

Between the Elite Power and Women Subordination: Formulation of “Dana Desa” in Java Village Context

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Abstract

Dana desa (village funds) is one of the new policies to realize development based on the needs of rural communities. In its implementation there is a role that is often overlooked, it is women's role. This paper discusses the process of formulating *dana desa* policies in Pengalusan Village, with a focus on the role of women when formulating these policies. Applying the gender approach this study found that the planning process for the formulation of *dana desa* policies is carried out through the *Musrenbangdes* (village development planning meeting) which is carried out before the APBDes decision is agreed. But from the planning through evaluation processes there is no specific discussion related to the ideas, interests, and role of women in the development processes in the village. The elite as decision makers are men, and village development policies are more masculine, one of which is demonstrated through physical development. Women's ideas, roles and interests have not received enough attention in village development processes.

Dana desa merupakan salah satu kebijakan baru untuk mewujudkan pembangunan yang berbasis kebutuhan masyarakat desa. Dalam implementasinya, ada peran yang sering diabaikan, yaitu peran perempuan. Penelitian ini membahas proses perumusan kebijakan dana desa di Desa Pengalusan dengan fokus utamanya pada peran perempuan ketika merumuskan kebijakan tersebut. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan gender, studi ini menemukan bahwa proses perencanaan perumusan kebijakan dana desa dilakukan dengan Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan Desa (Musrenbangdes) yang dilakukan sebelum keputusan APBDes disepakati. Namun dari proses perencanaan hingga evaluasi tidak ada pembahasan khusus terkait gagasan, kepentingan, dan peran perempuan dalam proses pembangunan di desa. Elit sebagai pengambil keputusan adalah laki-laki, dan kebijakan pembangunan desa lebih bersifat maskulin, salah satunya ditunjukkan melalui pembangunan fisik. Gagasan, peran, dan kepentingan perempuan belum mendapat perhatian yang cukup dalam proses pembangunan desa.

Keywords: women; *dana desa*; development; policy; gender

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Introduction

The dichotomy between women and men always brings us to a discourse of balance and justice. It is only because of the dominating power of patriarchy that until now women are still in marginality, both idealism and pragmatism. Two causes make patriarchal power eternal and difficult to achieve equality. First, questioning women is the same as shaking the status quo of injustice in society. Second, there was a misunderstanding when the status of women was questioned (Fakih 2008).

Gender equality will always be wishful thinking if patriarchal power is not undermined forever. This is the surface of the ideology of radical feminism. The ideology departs from the power of patriarchy, the cause of all injustice to women. There are three waves in feminism, which in essence start from women who must also enjoy education until women must be free, even in their minds, themselves and their bodies (Tong and Botts 2009).

In three waves, the ideology of feminism gave birth to an equal spirit of women, one of which is in terms of public policy. Domestic and public divisions become more clearly demarcated when the placement of men and women seems unchanged. The transformation of women into the public sphere such as becoming laborers is false domestication because they cannot be separated from household duties.

Women often do not have power over their own bodies. one of them can be seen in the case of female circumcision, a tradition. People think that the practice of female circumcision is inseparable from a patriarchal culture and the stigma of women. However, in the matriarchal tradition such as in the Minang people, female

circumcision is also compulsory. In general, female circumcision aims to reduce women's sexual desire (Farida et al. 2018). Women marginalization also occurs when faced with public policies or regulations, that women are almost always controlled, starting from planning and implementation. Even in 2020, the Indonesian Parliament postponed the discussion of the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU PKS). The National Commission on Violence Against Women sees this as a step backwards in efforts to uphold justice for victims of sexual violence (Farasonalia 2020). Most of the victims of sexual violence are women.

Women always carried out several struggles and movements. In politics, the power of policymakers is often controlled by men. The power of women in policy begins with the representation of women in state institutions, which has increased. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union report, the representation of women as members of the DPR RI for the 2009-2014 period was 18.2 percent. In the 2014-2019 period, the representation of members of the DPR RI was only 17.3 percent (Mh. and Sf. 2022).

Society encourages women's representation to be balanced. The report on the survey results from the Women Research Institute, from the number of respondents that 51% agree with encouraging policies on the role of women in politics (30%), from the five answer options. Then the reason for agreeing with the 30% quota policy is to balance the number of men and women by 54% and to provide more significant opportunities for women, as much as 34% (Women Research Institute 2014). Both reports have demonstrated the representation of women and the increasing public incentive to

achieve equality at the global or country level. Data on women's representation in the legislative body shows that the number of women still tends to be less than that of men in the parliament.

