

Study on the Implementation of Law No. 6/2014 on Villages

Baseline Report



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ABSTRACT

Study on the Implementation of Law No. 6/2014 on Villages Baseline Report

Muhammad Syukri, Palmira Bachtiar, Asep Kurniawan, Gema Satria Mayang Sedyadi, Kartawijaya, Rendy Adriyan Diningrat, and Ulfah Alifia.

Prior to the implementation of Law No. 6/2014 on Villages (the “Village Law”), the prevailing policies on village areas were considered ineffective in bringing change at the village level, particularly in terms of village governance. The implementation of the Village Law thus offers new possibilities for village development, given that the Village Law views villages as being self-regulating and self-managing. This study is the baseline study of a two-year longitudinal study that observes how village administration mechanisms implemented principles of good governance (transparency, participation, and accountability) in the early years of the implementation of the Village Law. Qualitative methods were applied in this study by collecting information from FGDs and in-depth interviews, direct observation, transect walks, and the collection of documents. The study was conducted in 10 villages located within 10 *kecamatan* (subdistricts), in five *kabupaten* (districts) and three provinces in Indonesia.

There are three main findings from this baseline study. First, while good governance was practiced in all the study locations, there were varying levels of performance. Second, the practice of village governance did not fully accommodate the needs of all members of the community. Third, the role of institutions outside the villages studied was not optimized to assist in the process of village governance. Thus, several recommendations are provided based on these findings, including: (i) further socialization of the Village Law among village communities, BPD, and other institutions in the village; (ii) the implementation of central government regulations to encourage regional governments to provide more intensive assistance for village administration mechanisms; and (iii) directives for village facilitators to encourage the participation of poor and marginalized groups in the community more vigorously in the process of village planning.

Keywords: Village Law, governance, village administration, participation, village.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADD	<i>Alokasi Dana Desa</i>	Village Funding Allocation
APBD	<i>Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah</i>	Regional Budget
APBDes	<i>Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Desa</i>	Village Budget
Bappeda	<i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah</i>	Regional Development Planning Agency
Bapermas	<i>Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat</i>	Community Empowerment Agency
BBM	<i>Bahan Bakar Minyak</i>	Gasoline
BKAD	<i>Badan Kerjasama Antar Desa</i>	Inter-village Cooperation Board
BKD	<i>Badan Kredit Desa</i>	Village Credit Agency
BKKD	<i>Bantuan Khusus Keuangan Daerah</i>	Financial Assistance for Specific Purposes for Villages
BLSM	<i>Bantuan Langsung Sementara Masyarakat</i>	Temporary Direct Cash Transfer
BPD	<i>Badan Permusyawaratan Desa</i>	Village Consultative Board
BPMPD	<i>Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat dan Pemerintah Desa</i>	Village Community and Apparatus Empowerment Board
BPJS	<i>Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial</i>	Social Security Agency
BPK	<i>Badan Periksta Keuangan</i>	State Audit Agency
BPS	<i>Badan Pusat Statistik</i>	Central Bureau of Statistics
BUMDes	<i>Badan Usaha Milik Desa</i>	Village-Owned Enterprise
CDD		Community Driven Development
DAK	<i>Dana Alokasi Khusus</i>	Special Allocation Fund
DD	<i>Dana Desa</i>	Village Fund
DPPKAD	<i>Dinas Pendapatan, Pengelolaan Keuangan dan Aset Daerah</i>	Regional Agency for Revenue and Financial and Assets Management
DPR	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat</i>	House of Representatives
DPRD	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah</i>	Regional House of Representatives
FGD		Focus Group Discussion
GDM	<i>Gerakan Desa Membangun</i>	Village Development Movement
HOK	<i>Hari Orang Kerja</i>	Man-day
Juklak	<i>Petunjuk Pelaksanaan</i>	Operational Guidelines
Juknis	<i>Petunjuk Teknis</i>	Technical Guidelines
Kabag	<i>Kepala Bagian</i>	Head of Division

Kades	<i>Kepala Desa</i>	Village Head
Kasi	<i>Kepala Seksi</i>	Head of Section
Kaur	<i>Kepala Urusan</i>	Head of Special Affairs
Kaurbang	<i>Kepala Urusan Pembangunan</i>	Head of Development Affairs
Kemendagri	<i>Kementerian Dalam Negeri</i>	Ministry of Home Affairs
Kemendes	<i>Kementerian Desa, Pembangunan Daerah Tertinggal dan Transmigrasi.</i>	Ministry of Village, Disadvantaged Regions, and Transmigration
KPK	<i>Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi</i>	Corruption Eradication Commission
KPMD	<i>Kader Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa</i>	Village Community Empowerment Cadres
KK	<i>Kartu Keluarga</i>	Family Card
KKN	<i>Kuliah, Kerja Nyata</i>	Student Community Service
KUB	<i>Kelompok Umat Basis</i>	Basis People Group
KTP	<i>Kartu Tanda Penduduk</i>	ID Card
LAZISMU	<i>Lembaga Zakat dan Shodaqoh Muhamadiyah</i>	Muhammadiyah Charity Institution
LGBT		Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
LKPP	<i>Lembaga Kebijakan Pengadaan Barang/Jasa Pemerintah</i>	Institution of Government Goods/Service Procurement Policy
LLI		Local Level Institution
LPJ	<i>Laporan Pertanggungjawaban</i>	Accountability Report. Some villages use the term LKPD (<i>Laporan Ketetapan Pertanggungjawaban</i> , Report on Accountability Establishment), or LKPJ (<i>Laporan Keterangan Pertanggungjawaban Desa</i> , Report on Village Accountability Establishment).
LPMD	<i>Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa</i>	Village Community Empowerment Institution
LSM	<i>Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat</i>	Non-governmental Organization
MAD	<i>Musyawarah Antar Desa</i>	Inter-Village Consultative Meeting
MDST	<i>Musyawarah Desa Serah Terima</i>	Village Consultative Meeting of Transfer
MKP	<i>Musyawarah Khusus Perempuan</i>	Female-only Village Consultative Meeting
Mudika	<i>Muda-Mudi Katolik</i>	Catholic Youth Group
Musrenbang	<i>Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan</i>	Development Planning Consultative Meeting

Musdes	<i>Musyawarah Desa</i>	Village Consultative Meeting
Musrenbangdes	<i>Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan Desa</i>	Village Development Planning Consultative Meeting
NGO		Non-government Organization
NU	<i>Nahdlatul Ulama</i>	
NTT	<i>Nusa Tenggara Timur</i>	East Nusa Tenggara
OMK	<i>Orang Muda Katholik</i>	Catholic Youths
Ormas	<i>Organisasi Masyarakat</i>	Civil Organization
P2SPP	<i>Program Pengembangan Sistem Pembangunan Partisipatif</i>	Development of Participatory Construction System Program
PAD	<i>Pendapatan Asli Daerah</i>	Own-source Local Government Revenue
Pagas	<i>Penggalian Gagasan</i>	Ideas Exploration
PAMSIMAS	<i>Penyediaan Air Minum dan Sanitasi Berbasis Masyarakat</i>	Community-Based Drinking Water and Sanitation Supply
PAUD	<i>Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini</i>	Early Childhood Education
PDAM	<i>Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum</i>	Regional Drinking Water Company
PDRB	<i>Produk Domestik Regional Bruto</i>	Gross Regional Domestic Product
Pemda	<i>Pemerintah Daerah</i>	Regional Government
Pemdes	<i>Pemerintah Desa</i>	Village Administration
Pemprov	<i>Peraturan Provinsi</i>	Provincial Administration
Pemkab	<i>Pemerintah Kabupaten</i>	Kabupaten Administration
Pemkot	<i>Pemerintah Kota</i>	Kotamadya Administration
Pemkab	<i>Pemerintah Kabupaten</i>	District Government
Perbup	<i>Peraturan Bupati</i>	Bupati Regulation
Perda	<i>Peraturan Daerah</i>	Regional Regulation
Perdes	<i>Peraturan Desa</i>	Village Regulation
Perka	<i>Peraturan Kepala</i>	Regulation of Head of Division
Perwali	<i>Peraturan Walikota</i>	Regulation of Walikota
Permendagri	<i>Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri</i>	Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs
Permendes	<i>Peraturan Menteri Desa</i>	Regulation of the Minister of Village, Disadvantaged Regions, and Transmigration
Pilkades	<i>Pemilihan Kepala Desa</i>	Village Head Election
PKK	<i>Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i>	Family Welfare and Empowerment
PL	<i>Pemantauan Lapangan</i>	Field Monitoring
PLN	<i>Perusahaan Listrik Negara</i>	State-owned Electricity Company

PMK	<i>Peraturan Menteri Keuangan</i>	Regulation of Ministry of Finance
PNPM	<i>Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat</i>	National Program for Community Empowerment
PNS	<i>Pegawai Negeri Sipil</i>	Civil Servant
PP	<i>Peraturan Pemerintah</i>	Government Regulation
PPK	<i>Program Pengembangan Kecamatan</i>	Kecamatan Development Program
PPL	<i>Penyuluh Pertanian Lapangan</i>	On-Site Agriculture Counsellor
PTO	<i>Petunjuk Teknis Operasional</i>	Technical Operational Guidelines
RAB	<i>Rencana Anggaran Biaya bangunan</i>	Building Cost Budgetary Planning
Raskin	<i>Beras Miskin</i>	Subsidizing Rice for the Poor
Raperda	<i>Rancangan Peraturan Daerah</i>	Regional Bill
RKKAL	<i>Rencana Kerja & Anggaran Kementerian/Lembaga</i>	Ministry/Institution Budgetary & Work Plan
RKO	<i>Rencana Kerja Operasional</i>	Operational Work Plan
RKP Desa	<i>Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Desa</i>	Village Administration Work Plan
RPJMDes	<i>Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Desa</i>	Village Medium-Term Development Plan
RT	<i>Rukun Tetangga</i>	Neighborhood Unit
RW	<i>Rukun Warga</i>	Neighborhood Council
SD	<i>Sekolah Dasar</i>	Elementary School
SDA	<i>Sumber Daya Alam</i>	Natural resources
SDM	<i>Sumber Daya Manusia</i>	Human resources
Sekda	<i>Sekretaris Desa</i>	Village Secretary
Setdes	<i>Sekretariat Desa</i>	Village Secretariat
SID	<i>Sistem Informasi Desa</i>	Village Information System
SILPA	<i>Sisa Lebih Penggunaan Anggaran</i>	Budget Surplus
Siltap	<i>Penghasilan Tetap</i>	Fixed Income
SKPD	<i>Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah</i>	Regional Government Agency
SLTA	<i>Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Atas</i>	Senior High School
SMA	<i>Sekolah Menengah Atas</i>	Senior High School
SMARD	<i>Sistem Manajemen Administrasi Desa/Kelurahan</i>	Village/Kelurahan Administration Management System
SMP	<i>Sekolah Menengah Pertama</i>	Junior High School
SOTK	<i>Susunan Organisasi dan Tata Kerja Pemerintah Desa</i>	Arrangement of Village Administration Organization and Work
SPJ	<i>Surat Pertanggungjawaban</i>	Accountability Letter

S1	<i>Strata 1</i>	Bachelor's degree
TK	<i>Taman Kanak-kanak</i>	Kindergarten
TP3	<i>Tim Pemeliharaan Prasarana</i>	Infrastructure Maintenance Team
TPK	<i>Tim Pelaksana Kegiatan</i>	Activity Executor Team
UMK	<i>Upah Minimum Kota/Kabupaten</i>	District/City Minimum Wage
UMP	<i>Upah Minimum Provinsi</i>	Provincial Minimum Wage
UU	<i>Undang-Undang</i>	Law

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background and Objectives of the Study

The implementation of Law No. 6/2004 on Villages (the “Village Law”) provides broad opportunities to improve village governance in Indonesia, given that the Village Law adopts the principles of good governance, comprising community involvement, transparency, and accountability, as well as the provision of financial resources and village autonomy. The principles of good governance had already been introduced to villages through the use of community-driven development (CDD) patterns implemented under the *Program Pengembangan Kecamatan* (PPK/Subdistrict Development Program) throughout the period from 1998 to 2007, which was replaced by the *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Mandiri* (PNPM Mandiri/Independent National Program for Community Empowerment) from 2008 through to 2014. By the time of the completion of the PNPM program in 2014, it had successfully developed low cost, good-quality, village-scale infrastructure and helped to improve people's access to various services, with largely positive outcomes (Voss, 2008; Voss, 2013; Syukri et al., 2013; Syukri et al., 2014; PSF, 2014).

However, several reports have also found that, over the past 15 years, CDD programs in Indonesia have not significantly improved the performance of village administration mechanisms (Dharmawan et al., 2014; Woodhouse, 2012; Syukri et al., 2013). The enforcement of good governance in executing village development has not extended to improving the governance performance within village administrations. These reports attributed this situation to factors such as: (i) the lack of village administration involvement in conducting PNPM; (ii) the small scale of village funding, such that funding was considered too insignificant to be managed through a participatory approach; and (iii) a lack of rewards, appreciation, or pressure, to encourage the implementation of PNPM values. These factors have been addressed by the Village Law which, on one hand, adopts various principles of governance from PNPM and, on the other hand, grants authority and adequate budgets to village administrations for the purpose of developing their villages.

In response to the above context, the SMERU Research Institute, with the support of Local Solution to Poverty (LSP-World Bank), took on the initiative to conduct a longitudinal Study on the Implementation of Village Law. This research project was carried out over approximately three years at the beginning of the implementation of Village Law with a main focus on issues of governance within the village government. The longitudinal study consisted of (1) a baseline study, (2) field monitoring activities, (3) media tracking, (4) case study, and (5) an endline study. This report specifically focuses on the output of the implementation of the baseline study, which was conducted between September-December 2015.

This study had several objectives:

1. To observe the welfare conditions of the village community at the start of the implementation of Village Law;
2. to understand the practices of participation, transparency, and accountability within the process of village governance during the first year of implementing the Village Law;
3. to observe the response of village governments to the priority needs of their people prior to the implementation of the Village Law; and

4. to understand whether local institutions, such as Village Consultative Boards (BPD), village societal institutions, and/or village activists (such as former PNPM actors) contributed prior to the implementation of the Village Law.

With these objectives in mind, this study posed the following research questions:

1. How do the conditions of the five main assets (human resources, social networks, natural resources, physical infrastructure, and finances/economy) support the welfare of the community?
2. To what extent do villages implement the principles of participation, transparency, and accountability that are regulated in the Village Law?
3. Has the implementation of the principles of participation, transparency, and accountability affected the allocation of village resources based on the priority needs of the villagers?
4. Do local institutions (such as BPD and/or *adat* institutions) and village activists (such as former PNPM actors) contribute to the implementation of the Village Law? If yes, what are their roles in the implementation?

Methodology

This longitudinal study was conducted using a qualitative approach. The villages that make up the study locations are located in five *kabupaten* across three provinces in Indonesia, namely Kabupaten Batanghari and Merangin in Jambi Province, Kabupaten Banyumas and Wonogiri in Central Java Province, and Kabupaten Ngada in East Nusa Tenggara Province. Two villages from each *kabupaten* were chosen, making a total of 10 villages included in the study location.

The selection of these locations was not intended to represent Indonesia as a whole. The diversity of village characteristics was taken into consideration in this study in order to observe the influence on governance of, for example, the abundance of natural resources on Java and off Java, and the authority of local institutions (formal/national institutions, or institutions that are community/*adat*/religion-based). The selection of location makes good use of the data from previous study of local level institutions 1, 2, dan 3. These LLI studies were carried out in 1996, 2001/2002, and 2012 meaning that initial information was available to understand the local conditions and relationships between social, cultural, and economic aspects, as well as governance.

The collection of data during the baseline study was carried out through focus group discussions (FGD), in-depth interviews, observation, and collection of secondary documents. The FGDs utilized three instruments with the theme of village governance, institution and actor mapping, and village administration responsiveness. During the study, 50 FGDs were conducted as follows: (i) 20 FGDs with women-only interviewees; (ii) 20 FGDs with men-only interviewees; and (iii) 10 FGDs with men and women combined as the interviewees. In addition, in-depth interviews were also conducted with related officials from the *kabupaten* government, local NGOs, local media, village administration, villagers, and marginalized members of the community. Collection of primary data was also complemented with village transect walks, as well as the collection of secondary data and documents.

Study Findings

Livelihood Situation

The condition of human resources in the villages is deemed to have improved over the past five years. This improvement can be seen in the increasing numbers of senior high school and tertiary education graduates. Health has also improved as indicated by the absence of epidemic illnesses.

