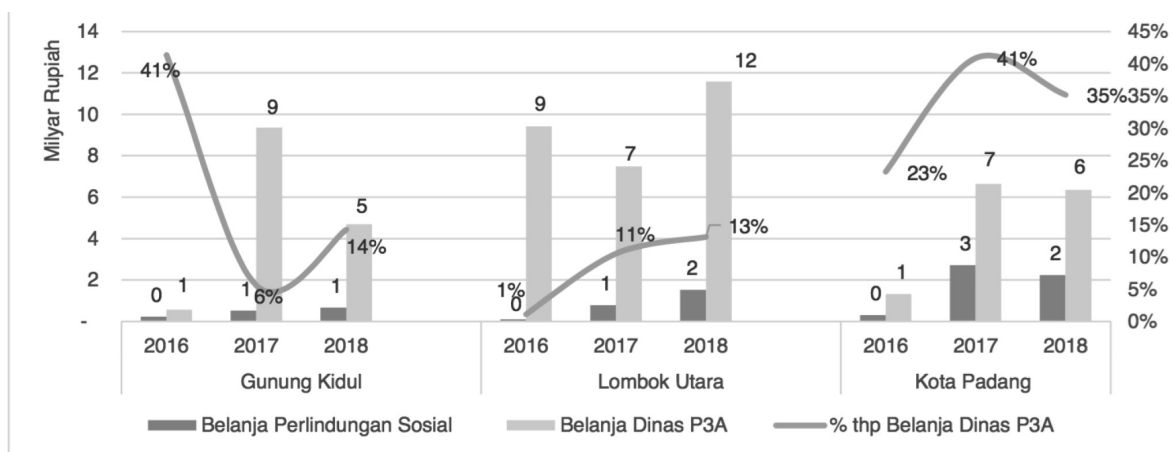
Secondly, there is a central government program run by the local government, namely the Fee Assistance Program (PBI), with a population of 230,000. PBI can reach more than 123,000 recipients, and the regional government reaches around 30,000 people. Third, the DEBES (Clean and Healthy Village) program is an activity initiated by the local government. The DEBES program is the protection of pregnant women to achieve zero maternal mortality rate (MMR). Each village gets an ambulance car facility for one unit and health workers consisting of village doctors, village midwives, nurses and

nutrition teams. The health worker lives in the village and is funded by the North Lombok Regional Government. Fourth, the Village Doctor Program, in North Lombok covers 23 villages and is facilitated by village doctors, which aims to maximize public health services.

The study also found several problems in running social protection programs at the Health Office. The problem that is currently still being faced in managing BPJS Kesehatan in the regions, such as in North Lombok District, is a lack of public awareness to join BPJS insurance, moreover the district government no longer covers JKN premium payments.

Social Protection Expenditures for Social Services

Expenditures for the Social Affairs Office in the three research areas each year receive a relatively small budget allocation from the APBD, even though social affairs include mandatory basic services. As the leading sector for social issues, the Social Affairs Office in the three regions allocates a budget for social affairs not more than one percent of the total regional expenditure. With the limited budget available, the distribution of the Social Service budget allocation for social protection programs is shown in graph 4 below:



Sumber: APBD 2016-2018 Kab. Gunung Kidul, Lombok Utara, & Kota Padang, diolah oleh FITRA

Graph 4. Trend of Social Protection Expenditures for Social Services for the 2016-2018 Budget Year

Based on the graph 4 it can be seen that the budget of the Social Affairs Office of Gunungkidul and North Lombok Districts experience fluctuations every year, with an expenditure allocation for social protection programs averaging Rp2 billion and Rp3 billion. Meanwhile, the budget for the Social Affairs Office of the Padang City has increased every year, although the percentage for social

protection programs tends to decrease, with the nominal budget stagnant at Rp2 billion.

In Gunungkidul District, a budget of Rp2 billion is used by the Social Service to carry out activities such as (1) assistance for the poor and people with social welfare problems (PMKS); (2) social security and protection services; (3) business skills training for poor families; (4)

handling emergency response and extraordinary events; (5) training in skills and work learning practices for abandoned children.