The implementation of state policies that also cannot be missed from women's participation can be started at the lowest level, such as in the village. Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia No 6, the year 2014 about villages is a government policy giving villages autonomy rights. One form of this is by giving *dana desa* (village funds). Village funds have the benefit of being able to empower village communities. It is the starting point for the village to get out of the limited facilities and resources to achieve prosperity.

Village communities consist of multiple entities, although they tend to be homogeneous. The habits of the village community regarding the division of roles for men and women tend to be controlled by men. Studies of women's political power have been carried out several times at the city or district level, such as regarding the participation of women DPRD members or gender equality policies. It would be better if the study of women's participation was initiated at the village level.

The condition of women in village development still has several problems, such as heavy and long burdens because in addition to taking care of the household, they also think about family finances. In addition, the low participation of women during village development and the low level of capacity building for women has always been an obstacle for village women (Darmi 2016). The perception of the village community is that women are more powerless than men (Kusumastuti 2019). When it comes to public policies such as *dana desa*, women are

often forgotten, even though all entities in the village community are expected to participate. All stakeholders and elements must formulate a village development decision. The formulation mechanism in the form of RKPDes, RPJMDes, and APBDes for each village has its own way which is sometimes different.

One of the villages that can be seen in this regard is Pengalusan Village, Mrebet District, Purbalingga Regency. Most of the people in this village work as *nira* (coconut sap water) farmers. One unique thing about Pengalusan Village is that even though it is not the capital of a sub-district, Pengalusan seems to be a trading center with the village market. Apart from the village market, there are also other potentials such as springs, palm sugar producers, and various types of wood. This initial brief description can be seen as an opportunity to increase village and community income. Several villages in various regions in Indonesia have proven the local potential for increasing quality by utilizing *dana desa*. One of them is Limbangan Village, Karanganyar Pekalongan, has the potential for catfish farming (Admin 2021). In this case, the village has the duty and authority to manage its interests and needs (Putra 2013).

In the latest regulations, the village has the freedom to manage independently. One of them is by providing funding for *dana desa*. In the formulation of village fund policies regulated in Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia No 6, the year 2014, one of which is the village development planning meeting (*Musrenbangdes*). Pengalusan Village began with a hamlet meeting to determine needs every year. From this decision-making mechanism, it can be observed who the central figure plays a role in making decisions. Despite the presence of women, their opinions and ideas tend to be few and not heard.

This study will reveal how the use of *dana desa* is planned. Therefore, the questions to be answered are how the power map exists in the village to determine the planning of *dana desa*, and what are the roles and interests of women in the context of determining *dana desa*. The basic assumption behind this research question is that the village elite is still very strong in maintaining masculinity in planning the use of *dana desa*. Secondly, although women's struggles have emerged to take part in village fund planning and fight for women's interests in village programs, the struggle is still tough. Therefore, the novelty of this study lies in the study of village fund planning using a gender perspective. This approach is still new in the study of village fund planning policies

Demography and Social Dynamics of Pengalusan Village

Pengalusan Village is located in Mrebet District, Purbalingga Regency. From the Purbalingga square it is 14.60 km away, while towards the subdistrict capital, it is 7.60 km. The road that can be taken to this village is towards the north (Pemalang Regency). Travel time if using a motorized vehicle from the city center is about 30 minutes. Pengalusan Village area is divided into 5 hamlets, 3 RW and 21 RT. The five hamlets are Brengkol, Biting, Goa Lawa, Kecomberan, and Kracak.

Several other villages border Pengalusan Village. The village borders are to the north of Campkoah Village and Sangkanayu Village, west of Perhutani and Serang Village, south of Binangun Village, and east of Pagerandong Village (see Figure 1).

Based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) in 2017, Pengalusan Village has

an area of 390.5 Ha. 37.18 Ha is paddy land, and 353.17 Ha is dry land (BPS Kab. Purbalingga 2018). Some village data relating to the role of women in *dana desa* is population based on sex and livelihood (see Table 1).

Based on the total population of Pengalusan Village of 6596 people, the number of women is less than 3262 people and men 3334 people. So the female population is 49% and the male population is 51%. This comparison is not significant, that is, the population by sex is almost the same.

