

Solidarity and Participation: Women's Experiences in Village Decision Making Exclusion

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Abstract. Women's interests should be accommodated in government decision-making practices, including at the village level. However, various studies have shown that the accommodation of women's interests in decision-making experiences various obstacles, both due to government actors and government mechanisms. This research focuses on looking at actors and government mechanisms based on politics and gender perspectives in Sidomulyo village, Batu city. Regarding to those focuses, they are elaborate into three objectives. First, identifying issues about women in Sidomulyo village. Second, identifying political actors in Sidomulyo village and observing the women's position. Third, analyzing women's accommodation and their interests in practices of decision making in Sidomulyo village. The process of collecting, identifying, and analyzing data was carried out using qualitative methods. The field research lasted for two months with three main techniques including in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and document studies. As a result, this research shows that Sidomulyo village is unique regarding gender issues which are proven by initiative and solidarity strengths of the women in the village in dealing with local social problems. However, active participation of women in the grassroots level is not linear with their involvement in practices of formal decision making in the village level. Women are generally excluded due to lack of access to participate, so that they do not have control over development priorities and budgets in the village. Political dynamics and decision making in Sidomulyo shows that the governance actors involved are CSOs and the village government, but both contribute to an asymmetrical relationship. From gender aspect, quantitatively women in government are categorized into underrepresented with descriptive representation in which policies and budgets are discussed in a gender-neutral way.

Keywords: Women Solidarity, Women Participation, Women of Village, Politics of Village

1 Introduction

This research derived from two major perspectives to observe how the position of women in the decision-making process and policies at the village level, including the political and gender perspectives (gender politics). Through a political perspective, this study attempts to analyze the actors involved and the political mechanisms in the process of formulating public policies in the village. Meanwhile, through a gender perspective, this study aims to look at the disparity between men and women both in the decision-making process and in the substance of village policies.

Through the political aspect, the actors and mechanisms analyzed are in the village context. In contrast to the national or regional level government system, village government certainly has unique political dynamics because a village is the lowest level of government that is closest to the community. Village politics in this study, specifically, relates to several things such as policy politics (Perdes and RPJMDesa), the complexity of relations between village political actors, as well as budget politics in the APBDes document, all of which are full of political power battles. The power battles do not only occur between the village government and supra-village governments such as district/city governments, provincial governments, and central government.

Contextually, since the enactment of Law No. 6 of 2014 concerning Villages led to many changes in the practice of government and development in the village. Because of the regulation, a village gets a wider scope through the addition of authority, additional funding sources, and restructuring of the village government. Moreover, after the intervention of the Village Law, both the position and the authority given have implications for the flexibility of the village government to carry out government and development activities in accordance with the needs of their respective villages.

However, even though villages currently have a number of authorities and a large source of income, few studies state the practice of local state government – in which the village becomes the implementing agency for supra-village government policies – is still dominant compared to the practice of local self-government or self-governing community originating from village independent initiative. For example, study from the East Java Province Community and Village Empowerment Service in 2019 [1], mentioned about the low initiative in drafting a Village Regulation by the village government, mandatory Perdes excluded (such as RPJMDesa and APBDes).

Through a gender perspective, this is related to the principles of democracy and equality which are also contained in the Village Law. Therefore, the practice of village government and development must not exclude vulnerable groups such as women groups. Women have different necessity from men, due to certain situations that are unique to women only. These typical situations lead to the needs of women, for example experiencing menstrual phases, getting pregnant, giving birth and breastfeed. As a result, women have special occasion to get through each phase humanely such as menstrual leave, maternity leave, availability of lactation rooms and so on.

Unfortunately, government policies (including village governments) are often gender neutral. It means that they do not pay attention to the different needs of women and men. Through gender-neutral policies, one of the impacts is the low access of women to be served adequately by the state. This is affected to low participation and control of women and ended with the low development benefits for women. In a rural politic term, the accommodation of women interests is also important to note. Many studies have analyzed the existence of discrimination in the decision-making process in the village.

Prastiwi in an article entitled "Accommodating Women's Interests in Government and Village Development" [2], concludes 3 (three) things. First, the women interest in the government sector are not accommodated. It can be seen from the absence of legislative products about the interests of women. Second, women interest in development are reduced because they are often simplified to the interests of the PKK and Posyandu. Third, the involvement of women is not representative because village head's wife and the village midwife are sufficient to represent village women. These three findings are caused by village level policy makers who does not know about gender consideration.