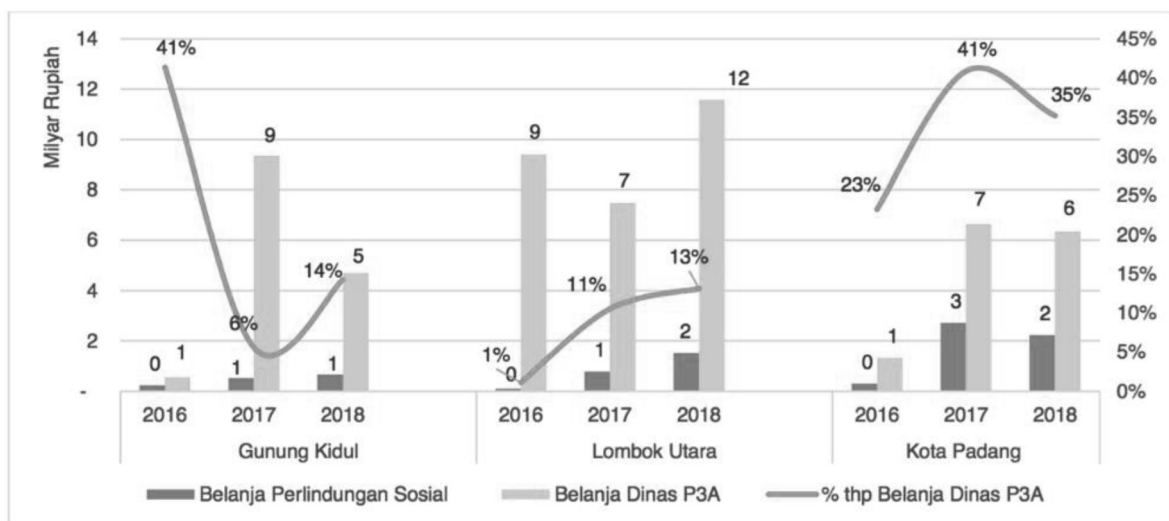
Social protection activities organized by the North Lombok District Social Affairs Office are relatively similar to Gunungkidul District, but different things include: (1) legal services and protection for victims of exploitation, trafficking of women and children, who receive an average budget allocation of Rp65 million; (2) non-habitation housing social rehabilitation assistance of Rp352 million; (3) social security for victims of natural disasters of Rp96.5 million; (5) social security of victims of social disasters of Rp49.5 million; (6) support for the development of the Hope Family Program (PKH) program amounting to Rp216.5 million.

Meanwhile, activities that are relatively different in Padang City include: (1) social security for the elderly with an average annual budget of Rp85 million; (2) social security for ex-psychotic / chronic poor mental illness sufferers has been neglected by Rp24 million; (3) empowerment of Joint Business Groups (KUBE) and Productive Economic Enterprises (UEP) for the poor around Rp149.6 million; and (4) empowerment of persons with disabilities with a budget of Rp224 million, spread over four activities.

Protection Expenditures for Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection

The budget for the Empowerment of Women and Child Protection (P3A) affairs turned out to be not a top priority for the regional government. This can be seen from the proportion allocated for P3A affairs, which is not more than one percent of the total local budget. The lack of budget for women’s empowerment and child protection cannot be separated from the merger of several affairs in one agency. For example in Gunungkidul District, women’s empowerment and child protection is managed by the Office of Women’s Empowerment, Child Protection and Family Planning (KB), Community and Village Empowerment (DP3AKBPM & D). In North Lombok, P3A matters are handled by the Office of Social Affairs, Women’s Empowerment, and Child Protection (Social Affairs-P3A). In Padang City, the responsible agency is the Office of Women’s Empowerment, Child Protection, Population Control and Family Planning (DP3AP2KB).