Village communities have characteristics with their livelihoods in agriculture. This is due to the condition of the land which is quite extensive. Usually, each village community owns its yards or plantations used for farming. This land is the result of a gift or inheritance from parents. It means that the village community in the past usually owned more land. The condition of farmers as the majority of livelihoods in the village is also found in Pengalusan Village. The livelihood data of Pengalusan Village can be seen on Table 2.

The data explains that farmers' livelihoods are the highest in Pengalusan Village, with 1684 out of 4250 people. This number consists of farmers and peasants. Pengalusan Village is a highland area, so there are no people who work as fishermen. The second highest number is another with 1075 people.

Farmers in Pengalusan Village are divided into land owners and farm laborers or land cultivators. The land included is not paddy field or vegetable and fruit plantations, but most of the land is used as a coconut tree garden. Coconut trees are used as the main ingredient for making "Gula Jawa". *Nira* (coconut sap

water) is taken to be used as a material for making Javanese sugar. Usually if a farmer does not have a large area of land, he will use

someone else's land with a coconut tree rental system.

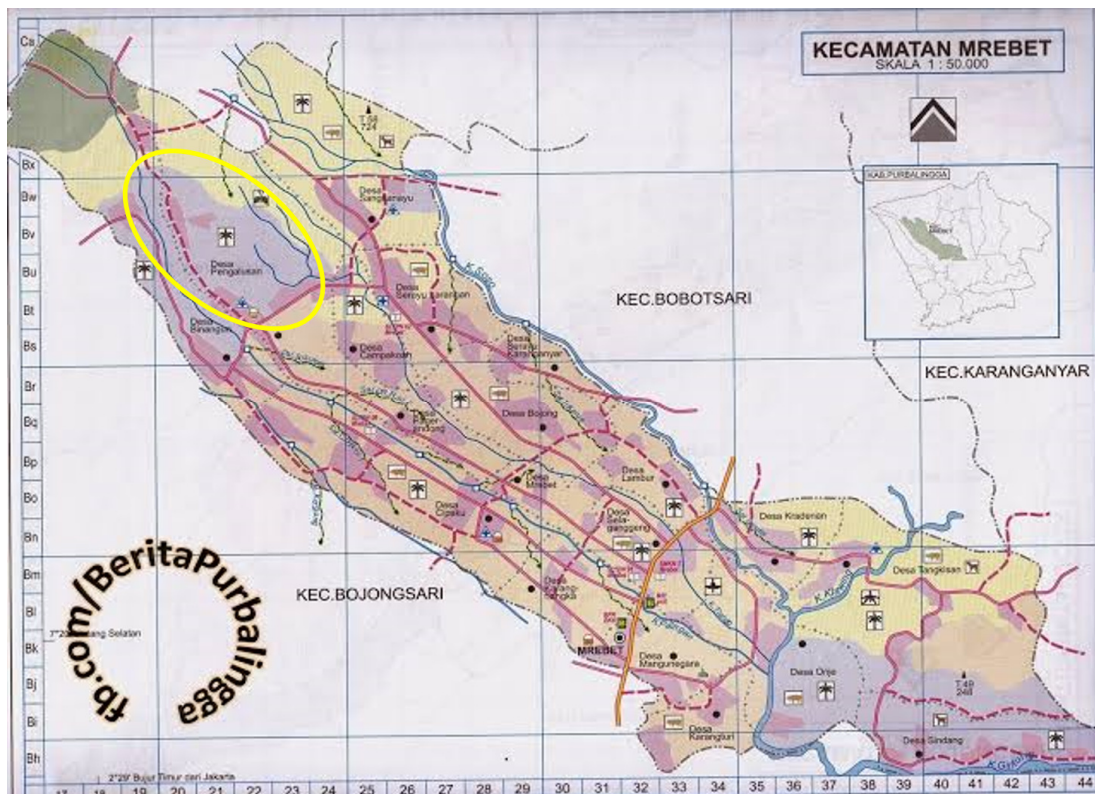


Figure 1
 Pengalusan Village Map
 Source: Peta Kecamatan Mrebet Purbalingga, 2014

Table 1
 Number of Population in Pengalusan Village, based on Gender in 2019

No	RW	Women	Men	Amount
1	I	1243	1273	2516
2	II	1298	1331	2629
3	III	721	730	1451
Total		3262	3334	6596