In terms of location, this research took place in Sidomulyo Village, located in Batu District - Batu City. There are some reasons why this research located in Sidomulyo. First, Sidomulyo has had a women's group founded on the initiative of women citizens, namely Karya Bunda Community (KBC) since 2011. KBC consists of women who organize themselves by focusing on strengthening women's capacities and empowering the economy of their members. KBC together with Suara Perempuan Desa (Rural Women Voices) also succeeded in initiating the implementation of the Village Women's School from 2013 to 2017. Second, Sidomulyo was the only village in Batu City that was chosen by the Wahid Foundation to declare a Desa Damai/Peacefull Village program in 2018. Through this program, five of women's groups were formed that focus on peace issues through economic empowerment.

Regarding to Sidomulyo itself, there are several journals with two main research themes, that are the agrotourism village and the Village Women's School. In the first theme regarding agro-tourism, research is carried out from an economic to architectural perspective [3] [4] [5] [6] . The next theme relates to women with the object of the Village Women's School [7] [8]. There are a total of six journals that have selected Sidomulyo as the research location, but none of them have identified and deepened the analysis of how village women are positioned in village decision-making.

The political and gender perspectives that pay attention to the rural context will serve as a main analysis, in a study of the position of women in the decision-making process and policies in Sidomulyo Village. The objectives of this research include identifying women's issues in Sidomulyo Village, identifying political actors in Sidomulyo Village and see where women are placed, and analyzing women's accommodation and women's interests in decision-making practices in Sidomulyo Village.

2 Method and Materials

Like most feminist studies which tend to use qualitative methods, this research was also conducted based on qualitative methods. In addition to getting a complete picture of the phenomenon, qualitative methods enable to require a certain gender-aware and sensitive approach, Denzin and Lincoln refer to qualitative feminist research as research characterized by subjectivity that is used to interpret women's actual experiences [9].

As a feminist research, this research practices a "feminist perspective" which seeks to reveal women's experiences and gender relations from the women's perspective. Trisakti Handayani in "Concepts and Techniques of Gender Research" stated that research with a women's perspective explicitly states its alignment, focusing on women problems in which aspects of women feelings and experiences are involved, then looking for strategies to change situations that are not in favor of women [10].

Located in Sidomulyo Village, Batu City - East Java, the data collection process in this study was carried out by three methods, namely interviews, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) as a primary data collection technique, and document study as a secondary data collection technique. There was one FGD conducted specifically for female participants, 12 informants who consist of five women and seven men who come from government leaders, community leaders and village women's leaders. In document study, this research focuses on looking at documents owned by the village government, such as Village Regulations (Perdes), village profiles, Village Medium-Term Development Plan documents (RPJM Desa), and Village Revenue and Expenditure Budgets (APBDesa).

3 Results and Discussion

Sidomulyo is a village located in Batu District, Batu City. As an official village, currently it is led by a Village Head assisted by village officials and several institutions which were formed and authorized by the Village Head, such as LPMD, BPD, Linmas, Karang Taruna, PKK and Desa Siaga. Besides, known and declared as Desa Damai, Sidomulyo was also confirmed as a Tourism Village in October 2020. The development of agricultural potential into a Tourism Village is the result of cooperation between the Village Government and University of Brawijaya. Now, Sidomulyo Tourism Awareness Group (Pokdarwis) is responsible to manage the tourism in that village, with some activities including planting flowers, cutting flowers, picking apples, grafting and cuttings education. The development focus of this Tourism Village is based on the daily economic productivity of the people who are dominant in farming.

Seeing from socio-cultural aspects of the people, Sidomulyo seems to live in a blend of Java and Islam. Those two cultures, side by side, are applied in the daily life of the people. Islamic culture with a majority group of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), indicated by diba'an and tahlilan traditions, also two NU Islamic Boarding Schools in Sidomulyo, including Pondok Pesantren Manba'ul Ulum and Pondok Pesantren Al-Fattah. In addition to this, Javanese culture can be seen from the traditions of Bantengan, Sanduk and Slametan Desa. As an illustration, Bantengan is a tradition that combines elements of dances, supernatural martial arts (olah kanuragan), music, and poetry (mantra) that are full of magical nuances. Moreover, Sanduk is a typical dance of Batu City which was actually adopted from Madura.

Sociologically, Sidomulyo has peri-urban characteristics which can be recognized from several things. First, the aspect of physical appearance has changed from agrarian to non-agricultural. Second, from economic perspective there has been good job differentiation among people in agriculture, trade and services. Third, from the socio-cultural aspect, the people's mindset has shifted from rural to urban life. Both the economic and socio-cultural aspects of community in this village certainly affect how women are positioned in lives. This is proven by agro-tourism in Sidomulyo as community-based tourism in which women in each family are active in farming and trading crops.