The community's social assets are said to be in good condition. In all study areas a sense of community is quite strong in terms of mutual attentiveness, mutual care and supervision. This sense of community is possible thanks to traditional activities such as *hajatan*, *tegak rumah*, and funeral ceremonies. In the majority of the villages the influence of religion and traditional beliefs (*adat*) are still strong. However, in government infrastructure projects, community spirit in the province of Jambi has started to decline as the people are increasingly profit-oriented.

Political dynamics in the study location tend to be stable despite disruptions occurring in a few of the villages during local elections (*pilkades*). Disruptions to the local elections occurred in Jambi as a result of accusations of fraudulent behavior. Specific to the province of Central Java are local elections which resemble a gambling arena. In Kabupaten Ngada, it is difficult to find citizens who are willing to be nominated as village head.

In general, the sources of livelihoods of the communities in each study location are varied, but remain within the sphere of primary economic activities. The village communities in the province of Jambi rely on the commodities of rubber and palm oil, and in Kabupaten Ngada on cloves and corn. Their welfare fluctuates with the rise and fall of commodity prices. In the province of Central Java there is a greater variation of crops, such as rice, cassava, pepper, and tobacco. The community's economic activities are usually supported by formal and informal financial institutions on the basis of social relations.

The conditions of physical and natural infrastructure in the study villages in the province of Central Java are better than in other locations. In the villages outside of Java there were many damaged roads, simple bridges, and limited electrical access. Natural disasters often result in the destruction of infrastructural assets. On top of that, although there were conservation efforts, nature was being destroyed to be used as a resource. The worst destruction was evident in Kabupaten Merangin as a result of illegal gold mining. Clean water was not readily available and limited in many locations. In regard to access to information technology, only one village in Kabupaten Merangin did not have access to a telecommunications signal.

Supra-Village Policies

Some regulations for the implementation of Village Law have the potential to limit village governments' ability to exercise authority. For example, Law No. 60/2014 was replaced by Law No. 22/2015 which limits the use of Village Funding (DD) to the areas of physical construction and community empowerment. Another regulation is the Permendes PDDT concerning the yearly prioritization of DD. The prioritization outlined in the regulation does not correspond with local needs. In regard to village authority, not all regional governments have created specific regulations to affirm the details. The relevant regional government regulation in Kabupaten Ngada was released in 2010 and needs to be adapted to correspond with Village Law.

The regional governments in the study location had not yet designed policies to regulate local government institutions because they had not yet received technical regulations from the

Ministry of Home Affairs. The absence of such regulations meant that village governments were unable to fill empty positions in their organizational structure. To date, the structural gaps have been taken up by other regional public servants. This assignment of dual positions increases the burden on one or two of the regional government workers.

Regional governments in the study locations have designed regulations to manage village finances. Such regulations, which are prevalent across all *kabupaten*, cover procedures for the distribution and determination of DD, determination of ADD and distribution of taxes & user charges, fixed income of the village head and regional public servants. Meanwhile, in some *kabupaten* the local government has issued additional regulations. For example, Kabupaten Ngada designed a Bupati regulation (Perbup) concerning the technical operations of ADD and Kabupaten Bayunmas designed a Perbup concerning regional financial assistance. To date, all regulations relating to Village Law have been released in the form of Perbup.

Regulations concerning community participation still focus on the planning stage, for example in Kabupaten Banyumas and Wonogiri which already have regional government regulations to manage regional planning. However, these regulations still refer to Government Regulation (PP) No. 72/2005 concerning Villages. Only Kabupaten Ngada manages community participation in all phases of village development through Perbup No. 14/2015 concerning ADD Technical Operational Guidelines.

Supra-village regulations concerning transparency are relatively detailed at the central level, however have not yet been translated to and implemented at the regional level. In this baseline study not many regional regulations were found which regulate the technicalities of how the regional government should distribute developmental and governmental information to its citizens. Only Kabupaten Bayunmas had already released Perda No. 4/2012 concerning the Master Plan for the Development of E-Government.

New regulations concerning accountability are oriented towards supra-village institutions. Village Law further enforces the obligation of regional governments to submit accountability reports to higher authorities, such as the *bupati/walikota*. This is indicated by the article which sanctions the postponement transfers to the village account if the regional government neglects to submit a report. However, horizontal accountability to the people is not strictly obligated or sanctioned. Even the BPD, which is considered to be representative of the people, does not have the right to demand accountability from the village head.

Village Institutions

Village administration (*Pemerintah Desa/Pemdes*) units are responsible for helping people to overcome their problems, and were seen as being the closest and most important institution to communities. This perception provides social capital for *Pemdes*. As the number of government programs has increased, *Pemdes* officials have interacted more with villagers, both to deliver information and to provide services for the villagers' administrative needs. In all of the villages, the head of the village (*kades*) is seen as a central figure.

The role of the BPD is weaker than the *pemdes* in handling various community problems. This is the case because the role of the BPD is 'limited' to monitoring the *pemdes* and is not seen as legitimate in the eyes of the people. In one village the BPD is even seen as a disturbance to regional development programs.

In general, in the provinces of Jambi and NTT, religious/*adat* institutions are considered to be of the same importance as *pemdes*. In terms of familiarity, these institutions are the closest to the

people. Religious/*adat* leaders are believed to understand various aspects of life including government, whereas *pemdes* officials only understand government affairs.

Only in Kabupaten Ngada do Ex-PNPM activists still play a role in institutionalizing the values of good governance. This is the case as many are still involved as village officials and leaders of community institutions. Whereas, in the province of Central Java only half are involved in the regional government. In Jambi Province, only a few ex-activists are involved in the regional government, because the appointment of government workers is in the hands of the village head.

Basic Services

Administration services within the villages were considered good, mainly because they were free of charge. In addition, the procedures and completion time of administrative services were considered clear. In all study locations, villagers also often sought out the services of village officials in their homes, outside of normal business hours.

However, there were no services specifically targeted at the poor or marginalized groups. Although the Village Law was intended to alleviate poverty, none of the services provided by the village administration was explicitly directed to the poor or marginalized groups. This was the case in all study locations and was caused by the limited involvement of poor or marginalized groups in the decision-making process and by the lack of clear direction from higher-level government, for example in formulating development priorities. If such services existed, they were limited to the re-arrangement of social protection programs, such as *Raskin* (*beras miskin*, or subsidized rice for the poor) or Temporary Direct Transfers (*Bantuan Langsung Sementara Masyarakat/BLSM*), mostly into the form of initiatives from *dusun* (subvillage) officials to evenly distribute the aid.

Services provided by non-*pemdes* institutions were only present in some villages. Two villages from Kabupaten Wonogiri had Karang Taruna organizations, which apart from holding youth events also provide services to assist families who are holding celebrations (*hajatan*). Meanwhile, in Jembatan Rajo village there is an *adat* forest conservation organization, which provides services in the form of issuing citizens with permits to take wood from *adat* forests.

Governance

People's participation in the process of planning and development was relatively high, but was more limited in terms of monitoring and maintenance. The highest level of participation in planning activities was found in Kabupaten Bayunmas, because activities were carried out at the RT level. In Kabupaten Batanghari, participation in *musrenbangdes* is high, due to a *kabupaten* policy to recompensate participants' travel costs. At the stage of carrying out development, participation is indicated by the willingness of citizens from each village volunteer their strength, money, food or building materials. This type of participation was most evident in Kabupaten Ngada where they cut Man-Day (HOK) to increase funding to purchase building materials. However, none of the villages had a formal mechanism which involves the people in the processes of monitoring and maintenance. Supervision is considered to be and relinquished to the authority of the BPD.

There has not yet been any special effort made to include marginalized groups, especially the poor, old, or disabled, in the process of regional development. As an example, in *musrenbangdes* citizen participation is reduced to elite representation. *Pemdes* considers the aspirations of marginal groups to be reflected in proposals submitted during the *musrenbangdes*.

Village administrations did not actively inform their communities about the process of development. In Jambi, the village administration was cautious in disseminating detailed

information about development activities, due to several NGOs in the region that were looking to find fault in the process in order to extort members of the administration. Meanwhile, village administrations in several study locations in Central Java did not consider the dissemination of information through the internet to be important. Despite this, the village administrations in these locations were open to sharing information with the community.

In practice accountability is upward as a part of ensuring administrative responsibility to the district government. No mechanisms for accountability to the people were found, from planning to monitoring, for example socialization or reporting back to the *dusun* level. This was caused by a lack of binding regulations (enforced through sanctions) if the village administration was negligent in providing accountability to the people. Sanction is only enforced if the village administration fails to submit reports to the *kabupaten*.

Village administrations were responsive on a number of issues. As a formal mechanism, village administrations demonstrated their responsiveness by accommodating their communities' needs in *Musrenbangdes*, particularly those held at the *dusun* or lower levels. Meanwhile, concerning urgent needs, village administrations played a role in various issues at the village level, including naturally occurring events, the management of natural resources, and societal issues.

Conclusions

1. Over the last five years, in general, the five main assets of village community livelihoods have improved. This improvement is indicated by, among other things, increasing numbers of citizens with a senior highschool or tertiary education, the absence of endemic illnesses, the continuation of communal values, including in terms of the economy, and the emergence of efforts to protect the environment. However, there were also various disruptions, such as conflict during regional elections, fluctuating commodity prices, and illegal gold mining which damages the environment.
2. Good governance has begun to be implemented at varying levels across the villages.
 - a. community participation in designing RPJMDES tends to be high at the RT/RW/*Dusun* level but low at the village level. Workshops to design RKPDes are only attended by elite groups, except in Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Ngada. During the process of planning at the village level there have no yet been any efforts to involve marginalized groups in the community, meaning that their needs are left unaccommodated.
 - b. *Pemdes* transparency is not yet active or widespread, although available to citizens who seek out the information.
 - c. *Pemdes* accountability is still only held to higher bureaucracies (supra-village), not to those under them (the community).
 - d. *Pemdes* responsiveness is relatively high, especially concerning the community's urgent needs.
 - e. Supra-village governments are not yet optimal in assisting *pemdes* to implement Village Law.
3. *Pemdes* efforts to meet the priority needs of the community and those of certain groups are not yet maximal. Many aspirations to address the needs of the community are accommodated for in the RPJMDES, but are not prioritized in the RKPDes. Considerations of equity based on the number of people who benefit, mean that areas with small numbers of beneficiaries, including marginalized groups, are neglected.

4. The role of community institutions outside of *pemdes* in the process of regional governance is still weak.
 - a. The role of BPD is still weak, tending to instead follow *pemdes* activities. The role of community institutions has not yet encompassed the function of empowerment. A significant number of ex-PNPM activists are involved in regional government, with variations between the villages.

Recommendations

1. Effective and simple socialization strategies need to be formulated for the Village Law and its numerous derivative regulations, so that it can be easily implemented and more collectively understood by communities, the BPD, and other institutions in the village.
2. Central government regulations are required to encourage regional governments to provide more intensive assistance for village administrations.
3. To encourage community participation, particularly from poor residents and marginalized groups, during the planning process at the village level the role of facilitators in implementing the Village Law must be reinforced.
4. To improve the village administration's transparency and accountability to the people, effective and simple accountability mechanisms and information transfer models need to be implemented that are also socially and culturally appropriate.

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Law No. 6/2004 on Villages (the “Village Law”) provides broad opportunities to improve village governance in Indonesia, given that the Village Law adopts the principles of good governance, comprising community involvement, transparency, and accountability, as well as the provision of financial resources and village autonomy. The argument for the Village Law is that, as time passed, the implementation of previous village regulations was no longer appropriate to the dynamic of the problems faced by village administrations and villagers. This incompatibility is related mainly to society’s position within the context of *adat* law, democratization, diversity, community participation, advancement, and the distribution of development, which created an inter-regional welfare gap and poverty, as well as social-cultural issues.

During the New Order era, people were not given the opportunity to express their aspirations related to development. At the same time, supra-village administration did not know about, and probably did not have the desire to know about, the reality of village conditions. This top-down approach caused numerous villages development projects to be incompatible with people’s actual needs.

Following Law No. 22/1999 on Regional Government in the aftermath of the New Order era, this provided an opportunity for villagers to demand accountability from their village administrations, with the potential to motivate village administration mechanisms to be more responsive to people’s needs. Law No. 22/1999 also regulated the establishment of Village Community House of Representatives (*Badan Perwakilan Desa/BPD*) to represent the people. However, this law did not last long, as it was soon replaced by Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Government. This new law reduced the village administration’s obligation to demonstrate its accountability to the people by replacing the *Badan Perwakilan Desa* with a *Badan Permusyawaratan Desa* (Village Consultative Board). One of the implications of this change was that the village head was no longer held responsible by BPD, but rather responsible instead to the *kabupaten/kota* (municipality) government. As a consequence, the village head was granted an enormous amount of power without any village-level institution to counterbalance him/her. As such, this institutional context at the village level is highly relevant to community-driven development (CDD) approaches.

The principles of good governance were introduced into CDD through the *Program Pengembangan Kecamatan* (PPK/Subdistrict Development Program) from 1998 to 2007, and the *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Mandiri* (PNPM Mandiri/Independent National Program for Community Empowerment) in 2008-14. For about 15 years, these programs were conducted across all regions of Indonesia, with the assumption that people were being empowered to choose the goods and services they required to improve welfare conditions. The CDD approach, implemented in villages since the end of New Order era, was an alternative to the strict control approach adopted by supra-village administrations. CDD utilized absolute community participation, with planners, executors, overseers, and beneficiaries. People were given a role in the development process, as well as being provided the opportunity to negotiate the prioritization of their needs. However, this program was performed outside the bureaucratic system of the village administration and had its own mechanisms for management and accountability.

During its lifetime, PNPM successfully developed low cost and good quality village-scale infrastructure and improved people’s access to various services with highly accurate outcomes (Voss, 2008; Voss, 2013; Syukri et al., 2013; Syukri et al., 2014; PSF, 2014). However, several reports

indicate that over the past 15 years, CDD programs in Indonesia have failed to significantly improve the performance of village administrations (Dharmawan et al., 2014; Woodhouse, 2012; Syukri et al., 2013). These reports attribute this failure to factors such as: (i) the limited involvement of village administrations in conducting PNPM; (ii) the limited amount of village funding, such that it was considered to be too insignificant to be managed through a participatory approach; and (iii) the lack of rewards, appreciation, or pressure, to encourage the implementation of PNPM values. These factors are addressed in the Village Law by granting full authority and adequate budget to *Pemdes* to provide welfare support to the community.

Accountability mechanisms are also regulated by the Village Law. For example, the Village Law regranted the authority to the BPD to represent the people and institutionalize village consultative meetings (*Musdes*). The institutionalization of these meetings was intended to reinforce people's participation in general, and to increase the transparency of village administration's performance and the obligation to submit accountability reports to the *kabupaten/kota* government. In relation to the regulation, various actors were concerned about how far village administrations would extend their authority. Furthermore, village administrations were given control of far greater funding, while lacking experience in implementing good governance. The human resources were also limited, both in terms of quantity and quality. In this context, it is reasonable to be concerned about the possibility of the misuse of village funding, discrepancies between the development priorities of the village administration and society, and the increased isolation of marginalized groups from the development process. Hence, it is crucial to monitor the implementation of the principles of good governance at the village level, particularly in the early years of Village Law implementation.

The SMERU Research Institute, with support from the Local Solution to Poverty (LSP) - World Bank, took the initiative of conducting a longitudinal study to monitor the implementation of the Village Law. This research was conducted over almost three years from the beginning of the implementation of the Village Law and focuses on the issue of village governance. The design of the longitudinal study comprises: (i) a baseline study, (ii) field monitoring activities, (iii) media tracking, (iv) case studies, and (v) an endline study. This report, specifically, presents the output of the baseline study, which was conducted in the period from September to December 2015.

1.2 Study Objectives

The execution of a baseline study is a vital starting point in the series of longitudinal studies necessary to obtain a depiction of village life and management prior to and at the beginning of the implementation of the Village Law. The specific objectives of the study are:

1. Monitor the conditions of regional community livelihoods during the initial stages of Village Law implementation.
2. To understand whether or not the implementation of the Village Law has conformed with the principles of participation, transparency, and accountability within the process of village governance.
3. To observe whether the implementation of the Village Law has encouraged village administrations to become more responsive to the priority needs of the people.
4. To understand whether or not the existence of local institutions (such as the BPD and/or *adat* institutions) and village activists (such as former PNPM actors) has contributed to the effective initial implementation of the Village Law.