Source: Profile of Desa Pengalusan 2020

Table 2
The Livelihoods of the Residents of Pengalusan Village 2017

No	Type of Work	Amount
1	Farmer	658
2	Peasant	1026
3	Industrian Workers	589
4	Construction Workers	310
5	Fishermen	0
6	Entrepreneurs	68
7	Traders	388
8	Transportation	98
9	Civil servants	25
10	TNI/POLRI	2
11	Retired	6
12	TKI	5
13	Others	1075
Total		4250

Source: Kecamatan Mrebet dalam Angka 2018

Between Elite Power and Community Role in Dana Desa

Pengalusan Village Development in 2020 is based on the 2016-2022 Medium Term Village Development Plan (RPJMDes). The RPJMDes was created from the inauguration of the new village head until the term of office ended, which is six years. The RPJMDes will be reduced to a Village Government Work Plan (RKPDes) which is created every year. The compiled RPJMDes and RKPDes are the main ingredients for compiling the Village Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBDes).

In the formulation process, according to Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia No 6, the year 2014 about Village, the requirements for a structured APBDes are a deliberation on the village development plan (*Musrenbangdes*). *Musrenbangdes* is held after the hamlet meeting (*musdus*) and/or village deliberation (*musdes*). Desa Pengalusan conducts the *Musrenbangdes* in the year before the APBDes approval.

Before implementing the *Musrenbangdes*, in Pengalusan Village, the village head and village officials reviewed and evaluated village development in the previous year. It becomes the basic material for carrying out development in the following year. The next process begins with a deliberation at the hamlet level (*musyawarah dusun*). However, this year due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the village government decided to hold only one meeting at the village level.

Musrenbangdes participants who are usually invited are all representatives of village level institutions starting from the heads of RT & RW, youth organizations, religious leaders, health and education personnel, PKK cadres, BPD, and youth organizations. The number of *Musrenbangdes* participants in January 2020 according to the attendance list document, is 40 people. The *Musrenbangdes* discusses more or less the selection of village development programs. Then the ranking is carried out, and then the priority program is selected.

The regulations on *Musrenbangdes* are included in a statutory regulation. UU No. 6 of 2014 about villages is the source of reference for villages in running their government. Based on this law, village development aims to improve the welfare of rural communities and alleviate poverty. This is stated in pasal 78 concerning village development. This means that the main objective of village development is not to provide physical needs, but rather leads to social welfare.

Pasal 78 explains that poverty alleviation is carried out through the fulfillment of basic needs, infrastructure, development of local potential, and utilization of natural resources. If you look at the 2020 Pengalusan Village APBDes and its changes, some of these methods have not been fulfilled. Only the fulfillment of the infrastructure is still being worked on.

The people of Pengalusan Village actually have local potential that can be developed, namely in the agricultural sector. This form of agriculture is such as processing "*nira*" and vegetables. So that the regulations regarding the village will be implemented properly, if this potential is developed.

The village government can maximize the budget from "*dana desa*" to achieve community welfare. So far, the village community considers that the form of development must be physical. In the principle of village development, the village has independent planning. In addition, development is based on local wisdom and village authority. To achieve the desired goals local actors or assistants are needed. Then, the government does not need to intervene (Rondong, Taseng, and Joz 2011).

Some of the basic principles of village development can be seen in the development of

Pengalusan Village, although not entirely. Since the formulation of village fund policies that were decided in the APBDes, local actors and village assistants have a role to play in directing the priority program. Planning has also been carried out independently, meaning that in the initial understanding, the principles of development can be fulfilled.

However, this understanding does not reach the extent to which this principle can create social welfare. For example, the principle of local wisdom is understood as limited to the needs of the village community. Local wisdom will be more comprehensive if it is understood as a unique culture and cannot be left behind in development.

Requirements for village development planning include empowerment, participatory, pro-community, open, accountable, selective, efficient, effective and sustainable. These prerequisites and principles are supporting factors in achieving development planning that meets expectations (Ariadi 2019).

The results showed that the Pengalusan Village development planning process had not fully fulfilled the principles and prerequisites of village development planning. Open prerequisites are carried out at the deliberation stage in the Pengalusan Village area. Meanwhile, the deliberation participants are representatives and figures, so not all village communities know about the village budget and activities for one year.

The characteristics of development in the village actually prioritize physical development and the planning is still dominated by men. Actually, the purpose of *dana desa* from the APBN is prioritized for community development and empowerment. So that it is not only

for infrastructure development purposes but also for improving welfare by empowering the community (Hulu, Harahap, and Nasutian 2018).