The discussion of women position in decision-making processes and policies at the village level will be viewed through two lenses, including focusing on women as a social category/group, and seeing women accommodation or women interests through how feminine or masculine values are practiced, not only through social categories. From the second perspective, this research referred from Ashley Judd's opinion that patriarchy is not men, but patriarchy is a system in which men and women participate in it. This opinion is practically voiced by Vandana Shiva [11] who is known as a figure of ecofeminism, in his book entitled "Free from Development".

Shiva revealed that the principle of femininity is the sustenance perspective needed by life which is characterized by peace, safety, compassion, and togetherness. Besides, masculinity has characteristics such as competition, domination, exploitation, and oppression. According to Shiva, the principles of femininity are not a privilege possessed by women, nor is masculinity possessed by men. Therefore, this research could not be moderate when examining how stakeholders and government mechanisms from a political and gender perspective by looking at women from the perspective of social categories, considering the women are potential to implement the principles of femininity, and to act based on these masculinity principles.

As a social category, women have different needs from men which are caused by certain situations that are unique to women only. For example, the phases of menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth and breastfeeding. Women have the need to carry out each phase humanely such as menstrual leave, maternity leave, availability of lactation rooms and so on. The fulfillment of these various needs of women should be ensured through state policies even though they are gender neutral. It means they do not pay attention to the differences in needs between women and men. Through gender-neutral policies, one of the impacts is the low access of women to be served adequately by the country. Because of the low access, it has implications for low participation and control, and ends with the low development benefits for women.

In Sidomulyo Village, the gender gap appears in several issues including health, education, environment, and violence issues. Regarding the issue of Health, based on 2015 achievement data recorded in the document of RPJMDesa 2015-2021 [12], the Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) in Sidomulyo was three deaths, then the Toddler Mortality Rate was four deaths, and Maternal death is one death. Although these numbers are not large, they are evidence of problems in protecting health for mothers and children, which can be caused by lack of nutrition, unhealthy living habits or even weak access to health services.

Regarding the issue of education, the dropout rate for women is 0.05 percent. Then the education level of men is 51 percent and women's is 49 percent, while the dropout rate for men is 0.08 percent and women's is 0.05 percent. Unfortunately, only education data has been gender disaggregated in the document of RPJMDesa, while other achievements are generally not presented in a gender disaggregated manner, such as in 2015 the ratio of babies with birth certificates was 90 percent, and the number of poor people was 3.77 percent.

In environmental issues, the potential for environmental pollution and/or damage has a different impact which is even more significant for women than men. This research found that there are three environmental-based problems. First, the existence of land degradation due to the use of chemical drugs in agriculture. Second, there is water pollution due to restaurant waste and diaper waste that contaminate water in Sidomulyo. Third, the increase in motor vehicle pollution due to the density of tourists in this village. These three forms of environmental problems can have an impact not only on the quality of human life but also on the emergence of natural disasters.

Environmental degradation enables to carry out poverty in Sidomulyo considering that the societies are economically very dependent on nature. Previously, the people grew apples, but because the natural conditions did not support them, they turned to vegetables. Then because vegetables were less productive, about the last 15 years they have turned to flower and ornamental plant farmers. It is even known today; many flower farmers use pesticides so that it threatens the sustainability of the productivity of their agricultural land.

In the violence issue, although it does not happen much, it is still found that there are practices of Domestic Violence (KDRT) with female and child victims. Violence against women (KTP) was found on the results of interviews with the Head of RT 02, while violence against children (KTA) was conveyed by informants in women's group FGDs. Through in-depth interviews, KTA during the pandemic actually showed an increasing trend.

Village Political Stakeholders and Women Solidarity

The concept of governance generally refers to the rules of the decision-making process which is tied to a certain value system such as accountability, participation, consensus, transparency and so on. However, the important thing raised in this research is that the decision-making process and the implementation process of the decision must involve interaction between three actors namely state actors, private sector and civil society. In this

study, the governance actors refer to the importance of these actors' involvement because examining governance is not only about the rules and processes that can ensure the government works well, but also involves actor's involvement [13].

The governance concept derived from democracy which marks the importance of the relations between those three actors in democracy. In this concept, state actors or government are responsible to create a conducive political and legal environment. Besides, the private sector is tasked with providing employment and income. Also, civil society has responsibility to facilitate socio-political interactions and motivate people to participate in social activities.

Based on the conception of governance actors, in Sidomulyo, actors from the private sector are not involved much in either government practices or village development. In the practices, it is dominated by the village government (Village head, Village apparatus and BPD). Society groups are also involved but government should be selective care to see who will be involved, considering that not all groups in the community can be categorized as civil society.