An image of the budget for social protection programs or activities in the agency that deals with women’s empowerment and child protection above is as follows:



Sumber: APBD 2016-2018 Kab. Gunung Kidul, Lombok Utara, & Kota Padang, diolah oleh FITRA

Graph 5. Social Protection Expenditure Trends for Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection

The graph above shows that Gunungkidul Regency turns out to only budget around Rp473 million, or 20 percent of the total budget of the P3AKBPM & D Service for social protection programs. Meanwhile, North Lombok District and Padang City each budgeted Rp802 million, or 8 percent of North Lombok P3A Social Affairs

Office budget, and Rp1.3 billion, or 33 percent of the total expenditure of the Padang P3AP2KB Office.

Although not large, the budget is used to support several activities, including: (1) women’s protection and fulfillment of children’s rights; (2) women’s empowerment and gender mainstreaming; (3) increasing P2TP2A

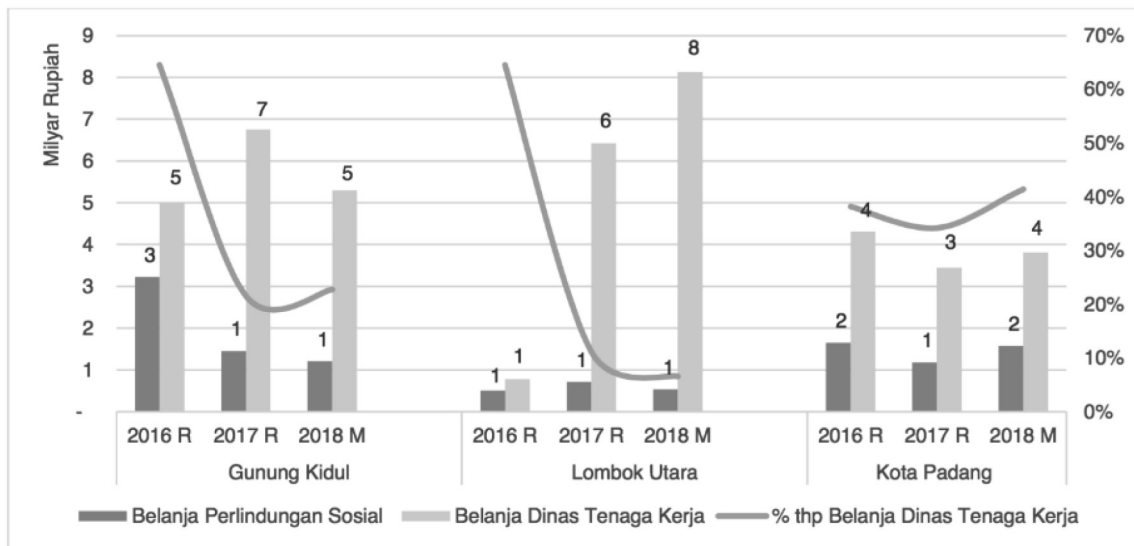
capacity and handling cases of violence against women and children; (4) development of talents and skills of abandoned children; (5) prevention of acts of violence against children; etc.

Social Protection Expenditures for Employment Agencies

The budget managed by the Employment Agencies (Disnaker) in the three research areas is also not large. The Gunungkidul Employment Agency manages an average budget of around Rp5.6 billion in three years (2016-2018). The North Lombok Employment Agency manages Rp5.1 billion, and the Employment Agency of Padang City around Rp3.8 billion. The budget is not more

than one percent of the total APBD expenditure in each region, averaging between 0.3 percent and 0.6 percent of the total APBD expenditure.

DISNAKER's budget allocation for social protection programs or activities in Gunungkidul Regency on average reaches Rp1.9 billion or 36 percent of the total budget. The budget for the social protection category in the North Lombok Employment Agency is an average of Rp584 million, or 27 percent of the total budget. The programs and activities included in the social protection category in Padang City's Employment Agency reached an average of Rp1.4 billion, or 38 percent of the total budget.