By only prioritizing physical development, it means that the development is more masculine in nature. This patriarchal power extends to the stage of deciding village fund policies. The patriarchal system gives power to men to oppress groups such as children, women and other men in marginal and subordinate positions (Hasyim 2017).

The principle of village development that is not fulfilled is contained in Undang-Undang No 6, the year 2014 about villages. The law's explanatory section describes village development carried out by planning through the *Musrenbangdes*. Village development is carried out by the government and village communities in "gotong royong (mutual cooperation)" and utilizing local wisdom and natural resources. In this development, the village community has the right to obtain information about the planning and implementation of village development.

If UU No. 6, year 2014 is read more deeply, several aspects have not been fulfilled by the village, including Pengalusan Village. "Gotong royong" in the sense of labor-intensive means to involve all village communities in development. The fact is that not all village communities have participated in the development process. The causative factor is about the ability of all communities and the long development process if they carry out all the law mandates.

The concept of participation is considered to have a positive impact in village development, such as the program being more applicable to the social context, creating a sense of responsibility in planning and implementation,

giving the community a role to be involved, implementing activities that can be more objective, and more open accountability as a form of openness (Rondong et al. 2011).

Some of these deep village development concepts have not been fully fulfilled in the planning and implementation of Pengalusan Village development. Since the law on villages (*dana desa*) emerged in 2014, not all village communities including Pengalusan Village have comprehensively understood them. However, the emergence of *dana desa* has at least slightly changed the paradigm of top-down to bottom-up development, even though it is still from the perspective of the need for village development to be determined independently.

Village development in the policy space is the result of village political dynamics. Usually, village political power often makes use of cultural identity, kinship and capital. Aspects of cultural identity that do not always exist in rural politics. Village communities more often exercise kinship and capital in gaining political power. The highest political power in the village in the government structure is the village government (head and village apparatus). In the struggle for the power of the village government, local elites show their contestation.

Village head election contests and the appointment of village officials are regulated in UU No. 6, year 2014 concerning Villages. The technical provisions of this law are revealed in the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs (Permendagri) No 67 of 2017 concerning the appointment and dismissal of village officials. In this ministerial regulation, the village head has the right to appoint and dismiss village officials. Since then, the mechanism for appointing village officials has usually been through selection with provisions regulated by the local government.

In early 2020, Pengalusan Village selected village officials for the positions of three heads of affairs and three section heads. Those who were selected were bachelors with a bachelor's degree. With this background, while the administrative duties and responsibilities of Pengalusan Village could be carried out effectively.

The election of the Pengalusan Village apparatus position was the result of village political contestation. The selection flow consisting of administrative selection and written tests has met the requirements. However, there is a discussion of "capital competition" and kinship in the village community behind the formal flow. In deepening the data, "capital competition" is rather tricky to prove because it requires physical evidence unlike the kinship path that can be seen because even other village officials admit it.

The Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia explained that the village head has the right to choose village officials to carry out better village governance. However, that reason cannot abandon his obligation to appoint village officials according to procedures. In this case the village head is tested to show professionalism (Pratiwi 2020). So, with the rights granted by the policy, the village head (including Pengalusan Village) should not choose relatives regardless of their abilities and professionalism.

The village government is one of the local elite groups who are potential agents of reform. This acts as a liaison between the government and the community. Local elites more broadly often appear in creating social movements, conveying the ideas and desires of the community (Ufford and Shirley 1988). This concept sees the village government as part of

the local elite whose parties can create social change. One of the causes of this social change is village development.

Village development that is formulated through planning (*Musrenbangdes*) features a local elite consisting of a governing elite and a non-governing elite. The village government has power because it gets legitimacy from the government. Outside communities, such as traditional and religious leaders, get legitimacy from their personal capacities. Both have the same power in village development (Mantraman, Noak, and Erviantono 2016).

The local elites played by the Pengalusan Village Government and their derivative positions (kadus, head of the RT/RW, PKK) seem to have more power in terms of village development. *Musrenbangdes* activities are an important moment in the formulation of village development policies. The presence and attendance of local elites by religious, educational and cultural leaders during the *Musrenbangdes* are no more than that of other local elites. This resulted in the decision to formulate village development (*dana desa*), where the power was mostly held by the governing elite.