1.3 Research Questions

To achieve the objectives of the study, the issues addressed were formulated into the following research questions:

1. Bagaimana kondisi lima aset utama (SDM, Jaringan Sosial, SDA, Infrastruktur Fisik, dan Keuangan/Perekonomian) dalam mendukung penghidupan masyarakat?
2. To what extent do villages implement the principles of participation, transparency, and accountability that are regulated in the Village Law?
 - a. Are the planning and implementation of development projects open to the participation of non-elite groups, such as women, poor residents, and marginalized groups?
 - b. Do members of the community, such as non-elites, women, poor residents, and marginalized groups, understand: (i) the process of village development planning; (ii) village administration decisions; and (iii) the execution of development projects that are funded by village funding?
 - c. Can the community hold the village administration accountable for the spending of village funding through mechanisms regulated in the Village Law, such as BPD and *Musdes*?
3. Has the implementation of the principles of participation, transparency, and accountability affected the allocation of village resources based on the priority needs of the villagers?
 - a. Has village funding been allocated to fulfilling the priority needs of non-elite members of the community, including women, poor residents, and other marginalized groups?
 - b. Did members of the community, specifically the non-elite, women, poor residents, and other marginalized groups, experience changes in their interactions with the village administration after the implementation of the Village Law?
4. Do local institutions (such as the BPD and/or *adat* institutions) and village activists (such as former PNPM actors) contribute to the implementation of the Village Law? If yes, what are their roles in the implementation?

1.4 Research Scope

Focus. The focus of this study is the implementation of village governance in the years prior to from the beginning of the implementation of the Village Law. The study was conducted through examining four components of good governance, namely: (i) participation; (ii) transparency; (iii) accountability; and (iv) responsiveness. These four components were explored by investigating the process of development at the village level in terms of (a) planning, (b) budgeting, (c) development execution, (d) monitoring, and (e) maintenance. The concept of governance is also examined from other aspects that are closely related to village development, such as the process of formulating village regulations, public services, and the management of public information in villages. The research focus is schematically depicted in the following diagram.

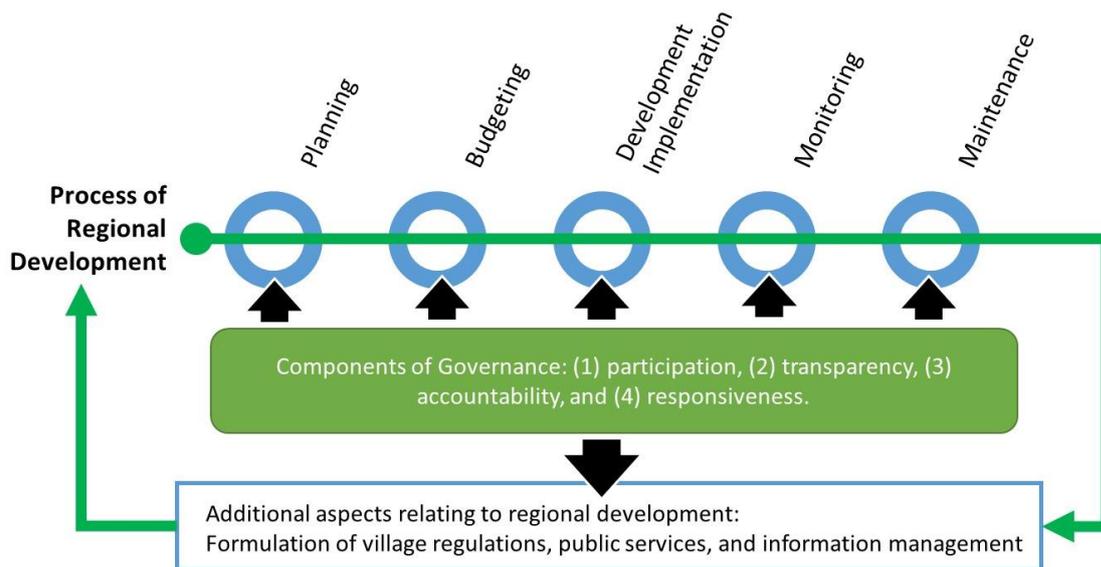


Figure 1. Research focus

Location. Research locations were carefully selected, taking into consideration the continuous availability of data and sufficient knowledge about the potential research locations. The continuity of information and data allows for comparative analyses over time to observe the development of village governance.

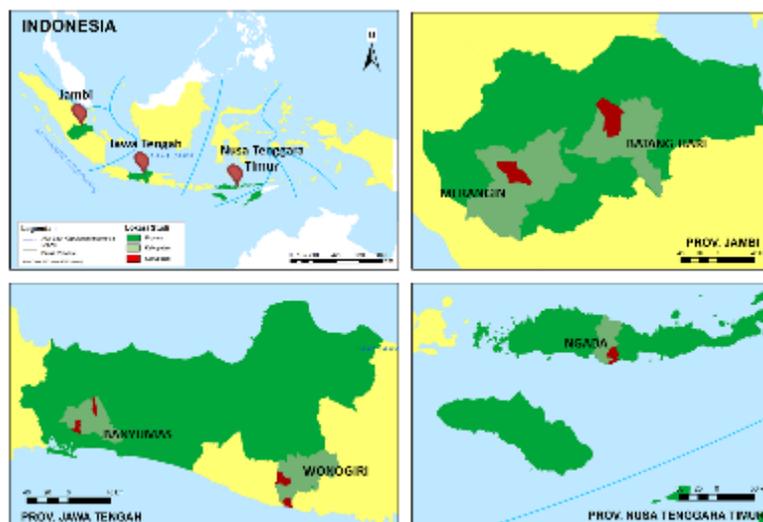


Figure 2. Distribution of study locations

Based on the above considerations, locations were selected that were also locations for the local-level institution (LLI) Research 1, 2, and 3, which were conducted in 1996, 2001/02, and 2012, respectively. The locations are all in the provinces of Jambi, Central Java, and East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). This research was conducted in ten villages, nine *kecamatan*, five *kabupaten* in three provinces. The locations include Kabupaten Ngada in East Nusa Tenggara Province, Kabupaten Wonogiri and Kabupaten Banyumas in Central Java Province, and Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Merangin in Jambi Province. Information about these LLI study locations was already available, which could be used to obtain an initial understanding of the social, cultural and economic conditions, as well as the practices of governance.

Two *kecamatan* were selected in each *kabupaten*, and one village was selected in each *kecamatan*, except in Batanghari where only two villages were selected in one *kecamatan* from the beginning of the LLI study. The two villages in these two *kecamatan* represent both good and bad conditions of governance. Thus, there were ten villages included as study locations; four villages in Jambi, four villages in Central Java, and two villages in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). Further descriptions of the condition of each village in relation to the availability and condition of social, economic, natural, and human resources and infrastructure will be elaborated on in Chapter 3.

Table 1. Research locations

Province	<i>Kabupaten</i>	Village (pseudonym)
Jambi	Batanghari	Kelok Sungai Besar
		Tiang Berajo
	Merangin	Jembatan Rajo
		Sungai Seberang
Central Java	Banyumas	Deling
		Karya Mukti
	Wonogiri	Kalikromo
		Beral
NTT	Ngada	Lekosoro
		Ndona

1.5 Research Methodology

Research Approach. This baseline study employs a qualitative approach that was conducted comprehensively at village, *kecamatan*, and *kabupaten* levels. Through this approach, the research aims to understand what kinds and patterns of village governance emerge at each administrative level, as well as to examine adjustments made in response to the resulting policies from Law No. 6/2014 on Villages.

Methods of Data Collection. The data collection methods employed during the baseline study included focus group discussions (FGDs), in-depth interviews, direct observation, transect walks, and document collection. The following is an elaboration of the data collection methods:

a) Focus Group Discussions

There were three kinds of FGD conducted in the baseline study, namely: (i) FGDs on village governance conducted with separate groups of male and female residents; (ii) FGDs on institutions and mapping of actors conducted with separate groups of male and female residents; and (iii) FGDs on the responsiveness of village administration mechanisms, with combined groups of both men and women interviewees. Fifty FGDs were conducted during the baseline study, as follows: 20 FGDs with women-only interviewees, 20 FGDs with men-only interviewees, and 10 FGDs with men and women combined. The total number of interviewees across all FGDs was more than 400 persons from the villages who were representative of the *dusun* or RW. To guarantee consistency, the same types of FGD mentioned above will be conducted in the advanced study to be carried out at the end of this study period.

b) In-depth Interviews

The in-depth interviews were conducted by following a set of semi-structured interview questions. The in-depth interviews were first conducted at the *kabupaten* level and then the *kecamatan* and village levels.

1. **Interviews at the *kabupaten* level** included interviews conducted with officials from the *kabupaten* government, DPRD members, NGO figures, and local media.
2. **Interviews at the *kecamatan* level** included interviews conducted with officials from the *kecamatan* government, Inter-Village Cooperation Board (*Badan Kerjasama Antar Desa/ BKAD*) and village associates.
3. **Interviews at village level.** The purpose of these interviews was to collect information about the experiences of implementers of the Village Law at the village level, as well as experiences of a range of community members from various backgrounds, in relation to the aspects of the implementation of the Village Law that are relevant to the objectives of this study. The interviews comprised of:
 - i. **Interviews with village officials and prominent figures**, including the village head, village secretary, BPD, prominent figures in the village, as well as representatives from organizations/community groups that were involved in the implementation of village governance, and village activists.
 - ii. **Interviews with marginalized groups** (based on religion, ethnicity, sex, sexual preference [LGBT], profession, disability, etc.).
 - iii. **Interviews on responsiveness**, including interviews conducted with members of the emergency response units who are involved in responding to unforeseen events/disasters.

c) Transect Walks

A transect walk is an attempt to observe local conditions using the senses by walking along a predetermined route and taking pictures and notes, as well as conducting minor interviews with the locals. Within the context of this study, to conduct a well-planned transect walk a focused yet unrestricted guide to identifying locations, objects, and conditions was necessary.

d) Documents Collection

Documents that were collected include the RPJMDes, the RKPDes, the APBDes, the *Perdes*, the village gazette (if any), the Accountability Report (*Laporan Pertanggungjawaban/LPJ*) of village head, and the LPJ of village development activity/activity execution team. Documents were collected not only at the village level, but also at *kecamatan*, *kabupaten*, and national levels. The documents collected were those considered relevant to this study, such as regional regulations, *bupati* (head of *kabupaten*) regulations, presidential regulations, and ministerial regulations.

Table 2 maps the topics that were explored using each data collection method.

Table 2. Mapping of issues and topics during data collection

No	Issues	Informants	Key topics	Instruments
1	Planning, budgeting, and decision-making in the villages	Village head, village officials, BPD, prominent figures in the society, former PNPM actors/village activists, female residents, marginalized groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is people's participation, who participated (including women and marginalized groups) • Representation patterns in participation • Dissemination of information, invitation • Decision-making on the allocation of DD and ADD • Responsiveness (development plan is related with villagers necessities) 	FGDs, interviews
2	Development execution	Village officials, BPD, prominent figures in the society, former PNPM actors/village activists, female residents, marginalized groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Procurement • Distribution • Financial management • Participation • Information dissemination 	FGDs, interviews, transect walks
3	Reporting, monitoring, maintaining, problem-solving	Village officials, BPD, prominent figures in the society, facilitators, former PNPM actors/village activists, villagers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reporting of budget expenditure • Dealing with complaints • BPD/monitoring team 	FGDs, interviews, transect walks
4	Satisfaction in <i>Pemdes</i> (administration) service, <i>Perdes</i> , and other regulations in the village	Village officials, BPD, prominent figures in the society, former PNPM actors/village activists, female residents, marginalized groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service type • Accessibility • Satisfaction • Fulfillment of village needs • Representation in participation 	FGDs, interviews, transect walks
5	Process of formulating and implementing <i>Perdes</i> , <i>Perkades</i> , and other village regulations	BPD, <i>Kades</i> , <i>Sekdes</i> , NGO/media, <i>camat</i> (head of <i>kecamatan</i>)/BKAD SKPD in <i>kabupaten</i> , KPMD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socialization and dissemination • Capacity increase • Facilitation process • Expenditure of DD and ADD • Supporting by-laws and regulations • Supervision 	FGDs, interviews, transect walks
6	Village information system and management of village information	Village officials, villagers, marginalized group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to information • Types of information • Information management • Information dissemination 	FGDs, interviews, transect walks
7	Checks and balances by BPD/OMS	BPD, OMS, village activists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Election of BPD members and gender balance • Representativeness • Influence 	FGDs, interviews

Methods of Data Analysis. For this research, the collected information was processed progressively. Data-processing began during the field research. Researchers started by analyzing interview results to determine which information required further exploration, comparing it with other sources, sorting it into categories for further examination, and so on. Following the field activities, a systematic field report was compiled according to the predetermined categorization.

The next step involved determining whether the categorization of data and information was adequate, or whether it needed to be improved for further stages of the study. After that, the team held discussions to draw conclusions about each category and subcategory in relation to each study location. The conclusions were then readdressed by observing the relationships between each category according to the research questions. Finally, the team summarized the conclusions to most effectively address the objectives of the study.

Research Team. Research was conducted by a team of researchers from The SMERU Research Institute, Jakarta, with Muhammad Syukri as the coordinator and two research advisors, Dr. Syaikhu Usman and Widjajanti Isdijoso. Members of researcher team included Palmira Permata Bachtiar, Kartawijaya, Asep Kurniawan, Rendy A. Diningrat, Gema Satria Mayang Sedyadi, and Ulfah Alifia.

In addition to the main research team in Jakarta, there were five researchers working in each research location *kabupaten*: Ilham Martadona in Kabupaten Batanghari, Nuzul Iskandar in Kabupaten Merangin, Ahmad Fadli in Kabupaten Banyumas, Ridwan Muzir in Kabupaten Wonogiri, and Edelbertus Witu in Kabupaten Ngada.

II. RESEARCH CONTEXT

Framework for Regulatory Thinking and Analysis

This chapter aims to enrich the context of the study by outlining two main discussions: (i) a framework of thinking in viewing issues on the implementation of the Village Law; and (ii) a general depiction of the regulation of village governance and development. The framework of thinking provides readers with a depiction of the analysis and a discussion of the research results, while the description of regulations is a result of the analysis of "new" village regimes, which are based on the Village Law in conjunction with its derivative regulations, at both the central and regional levels.

2.1 Governance and Its Influence on the Implementation of the Village Law

Governance is a concept that was introduced to developing countries by donors and development partners. Governance is considered crucial to development and poverty alleviation, the policy formulation of which must be conducted correctly by developing countries. Every development partner has formulated its own definition of governance, each with a particular focus. The World Bank (1992), for example, focuses on efficient public service systems and governmental administration which is responsible to the public. UNDP (1997), however, focuses more on participation of the people and community organizations. Good governance is defined as mechanisms, processes, and institutions that guarantee the participation of people and community organizations in expressing their opinions, exercising their legal rights, fulfilling their obligations, and mediating differences of opinion among themselves. DFID (2001) focuses on the institutional relationship between the state on one side and its citizens, civil society organizations, and the private sector on the other side. The definition of governance according to USAID (2005) focuses on "the government's ability to develop a process of public management that is efficient, effective, accountable, and open to community participation."

From the above definitions, it is clear that governance includes numerous aspects, ranging from legal, administrative, social, and economic. Integration of these aspects allows for the formulation of public policies that meet their target of improving people's welfare. In the context of the implementation of the Village Law, governance is an important instrument to alleviate poverty.

Good governance is also characterized differently by various institutions. UNESCAP (2009) mentioned eight characteristics of good governance, in that it must be (i) participatory, (ii) compliant with the law, (iii) transparent, (iv) responsive, (v) consensus-oriented, (vi) fair and inclusive, (vii) efficient and effective, and (viii) accountable. There are fewer characteristics of good governance compared to the features listed in the previous UNDP policy document (1997). One of the additions is a strategic vision. Apart from UNESCAP and UNDP, other development partner institutions such as the World Bank, International Development Association and Asian Development Bank have issued features of good governance. Of these characteristics, elements, components or pillars, common features include participation, transparency and accountability. These are the three most commonly mentioned attributes. Additional characteristics for the World Bank include public sector management and legal framework for development, while the International Development Association added rule of law, and the Asian Development Bank includes predictability as an additional aspect (IFAD, 1999).

This baseline study views governance from the aspects of participation, transparency, accountability, and responsiveness. It focuses on factors that influence the quality of governance within the village administration, and on whether there is a certain pattern that describes inter-village variations in the early years of Village Law implementation. The general framework of the study is presented in Figure 3.