Sumber: APBD 2016-2018 Kab. Gunung Kidul, Lombok Utara, & Kota Padang, diolah oleh FITRA

Graph 6. Trend for Social Expenditure for Employment Agencies for Fiscal Years 2016-2018

One of the social protection programs or activities that have the same activities in three regions is the facilitation of the completion of procedures for industrial and labor relations disputes, as well as the provision of legal protection and employment social security. Gunungkidul Regency allocates a budget of Rp144.6 million for the two activities, while North Lombok District and Padang City each allocate a budget of Rp140.6 million and Rp297.8 million. Other activities such as organizing education and skills for job seekers with a budget of between Rp316 million and Rp660 million and handling troubled migrant workers averaged Rp62.4 million.

The regional government cooperates with the central government in an effort to reduce the number of migrant workers abroad, for example in North Lombok District. The number of migrant workers leaving abroad was 1,008

throughout 2017. The destination countries for migrant workers include Malaysia with 674 people, Taiwan with 96 people, Singapore with 38 people, 118 people in Hong Kong, and 71 in Brunei Darussalam (North Lombok District Employment Agency 2018).

Several programs were implemented to anticipate the high interest of the people to become migrant workers. First, the Productive Migrant Village Program (Desmigratif), a program intended for full-time workers to still be able to carry out economic activities properly. This program is held with assistance from the central government. In 2017-2018 there were four villages in North Lombok District, where the programs are implemented. Second, the North Lombok District Government also built facilities in the form of vocational training centers (BLK) to increase community capacity

and expertise, by providing workshop training, honey bee production, and other productive economic activities.

Third, facilitation programs for cases of mistreatment experienced by local workers, for example being unilaterally fired by companies and not given severance pay. The North Lombok district government facilitates to overcome the problem between workers and companies, this case occurs a lot for hotel workers in the tourist area of North Lombok District. Fourth, the program for structuring economic zones and creating jobs, by moving roadside shops and stalls.

In addition to these efforts, researchers also recorded the challenges faced in the implementation of social protection programs in the employment sector in the region, including disability and child labor issues. It turned out that the program had not touched the disability group, so the local government was trying to involve them. In North Lombok District, there are around 200 people with disabilities in the productive age category. On the issue of child labor, the government has made efforts to tackle child labor at the village level. Although there are various activities, the regions do not have data on child labor and efforts to protect child labor and make sure it won't continue.

The obstacles faced by North Lombok Employment Agency in carrying out social protection programs are: (1) the budget allocation for the workforce is only Rp800 million from the total budget of the Manpower Office of Rp7 billion, or almost 10%; (2) the constraints on the capacity or number of Disnaker human resources (HR) in the districts are limited, so that they need assistance from the provincial level if there are problems; (3) there are no mediators at the district level.

The three regions studied showed good practice findings regarding the implementation of gender mainstreaming in social protection programs. In North Lombok District, budgeting for Women's Schools began with the planning process through the first Women's Musrenbang (Development Planning Consultation) in North Lombok District in 2016. The Musrenbang was carried out in collaboration with the North Lombok District Government with the LPSDM-Institut KAPAL Perempuan. So far, Musrenbang has focused more on the development of physical infrastructure, and has not given much attention to improving human resource capacity. The involvement of women through the Musrenbang is inseparable from the presence of the Women's School program which builds the capacity of village women in guarding and advocating for policies at the village level.

In the Women's Musrenbang, there are many priority proposals for empowerment, such as critical education for grassroots women, reproductive health education, education about the economy of women and others so that they can contribute to the Human Development Index (HDI) and Gender Development Index (IPG). The results of the Women's Musrenbang will be fought for in a regular Musrenbang. Therefore, representatives from the Women's Musrenbang prepared additional teams and proposed arguments. This was done to improve general decisions in the Musrenbang which had tended to lead to infrastructure development.

Meanwhile, in Gunungkidul District there was a Regulation of the District Head of Gunungkidul No. 140/2967 of 2015 on the Technical Guidelines for the Preparation of the 2016 RKP, in which it is explicitly stated that vulnerable groups, including the disabled, are involved as participants at the village level, are regulations initiated by the Gunungkidul Regency Government.