Role of Women: Between power or "Only Being"

As in other villages, the women's institution that has a role and gets space at the village level is Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK). Broadly speaking, the Pengalusan Village PKK oversees several working groups (*Pokja*) such as *Pokja I* (*Gotong-royong/mutual co-operation*), *Pokja II* (education), *Pokja III* (food), and *Pokja IV* (health).

The three aspects that focus on the PKK's activities from working group III in 2018 are

health and the environment. It can indirectly support village activity programs, including village development. It is the same as other villages, but there is something interesting about women in Pengalusan Village, to be precise at Dukuh Katel Klawu. The KWT "Karya Tani" was originally part of the Working Group III (food). The Women Farmers Group (*Kelompok Wanita Tani*) "Karya Tani" was founded in January 2020. One of the reasons for the establishment of this KWT is because historically this area is an agricultural area.

"There is one interesting thing, here is a KWT called Karya Tani. The location is in Katel Klawu. In Katel Klawu, women are diligent. If you go to the forest since early morning. Anyway, almost all the women are busy taking care of the farming a full day. So, the KWT there is doing very well." (Widyarningsih, Chairperson of the PKK, August 11, 2020).

The people of Katel Klawu Hamlet previously worked as farmers. For the people of Katel Klawu, farming is owned by men and women. In household relations, responsibility for agricultural land is carried out by husband and wife. So that female farmers have become a routine for a long time.

At the end of 2019, women from Katel Klawu Hamlet through the PKK Group participated in the Purbalingga Regency Land Utilization Competition (PTP). The Purbalingga Regency Agriculture, Plantation and Forestry Service (Dinpertan) decided that PTP in Katel Klawu Hamlet won 2. With this achievement, Dinpertan through agricultural extension agents proposed an agricultural grant of 50 million rupiah which was finally agreed by the Dinpertan. The funds were provided by forming the KWT Karya Tani. This form of assistance has

been realized to carry out planting in agricultural land (groups) and each house is given assistance in the form of plants with 200 polybags planting media (individual).

The existence of KWT Karya Tani has shown innovation in the dynamics of the role of women in Pengalusan Village. Murwati chairs this group. When I first met, a warm welcome was given. At the age of 51 years, he did not dampen his enthusiasm as a farmer. According to her, being a farmer (woman) has been practiced for quite a long time. The land has been planted with several vegetables (chives, chilies, leeks and tomatoes). The activity starts in the early morning around 03.00 GMT+7. Usually at that time she and her husband go to the forest (a term for a vegetable field) to harvest or care for vegetables. Morning to noon he spends his time on KWT plants and household affairs. Murwati's role in KWT is quite large. This can be seen from the daily activities of managing KWT and using private land for groups (without rental fees).

Murwati as the head of KWT is able to improve the image of Pengalusan Village. After winning second place at the district level, KWT and Murwati became known to the village community. Likewise, when I conducted interviews, positive responses emerged about KWT. Although the Murwati (religious) minority and KWT, can provide something that other citizens have not been able to do. The positive response that the local government has made is the visit of the Regent of Purbalingga to Katel Klawu on August 29, 2020.

The brief explanation of one of the women leaders and their group provides a description that the village government should be able to make it an actor in village development. However, the role of women in village development cannot yet have more power than men.

More specifically, women in Pengalusan Village have a role in village fund policies in three ways, attendance and activeness at meetings and policy implementation. This is important because it can be used as a benchmark for the role of women. In most villages, women do not always attend the *Musrenbangdes*. However, it is somewhat different in Pengalusan Village, where women are involved during the *Musrenbangdes*.

There are three things, if we look at the role of women in village fund policies. First, the presence of women during *Musrenbangdes* is usually represented by PKK cadres consisting of 4 working groups. Each working group will send a representative to the *Musrenbangdes*. In addition, the village government also invited women as representatives of religious, education and health leaders. Although not all and the percentage is smaller than that of men, the presence of women can be considered as the village government's concern for women.

The presence of women at the *Musrenbangdes* can be seen from the attendance list for the *Musrenbangdes* which was held on January 4, 2020. The *Musrenbangdes* was held at the Village Sports Building Facility (*Sargordes*) in Pengalusan Village. The deliberation participants who attended were 40 people. Of the total number of participants, there were 8 women. Other data obtained was during the activity of the formation of a village COVID-19 task force. The number of participants who attended was 55 people, 10 of whom were women.