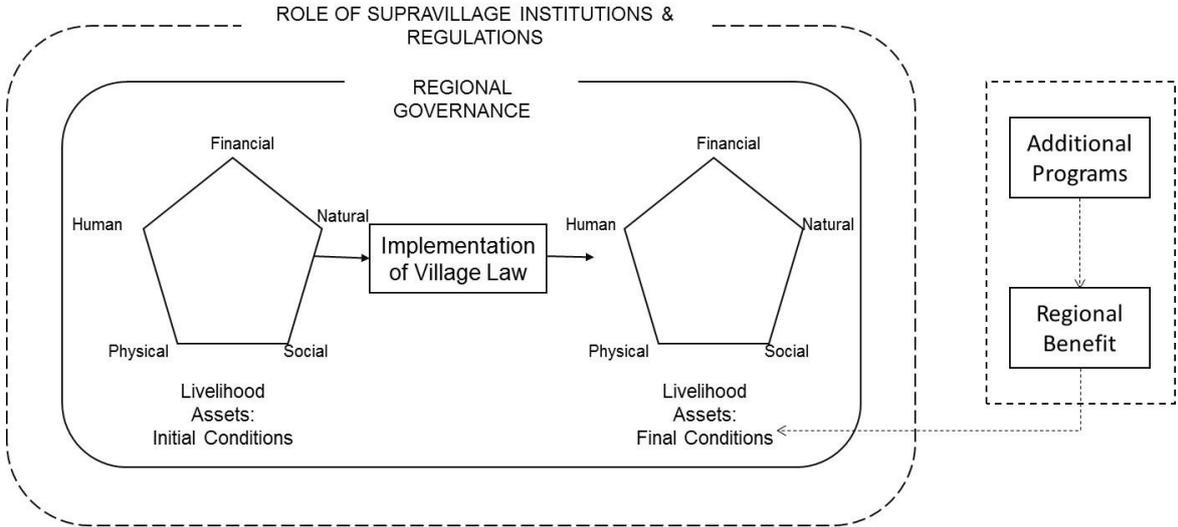


Figure 3. Research framework

Communities' Livelihood Assets. Livelihood assets or the capital of the community are adopted as a comprehensive and real depiction of a village. This depiction acknowledges the potentials inherent in every village as an analysis unit of the study. As elaborated by DFID (2001), there are five categories of primary assets:

1. Human assets, particularly education and health;
2. Financial assets, i.e., access to financial resources;
3. Natural assets, i.e., condition of human resources;
4. Social assets, i.e., condition of the community's social relationship; and
5. Physical assets, i.e., basic and supporting means and infrastructure to develop the community's livelihoods.

Village communities live and improve their welfare with the support of these five types of capital. In this study, the condition of these assets was measured prior to the implementation of the Village Law and will be measured again for the endline study later in 2017. The difference between the two studies will be analyzed and conclusions made concerning the extent to which it relates to the implementation of the Village Law.

Structure and Process. In order to maintain democratic sustainability, it is not enough to depend on stable community welfare conditions, but they must also be “productive”. In taking a sustainable livelihoods approach, this is related to the reliability of structural components and processes. Structures are defined as institutions—governmental, private, or social—that can be accessed by the community or that are related to community life. Meanwhile, processes include all activities conducted by such institutions, the output of which influences communities’ livelihoods, in relation to programs, laws, policies, rules, cultural values, etc.

A profile of formal government institutions ensures the implementation of good governance in managing general resources (budget and non-budget) and provides necessary services to the community. Private economic institutions are also necessary in helping to propel the dynamics and growth of the village economy. Meanwhile, social institutions are crucial for the community itself as a means of channelling and fighting for their aspirations and interests. The presence of non-governmental institutions provides more than just practical benefits, but also contributes immensely to the practices of democracy and good governance in an area.

Leadership of the Village Head. Leadership qualities are crucial in the practice of governance. The leadership of the village head determines the performance of the village administration. A good leader has a clear vision and mission for the future of the village. He/she is also capable of controlling political dynamics in the village and of cooperating with village officials as a solid team.

Actors in the Village. Human resources in the village relate not only to the potential supply of village officials, but also to fulfilling the requirements necessary to become a community figure or village activist. It is possible that certain villages have numerous figures while others do not. From the perspective of power structure theory, introduced by C. Wright Mills (Mills, 1956), the presence of figures and activists is closely related to social and cultural systems, as well as to the dynamics of local politics. Villages with numerous figures and activists are presumably villages that are open, democratic, and always provide opportunities for the emergence of groups and associations. Furthermore, the presence of these groups and associations becomes a breeding ground for the emergence of local figures and leaders.

In contrast, in villages with only a small number of public figures/activists and social associations/organizations, the village administration tends to be highly dominant and employ problematic practices of governance. The presence of public figures and activists may play a strategic role in influencing democracy and practices of governance that are participatory, transparent, accountable, and responsive. In other words, the higher the number of public figures and activists, the greater the possibility for more participatory governance and more democratic practices. This is because the village administration is not the only elite force and other figures exist to counterbalance their power and to allow for corrections, discussion, and even criticism (power balance) of governmental processes.

Role of the Citizens. Robert D. Putnam's research (1993) shows that communities with good civic engagement also perform better in governance and democracy. Civic engagement itself is defined as a high level of trust among community members and the existence of associations that facilitate cooperation within the community. These vital institutional components of trust and associations contribute significantly to the quality of governance.

Role of Supra-village Institutions and Regulations. Good governance is strongly related to the role of supra-village institutions and the regulations they formulate. Although Law No. 6/2014 on Villages acknowledges the village managements' rights of origin and local-scale authority, these still need to be performed within the bureaucratic system of the national government. Hence, village administrations must also comply with the numerous regulations and guidelines on governance that have been released by supra-village administration structures (national and regional governments). The practices of governance are considered to be "good" when their implementation complies with the regulatory framework. Hence, the comprehensiveness and clarity of regulations, as well as the understanding of stakeholders, play a major role in determining the quality of governance. Regulation issues are complex because the implementation of the Village Law is regulated not only by the central government, but also by provincial and *kabupaten* governments.

2.2 Regulation of Villages and Village Development

The creation of the Village Law is a breakthrough in village governance and development in Indonesia. The Village Law acknowledges villages as actors within the government and development of the village. Article 1 of the Law No. 6/2014 on Village specifies that:

"A village is a normal village, an *adat* village or the equivalent referred to under a different name, hereinafter referred to as a Village, and is a legal community with regional boundaries, that is authorized to regulate and manage its affairs of administration, local community interests based on community initiatives, origin of rights, and/or traditional rights, that are acknowledged and respected within the governmental system of the Unified State of the Republic of Indonesia."

Based on this definition, villages are viewed as having the authority and capability to regulate and manage their own affairs autonomously. Furthermore, to confirm this autonomy, the Village Law specifies the principle of **recognition**, which is an acknowledgement of the right of origin, and the principle of **subsidiarity**, which is an establishment of local-scale authority and decision-making mechanisms in the interests of local people (see the explanation of Article 3 of Village Law).

Within these two principles, villages are encouraged to independently identify and fulfill their own needs. Furthermore, a large number of initiatives is expected to emerge from the villages as they explore all the potential avenues to advance their development. Alongside acknowledgement, villages are also granted considerable amounts of funding from the central government, known as *Dana Desa* (DD/Village Funding), and from the regional government to fund their development (Article 72 of the Village Law). The purpose of development itself is to improve the quality of life for people living in villages and to alleviate poverty (Article 78).

However, there are still many doubts about the enforcement of the Village Law, particularly in relation to village governance. The Setara Institute, for example, argues that the government has neglected to appoint officials to ensure the social accountability of village development.¹ Moreover, the Corruption Eradication Commission (*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi/KPK*) has uncovered non-synchronous regulations that were derived from the Village Law, both at the national and regional levels, which have the potential to cause misappropriation.²

This section discusses numerous regulations that make up the guidelines for carrying out village administration. Because this report was conducted in the early stages of the implementation of the Village Law, the regulations discussed are not limited to the derivatives of the Village Law, but also include previous regulations that were still valid during the early stages of the implementation of the Village Law. Each is discussed based on the level of the regulation (national and regional) and its implications on policies is critically addressed.

To some extent, the Village Law and its derivative regulations have transformed villages from the object to the subject of development. However, the national and regional governments' desire to "control" villages is still clearly present, leaving the impression the the authority granted through these laws is only half-hearted. Moreover, many of the outcomes of regulations issued by the governments, both national and regional, are still inadequate in terms of the quantity, scope and quality of the regulations. This situation has caused confusion during the implementation of the regulations.

¹"Satu Tahun UU Desa, Berlalu Tanpa Akuntabilitas Memadai", <http://br-online.co/satu-tahun-uu-desa-berlalu-tanpa-akuntabilitas-memadai/>, downloaded on February 29, 2016.

²"KPK Beberkan Potensi Penyelewengan Dana Desa", <http://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20150612205933-12-59759/kpk-beberkan-potensi-penyelewengan-dana-desa/>, downloaded on February 29, 2016.

Table 3. Differences in village regulation across Indonesia

	Law No. 5/1979 on Village Governance	Law No. 22/1999 on Regional Government	Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Government	Law No. 6/2014 on Villages
Definition of Village	the lowest level of regional government under the coordination of a <i>kecamatan</i>	Legal community located in a <i>kecamatan</i>	Legal community located in a <i>kabupaten</i>	Legal community (including <i>adat</i> villages) located within the regional boundaries of a <i>kabupaten</i>
Village Head	Directly elected; appointed and be responsible to a <i>kabupaten</i> ; can hold the office for 2 x 8 years	Directly elected; appointed and be responsible to the BPD (after being approved by a <i>kabupaten</i>); can hold the office for 2 x 5 years	Directly elected; appointed and be responsible to a <i>kabupaten</i> ; can hold the office for 2 x 6 years	Idem, but with additional responsibility to the BPD and <i>Musdes</i> ; can hold the office for 3 x 6 years
<i>Dewan Desa</i> (Village Council)	Appointed as an LMD partner	BPD is directly elected as a separate entity	BPD is appointed as a separate entity	Democratically elected or selected; <i>majelis desa</i> (village assembly) is for strategic decisions
Legislasi Desa (Village Legislation)	Formulated by village head and LMD; approved by a <i>kecamatan</i> administration	Formulated and approved by a village head and BPD	Formulated by a village head and consulted with the BPD; approved by a <i>kabupaten</i> administration	Idem
Village Funding	Aid fund from a <i>kabupaten</i> government, and national initiative such as <i>Program Desa Tertinggal</i> (Disadvantaged Village Program)	Aid fund from a <i>kabupaten</i> government and local sources	Idem, with the addition of national funding program	National and at the <i>kabupaten</i> level allocation, with the addition of local sources
Relation with <i>Kabupaten</i>	Strictly under the authority of a <i>kecamatan</i> and <i>kabupaten</i> ; no autonomy to approve regulation or budget	Broad autonomy is provided, with diminishing accountability to the upper level	Idem, final decision-making on the budget and regulation by <i>kabupaten</i>	Hybrid system between self-governing community and local self-government
Organizational Life	Only government-based organizations are allowed; community organizations are coopted	Democratization; the emergence of new communities and mass-based organizations	Idem, state associations is specifically mentioned	Idem

Source: Antlov, Wetterberg, & Dharmawan (2016).

In terms of quantity, although the number of regulations issued continues to increase, there are still many gaps in the regulations derived from the Village Law. Up until this report was compiled, there were no technical regulations at the national level, let alone the regional level, that regulate

adat villages, the role of the BPD, the establishment of a village authority list, or the synchronization of intra-level government authorities when distributed in the village, among others.

In terms of quality, several regulations were considered less than ideal in achieving the purposes of the Village Law to increase welfare and justice. One of the most striking is the regulation on village fund allocations (using a ratio of 90:10, with 90 percent to be distributed equally and just 10 percent based on variables). In addition, the regulation on development accountability that is more vertically oriented (aimed at the *bupati* and not the community) is also considered incompatible with the principles of participatory development specified in the Village Law.

The rapid development of regulations disrupts all levels of government, because they are forced to continually make adjustments to already formulated policies. This is made worse by regulations issued by ministries, institutions, and regional governments, and gives the impression of poor synchronization. As is described in the following section, some regulations are clearly conflicting, causing confusion, and differing interpretations and enforcement in each region.

2.2.1 Village Authority

a) National Regulations

The Village Law extends the village's authority to independently provide basic services and fulfill the basic needs of the community. As outlined in Article 18, the village authority includes the operation of village administration and development, the guidance of village societies, and the empowerment of villagers based on community initiatives, origin of rights, and village customs. Furthermore, in terms of scope, Article 19 states that authority within the village includes: (i) authority based on the origin of rights; (ii) village-scale local authority; (iii) authority assigned by the central government, the provincial government, or the *kabupaten/kota* government; and (iv) other authority assigned by the central government, the provincial government, or the *kabupaten/kota* government based on existing regulations.

Box 1.

The distribution of authority for ministries to manage villages

Law No. 6/2014 on Villages (the "Village Law") was established during the previous general assembly of the DPR RI 2009-14. In relation to this, the PP, which regulates the implementation of the Village Law (PP No. 43/2014), was formulated at the end of the Yudhoyono administration when the authority of village management was still under one ministry, namely the Ministry of Home Affairs (*Kementerian Dalam Negeri/Kemendagri*). During the Joko Widodo administration, two ministries were assigned to manage village affairs, namely *Kemendagri* and the newly created Ministry of Villages, Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration (*Kementerian Desa, Pembangunan Daerah Tertinggal, dan Transmigrasi/Kemendes*). As a result, some articles in PP No. 43/2014 that require ministerial regulation were amended to accommodate the distribution of authority between the two ministries. The amendment was set out in PP No. 47/2015. Despite this sharing of power, overlapping authority still exists between the two ministries. For example, in PP No. 47/2015, it is outlined that further regulation of the types of authority within villages is the responsibility of *Kemendagri* in Article 35(3) and Article 39(1)). However, *Kemendes PDDT* also issued overlapping *Permendes PDDT* No. 1/2015 on the Guidance of Authority, Based on the Origin of Rights and Village-Level Local Authority.

The acknowledgment of villages as autonomous community entities and the authority that comes with this affirmation is a new concept introduced by the Village Law. Previously, Law No. 5/1979 on Village Administration defined villages as administration units falling under the *kecamatan*. Meanwhile, although other previous laws regulating village administration (Law No. 22/1999 and Law No. 32/2004) and PP No. 72/2005 on Villages, no longer determined villages fell explicitly

under the *kecamatan*, they were treated only as administrators of governmental matters at the village level.

These regulations (pre the Village Law) inevitably caused village initiatives to decline. The implementation of programs that focused on community empowerment at the end of the New Order regime helped to improve community initiatives. However, once again they were conducted without the direct involvement of village administrations.

When analyzed, authority (i) as mentioned above is an acknowledgment of the principle that determines villages as a self-governing community, while authority (ii) is a confirmation of the subsidiarity principle, which acknowledges that villagers are capable of local self-governance. Meanwhile, authorities (iii) and (iv), which result from the transfer of authority from the national or regional government, continues as in previous arrangements, carrying out the duties of the national and regional governments that work in relation to village affairs.

The authorities based on the rights of origin of the village and village-scale local authority are regulated in PP No. 43/2014, which was amended into PP No. 47/2015. Furthermore, both authorities are elaborated on in Permendes No. 1/2015. Both regulations specify the types of authority granted to the village (Article 34 of PP No. 43/2014 and Articles 2-14 of Permendes PDTT No. 1/2015). However, these types of authority cannot necessarily be equally granted to every village in Indonesia. In the *Permendes* PDTT it is stated that regional government (*Pemerintah Daerah/Pemda*) need be provided with a list of village authorities from *bupati/walikota* regulations (*peraturan bupati/peraturan walikota, Perbup/Perwali*). Furthermore, each village should also establish its channels of authority through their own village regulations (*peraturan desa/Perdes*). (See detail on Articles 15-21 of Permendes No. 1/2015.)

However, although the opportunity for villages to recognize their own authority is provided in these laws, other government regulations still maintain control over village development. Article 19 of PP No. 60/2014, which was amended into PP No. 22/2015, states that village funding should prioritize development and community empowerment activities. Permendes PDTT No. 5/2015 on the Priority of Village Funding Expenditure in 2015 elaborates further on the types of activities included.³ This means that many of the villages' needs are beyond the scope of authority specified under this regulation.

b) Regional Regulations

At the *kabupaten* level, not all regional governments implement PP No. 43/2014 and Permendes No. 1/2015 to establish the authorities granted to villages by the *Perbup/Perwali* regulations, according to their capacity. This is because in the early stages of the implementation of the Village Law, regional governments focused more on the distribution and governance of village funding than on the regulations.

The only study location to have created a village authority policy is Kabupaten Ngada. Peraturan Daerah (Regional Regulation/*Perda*) No. 12/2010 on the Affairs of Kabupaten Government that can be Assigned to Villages was introduced in Kabupaten Ngada in 2010. The Head of Commission I of the DPRD in Kabupaten Ngada understood that to implement the Village Law, the regional government regulation (*peraturan daerah/Perda*) must first be annulled and be replaced by a *Perbup* (*peraturan bupati/kabupaten* regulation). However, this is still not included in the *Prolegda*

³Such elaboration is no longer visible in Permendes PDTT No. 21/2015 on the Priority of Village Fund Expenditure in 2016. As the substitute, priority of activities are classified based on village categories: Advanced/Independent, Developed, and Underdeveloped/Severely Underdeveloped, which limit the types of activity that can be conducted by villages.