There are three perspectives that can be used to understand civil society. First, as an associational phenomenon, in this case Tocqueville defined civil society as an organized area of social life which is seen as an institution or association. As an institution, civil society exists in associations, representative forums, press freedom, and social associations. Second, civil society as a public space, which is the space between the state and the market or private sector. Public spaces are spaces that are free from domination (free public sphere) and are used to achieve the common good. Third, civil society as a value that is associated with civility values, in this case civil society is not seen as just an independent organization from the state, but also has several characteristics such as volunteerism, self-sufficiency and self-reliance, high independence in the state and tied with the norms or legal values followed by its citizens [14].

Based on this explanation, the groups formed by the government cannot really meet the criteria to be called civil society groups. Among these groups, for example, are Village Community Empowerment Institutions (LPMD), Farmers Groups, Women Farmers Groups, Family Empowerment and Welfare (PKK), Dasawisma and Posyandu. Apart from the groups, there are several groups founded on community initiatives such as Karya Bunda Community (KBC), organizations under NU namely Muslimat and Fatayat, and five women's groups formed by the Wahid Foundation through the Desa Damai program. As a note, each group that has been mentioned, whether formed by the government or not, its members often are involved between one group and another. The question is which groups and how women's solidarity and participation can be raised in Sidomulyo.

Solidarity among women called sisterhood is a concept which has many meanings, but it describes the relationship between women or groups of women. Bell Hooks in "Sisterhood: Political Solidarity Between Women" [15] noted as follows:

To experience solidarity, we must have a community of interests, shared beliefs and goals around which to unite, to build Sisterhood. Support can be occasional. It can be given and just as easily withdrawn. Solidarity requires sustained, ongoing commitment. In feminist movement, there is need for diversity, disagreement and difference if we are to grow.

According to Hooks' explanation, there are three important things in the practice of women's solidarity. First, solidarity is created through a community where shared interests, beliefs and goals unite to build sisterhood. Second, solidarity requires continuity and ongoing commitment. Third, that disagreements and differences are still needed in order for solidarity to continue to grow.

Hooks in another book entitled "Feminists for Everyone" [16] mentioned that the feminist movement creates bonds among women in which they do not rely on men but are responsible to protect their own interests as women. To achieve this, women must relinquish power of class and race to dominate other women. Indeed, Hooks is a black feminist who supports the view of socialist feminism, so that the issue of race and class attract the attention which is considered to hinder women's solidarity.

Sisterhood derived from liberal feminism, Hooks is one of the feminist writers who emphasizes that the differences between one woman and another enable the practice of sisterhood to celebrate these differences. In the context of geopolitics, Aihwa Ong [17] wrote that "strategic sisterhood based on individualistic notions of transnational feminine citizenship, ignoring the historical and cultural differences between women from the first and third world". According to Hooks and Ong's opinion, the practice of sisterhood can differ depending on the ideological background of women's groups, including in Sidomulyo Village, Batu City.

In this village, the origin of women's solidarity is culturally built because women not only play a role in reproductive work, but they are also active in productive work and community work. In productive work, the results of interviews and FGDs show that women in Sidomulyo generally play an active role with their families in farming ornamental plants, flowers or vegetables. Although data from Perdes No. 6 of 2019 only stated that the number of Sidomulyo farmers/planters is 1,588 and 114 farm laborers out of a total population of 8,043. However, in fact almost all population has agricultural/plantation activities either as a main or additional economic activity, including women residents.

The role of women (old women) in community work is carried out through community groups such as PKK and Dasawisma. Solidarity has long been established through the PKK and Dasawisma, but since 2011 Karya Bunda Community (KBC) group has been present and in 2019 there have been five women's groups formed by the Wahid Foundation through the Desa Damai Program. These two groups do not have a direct relationship with the Sidomulyo Village Government both administratively and financially.

KBC was founded on July 13, 2011, with the founding mother in the name of Siti Yulaikah. The number of first members was 11 people, but currently the total KBC members are 26 people. Without being legally registered, KBC looks like a women community. However, KBC activities are quite extraordinary, for example in 2013 – 2017 KBC and Suara Perempuan Desa Kota Batu held a Village Women School. Sutopo (2016) mentioned the following:

Batu women's school is an informal school that is engaged in women's empowerment. The purpose of the establishment of this women's school also legitimizes the goals of the feminist movement which requires men and women to have equal access to social life.

The founders of KBC are native of Sidomulyo, and the majority of KBC members as well. In the beginning, KBC was established to empower women through the aspect of knowledge, but later this aspect has developed to women's economic empowerment. In the early years of its establishment, KBC was one of the groups that was given capital assistance by a government program, namely the National Community Empowerment Program (PNPM).

The interesting thing about KBC's activities is that in carrying out their activities, KBC often relies on cash collected from various sources such as monthly fees of Rp. 3,000 per month per member, selling takjil and second-hand clothes during Ramadhan events and participating in bazaars.