Second, the role of women can also be seen from their activeness in expressing opinions. When women can attend the *Musrenbangdes* it can be the beginning of justice because they can know the village activity plan. Then, this attendance can be increased by being active at

the meeting. Although not all, some women can convey their ideas.

During the research, there was a meeting to discuss the preparation for the soccer competition between hamlets. At that time, the anniversary night of the Republic of Indonesia 2020. This soccer competition started with the idea of a youth organization. Long story short, although football usually only belongs to men, at that time there was a woman who argued. His opinion emerged during an argument between the head of RT and the youth organization (*Karang Taruna*). If in terms of sports competition plans alone, women can argue, then it is likely the same on other occasions.

Third, when implementing village development activities. At this time, the women of Pengalusan Village did not yet have a big role. It is because the development only concerns infrastructure. Village physical development requires labor-intensive activities so that only village men can participate. The role of women during activities sourced from *dana desa* can be seen only in PKK activities. In addition, the role of women appeared when they were officers in the village COVID-19 task force. Likewise, PKK leaders such as Mrs. Ning, during the construction implementation, she had never carried out an important task.

This condition is not a policy violation. In Law No. 6 of 2014 on villages alone, the word woman is only found in 2 articles. Article 54 paragraph 1 which mentions elements of society and Article 58 paragraph 1 concerning BPD members. There are women in the community and members of the BPD oblige a quota for women. In this case, women will be involved as the subject of development known as Women in Development (WID).

Mansour Fakhri uses the term Women in Development to see the role of women in development. This program was proposed as an answer to developmentalists who view development as neglecting women. Although behind that there is criticism that the development policy actually degrades, impoverishes and eliminates women, but the beginning of the awakening of the state's awareness of women starts from here (Fakhri 2008).

WID can be seen from the figure of women in village leadership. Central Java provincial data shows that the percentage of male and female village heads is almost equal.

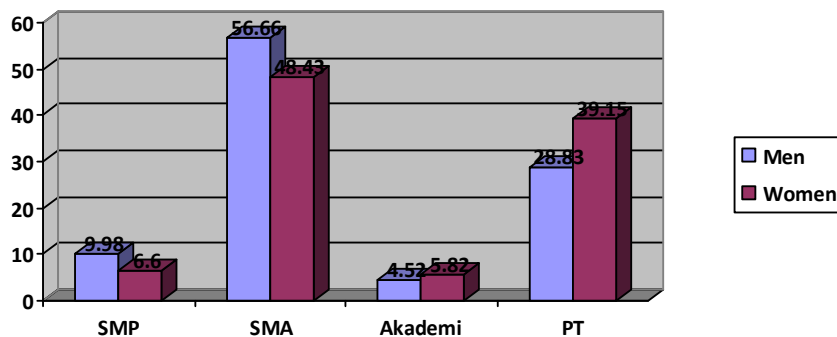
It can be interpreted as the beginning of getting equal in village leadership. Although the data does not clearly show the number, it is quite balanced as a percentage of the proportion of women and men in the village head. However, this figure is far less than the representation of women in the legislature. Data from BPS Central Java Province, members of the

Central Java Provincial DPRD for the 2014-2019 period of women 19.17%, while men 80.83% (BPS Provinsi Jawa Tengah 2020) (see Figure 2).

In village development, the concept of WID is not visible in the village policy. This caused the development policy of Pengalusan Village (one of which) to experience a setback, which could not bring about gender justice. The village government and the community have not really been involved the role of women in village development. The concept used is that women's development is limited to PKK activities and the consumption section in village infrastructure development.

Women's participation in village development is one of the implementations in the political field. There are stages in women getting political opportunities. In the initial stage, by seeing women as an independent group, came to suggest ways to expand women to be equal in development. In politics, women are

Figure 2
Percentage of Village Heads by Gender and Last Education, Central Java, 2019



Source: Statistik Gender Provinsi Jawa Tengah, 2019
(BPS Provinsi Jawa Tengah 2020)

endeavored to have the same power space so that development can achieve equality. His study draws on policy analysis in Yugoslavia, Romania, Mexico and Egypt (Molo 2006). In fact, the opportunity and power of women in Pengalusan Village have not yet reached the initial stage of seeing women free and independent. Women are still only seen as complementary subjects.