(*program legislasi daerah/regional legislation program*). However, six years after the policy was established, not a single village has identified and determined its own authority through *Perdes* (*peraturan desa/village regulation*). One of the *camat* (head of a *kecamatan*) found that the Regional Government Agency (*Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah/SKPD*) will tend to choose authority with what they believe to be a low level of responsibility. Moreover, the village is concerned that if the processes of identification and inventarization are not conducted properly, additional burdens may be placed on the budget.

Box 2.
Financial assistance policy specifically for villages, Kabupaten Banyumas

The government of Kabupaten Banyumas established a policy of *Bantuan Khusus Keuangan Desa* (BKKDes/Financial Assistance Specifically for Villages) amounting to Rp 74 billion. BKKDes is operated by transferring programs/activities from the APBD 2015, which could not be realized by the *kabupaten* because they are included in village-scale authority according to Permendes No. 5/2015. The policy was established in the middle of the 2015 financial year and outlines village-scale authority to carry out the construction of village roads and markets. In addition to the aim of avoiding *kabupaten* budget surpluses (*sisa lebih penggunaan anggaran/SILPA*), the majority of the programs/activities were channeled into the BKKDes as a result of planning during the DPRD recess period, which was initially funded by an aspiration fund. As a requirement for disbursement, villages must prepare a letter of request of disbursement, amendments to their APBDes, a statement letter accepted by the village head, and an operational work plan (*Rencana Kerja Operasional/RKO*). However, after the BKKDes policy was first introduced on November 6, 2015, no disbursements were made until the beginning of December, which coincidentally coincided with the end of the financial period at the regional and village level. Deling Village was allocated Rp 77 million and Karya Mukti Village received Rp 799 million.

Findings from other areas indicate that the interpretation of village authority varied greatly across the regions. Some areas improved their village authority through controlling the expenditure of funding based on Permendes No. 5/2015. In Kabupaten Banyumas, some regional government agencies (*Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah/SKPD*) did not have the courage to conduct any of the activities included in their APBD or their Work and Budget Plans (*Rencana Kerja dan Anggaran/RKA*). In general, according to the Head of Development Division of the Regional Secretariat (*Sekretariat Daerah*) Office, this is because SKPD worried that they would be found to have exceeded their authority. Another example was Kabupaten Ngada, where the Village Community and Apparatus Empowerment Board (*Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat dan Pemerintah Desa/BPMPD*) socialized the expenditure of village funding in four areas (village administration, village development, community empowerment, and institutional guidance). However, BPMPD then condensed these into two areas based on the *Permendes PD*.

Meanwhile, there were also regions that took the initiative to formulate a guide on the expenditure of village funding before the *Permendes* was issued. In Kabupaten Batanghari, for example, Perbup No. 47/2014 was issued on the Guidance on Village Finance Management to guide village administrations in handling the authority to manage their finances. This regulation included clauses allowing the village to choose which tasks they were capable of performing as local authorities.

Different interpretations of village authority are a result of the lack of assistance given to *kabupaten* in helping villages to sort out which components should be included in the RPJMDes/RKPDDes (that correspond with village authority). In several study locations, the solution to resolve this confusion emerged from *kecamatan*-level initiatives that were reflected in the process of formulating the RPJMDes. One of the *kecamatan* in Kabupaten Merangin achieved this by searching online for documents from other villages in Java and sharing them among the villages in its jurisdiction to use

as an example. In Wonogiri, the head of governance in one of the *kecamatan* held a monthly meeting with the village head and village treasurer.

Potential errors were also caused by new policies that were enforced immediately in the middle of the fiscal year. As the Head of the Financial Management Division of the Regional Agency for Revenue and Financial and Assets Management (*Dinas Pendapatan, Pengelolaan Keuangan dan Aset Daerah/DPPKAD*) in Kabupaten Banyumas pointed out, several villages in the region executed development initiatives that were not included in the priority list for village funding expenditure in 2015 (Permendes PD TT No. 5/2015), such as the rehabilitation of a village hall. This led the *kabupaten* to prepare a format for all official reports to avoid villages from being viewed as having misused national finances due to developments being undertaken that were not on the priority list. In general, the government of Kabupaten Wonogiri chose to play safe by making few regional-level policies ahead of national-level policies that are prone to amendment and often contradictory to one another.

2.2.2 Institutions of Village Governance

a) National Regulations

The strategic role of village governance institutions is regulated in Chapter V of the Village Law on the Operation of Village Administration. This chapter is divided into seven parts, namely Village Administration,⁴ Village Heads, Village Head Elections, Village Head Discharge, Village Officials, Village Consultative Meetings, Village Consultative Boards, and Village Administration Revenue.

In relation to the role of the village head, the Village Law provides details concerning his/her authority, rights, obligations, prohibitions, and sanctions. Although it adopts many of the existing regulations from PP No. 72/2005, the Village Law expands on the position of the village head as the main governing body in the village. For example, the Village Law specifies that the village head has the authority to lead village administration operations, by removing the phrase "based on policies established together with the BPD", which was previously in PP No. 72/2005. In terms of sanctions, an administrative sanction (verbal/written) can be imposed to discharge (temporary/permanent) the village head if he/she is negligent in fulfilling his/her obligations.

The Village Law also specifies the implementation of simultaneous *Pilkades* in *kabupaten/kota*. According to PP No. 47/2015, simultaneous *Pilkades* can be conducted at most three times within a six-year period. The Ministry of Home Affairs (*Kementerian Dalam Negeri/Kemendagri*) regulates the technical guidelines of *Pilkades* through Permendagri No. 112/2014 on *Pilkades*. Moreover, the *kabupaten/kota* must register simultaneous *Pilkades* using a regional regulation (*peraturan daerah/Perda*).

The Village Law also amended the length of service of village heads from two six-year terms to three six-year terms, either consecutively or not. This provision was introduced as a compromise to meet village heads' demands to extend the length of their terms.

In relation to the structure of village administration organizations, the Village Law specifies that village officials consist of: (i) village secretaries; (ii) regional executors; and (iii) technical executors. Furthermore, PP No. 47/2015 regulates that village secretariat (*sekretariat desa/Setdes*) officials can only assist the village head in relation to three kinds of governmental administration affairs. Technical executors who assist the village head in executing his/her operational duties can also only

⁴Article 25 of the Village Law defines the village head, or equivalent, as the village's main governing body who should be assisted by village officials or people holding equivalent positions.

work in three divisions at most. In reality, this regulation has not yet been implemented by the villages.

Kemendagri has also established *Permendagri* No. 84/2015 on the Arrangement of Village Administration Organization and Work (*Susunan Organisasi dan Tata Kerja Pemerintah Desa/SOTK*) to regulate the types of work addressed and the division of sections within village administration organizations. Within this regulation, village administration organizations are classified based on village typology, namely: *Swasembada* (self-sufficient), *Swakarya* (self-developing), and *Swadaya* (self-help).

Table 4. Arrangement of village administration organizations and work (SOTK)

<i>Swasembada</i> must have:	<i>Swakarya</i> can have:	<i>Swadaya</i> have:
Three divisions: 1. Administration & general 2. Financial 3. Planning	Three divisions: 1. Administration & general 2. Financial 3. Planning	Two divisions: 1. General and planning 2. Financial
Three sections: 1. Government 2. Welfare 3. Services	Three sections: 1. Government 2. Welfare 3. Services	Two sections: 1. Government 2. Welfare and services

Source: *Permendagri* No. 84/2015.

In this regard, the village head is not responsible for the appointment of all village officials. Article 49 paragraph (2) of the Village Law specifies that village officials are appointed by the village head after consulting with the *camat*, on behalf of the *bupati/walikota*. Furthermore, *PP* No. 47/2015 regulates that the recruitment must undergo networking and selection stages within the village before proposing the candidate to the *camat*. However, the appointment of village officials must still be made effective by a decision letter from the village head. This provision also applies to the position of the village secretary, which is now not only open to civil servants.

A broader regulation is *Permendagri* No. 83/2015 on the Appointment and Discharge of Village Officials. Besides more thoroughly regulating the requirements and mechanisms of the recruitment of village officials, this *Permendagri* also specifies that the village head can appoint staff within village organizations. Village officials and their appointed staff are also obliged to attend training at the beginning of their contract periods and training programs are conducted at all levels of government. Provinces and *kabupaten* must be monitored to determine whether or not they have sufficient budgets to conduct this training.

The Village Law also regulates the salaries for the village head and the staff, indicating that it is normally drawn from the Village Funding Allocation (*Alokasi Dana Desa/ADD*). The percentage is defined in *PP* No. 43/2014 and *PP* No. 47/2015, so that village administration officials can be clear on how much they can get.

In addition to the village administration (*Pemerintah Desa/Pemdes*), another significant institution in the operation of village administration is the Village Consultative Board (*Badan Permusyawaratan Desa/BPD*). In line with *PP* No. 72/2005, the Village Law specifies the BPD as a consultative institution for the village administration. Every village regulation (*Peraturan Desa/Perdes*) draft must be discussed and agreed to with the BPD. The BPD also takes on the

function of accommodating the community's aspirations and monitoring the performance of the village administration. However, different from PP No. 72/2005, in the Village Law the BPD is no longer granted the authority to propose the appointment or the discharge of a village head.

BPD members represent the village community based on regional representation. However, the Village Law includes a new regulation on the mechanism for BPD recruitment. While PP No. 72/2005 specified that members would be determined through consultative meetings and consensus, the Village Law has replaced this mechanism with a democratic process. According to PP No. 47/2015, this democratic procedure can be conducted through direct elections or a consultative meeting among village representatives, ensuring an equal representation of women.

PP No. 47/2015 also outlines provisions on the duties, functions, authority, rights and obligations, recruitment, and discharge of members, and a BPD code-of-conduct, to be further specified in ministerial regulations (*peraturan menteri/Permen*). So far, no *Permen* specifically relating to this matter has been forthcoming. However, technical guidelines on the execution of the tasks, authority, rights, and obligations of BPD members are available in several *Permendagri*. For example, in Permendagri No. 111/2014 on the Technical Guidelines of Regulations in Villages, the BPD has the right to propose draft *Perdes*. This right applies to all *Perdes*, except draft *Perdes* relating to the Village Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMDes), the Village Administration Work Plan (RKPDes), the Village Budget (APBDes), and accountability reports on the realization of the APBDes, which are the sole responsibility of the village administration.

b) Regional Regulations

To date, few regional-level policies exist that specifically regulate village governance institutions. For example, Kabupaten Banyumas and Kabupaten Wonogiri were still hesitant to create new policies because of the absence of technical guidelines from *Kemendagri*. On the other hand, the village itself required transparency in relation to the appointment of village officials due to the overlapping of positions and vacant positions. This situation, in which not all village official positions are filled, also resulted in the heaping of responsibilities onto just one or two officials.

Meanwhile, in terms of policies that regulate simultaneous *Pilkades*, all *kabupaten* within the study locations were discussing a regional bill (*rancangan peraturan daerah/Raperda*) on this issue. Discussions about the *Raperda* and the execution of *Pilkades* were deliberately delayed because all regions were waiting until the 2015 regional head elections (*pemilihan kepala daerah/Pilkada*) had finished, as was the case in Kabupaten Merangin and Kabupaten Batanghari.

2.2.3 Village Finances

a) National Regulations

One of the major changes that attracted significant public attention in the implementation of the Village Law was the stipulation that funding allocations for villages would be sourced from the state budget (APBN) and the regional budget (APBD). According to Article 30A PP No. 22/2015, allocation of funding from APBN should be to the amount of 10% of all funds transferred to the village and should be transferred in installments on top of this amount. Meanwhile, funding from the APBD of at least 10 percent of the revenue from regional taxes and *kabupaten/kota* levies is also to be used for village funding. In addition, at least 10 percent of the balancing fund received by the *kabupaten/kota* in the APBD after the deductions for the Special Allocation Fund (*Dana Alokasi Khusus/DAK*) is also allocated for village funding.

Regarding village funding (*Dana Desa/DD*), the Village Law mandates the allocation of DD from the APBN. The government implemented this mandate in PP No. 60/2014 on Village Funding Sourced from the APBN, which was later amended into PP No. 22/2015.

In principle, the allocation of DD is calculated based on the number of villages and takes into consideration population size, the poverty rate, geographic area, and the level of geographical difficulty. DD is transferred through *kabupaten/kota* APBDs to the village bank account. However, a crucial amendment was made in PP No. 22/2015, which states that the calculation of the DD allocation should be divided into *Alokasi Dasar* (AD/basic allocations) and *Alokasi Formula* (AF/formulaic allocations), based on variable calculations. AD is equally divided among all villages and is 90 percent of the allocated budget limit. The remaining 10 percent is allocated to AF and is divided using weighted variables. In addition, PP No. 22/2015 states that the determination of the DD budget limit no longer requires the consent of the national parliament (DPR).

Article 19 of PP No. 22/2015 specifies that DD is allocated for government performance, development, community empowerment, and community building. However, the next paragraph of Article 19 specifies that the priority of DD is to fund development and community empowerment. This article was used by the *Kemendes* as the basis for establishing two *Permendes* on prioritizing village funding expenditure, namely *Permendes* No. 5/2015 for the Priority of Expenditure in Budget Year 2015 and *Permendes* No. 21/2015 on the Priority of Expenditure in Budget Year 2016.

Meanwhile, with regard to ADD, the Village Law explicitly regulates that sanctions will be invoked on *kabupaten/kota* that do not provide ADD to villages. This would be carried out by delaying and/or deducting the balancing amount of allocated funding, after deducting the DAK that should have been distributed to the villages (PMK No. 257/2015).

In terms of village finances, in the last part of *Permendes* No. 1/2015 (Chapter V), villages are prohibited from collecting levies for administrative services provided to the people. Administrative services include: (i) cover letters; (ii) recommendation letters; and (iii) letters of reference. However, the village is authorized to collect money from business enterprises, such as public bathing, village tourism, village markets, boat tethering, fish cages, and fish auctions. The village can also develop and earn shared profits through joint enterprises between the village administration and the community.

b) Regional Regulations

At the regional level, the process of determining the allocation of village finances from the APBN and based on the 10 percent AF⁵ is submitted to the *bupati/walikota* in accordance with PP No. 22/2015. In all study locations, the *bupati/walikota* determined the distribution and the details of village funding for each village.

⁵A 10 percent *Alokasi Formula/AF* is calculated based on the variables of population, poverty rate, scope of the region, and level of geographical difficulty.

Table 5. Regulations on village finances in research locations

Banyumas	Wonogiri	Batanghari	Merangin	Ngada
Perbup No. 25/2015 on Village Funding	Perbup No. 14/2015 on the procedure of distribution and establishment of village funding for each village in Wonogiri	Perbup No. 21/2015 on the Procedure of Distribution and Establishment of Village Funding Details of Fiscal Year 2015	Perbup No. 20/2015 on the Procedure of Distribution and Establishment of Village Funding Details, Sourced from APBN, of Fiscal Year 2015	Perbup No. 21/2015 on the Procedure of Distribution and Establishment of Village Funding Details in Kabupaten Ngada

Each of the *Perbup* in Table 5 contains strikingly similar structures and contents. They specify that the distribution of DD in 2015 was conducted in three phases, in April, August, and October. Phase I of the DD distribution was conducted after the village submitted its APBDes and a report of its DD expenditure during the previous semester. Phase II distribution was conducted after the village submitted a report of their DD expenditure in Semester I. One difference is that, while *Perbup* in other *kabupaten* do not regulate the requirements for Phase III distribution, the *Perbup* in Kabupaten Merangin required villages to submit a report of their DD expenditure in Phase II before receiving their Phase III distributions.

Furthermore, regarding the allocation of village funding from the APBD, PP No. 47/2015 entrusts the *kabupaten/kota* government with establishing *bupati/walikota (Perbup/Perwali)* regulations to regulate the procedures and allocation of ADD and its division among the villages based on the results of regional taxes and retribution. In each study location the following *Perbup/Perwali* had already been established:

Table 6. Regulations on the procedures and allocation of DD and ADD in study locations

Banyumas	Wonogiri	Batanghari	Merangin	Ngada
Perbup No. 9/2015 on ADD and the component of tax levies	Perbup No. 1/2015 on the determination of Village Funding Allocation for villages in Wonogiri	Perbup No. 21/2015 on the Procedure of Distribution and Establishment of Village Funding Details of Fiscal Year 2015	Perbup No. 33/2015 on the Amendment to Perbup No. 22/2015 Procedure of Distribution and Establishment of Village Funding Details for Every Village, Funding Source of APBD, Tax and Tax Levy of Fiscal Year 2015.	Perbup No. 14/2015 on the Technical Operational Guidelines of ADD

As shown in Table 6, in almost all *kabupaten* the structures of *Perbup* that regulate the distribution of ADD are the same. In addition, only Kabupaten Ngada determined operational guidelines for ADD expenditure, which regulates the processes of planning, execution, and accountability of ADD expenditure in village development by adopting the Technical Operational Guidelines for Villages (*Petunjuk Teknis Operasional/PTO*) previously used by PNPM. In this regard, the same mechanism was also applied to DD expenditure in Kabupaten Ngada.