Budget Categorization in Social Protection Programs in Three Regions

Debbie Budlender and Guy Hewitt in *Engendering Budgets: A Practitioners' Guide to Understanding and Implementing Gender-Responsive Budgets* (2003) explains that there are two basic frameworks that are the references for gender-responsive budget analysis, namely the three-step categorization of the budget and the five-step approach. This method can be used as a basis for budget analysis. In this study, the authors used a three-step category to analyze gender-responsive budgets in social protection programs in three regions. The categorization is (1) gender-specific expenditure; (2) equal opportunity expenditure for civil servants; (3) Mainstreaming the considered in terms of its gendered impact.

In using this analysis we also need to be careful, because gender-responsive budgeting is not the same as the women's budget, considering that this budget provides equal and equitable access for women, men, children, the elderly, and persons with disabilities taking into account differences and specific needs.

The characteristic of the gender-specific expenditure category is the existence of specific allocations targeted at gender by considering affirmation aspects, marginal conditions and specific needs, for example women's health and education programs that are specific to women. Meanwhile, the characteristic of equal opportunity expenditure for civil servants or

equal employment opportunity expenditure is the budget allocation to create equal opportunities in accessing employment. Examples are training for female managers and gender training for public officials. In the employment sector, there are two things that can be measured, namely salary or income and representation of women in decision-making positions. Meanwhile, the hallmark of mainstream budget expenditure is general budget allocation, which aims to realize gender equality and justice. For example, asking whether the expenditure allocation in the education office has created equal access for girls and boys, people with disabilities and vulnerable groups.

are still dominated by general programs, meaning that the programs developed are not gender specific. While in the Women’s and Children’s Empowerment Service and Health Office, gender-specific programs have been seen. The weakness they face is the lack of data access. In these three locations, there is no gender disaggregated data in the related agencies. Officials in the city of Padang stated that they were currently compiling gender disaggregated data. As such, the proposed program is still very common, for example the Education Agency holds a program to run a package chase, which should be specific by departing from the data that girls drop out rates are higher than men.

The table 2 below shows that social programs in the Education Office, Social Service and Manpower Office

Table 2. Categories of Budget Analysis in Three Regions

Institution	Social Protection Program Activities	Budget Analysis Category
Education Agency	In three regions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organizing package A test is equivalent to elementary school Pursue package B test which is equivalent to junior high school Providing supplementary food for school children Organizing equality and literacy education Development of equality education and institutional courses 	Mainstream budget expenditure
	North Lombok District: Affirmation Program for Women’s Schools in the village	gender-specific expenditure
Health Agency	In three regions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maternal, youth and elderly health services Health services for babies and children Prevention of nutritional problems Organizing the health of adolescents and the elderly Health education for pregnant women from underprivileged families. 	gender-specific expenditure
	North Lombok Regency: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> SABERGEBUK (Bad Nutrition Clean Sweep) 	gender-specific expenditure
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PBI Program DEBES (Clean and Healthy Village) Village Doctors Program 	Mainstream budget expenditure
	Padang City: Jampersal (Childbirth assurance)	gender-specific expenditure
Social Services	Gunungkidul Regency: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assistance to the poor Protection and social security services Quick handling of emergency response and extraordinary events 	Mainstream budget expenditure
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trainings and internships for neglected children Business skills trainings for poor families 	equal opportunity expenditure for civil servants