Currently, KBC cash of 12 million rupiah is used for two types of expenses which they call “revolving money” and “fixed money”. Revolving money is used for revolving savings and loans among KBC members and has been running since 2013 until now, while the fixed money is used for daily needs such as capital for participating in bazaars, or emergency conditions if a member is sick.

Each member of KBC has a business such as farming and selling cakes, food or clothes. In addition to this, KBC is currently incorporated in the Association of Women Organizations (GOW) of Batu City so that it often has access to trainings with various focuses such as health, education or environment. As an illustration, joining the Gender Equality Academy training by the Malang Averroes Institute. In participating in such trainings, KBC members attend alternately, but each attendee is obliged to convey the results of his training to all KBC members after the training.

During ten years of its existence, KBC survived and developed into a solid women's community like a family. The solidarity and solidity of this group persisted until its activities became an example for the Office of Women's Empowerment, Child Protection, Population Control and Family Planning and the Batu City Education Office. In terms of impact, there are three impacts of the existence of KBC, namely the impact on strengthening the capacity of women obtained through training, then the economic impact on women and their families who are members of KBC. The last is the impact on the surrounding community.

This impact can be seen from several KBC activities such as Bakti Sosial funded by their own finance, and the participation of members in Sapu Bersih Sampah Nyemplung Kali Community (Saberspungli). Various social issues including environmental issues have become KBC's concern. However, the existence of KBC was never counted by the Sidomulyo Village Government, even the founder of KBC on behalf of Siti Yulaikah was failed in the Village Representative Body (BPD) election in 2019.

In addition to KBC, since 2017 there have been national level CSOs, namely the Wahid Foundation in Sidomulyo through activity Women Participation for Inclusive Society (WISE). It initiated Desa Damai program in which women are placed as the main actors. Through the WISE program, five women's groups were formed including Bunda, Dewi Anjani, Bukit Berbunga, Jasmin and Lavender. These groups then received training such as training in time management, conflict management, finance, skills like embroidery or sewing, and others. From these trainings, they can increase their empowerment both economically and socially.

Similar to KBC, the activities of the five women's groups focus on women's economic empowerment. Through activities that focus on strengthening women's economy, in the long term the activities in Desa Damai Program seek to shape these women as actors of peace. Currently, the economic activities of each group are supported by capital through Cinta Damai Cooperative formed by Wahid Foundation.

Through these two groups, KBC and women groups of Desa Damai, women carry out community and productive work at the same time. Not only limited to social roles because these two groups also play a political role, including the implementation of the Village Women's School with a political theme, the participation of their representatives in the BPD election, and their participation - KBC - on supporting one of the female legislative candidates in Batu City during the 2019 general election. Through the concept of contemporary representation, as part of civil society groups, these two groups represent the practice of informal political representation or non-electoral political representation, which grows based on networks [18].

Culturally, Sidomulyo women have generally been involved in community work. Some of the community work traditionally done by women including tahlilan and diba'an. In addition

to being active in activities that are part of the NU tradition, socio-society women in Sidomulyo also have a role in the practice of mbiodo, women's participation through the provision of money, goods or labor at weddings, circumcisions and births. However, women's participation in basic community groups is not the same as women's participation in village-level decision-making. In RPJMDesa of 2015-2021 document, it is stated that the achievement of women's participation in village government institutions in 2015 is 20 percent.

Now, it is possible that the percentage of representation has decreased due to the non-fulfillment of the obligations of women's representation in the Village Consultative Body (BPD) for the period 2019 - 2025. Normatively, article 58 paragraph 1 of Law No. 6 of 2014 concerning Villages stated that "The number of BPD members is determined by an odd number, at least 5 (five) people and a maximum of 9 (nine) people, taking into account the area, women, population, and Village Finance capabilities"[19].

Based on this rule, women representation has become a concern in the Village Law even though it is not regulated in the form of a minimum quota. Unfortunately, in Sidomulyo, the activity of women's groups (including the existence of women's critical actors) at the basic level is not linear with the presence of women's representation in the BPD. In fact, BPD is one of the important elements of village government, considering that BPD is responsible for the entire implementation of Musdes in the village. In relation to this BPD, Anita who currently serves as the Secretary of Sidomulyo Village stated:

"... actually, there is a woman who can enter in the eighth position. But when we informed the chosen woman, she didn't want to because she felt that yesterday's election was fair. Furthermore, if she entered, she would be in 8th position. However, if she agreed, she will be in seventh place, meaning that it is not in accordance with the selection. So, she has her own ideals of not wanting to join."