In several study locations the *Pemda* also formulated additional regulations regarding village finances (Table 7).

Table 7. Additional regulations on village finances in research locations

Banyumas	Wonogiri	Batanghari	Merangin	Ngada
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perbup No. 80/2014 on Fixed Income • Perbup No. 51/2015 on Aid to Village Funding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perbup No. 3/2015 on financial aid of additional income to village head and village officials • Perbup No. 4/2015 on the Guideline of APBDes Formulation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perbup No. 46/2014 on the Determination of Aid to Village in Fiscal Year 2015 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • n/a 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perbup No. 20/2015 on the Procedure to File, Disbursement, and Payment of Fixed Income of Village Head and Village Officials, also Allowance for Village Consultative Board in Fiscal Year 2015

In terms of the procurement of goods and services in the allocation of the APBDes, each study location has established a *Perbup* that uses a similar template in terms of both structure and content (Table 8).

Table 8. Regulations on the procurement of goods and services in study locations

Banyumas	Wonogiri	Batanghari	Merangin	Ngada
Perbup No. 21/2015 on goods and services procurement in the village	Perbup No. 38/2014 on the procedure guideline of goods and services procurement in the village	Perbup No. 48/2014 on the Procedure Guideline of Goods or Services Procurement in the Village	Perbup No. 35/2015 on the Procedure Guideline of Goods or Services Procurement in the Village	Perbup No. 19/2015 on the Procedure Guideline of Goods or Services Procurement in the Village

2.2.4 Participation in Village Governance

a) National Regulations

Participation is a governance principle that is strongly emphasized in the Village Law. There are several terminologies that substantively encourage participation, such as togetherness, family values, and participation itself (Article 3). In general, community participation is much more elaborately regulated in the Village Law and its derivative regulations than in PP No. 72/2005 and Permendagri No. 66/2007 on the Planning of Village Development.

Village communities are offered the opportunity to participate in planning through village discussions. According to Article 54 of the Village Law, village discussions are consultative meetings between BPD, village administrations, and elements of the community. Furthermore, PP No. 47/2015 defines the term “elements of the community” to include community figures and group representatives, for example, traditional (*adat*), religious, or educational figures, as well as representatives from groups of farmers/fishermen, craftspeople, women or the poor community.

This is an improvement on Permendagri No. 66/2007 which did not specify the different elements/groups.

A more technical provision on the procedure of village consultative meetings (*Musyawarah Desa/Musdes*) is specified in two other derivative regulations, namely Permendes No. 2/2015 on the Guidelines on the Code of Conduct and Mechanisms of Decision-making in Village Consultative Meetings, and Permendagri No. 114/2015 on the Guidelines of Village Development, particularly in Chapter 2 on the Planning of Village Development. Looking at the prevailing regulations, this regulation from the Ministry of Home Affairs (*Kementerian Dalam Negeri/Kemendagri*) is inappropriate because, according to PP No. 47/2015, the regulation of *Musdes* is the mandate of Ministry of Villages, Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration (*Kementerian Desa, Pembangunan Daerah Tertinggal, dan Transmigrasi/Kemendes*). However, village consultative meetings are an element of village administration, the regulation of which falls under the authority of *Kemendagri*.

Permendes No. 2/2015 provides details on the governance of *Musdes*, including Village Development Planning Meetings (*Musrenbangdes*), to formulate the RPJMDes and the RKPDes. Based on the *Permendes*, the *Musdes* is conducted by the BPD. However, the *Permendagri* differentiates consultative meeting into two types: *Musdes* and *Musrenbangdes*. According to this *Permendagri*, *Musdes* are conducted by the BPD, while *Musrenbangdes* are conducted by the village head (*kepala desa/Kades*). These two different regulations cause confusion within the community. In one of research locations, a *Musdes* was forcibly stopped due to an argument between the village administration and BPD regarding which had the authority to run the meeting.

Based on Permendes No. 2/2015, community participation is allowed by official invitation from the committee of the consultative meeting. In addition to having an official invitation, a member of the community can also participate in the *Musdes* if he/she has registered with the committee. Residents who are officially invited and who register are categorized as participants with voting rights in the decision-making.

In addition to being entitled to participate in the *Musdes*, based on Permendagri No. 114/2015 the community is also entitled to be involved in the team of RPJMDes and RKPDes formulators. The tasks of the formulator team include the generation of ideas from each village through discussions with residents. In the process of formulating the RKPDes, the community can also be involved as executors, as well as in the verification team.

The community can also participate in conducting development initiatives. The Village Law specifies that village development should be conducted by the village administration with the involvement of the entire community in the spirit of mutual cooperation. PP No. 47/2015 reaffirms the rights of elements of the community to be involved as executors of village development. However, Permendagri No. 114/2015 does not specify in detail how the community should be involved as executors of development activities, only specifying that executors should be included in the RKPDes documents. Furthermore, the regulation focuses more on self-managed development through employing the existing human resources in the village. Another opportunity for citizens to exercise their right to participation is by becoming a member of the committee to elect the BPD, a member of an inter-village cooperation agency, or an official for village-owned enterprises (BUMDes).

b) Regional Regulations

In the study locations rules about the participation of citizens in village development process are included in various kabupaten regulations—mostly in regulations on village development planning. In Kabupaten Wonogiri, Perda No. 21/2012 on the Planning of Regional Development also regulates

villagers' participation in the planning of village development with reference to PP No. 72/2005 on Villages.

In Kabupaten Banyumas, since 2006, Perda No. 20/2006 on the Guidelines of Formulating Village Development Plans has been enforced. This *Perda* states that participants in *Musrenbangdes* should be representatives of community institutions within the village. In this regard, Kabupaten Banyumas also issued Perda No. 19/2006 on the Establishment of Community Institutions in the Village, covering neighborhood associations (*Rukun Tetangga/RT*), neighborhood councils (*Rukun Warga/RW*), the Family Welfare and Empowerment groups (*Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga/PKK*), Village Community Empowerment Institutions (*Lembaga Pemasarakatan Masyarakat Desa/LPMD*), and other relevant community institutions.

Meanwhile in Kabupaten Batanghari, every year the Regional Development Planning Agency (*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah/Bappeda*) formulates technical guidelines on conducting *Musrenbangdes*. The guidelines contain a description of which parties or elements of the community need to be invited. Moreover, with the termination of PNPM Perdesaan in 2014, BPMBD formulated a policy by providing Rp 7 million of aid funding for each village to conduct *Musrenbangdes*. Villages are able to allocate some of this funding to cover the expenses of participants. This policy was introduced to anticipate declining participation rates among community members after PNPM came to a close. One condition for receiving these funds is that a minimum of 70 participants are required to participate in the meetings and provide signatures to prove their attendance.

Lastly, Kabupaten Ngada issued Perbup No. 14/2015 on Technical Operational Guidelines (PTO) of ADD, which regulates how the community is involved in every stage of development in the village by adopting the PNPM Perdesaan system. For example, in its operational stages, these PTO outline procedures for the socialization of inter-village consultative meetings (MAD) and *Musdes*, the establishment of *Musdes*, and the handover of *Musdes*, down to women-only village consultative meetings (MKP), all with participation criteria that are consistent with those outlined in the PTO of PNPM Perdesaan.

2.2.5 Transparency in Village Governance

a) National Regulation

Transparency has generally been embraced as one of the principles of good governance. In this context, transparency is understood as openness and the guarantee of public access to all information regarding development and the operation of the village government, particularly for village communities. In the Village Law, this principle is also included as one of the obligations of the village head in performing his/her duties.

Article 27 of the Village Law specifies that at the end of the financial year the village head must provide and/or disseminate information about the operation of village administration in writing to the village community. PP No. 72/2005 contains the same stipulation, although it does not regulate when this information is required to be published. In line with Article 27 and Article 68, the Village Law also specifies that the community has the right to ask for and obtain information from the village administration and to monitor the operation of the village administration and village development, the guidance of village societies, and community empowerment.

In addition, Article 82 of the Village Law specifies that village communities are entitled to obtain information on the planning and operation of village development. The same article states that the village administration must inform the community about the planning and execution of the

RPJMDes, the RKPDes, and the APBDes through an information system and report about it at least once a year in the *Musdes*.

In relation to information dissemination, the Village Law has also regulated on a Village Information System (*Sistem Informasi Desa/SID*) that must be developed by the central and regional governments. The SID includes data on the village, its development, rural areas, and other information related to village development and rural area development. The SID is managed by the village administration and can be accessed by the community and all stakeholders. However, none of the villages in this study had yet applied for the installation of a SID.

Article 52 in PP No. 47/2015 specifies that the village head must disclose information about the operation of the village administration, both in writing and through information media that are accessible to the community. It is also specified in Article 15 of PP No. 72/2005 that reports provided to the community on the management of the village administration can take the form of a piece of paper attached to a public notice board or verbal reports at various community meetings, on community radio, or through other media.

Based on the Village Law, technical regulations on the dissemination of information are outlined in Permendagri No. 114/2015. This regulation requires the village head to provide the community with the RKPDes and APBDes documents, as well as a work plan, through activity socialization. This socialization includes:

- a. consultative meetings on the execution of village activities;
- b. *dusun* consultative meetings;
- c. group consultative meetings;
- d. a website-based village information system;
- e. a village information board; and
- f. other media based on the condition of the village.

The provision of technical guidance to the executors of these activities on the management of village development, including the management of village information, is mandated to the central government, the provincial government, and/or the *kabupaten/kota* government (for further information see Article 61 of Permendagri No. 114/2015). In this regard, the *Permendagri* provides further instructions through *bupati/walikota* regulations.

Permendes No. 2/2015 also requires the secretary of the *Musdes* to compose minutes, notes, and short reports on the *Musdes*. After the *Musdes* is over, the minutes are then distributed to the participants and are required to be published through existing communications media in the village so that they can be accessed by all community members.

b) Regional Regulations

Not many regional regulations (*Perda*) were found during the baseline study that provide technical instructions on how the village administration should deliver information on the development and administration of the village to the community. Only Perda No. 4/2012 on the Master Plan of e-Government Development in Kabupaten Banyumas regulated the governance of development information in villages and the *kabupaten* through its website. Through this media platform, residents can access information about developments that have been and are currently being carried out in their village. Meanwhile, the governance of services and resources is regulated using an application program. For example, the Population and Civil Registry Agency (*Dinas Kependudukan dan Catatan Sipil*) developed a System of Village/Kelurahan Administration

Management (*Sistem Manajemen Administrasi Desa/Kelurahan/SMARD*), which is used to report the demographic characteristics of every village.

2.2.6 Accountability in Village Governance

a) National Regulations

Accountability is the next important component in the management of good governance. In the Village Law, this principle is included as one of the principles of good governance management. Accountability is defined as a principle that determines that every activity and final result of village administration management should be accountable to the community based on the law.

Although by definition accountability should be to the village community, articles of the Village Law state that village administration reports be submitted to higher authorities (*bupati/walikota* and/or *camat*). For example, Article 27 states that in performing his/her duties, authority, rights, and obligations, a village head must: (i) deliver a report on the village government administration at the end of every financial year to the *bupati/walikota*; and (ii) deliver a report on the village government administration at the end of his/her term to the *bupati/walikota*. Reporting at the village level is usually carried out through written statements to the BPD and the dissemination of information to the community at the end of each financial year.

Given that the BPD is considered to be representative of the community, Article 61 of the Village Law regulates the BPD's rights to: (i) monitor and request statements on the operation of village administration from the village government; and (ii) express its opinion on the operation of village administration, village development, and community empowerment. However, it is specified that by submitting a "statement request" the community is entitled to information on these areas, but does not require that village head to provide an accountability report to the community. Article 51 of PP No. 47/2015 states that, for the purpose of monitoring, the BPD can only accept statements concerning village administration operations that detail the implementation of village regulations (Box 12).

In contrast, reports on the operation of village governance that detail substantive matters, such as accomplishments and areas that need to be improved, are sent to the *bupati/walikota* on the basis of guidance and monitoring. In the context of guidance and monitoring, Article 115 of the Village Law specifies that the *bupati/walikota* is authorized to impose sanctions on the village head. These sanctions can be administrative (verbal/written) and can result in discharge, either temporary or permanent. This is also the case in regulations concerning the management of village funding. PP No. 22/2015 specifies that the report on the expenditure of village funding should be delivered to the village head to be forwarded to the *bupati/walikota* each semester. If the village head delays in delivering the report, the *bupati/walikota* can delay the distribution of the next phase of village funding (Articles 24 and 25). This emphasizes the tendency for strong accountability to higher levels of government within the Village Law system.

Article 82 of the Village Law regulates the rights of villagers to participate in *Musdes* in order to respond to reports on the execution of village-scale development. Article 68 also specifies that villagers have the right to monitor all areas of village operations. A more detailed elaboration of this right is available in Permendagri No. 114/2004. The article of the *Permendagri* allows village members to provide responses to the village operations report through the *Musdes* forum (Article 82). The consultative meeting is conducted by the BPD twice a year, in June and December. Responses and input from the consultative meeting are included in the official report, which is then converted into the basis for improving the execution of development initiatives.

b) Regional Regulations

Similar to the aspect of transparency, regional regulations regarding the management of the village administration do not regulate the village government's accountability to the community. The existing regulations tend to require that the village administration be held accountable to a higher-level institution. In all *kabupaten*, *bupati* regulations (*peraturan bupati/Perbup*) are designed to be guidelines for the management of village finances. All *Perbup* include the same regulation, in which the village head is obliged to deliver a report on the realization of the APBDes expenditure in each semester to the *bupati/walikota*. However, all *Perbup* also state that the report must be delivered to the community in writing and through an accessible media platform. However, unlike the obligation to deliver a report to the *bupati/walikota*, the obligation to inform the community is not enforced.

Table 9. Regulations in relation to accountability in research locations

Banyumas	Wonogiri	Batanghari	Merangin	Ngada
Perbup No. 51/2015 on the Management of Village Funding	Perbup No. 18/2015 on Execution Guidelines on Aid to Village Funding sourced from APBN	Perbup No. 47/2014 on the Guidelines on Village Funding Management	Perbup No. 21/2015 on the Guidelines and Procedures on Village Assets and Village Funding Management	Perbup No. 21/2015 on the Procedures on the Distribution and Establishment of Village Funding Details

2.2.7 Responsiveness in Village Governance

a) National Regulations

Responsiveness in the context of this research is defined as the village administration's responsiveness in accommodating the needs of its people and in fulfilling those needs. This is reflected in how the village administration formulates development plans, as well as village regulations.

Article 78 of the Village Law specifies that village development is intended to improve villagers' welfare and quality of life, as well as to alleviate poverty through the fulfillment of basic necessities, to develop village means and infrastructure, to develop the potential of the local economy, and to make use of natural resources and the environment in a sustainable manner. Article 78 also includes the planning, executing, and monitoring village development. The whole process is conducted by prioritizing togetherness, family values, and integration to realize the mainstreaming of peace and social justice.

In the planning phase, the Village Law specifies that the village should formulate a Village Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMDes) and a Village Administration Work Plan (RKPDes). The formulation of these documents must involve the community through a Village Development Planning Consultative Meeting (*Musrenbangdes*). The RPJMDes is valid for six years, in accordance with the village head's term. Meanwhile, the RKPDes, which is an elaboration of the RPJMDes, must be renewed annually. Both documents operate as guidelines in formulating the village budget (APBDes).

The Village Law also asserts that the planning of village development should be included as a consideration in the planning of development in the *kabupaten/kota*. However, the relationship

between the planning of village development and that of *kabupaten/kota* is a reciprocal one. The formulation of the RPJMDes and the RKPDes must also refer to the planning of *kabupaten/kota* development. Hence, plans for village development that originate from higher-level governments must be delivered to the village to be included in the RPJMDes and the RKPDes. The Village Law outlines that the RPJMDes and the RKPDes are the only planning documents in the village.

The assertion that the RPJMDes and the RKPDes are the only planning documents for village development is important. With this specification, there is no opportunity for other parties, from the village up to the central government level, or other third parties (private parties/NGO), to execute development in the village, unless they are included in the RPJMDes and RKPDes planning. Hence, this assertion is expected to limit the number of complaints about village developments that are not approved by the village administration, and special activities, and/or development initiatives that do not correspond with the needs of the community.