Arif Budiman's book, "Pembagian Kerja secara Seksual: Sebuah Pembahasan Sosiologis tentang Peran Wanita di dalam Masyarakat" explains that in development a gender approach is needed. It can be done in three ways: providing certainty about the same development benefits, development impacts that are not always the same, and differences in problems between men and women (Salama 2012). A gender approach is needed in the formulation of "*dana desa*" policies with the aim of equal rights for men and women. The resulting village development policies, such as (only) infrastructure, are no longer masculine.

Continuing the concept of WID, it is understood as an implementation of feminist thinking. The beginning of feminism thought and movement is liberal feminism. Liberal feminism originated in the west, one of the figures of which was Wollstonecraft. According to him, women will have low thinking power with a different education. Then, Wollstonecraft offered an idea to provide an equal education for women. Furthermore, according to him, women should be able to be autonomous decision makers (Tong and Botts 2009).

The dynamics of Pengalusan Village development can be analyzed in the concept of gender analysis. The concept is not only looking at roles, activities, but also relationships, so that the questions asked are not only "who does

what", but also include: who makes decisions, who benefits, who uses development resources such as land, credit, who controls development resources, what factors influence the relationship, whether legal, economic, or social (Handayani 2002).

For Javanese women, they are accustomed to division roles and as decision makers. This has been done for a long time, especially for farmers and traders, namely when women also earn a living and take care of the household. The production ideology refutes the public-domestic division of roles by saying that women also produce (Manembu 2018). However, their strength and production capabilities are not yet understood, so the community does not consider their participation as important. In village fund decisions, women are considered subjects who can only "produce" in the household.

Gender analysis uses the basic premise that a woman must also have the same power. If this analysis is used at the "who does what" stage, then women's access to the development of Pengalusan Village can still play a role in activities concerning women. When women are able to reach an equal position with men in development, such utopian ideals are no longer written only in literary works. One of women's struggles in undermining patriarchal power can be found in the novel *Gadis Pantai* written by Pramoedya Ananta Toer. This struggle was apparently carried out by a male writer (Muzakka 2017). If in literary works it can be realized, then in development it can actually be done. If the development program has considered gender equality, it can be said that the program has succeeded in being gender responsive (Khofsah and Falatehan 2019; Tsania 2018).

The entire analysis of gender, WID and feminism, women's access to the development of Pengalusan Village can be understood in three ways. First, women are still involved in physical presence during *Musrenbangdes*. This reality can be contextualized in women's empowerment. Moose argues that empowerment in women means independence and internal strength. Women can be given space in power, representation and participation in development (Djumati, Rompas, and Rorong 2015). Physical presence during the *Musrenbangdes* cannot fully be said to be the provision of power, representation and participation in development.

Second, in the logic of WID, Pengalusan Village women are still the objects of development. The object of development means that women do not yet have full power as constructive subjects. Women are more likely to be complementary subjects and spectators. Since *dana desa* have become the largest income for the village (2015), women have not had equal and equal access to men.

Third, the concept of feminism is more visible not in village development, but in the division of roles within the family. In public spaces such as village development, men still own power. Unequal conditions can be seen in the private or domestic sphere. Even the concept of postfeminism which sees women as subjects completely out of patriarchy has begun to appear (Brook 2009). Women have more power when processing *nira* from palm sugar than when doing physical development.

Conclusion

The "*dana desa*" implementation is embodied in the Pengalusan Village APBDes policy. As one of the villages with large *dana*

desa, the village government prepares the 2020 APBDes as a one-year development agenda. APBDes is prepared based on the needs, problems and potential of Pengalusan Village. The planning process for the formulation of village fund policies is carried out with the *Musrenbangdes*. The 2020 APBDes was agreed upon in the 2019 *Musrenbangdes*. At the time of the deliberation, all village stakeholders, including the village government, BPD, youth organizations, LKMD, PKK, RT/RW heads, religious and educational leaders. In the planning process, it is usually agreed that the development program being implemented is the area that is most in need and has never been touched by development.

From planning to construction implementation, there is a subject that is forgotten, it is women. Village development policies are more masculine in character, one of which is demonstrated through physical development. When planning for attendance, women are still at the complementary stage of the meeting. Women's ideas, ideas and proposals have not received more attention. Likewise, during the implementation of development, it was often controlled by men. This means that the patriarchal power is still working fully in the development of Pengalusan Village. The formulation and implementation of "*dana desa*" policies has not involved many women, so that gender justice and equality have not been realized.[]

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