Normatively, women are expected to play an active role in decision-making processes. Globally, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in an article entitled "Why Women in Politics" mentions the urgency of the presence of women in politics, partly because: 1) Women work across party lines, 2) Women lawmakers are highly responsive to constituent concern, 3) Women help secure lasting peace, 4) Women's participation encourages citizen confidence in democracy, 5) Women priorities education, health, and other key development indicators [20].

Based on NDI, apart from the special needs, unique situation, and the range of experiences of women who can only be represented by women, the presence of women in politics is also able to have an impact on democratic life that is more maternal and has implications for society as a whole. As a note, the presence of women itself certainly cannot be concluded as a single variable for the success of accommodation of women's interests in village policies. Relationships between governance actors will certainly influence the dynamics of decision-making in the village, both actors from the village government side and from civil society organizations.

The number of populations in Sidomulyo is 8,043 people with 4,131 of female residents (51.36 percent) and 3,916 of male residents (48.63 percent). However, even though the difference between male and female population is 2.68 percent more than the female population, the BPD election process did not succeed in giving one seat to a woman. Generally, liberal electoral system does hamper women's accessibility to representative seats. This happens because the direct election process is based on liberal principles that affect the competition of elections such as individual freedom, private property and equal rights which

are not necessarily owned by women. Thus, the electoral process and results, which are built on this principle, actually facilitate male domination.

From the structure of the Village Government, it was noted that the Sidomulyo Village Government was led by a male Village Head on behalf of Suharto. The Village apparatus consists of 10 people in which the village secretariat led by a female Village Secretary named Anita, who oversees three Heads of Affairs. Then under the Village Head there are three Section Heads and Three Dusun Heads. Of the 10-village apparatus, there are three women. This means that from the village government's perspective, women's representation is fulfilled by 27.27 percent. From the perspective of the Village Community Institution, the explanation of Law No. 6 of 2014 concerning Villages states as follows:

“Village community institutions function as a forum for village community participation in development, government, community, and empowerment that lead to the realization of democratization and transparency at the community level and create access so that the community plays an active role in development activities.”

The village community institutions referred to in this law, apart from LPMD, also including Karang Taruna, RT and RW.

Lampiran Keputusan Kepala Desa Sidomulyo
Nomor : 141/2/KEP/422.310.096/2020
Tanggal : 10 Januari 2020

**DAFTAR PENGURUS LPMD
DESA SIDOMULYO TAHUN PERIODE 2020-2025**

NO.	NAMA	JABATAN
1	2	3
1	ALFAN FATHONI, S.Sos	KETUA
2	AGUS TRIYONO	WAKIL KETUA
3	BUDI SANTOSA	SEKRETARIS
4	KHOIRUL MUJAHIDIN	BENDAHARA
5	M. ARIFIN	SIE PERSATUAN & KESATUAN MASYARAKAT
6	TRI WULYANI	SIE PERANAN PEREMPUAN
7	GALLUH	SIE PEMBINAAN GENERASI MUDA
8	SUWAJI	SIE PEMANFAATAN SDA & LINGKUNGAN
9	SRI SUYANTI	SIE PEREKONOMIAN & KETERAMPILAN MASYARAKAT
10	FATKHUR ROHMAN	SIE INFORMASI & KOMUNIKASI
11	NYAMANI	SIE PEMBANGUNAN SARANA & PRASARANA
12	MATKASHYAN	SIE KESEHATAN MASYARAKAT
13	SUSIYO TRISNOWATI	SIE KEAGAMAAN
14	ABDUL AZIS	SIE Kesenian
15	SUKARTAJI	SIE Kesenian


Ditetapkan di: Batu
pada tanggal: 10 Januari 2020
KEPALA DESA SIDOMLYO

SUHARTO

Fig 1. The Structure of LPMD Sidomulyo

From the structure of the Village Community Empowerment Institution (LPMD) period 2020 - 2025 as shown above, it was noted that of the 15 administrators consisting of four female administrators and 11 male administrators, or equivalent to 26.66 percent female representation. Apart from the Village Government, BPD and LPMD, at the community level, it appears that the heads of the 50 RT and 12 RW in Sidomulyo Village are all men.

Based on this data, even though at the village level women representation already exists, at the community level, the legitimate formal leadership of women is not visible. Based on this explanation, both at the government level and at the grassroots level, men and women in Sidomulyo carried out community work. However, the differences are that the man community role is more related to political authority than the female community role at the same area. Especially at the grassroots level, the role of men's communities, such as head of RT and RW is correlated with jobs that receive budget support, while women's roles such as in PKK, Dasawisma and also in KBC are unpaid work.