Mechanisms for the planning of village development are regulated in PP No. 47/2015. However, more technical regulation of development planning at the village level is outlined in Permendagri No. 114/2014 on the Guidelines of Village Development. The *Permendagri* elaborately outlines how villages should conduct the planning process to formulate their RPJMDes and RKPDes.

In a more general context, the Village Law also regulates the village administration's responsiveness when formulating *Perdes*. Article 69 of the Village Law states that village bills (*rancangan peraturan desa/Raperdes*) must be formulated in consultation with the community. The community also has the right to provide input to *Raperdes*.

In relation to this *Perdes*, Permendagri No. 111/2014 on Technical Guidelines of Village Regulations was issued. This *Permendagri* further specifies that *Raperdes* consultations must prioritize the community or groups of people who are most directly related to the substance of the regulation.

b) Regional Regulations

Regulations to accommodate villagers' needs are formulated in accordance with the regulations on participation and development planning. By starting the regulation of development planning at *dusun*-level consultative meetings, the community's needs are understood and translated up to the village-level to the *Musdes*. Agreements made in the village consultative meetings are embodied in the RPJMDes as a long-term development plan and the RKPDes as yearly work plans.

In Kabupaten Wonogiri, the above regulation is specified in Perda No. 21/2012 on the Planning of Regional Development. According to this *Perda*, the RPJMDes and the RKPDes are documents that must be formulated at the village level. If villages carry out the process of formulating these documents participatively, then the village administration is considered to be responsive in understanding the needs of the community.

In Kabupaten Banyumas, Perda No. 20/2006 also urges villages to formulate the RPJMDes and the RKPDes. This *Perda* also regulates the regional government to provide guidelines and standards in planning village development. With these guidelines, village administrations are provided the same instructions for understanding villagers' needs when performing the process of planning within their villages.

This is also the case in Kabupaten Batanghari, where every year *Bappeda* formulates Technical Guidelines for Conducting *Musrenbangdes*, which is distributed to every village. The technical guidelines, for example, elaborate on how the village should reach a consensus on which needs

should appear in the list of priority issues, both those that will be funded by the APBDes and those that will be proposed to the *kabupaten* government.

Meanwhile, in its Perbup No. 14 of 2015 on Technical Operational Guidelines (PTO) of ADD, Kabupaten Ngada regulates how each community's proposals should be examined and accommodated by adopting the PNPM Perdesaan system. The PTO also adopts women-only consultative meetings (*Musyawarah Khusus Perempuan/MKP*) to accommodate the needs of women residents.

Finally, this chapter shows that in terms of regulation there are still many problems to be resolved in the implementation of the Village Law. Among them are the relevant ministries' overlapping authority and regulations, for example between *Kemendes* and *Kemendagri*; the uniformity of regulations in several *kabupaten*, which can cause regionally-specific issues to be neglected; and there are still issues that are not yet regulated, such as on BPD. . The following are conclusions from each subchapter regarding the above regulations:

Village Authority

The Village Law grants villages the authority to manage their own affairs. This is a positive change from several of the previous village regulations, which viewed village officials only as central government administrators at the village level. Nonetheless, the central government still attempts to control village affairs by issuing regulations that prioritize village funding expenditure that is not necessarily appropriate to local needs.

The central government has issued two national-level regulations that outline the forms of village authority, namely PP No. 47/2015 and Permendes No.1/2015. Although regional governments (*kabupaten* and *desa*) are mandated to issue their own regulations to determine a list of village authorities, not all regional governments have executed this mandate. Different interpretations of village authority emerged due to the lack of assistance offered to *kabupaten* governments in helping villages to sort out components of their administration according to their jurisdiction.

The Institutions of Village Governance

The Village Law regulates in detail the strategic role of village governance institutions, including details on village administrations, village heads, village head elections, village head discharge, village officials, village consultative meetings, the Village Consultative Boards (BPD), and village administration revenue. The regulation of village administration is described in the Village Law, particularly in relation to the authority of the village head, village head elections, and the organizational structure of village administrations. The Village Law allows all citizens to act as village officials, as the village head is not granted the authority to appoint village officials. The election of village officials must be carried out in consultation with the *camat* after conducting networking and selection phases.

Regarding the BPD, the Village Law specifies the BPD as an institution for village administrations to consult with their communities. In PP No. 47/2015, BPD members are selected democratically from village representatives, with an equal representation of women. However, derivative policies on village administration institutions are still scarce at the regional level.

Village Finances

The Village Law allocates a large amount of funding from the APBN and the APBD to villages for the purpose of improving society's welfare and villagers' living quality, as well as alleviating poverty. This allocation of funding allows the village to run community-based programs. However, there are still weaknesses, particularly regarding the mechanisms for allocating village funding. The regulation specifies that 90 percent of the village funding must be equally distributed among the villages, while the remaining 10 percent should be distributed taking into account the calculation of variable values, such as population size, the poverty rate, the scope of the region, and the level

of geographical difficulty. The fact that this contribution is only 10 percent of the total funding is considered less than ideal, because of the large differences in the fiscal capabilities of the villages, the variation of the issues to be addressed, and the differering scope and scale of each village. However, the Village Law is beneficial to village finances in that it places sanctions on *kabupaten/kota* administrations that do not distribute ADD to the villages.

Participation in Village Governance

The Village Law allows the community to participate in village governance, particularly in *Musdes*. PP No. 47/2015 elaborates not only the specifics of community involvement in *Musdes*, but also its involvement in executing development initiatives, while ensuring to accommodate for the representation of women and poor households. Meanwhile, Permendagri No. 114/2015 specifies that the community can also participate in formulating the RPJMDes and the RKPDes.

However, there are still several weaknesses in this national-level regulation, including the overlapping of regulations issued by *Kemendagri* and *Kemendes*. For example, Permendes No. 2/2015 specifies that *Musdes*, including *Musrenbangdes*, should be conducted by BPD. On the other hand, according to Permendagri No. 114/2015, consultative meetings in a village should be divided into two types: a *Musdes* held by the BPD and a *Musrenbangdes* held by the village head. These contradicting regulations have caused confusion among communities, even though PP No. 47/2015 specifies that the regulation of *Musdes* falls under the authority of *Kemendes*.

Transparency of Village Governance

The Village Law regulates the process to ensure transparency in the operation of village administrations. The community has the right to demand transparency in the operation of village administration, including the right to monitor and receive information regarding development, empowerment, and guidance. Hence, the village head is obliged to clearly provide such information to the community. Regulations on transparency are further outlined in PP No. 47/2015, specifying that the village head must provide information media to assist the community in accessing information regarding the operation of village administration. Permendagri No. 114/2015 and Permendes No. 2/2015 also outline the technical regulation of this information socialization. However, at the regional level, few derivative regulations (*Perda*) have been issued to manage information transparency.

Accountability in Village Governance

The Village Law specifies the importance of the principle of accountability in village administration. In general, the Village Law lays out that the operation of village administration must be accountable to the community. However, in reality, the Village Law prioritizes the formal reporting of village accountability to higher-level institutions, such as the *bupati/walikota*. The BPD, which is considered to represent the community, does not even have the right to demand accountability of the village head. Nevertheless, Article 82 of the Village Law specifies that the community has the right to respond to reports on village development initiatives in the *Musdes*.

Responsiveness in Village Governance

The Village Law accommodates the needs of the community through planning processes and the formulation of RPJMDes and RKPDes. According to the Village Law, the community's involvement in formulating these documents is mandatory. In addition, the Village Law's regulation on planning processes is helpful in that it restricts development activities only to those listed in the planning documents. This prevents third parties from carrying out development initiatives that are outside the scope of a village's development plan and are not necessarily appropriate to the needs of the community, or that are implemented solely for political purposes. The Village Law also specifies that the community has the right to propose initiatives to be carried out in the village. At the regional level, regional governments have enacted regulations that correspond with central government regulations to accommodate the needs of communities.

III. PROFILE OF RESEARCH LOCATIONS AND THE CONDITION OF FIVE MAIN ASSETS

This chapter provides a general depiction of the research locations from the *kabupaten* to the village level. It also discusses the condition of the five assets to provide context and to understand the extent to which these villages will be developed.

3.2 General Description of *Kabupaten* Conditions

This research was conducted in five *kabupaten* from three provinces, namely Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Merangin in Jambi Province, Kabupaten Banyumas and Kabupaten Wonogiri in Central Java Province, and Kabupaten Ngada in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) Province. A general depiction of the characteristics of these *kabupaten* can be seen in Table 10, which displays the variations between the *kabupaten* in several descriptive variables, such as scope of the region, amount of regional funding (APBD), population, percentage of poor residents, and amount of funds transferred to the villages.

In general, *kabupaten* in Central Java are long-established and occupy a relatively small land area, but are home to a far greater number of villages and residents than *kabupaten* in Jambi and NTT. *Kabupaten* in Jambi are much larger in terms of physical area, but have much smaller numbers of villages and residents than *kabupaten* in Central Java. Kabupaten Ngada has the smallest population, despite its large area. In terms of funding, APBD, local taxes and levies (PDRB), and own-source local government revenue (PAD), Central Java is ahead, followed by Jambi and then NTT. This means that each *kabupaten* faces challenges with differing characteristics.

Table 10. General depiction of the conditions of research location by *kabupaten*

No.	Variable	Banyumas	Wonogiri	Batanghari	Merangin	Ngada
01.	Establishment year	1582	1741	1948	1999	1958
02.	Area (KM2)	1,327.60	1,822.36	5,809.43	7,679.00	1,620.92
03.	Number of <i>kecamatan</i>	27	25	8	24	9
04.	Number of villages	301	251	100	203	135
05.	Number of <i>kelurahan</i>	30	43	13	10	16
06.	Population	1,605,579	1,013,194	240,763	336,050	142,254
07.	Poor residents (%)	19.44	14.02	10.50	9.37	11.19
08.	APBD in 2015 (Rp million)	2,479,485	1,807,657	982,661	1,098,232	624,627
09.	DD in 2015 (Rp million)	89,291	69,330	30,352	55,105	36,127
10.	ADD in 2015 (Rp million)	134,903	47,788	53,787	21,041	36,260
11.	ADD per village in 2015 (Rp million)	448.18	190.39	537.87	103.65	268.59
11.	PDRB (Rp billion)	34,102.5	21,074.4	10,937.9	9,396	2,112.5
12.	PAD (Rp million)	385,678	174,557	69,319	68,381	33,916
13.	Main livelihood	Agriculture	Agriculture	Agriculture/ Plantation	Agriculture/ Plantation	Agriculture

Source: Compiled from various sources (field information, *kabupaten* website, *kabupaten* in figures).

3.2.1 Kabupaten Ngada

a) General Depiction

Geographically, Kabupaten Ngada, established in 1958, is located in the western part of the island of Flores, East Nusa Tenggara Province. Its area is 1,620.92 km². Its climate is tropical with a general topography that is hilly in the southern part and sloping in the central and northern parts. The administrative borders of this *kabupaten* are as follows:

- To the east, it is adjacent to Kabupaten Nagekeo.
- To the west, it is adjacent to Kabupaten East Manggarai.
- To the north, it is adjacent to the Flores Sea.
- To the south, it is adjacent to the Sawu Sea.



Figure 4. Atmosphere of Lekosoro Village

Kabupaten Ngada consists of nine *kecamatan* and 135 villages. The population is 142,254. Of the total population, according to BPS, in 2013 about 11.19 percent or 16,900 residents were considered to be poor. However, Kabupaten Ngada is considered wealthy compared with other *kabupaten* in NTT, ranking third in welfare statistics after Kabupaten East Flores and Kupang City. The main livelihood in Kabupaten Ngada is agriculture and plantations. Cloves were the main crop being harvested during the field activity.

b) Village-related Policies

In general, Kabupaten Ngada is committed to developing its villages and implementing the Village Law, which is evident in its management of the Village Funding Allocation (ADD). Although Kabupaten Ngada is the *kabupaten* with the lowest PDRB and APBD, its ADD allocation is not the lowest (Table 10). In terms of regulation, Kabupaten Ngada explicitly manages the expenditure and use of ADD in Perbup No. 14/2015 on Technical Operational Guidelines of ADD of Pemkab 2015. The policy highlights the importance of principles such as participation, transparency, accountability, equality, and frugality, as well as being directional and restrained.

Moreover, since 2012, Kabupaten Ngada has conducted a program called *Pelangi Desa*, which is funded by the APBD. The program, the design of which replicates PNPM Perdesaan, applies the principles of good governance used in PNPM and is institutionalized from the *kabupaten* to the

village level. The *Pelangi Desa* program employs a facilitator who has experience of working on similar programs in PNPM, and who has indirectly assisted village administrations to complete the administrative requirements during the initial stages of Village Law implementation.

In implementing the Village Law, the government of Kabupaten Ngada encouraged innovation by establishing a *kabupaten* assistance team. A similar team was also created in Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Banyumas, and proved to contribute to the smooth implementation of the Village Law. In general, inter-institutional coordination between *kabupaten* and villages was harmonious, with only minor confusion in the implementation of the law.

3.2.2 Kabupaten Wonogiri

a) General Depiction

Kabupaten Wonogiri is highly strategic as it is located in the far south of Central Java Province, between East Java Province and the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province. Its area is 182,236.02 ha.

Its natural features consist mostly of limestone mountains, particularly to the south, including Pegunungan Seribu, which is a source of spring water for the Bengawan Solo river. The borders of Kabupaten Wonogiri with other regions are as follows:

- To the south, it borders Kabupaten Pacitan (East Java) and the Indian Ocean
- To the north, it borders Kabupaten Sukoharjo and Kabupaten Karanganyar (Central Java)
- To the east, it borders Kabupaten Karanganyar and Kabupaten Ponorogo (East Java)
- To the west, it borders the Province of the Special Region of Yogyakarta

Administratively, Kabupaten Wonogiri is divided into 25 *kecamatan*, 43 *kelurahan*, and 251 villages. Its population in 2013 was 1,013,194, consisting of 506,148 men and 507,046 women. Of the total population, 14.02 percent or as many as 132,200 people were considered to be poor. Kabupaten Wonogiri has an average welfare level for *kabupaten* in Central Java.



Figure 5. Atmosphere of Kalikromo Village

b) Village-related Policies

Kabupaten Wonogiri government's policies to implement the Village Law are general and mandatory in nature, such as the allocation and governance of village funding and ADD. There are no policy innovations to support the implementation of the Village Law, with an institutional conflict between the Community Empowerment Agency (*Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat/Bapermas*) and the Village Administration Division (*Bagian Pemerintahan Daerah/Bagian Pemdes*) taking place within the Regional Secretariat (*Sekretariat Daerah/Setda*). The domination of the Village Administration Division is considered excessive by Bapermas. Other parties that should ideally take part in managing the implementation of the Village Law have not been involved, for example the Inspectorate of *Bappeda*, and the Regional Agency for Revenue and Financial and Assets Management (*Dinas Pendapatan, Pengelolaan Keuangan dan Aset Daerah/DPPKAD*). In the long run, this institutional conflict could interfere with the implementation of the Village Law.

3.2.3 Kabupaten Banyumas

a) General Depiction

Kabupaten Banyumas is an old *kabupaten* first established on April 6, 1582. It is located in the southwest part of Central Java Province.

The borders of Kabupaten Banyumas are:

- To the north, it is adjacent to Mt. Slamet, Kabupaten Tegal, and Kabupaten Pemasang
- To the south, it is adjacent to Kabupaten Cilacap
- To the west, it is adjacent to Kabupaten Cilacap and Kabupaten Brebes
- To the east, it is adjacent to Kabupaten Purbalingga, Kabupaten Kebumen, and Kabupaten Banjarnegara

Its area is 1,327.60 km² or equal to 132,759.56 ha, and it consists of both flatland and mountains. Commonly, its residents work in the agriculture, trade, and the service sector.

Kabupaten Banyumas consists of 27 *kecamatan*, 301 villages, and 30 *kelurahan*. Its population in 2014 was 1,605,579, consisting of 802,316 men and 803,263 women. Based on BPS data, in 2013 there were 296,800 poor residents in the *kabupaten*, or around 19.44 percent of the total population. This figure is above the average national poverty rate, which sits at 11 percent. According to this figure, Kabupaten Banyumas is the fifth-poorest province in Central Java.

b) Village-related Policies

Banyumas, as a *kabupaten*, is relatively progressive in its implementation of the Village Law and village development in general. The progressiveness of the regional government is strongly related to the various movements, groups, and non-governmental institutions, that encourage and monitor the implementation of the Village Law, such as the Village Development Movement (*Gerakan Desa Membangun/GDM*).