Institution	Social Protection Program Activities	Budget Analysis Category	
Women's Empowerment Service	North Lombok Regency:		
	Legal services and protection for victims of exploitation, trafficking of women and children	<i>gender-specific expenditure</i>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social rehabilitation assistance for uninhabitable homes • Social security of national disaster victims • Social security of social disaster victims • Support for the Hope Family (PKH) development program 	<i>Mainstream budget expenditure</i>	
	Padang City:		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social security for the elderly • Empowering persons with disabilities 	<i>gender-specific expenditure</i>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social security for those who used to suffer psychotic/ chronic mental illness is neglected • Empowerment of joint business groups (KUBE) and Productive Economic Enterprises (UEP) for the poor 	<i>Mainstream budget expenditure</i>	
	In three regions:	<i>gender-specific expenditure</i>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection of women and fulfillment of children's rights • Women's empowerment and gender mainstreaming • Increased P2TP2A capacity and handling cases of violence against women and children • Development of talents and skills of abandoned children • Prevention of acts of violence against children 		
	Employment Agencies	In three regions:	<i>Mainstream budget expenditure</i>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitation of completion of industrial and labor relations dispute procedures • Legal protection and employment social security 	
North Lombok Regency:			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Productive Migrant Village Program 		<i>equal opportunity expenditure for civil servants</i>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitating cases experienced by migrant workers • Economic Zone Agreement • Job Training Center 	<i>Mainstream budget expenditure</i>	

Source: compiled from the writer's research

Table 2 above shows that programs for increasing employment opportunities for women and vulnerable groups exist only in the North Lombok District. In the region, there is a Productive Migrant Village program, based on the fact that Lombok island is a place where many migrant workers come from – in the global migration, most employees are women. This Productive Migrant Village Program opens access and opportunities for women to develop businesses in their residential areas.

Gender mainstreaming, which is the starting point for implementing gender-responsive budgeting, is expected to improve the living standards of women and other vulnerable groups. However, these efforts are ideally found in every sector, from education to employment, and supported by qualified resources and data access.

Thus, ARG implementation does not stop at the number or policy papers, but can bring women closer to access to livelihood, education and decent work.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Based on the research findings and tracking of the budget in the related agencies in the three research areas, it can be concluded that, the considerations used by ministries and agencies in the regions in formulating social protection programs based on gender and inclusive responsive beneficiaries are poverty rates, gender disparities and groups that have been marginalized so far. This is evidenced by the existence of a social program intended for vulnerable groups such as women, the elderly, people with disabilities, neglected children, and

poor families. However, the use of gender disaggregated data based on gender is not enough to be considered, because the required data is not yet available, such as in North Lombok District and Padang City. The absence of gender disaggregated data has resulted in the needs of women and vulnerable groups not being identified in social protection programs. Thus, access of women and vulnerable groups to social protection programs is increasingly distant.

The results of the study show that in several regions there have been gender-responsive budget allocations for affirmation programs for women, children, the elderly, and people with disabilities. However, it appears that the budget and gender-specific expenditure are still concentrated in services that are identical to women's affairs. The existence of gender disaggregated data is useful for determining the planning of budget allocations for social protection programs that have ensured that women and men will get equal opportunities as beneficiaries of social protection programs run by local governments.

The classic problem of the social protection program budget is the low priority of the budget allocation for this sector. When compared with the legislation regarding the minimum mandated budget allocation for the social sector such as education and health, the budget allocation in the three research areas is generally still below the minimum limit set by law. As a result, social protection programs managed by the Social Affairs Office, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency, and the Employment Agency have not been able to accelerate poverty reduction, especially if there are emergency conditions such as natural disasters.

In addition to the generic social protection program from the center, the three studied areas also have innovative social protection programs that have specificities according to the situation in their respective regions. This innovative program was developed to accelerate poverty reduction and reduce the gap between men and women. Innovative social protection programs need to be developed by each region by increasing funding support that is greater than the local budget.

The results of the analysis also show that gender-responsive budgets have not become the main stream in every agency studied, this is indicated by the small number of programs that target women's groups in the Education, Social Service and Employment Agencies.

Gender-specific programs are still found in agencies that are considered to be dealing with women, namely the Women's Empowerment Agency. Special budget allocations aimed at women and vulnerable groups or the gender-specific expenditure majority are found in services identified with women's affairs. That is, gender mainstreaming in each department and social program has not been seen considering or calculating gender-based social inequalities.

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Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is a quarterly interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. JP invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships.

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