Regarding this fact, Mosser noted "...While women in their gender-ascribed roles of wives and mothers are involved in community managing, men are involved in community politics.... This gender division at the community level between paid men's work and unpaid women's voluntary work has been extensively reinforced by government..." [21]. Therefore, women tend to be excluded from community work related to authority and supported by the government's budget.

Accommodation of Women's Interests in Village Policy

The political representation of women in village government, including in community institutions seems underrepresented. Indeed, there are 27.27 percent of women in the village government structure, but Sidomulyo is categorized as underrepresented because apart from the village government structure it does not reach 30 percent of women. In addition to this, the number of women is zero percent of the 7 (seven) elected BPD members for the period 2019 - 2025.

The Village Community Institution also shows that all RT and RW are led by men. In addition, women who hold positions in village level institutions are generally also the middle class (even elite) of the village. This phenomenon has an impact on the process and quality of the decisions taken whether they really represent the interests of women or not. However, women in Sidomulyo do not occupy strategic positions at the village government level. The position of the Village Secretary, who is the second person in the village government, is held by a woman. Hence, this strategic position has not yet been seen in gender-sensitive policies and budgeting.

At the village level, there are two planning activities that require community participation, including the Village Development Planning Deliberation/Musyawah Perencanaan Pembangunan Desa (Musrenbangdes) with the output of the Village Medium-Term Development Plan/Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Desa (RPJMDes) and the Village Deliberation/Musyawah Desa (Musdes) with policy outputs such as the Village Government Work Plan/Rencana Kerja Pemerintah (RKPdes), Village Revenue and Expenditure Budget/Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Desa (APBDes), or various regulations at the village level. In the context of village-level decision-making such as Musrenbangdes and Musdes, the women involved are generally the village middle class who have time slack so they can do social activities freely and then they get certain positions at the village level.

Regarding this, Jefry Winters stated that "If there is a certain group that is in power because of a lot of capital, power based on wealth, then usually he will be very masculine" [22]. Representation assumes that those who are not present can still present their views and interests, with or without the consent of the parties present. Looking at the quality of women involved in village decision-making and women who are present in government structures and village institutions, the majority are middle class.

In other words, at both locations the form of representation that is practiced is descriptive representation instead of substantive representation. In this case, Lovenduski [23] underlines that substantive representation is a form of representation that directs women into maternal policies and political behavior or often referred to as political feminization. As a product of the political process, the results of Musrenbangdes and Musdes (which produce village regulations) will have an impact on the community, including women's groups. Thus, concerns about the limited access of women in the decision-making process can have an impact on the lack of women's participation, where the end result will have an impact on the limited benefits that can be enjoyed by women from these processes.

Various arrangements about Musrenbangdes and Musdes mention the obligation to involve women's organizations or women's groups. For example, in the explanation of article 54 paragraph 1 of Law No. 6 of 2014 concerning Villages stated that women groups are one of the groups that must be involved in the Village Deliberation (Musdes). Then, Ministerial of Home Affairs Regulation No. 114 of 2014 concerning Village Development Guidelines also places women as one of the groups that must be included in the RPJMDes Drafting Team, where the next draft of the RPJMDes will be brought during Musrenbangdes.

Some of the women groups invited during Musrenbangdes process are official groups that are institutionally formed by the village or can also be referred to as extensions of the village government such as PKK, Posyandu and Kelompok Wanita Tani. The involvement of women in the village decision-making process is not representative because the wife of the village head, village midwife or heads of village community organizations are considered sufficient to represent village women. As a result, the decision-making process is practiced in a gender-neutral way (even though the policymakers are women). As an output of this kind of Musrenbangdes process, research informants stated that women's activities funded by the village were PKK and Posyandu activities only.

In APBDes 2018 document [24], it is recorded that the total village budget is 3,435,341,333, and women activities funded by APBDes are 226,501,851 including operational cost for PKK and Posyandu, routine recitations for PKK, Early Childhood Education/PAUD buildings, operational cost of children's forum and village-toddler empowerment cadre. With the details of these activities, the budgeted expenditure is only 6.59 percent of the total village income for 2018.

In APBDes 2019 document, it is recorded that the total village budget is 5,337,007,900 of this amounts, women's activities funded by the APBDes are 338,2566,550, with details of activities including village-owned non-formal education infrastructure, implementation of posyandu, PKK development, training or counseling on women's empowerment, training or counseling on child protection. With the details of these activities, the budgeted expenditure is only 6.33 percent of the total village income in 2019.

Likewise, during Musdes process, where none of the Musdes were held, it resulted in a special policy (Perdes) protecting women's groups. Therefore, in the research in Sidomulyo, Musrenbang and Musdes processes do not seem to be truly aspirational towards women's groups. In this village, there are some village regulations (Perdes) have been ratified, including:

- a. Village Regulation No. 2 of 2018 concerning the Village Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APB Desa) for 2018.
- b. Village Regulation No. 2 of 2019 concerning Village Authorities Based on Origin Rights and Village-Scale Local Authorities.

- c. Village Regulation No. 6 of 2019 concerning the Sidomulyo Village Government Work Plan (RKP Desa) for 2020
- d. Village Regulation No. 1 of 2020 concerning the accountability report on the implementation of the Sidomulyo Village Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APB Desa) for 2020.
- e. Village Regulation No. 2 of 2020 concerning the Village Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APB Desa) for 2020.
- f. Village Regulation No. 3 of 2020 concerning changes to the Village Government Work Plan (RKP Desa) for 2020.
- g. Village Regulation No. 4 of 2020 concerning changes to Perdes No. 2 of 2020 concerning the Sidomulyo Village Revenue and Expenditure Budget for 2020.
- h. Village Regulation No. 5 of 2020 concerning the village medium term development plan (RPJM Desa) Sidomulyo for 2020 – 2025.
- i. In 2020, the Village Government ratified the Village Regulation Draft No. 6 of 2020 concerning the establishment of Village-Owned Enterprises.
- j. In 2020, the Village Government passed Village Regulation No. 7 of 2020 concerning the second amendment to Village Regulation No. 2 of 2020 concerning the Sidomulyo Village Revenue and Expenditure Budget for 2020.

The tenth Village Regulation for the 2018 - 2020 period is all mandatory because they have been outlined in government regulations at the national level. Based on this list of village regulations, it appears that there is no village regulation specifically intended for minority groups, including women's groups. Likewise, in the aspect of village infrastructure, it is also not found that the village infrastructure that has been built has taken into account the needs and interests of women (gender neutral).

Meanwhile, according to the village secretary on behalf of Anita, it was stated that the infrastructure that protects women's needs is still in the form of planning, namely the lactation room which will be built during the renovation of the Village Hall in 2021. In general, the practice of accommodation of women's interests in Sidomulyo Village by the village government is implemented in gender neutral way.

4 Results and Discussion

Women in Sidomulyo generally carry out three roles at once, namely reproductive work, productive work and community work. In productive work, the majority of women contribute to the community-based ornamental plant and flower business. In community work, apart from traditionally women joining pengajian (tahlilan and diba'an) and PKK, Dasawisma and Posyandu which are the unpaid work. The emergence of KBC and women groups of Desa Damai also justifies the existence of community work that derived from the initiative of non-government groups.

The existence of KBC and women groups of Desa Damai at the basic level have placed them relatively as critical village actors. Women's cultural solidarity, which previously existed in various community activities, was strengthened in these two groups. Through these two groups, the women organize themselves with the main focus on the issue of economic empowerment of women, also they focused on personal empowerment and even political empowerment among female members.

Because, apart from the issue of women's economic empowerment, various issues were also discussed in these groups such as political issues, health and environmental issues through various seminars, discussions or training meetings. Women solidarity in Sidomulyo is not only based on non-government initiatives, but also needs to be seen as part of democratic life. Through democracy, the activism of non-governmental groups like this can contribute freely even though it is not legally registered through a notary. However, in village-level decision-making processes such as during the Musrenbangdes and Musdes, women who are active at the basic level are generally excluded due to lack of access to participation, and ultimately do not have control over development priorities and budgets in the village.

The relationship between government and non-government actors in Sidomulyo is an asymmetrical one, where the dominant power remains in the hands of the village government. This is exacerbated by the underrepresented formal representation of women both descriptively and substantively at the village level. Although the position of village secretary is filled by women, this strategic position does not necessarily make women's interests considered in decision making at the village level.

Hence, it is not surprising that the direct output of such a process is that Sidomulyo does not have a single product of legislation that specifically protects women's groups. Even documents such as RPJMDes and APBDes tend to the same target related to PKK, Posyandu and Early Childhood Education with a value of never more than 7 percent. The interests of women are reduced because they are often simplified to the interests of the PKK, Posyandu and Early Childhood Education. Meanwhile, women groups of Desa Damai did not even receive any real assistance such as funds or certain regulations that support their empowerment.

Acknowledgment

Some of the data in this study is the result of research with the Wahid Foundation sponsored by UN Women in 2020, with the title "The Dynamics of Implementing Peaceful Villages Based on the Human Security Approach in Malang Regency and Batu City in a Political and Gender Review". In addition, researchers also carried out independent research to enrich the data according to the focus in this article. Thanks are given to not only the Wahid Foundation, but also to all the informants in this research who were willing to take part in the FGDs and interviews, even though this research were held in the pandemic situation.

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