The most influential policy in the implementation of the Village Law is the establishment of an ad hoc team to coordinate the execution of village facilitation in order to fulfill the various obligations of the village in the context of such implementation. The employment of a facilitation team for the operation of village administration, due to the numerous difficulties experienced in administrative

affairs during the first year of the implementation of the Village Law, has proven beneficial to village governments in helping them perform their duties.

The regional government (*Pemerintah Daerah/Pemda*) in Banyumas also provides abundant additional financial aid to each village, in addition to the AD and ADD. In 2015, this aid amounted to Rp 74 trillion, which was slightly lower than the total *kabupaten* ADD of Rp 89 trillion. However, the program is controversial, as it is considered to be a manifestation of an Aspiration Fund, which is laden with the political interests of members of the house of representatives. The large amounts of Financial Assistance for Specific Purposes for Villages (*Bantuan Khusus Keuangan Desa/BKKDes*) mean that the implementation of the program is conducted by a third party, and the villages are left uninvolved in the determination of the funding.⁶ In addition, the time limits placed on the execution of development initiatives did not allow the *Pemdes* time to negotiate which components of the project could be self-managed.⁷ This is contrary to the spirit of community empowerment embodied in the Village Law.

3.2.4 Kabupaten Batanghari

a) General Depiction

Kabupaten Batanghari was established on December 1, 1948, through the Regulation of the Commissioner of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in Bukittinggi No. 81/Kom/U. In 1965, it was divided into two Level II regions, namely Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Tanjung Jabung. Then, based on Law No. 54/1999, each *kabupaten* was further divided into two further *kabupaten*, namely Kabupaten Batanghari with Muara Bulian as the capital, and Kabupaten Muaro in Jambi with Sengeti as the capital.



Figure 6. Atmosphere of Tiang Berajo Village

Geographically, the area of Kabupaten Batanghari is 5,804.83 km². It is located in the eastern part of Jambi Province. Kabupaten Batanghari, with its tropical climate, has the following borders:

- To the north, it is adjacent to Kabupaten Tebo and Kabupaten Muaro in Jambi.
- To the east, it is adjacent to Kabupaten Muaro in Jambi.

⁶In terms of BKKDes in 2015, *Pemdes* only acted as recipients of the program.

⁷The limit of BKKDes was submitted to *Pemdes* in November 6, 2015.

- To the south, it is adjacent to South Sumatra Province, Kabupaten Sarolangun, and Kabupaten Muaro in Jambi.
- To the west, it is adjacent to Kabupaten East Tebo.

Kabupaten Batanghari consists of eight *kecamatan*, 100 villages, and 13 *kelurahan*. In 2012, there were only 96 villages. Its population in 2014 was 257,201, consisting of 131,294 men and 125,907 women. Among this number, 27,091 people or around 10.5 percent are classified as poor. However, among the five study *kabupaten*, Kabupaten Batanghari is the richest in terms of PDRB per capita.

b) Village-related Policies

Kabupaten Batanghari is one region that performs well in terms of good governance, proven by its many achievements. In 2015, during the study, Kabupaten Batanghari received an award from the Ministry of State Administrative Reform (*Kementrian Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara dan Reformasi Birokrasi/KemenPAN-RB*) for being the *kabupaten* with the highest score in reporting government performance (*pelaporan kinerja pemerintahan/LAKIP*). Previously, this *kabupaten* had also been awarded the title of unqualified opinion (*wajar tanpa pengecualian/WTP*) from the State Audit Agency (*Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan/BPK*). In 2014, it also received an award entitled *Anugerah Parahita Ekapraya (APE)*, under the category of *pratama* from the Ministry for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (*Kementrian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak/ Kemeneg PP & PA*). This award is granted to regions deemed to have been successful in incorporating gender mainstreaming into their systems of governance.

The regional government's commitment to implementing the Village Law was evident in the establishment of an assistance team for the implementation of the Village Law at the *kabupaten* level. The team consists of regional government agencies (*Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah/SKPD*) that are relevant to the implementation of the Village Law. The team visits *kecamatan* office and focuses its activities on all villages in one *kecamatan*. The village administration considers this pattern to be effective and it is one of the regional government's innovations worthy of being replicated in other regions.

Kabupaten Batanghari was one region that was able to effectively implement the PNPM program. This *kabupaten* also received an award for being the region whose government provided the best PNPM assistance. It is also one of the locations for the Development of Participatory Construction System Program (*Program Pengembangan Sistem Pembangunan Partisipatif/P2SPP*).⁸ It is believed that the support of these programs has played a role in the effective implementation of the Village Law in this region.

3.2.5 Kabupaten Merangin

a) General Depiction

Kabupaten Merangin was formed when Kabupaten Sarolangun Bangko was divided into Kabupaten Merangin and Kabupaten Sarolangun. The *kabupaten* was established based on Law No. 54/1999. In this case, Merangin is the main *kabupaten* and the government capital remained in Kota Bangko.

⁸The purpose of this program is to strengthen the system of participatory planning starting at the village level, and to synchronize it with technocratic planning conducted by the *kabupaten* government, as well as with political planning conducted by the DPRD

Geographically, Kabupaten Merangin is located in the western part of Jambi Province. It takes up an area of 7,679 km² or 745.130 ha, which consists of 4,607 km² of lowland and 3,027 km² of highland, with an elevation of about 46 to 1,206 m above sea level. The borders of Kabupaten Merangin are as follows:

- To the east, it is adjacent to Kabupaten Sarolangun.
- To the west, it is adjacent to Kabupaten Kerinci.
- To the north, it is adjacent to Kabupaten Bungo and Kabupaten Tebo.
- To the south, it is adjacent to Kabupaten Rejang Lebong (Bengkulu Province).

Currently, Kabupaten Merangin consists of 24 *kecamatan*, 203 villages, and 10 *kelurahan*. Its population in 2011 was 341,563, consisting of 175,585 men and 165,978 women. Of the total population, 33,899 people, or around 9.4 percent, are classified as poor. According to this figure, Merangin is the *kabupaten* with the lowest poverty rate of the five research *kabupaten*. The main livelihood of the people in Merangin is in agriculture.

b) Village-related Policies

Compared with the other research *kabupaten*, Merangin is the youngest and also the largest *kabupaten*, with the lowest number of poor. Despite being less conspicuous than other study locations, Merangin is unique in that it was the second *kabupaten* in the province of Jambi to test e-*Musrenbang*.⁹

There were no innovations evident in the implementation of the Village Law in the region. Even village officials complained about the complexity of completing finance administration, because they had to go back and forth to the *kabupaten* office. In terms of budget allocation, when compared with other *kabupaten*, Merangin has the lowest ADD allocation. Despite this, if the amount of APBD is taken into account, Merangin is not considered a poor *kabupaten*. Field monitoring shows that the regional government did not support village development and the implementation of the Village Law in an optimal way.

3.3 General Depiction of Village Conditions

3.3.1 Village Topography

Information about the size of the area that is available in secondary data is extremely varied and difficult to verify. However, in general, villages in Jambi appear to be physically larger than those in Java and Ngada. In terms of soil type, except in Wonogiri, the study villages are fertile and are generally suitable for many kinds of crops. Particularly in Jambi, there are many palm oil plantations. In Ngada where the soil is also fertile, the community relies on plantation crops, for example cloves. Villages in Wonogiri experience some problems regarding soil condition. As a result, two of the villages included in the research area tend to experience dry soil and rely heavily on rainfall. During the dry season, the villages in this region are extremely dry.

⁹e-*Musrenbang* had just become part of the discourse in Jambi Province when the baseline study was conducted.

Table 11. General topographical conditions of the villages

<i>Kabupaten</i>	Village	Geographical features			
		Area	Topography	Distance between village- <i>kabupaten</i>	Distance between village- <i>kecamatan</i>
Ngada	Ndona	1,881 ha	Highland	40 km	15 km
	Lekosoro	1,312 ha	Highland	45 km	16 km
Wonogiri	Kalikromo	555,7650 ha	Lowland	26 km	2 km
	Beral	1057,8870 ha	Mountains	49 km	8 km
Banyumas	Deling	253,9897 ha	Hilly	12 km	3 km
	Karya Mukti	377,54 ha	Lowland	32 km	3 km
Batanghari	Tiang Berajo	7,000 km ²	Lowland	47 km	15 km
	Kelok Sungai Besar	126 km ²	Lowland and hilly	58 km	16 km
Merangin	Jembatan Rajo	270 km ²	Highland	30 km	3 km
	Sungai Seberang	50,000 ha	Hilly	48 km	7km

Source: compiled from each village profile.

In terms of topography, there is one village in Kabupaten Wonogiri that is a beach village. Despite this, it is not a fishing village, because the beach is covered with coral trenches that make it inappropriate for fishing activities. Meanwhile, the parts that are appropriately sloping have been bought by private businessmen from outside of Wonogiri. This privately owned stretch of beach covers several villages from Wonogiri towards Yogyakarta. These conditions have caused problems, because of the local residents' limited access to the beach.

In terms of distance, most villages are relatively far from the center of the *kabupaten* administration. The furthest village is 58 km from the center of the *kabupaten*, with the nearest being 12 km. Meanwhile, the distance between the villages and the *kecamatan* are relatively close, with more than half of the study locations under 10 km away from the center of the *kecamatan*. The furthest distance is 16 km, while the nearest is 2 km.

3.3.2 Depiction of the Demographic and Livelihood Conditions

In terms of demography, villages on Java have larger populations than those off Java. The research villages with the largest populations were those in Kabupaten Batanghari. Meanwhile, Kabupaten Merangin and Kabupaten Ngada's populations were nearly the same, at around 1,000 people.

In terms of poverty, the conditions varied between *kabupaten*. The highest poverty rate of 43 percent was found in Kabupaten Merangin. Despite this, the village is rich in natural resources. In addition to fertile soil for agriculture, the village is well-known for gold-mining, which is currently run illegally by the community.

Table 12. General depiction of demographic and livelihood conditions

Kabupaten	Village	Demographical depiction				Poverty rate (%)*	Principle livelihood
		Population					
		Male	Female	Total			
Ngada	Ndona	696	682	1,378	24.27	Agriculture and plantations	
	Lekosoro	461	452	913	20.41	Agriculture, plantations, and farming	
Wonogiri	Kalikromo	1,323	1,462	2,785	27.13	Agriculture	
	Beral	1,619	1,747	3,366	8.48	Farming, fishing	
Banyumas	Deling	2,439	2,397	4,836	18.73	Agriculture, plantations	
	Karya Mukti	6,616	6,622	13,038	24.02	Agriculture	
Batanghari	Tiang Berajo	997	968	1,965	9.23	Agriculture, plantations (rubber)	
	Kelok Sungai Besar	1,089	998	2,087	13.58	Agriculture, plantations (rubber, palm oil)	
Merangin	Jembatan Rajo	650	611	1,261	3.21	Agriculture, plantations (rubber, palm oil)	
	Sungai Seberang	285	370	755	42.54	Agriculture, farming, mining	

Source: compiled from each village profile.

*Due to the variety and incomplete nature of information regarding poverty in the villages' official documents, it was decided to use SMERU's 2013 poverty and livelihood map. This map was made based on data from 2010. The map can be viewed at: <http://www.indonesiapovertymap.org/>

In terms of livelihoods, communities in most of the villages work in the agriculture sector, cultivating food crops. Not all members of the community own agricultural land, so working as hired labor on other people's land is common. There were also plantations, particularly in two *kabupaten* in Jambi Province. Both in Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Merangin, there are palm oil and rubber plantations managed by the community and private businesses. In Ngada there are many small-scale clove plantations owned by the community. Also, in one of the villages in Ngada, the tradition of cow-farming continues to be well-maintained and is the main livelihood for a number of households.

Trading is carried out in all of the study villages, as well as working as civil servants as the main source of income. Meanwhile, some occupations are typical to certain areas, such as clove-pickers in Ngada and tree-sap tappers in Merangin. Among poor households, engaging in odd-jobs and contracting work are also common.

3.3.3 Overview of Villages' Fiscal Capabilities

As seen in Table 13, compared with 2014 when the Village Law had not yet been implemented, after the implementation of the Village Law in 2015 villages generally experienced a more than doubling of their ABPDs. The largest increase occurred in villages in Kabupaten Banyumas, which all received more than double the previous year's sum. Meanwhile, in other regions the increase was only up to two times the amount.

Table 13. Comparison of 2014 and 2015 APBDes in the research villages

Kabupaten	Village	General depiction of village financial conditions				
		2014 APBDes	2014 ADD	2015 APBDes	2015 ADD	2015 DD
Ngada	Ndona	Rp 274,646,000	Rp 94,496,000	Rp 579,177,912	Rp 267,932,000	Rp 268,470,912
	Lekosoro	Rp 269,135,520	Rp 92,825,000	Rp 576,132,552	Rp 264,762,000	Rp 264,767,802
Wonogiri	Kalikromo	Rp 448,169,000	Rp 137,949,000	Rp 803,827,000	Rp 187,881,000	Rp 268,108,000
	Beral	Rp 875,299,000	Rp 171,874,000	Rp 1,104,514,000	Rp 234,200,000	Rp 282,313,000
Banyumas	Deling	Rp 363,510,992	Rp 88,478,748	Rp 939,912,188	Rp 398,696,903	Rp 294,765,178
	Karya Mukti	Rp 870,607,628	Rp 112,467,708	Rp 1,802,637,497	Rp 538,646,667	Rp 242,239,777
Batanghari	Tiang Berajo	Rp 339,472,760	Rp 334,872,760	Rp 856,953,280	Rp 532,064,280	Rp 270,389,000
	Kelok Sungai Besar	Rp 375,839,760	Rp 362,064,760	Rp 843,110,280	Rp 559,356,280	Rp 279,254,000
Merangin	Jembatan Rajo	n/a	n/a	Rp 383,213,333	Rp 112,857,583	Rp 260,069,393
	Sungai Seberang	Rp 134,439,606	Rp 120,062,350	Rp 375,451,431	Rp 98,011,429	Rp 266,884,107

Source: compiled from APBDes of each village.

The largest budgetary component contributing to the increase of village finances is the Village Funding Allocation (ADD). The amount of ADD differs considerably in the villages between one *kabupaten* to another, depending on the condition of the regional budget in each *kabupaten*. The largest ADD increase occurred in Kabupaten Banyumas, where the amount of 2015 ADD in one village was five times higher than its 2014 ADD, while the villages with the lowest ADD increase were in Kabupaten Wonogiri.

Despite these high rates of increase, Kabupaten Merangin experienced a decrease in ADD of more than 20 percent due to the appointment of 269 K2 honorary staff. These appointments required the reallocation of funding from the regional budget, including ADD. Although not explicitly evident in the table above, most villages have other sources of income, in addition to these two main components, for example own-source village revenue (PADes), profit-sharing of regional taxes and levies, and aid from provincial and *kabupaten* governments, as well as lawful and unbinding contributions from other parties.

3.4 Condition of Pentagonal Assets

It is assumed that the implementation of the Village Law will increase the capacity of individual villages to fulfil their own needs and to address the issues faced by their citizens. Essentially, there are five asset categories that influence community livelihoods, namely (i) human resource assets, (ii) social assets, (iii) economic/financial assets, (iv) physical/infrastructure assets, and (v) natural resource assets. The condition of these five (pentagonal) assets is a crucial consideration in this baseline study and the study in its entirety. It is assumed that over a specific period of time after the Village Law was implemented there will be a tendency for the pentagonal assets within the community to change.

3.4.1 Human Resource Assets

In general, the communities in the study villages have registered improvements in terms of the quality of human resources. Regarding education, in 2015 the number of villagers who graduated from high school or university has increased over the past five years. However, in almost all villages, there was still a high number of unemployed high school and university graduates. This is partly because the perception of work is such that it means entering formal employment and receiving a fixed salary, when few such jobs are available. In addition, high school and university graduates are reluctant to take on farming and cultivating work in the village.

"Generally, they are high school graduates. There are also university graduates, but not all of them have a permanent job yet. Some even become honorary workers. The problem is that the university graduates have a bachelor of education. Some of them work as kindergarten and elementary school teachers, even *Sekdes*." (Participant of FGD on Pentagonal Assets and institutions, Female Group, Jembatan Rajo Village, Kabupaten Merangin, 11 November 2015)

"It's advancing now. The number of junior and senior high school graduates. There are also many university graduates. Back then we were undeveloped. But many of the university graduates are unemployed, because there are no jobs that match their educational background." (Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Male Group, Kalikromo Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, 15 October 2015)

"There are graduates from senior high school, also from university. Many university graduates are unemployed. The good thing is that some of them are honorary workers. They have already graduated but it's difficult to get a job." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and Institutional FDG, Female Group, Tiang Berajo Village, Kabupaten Batanghari, 22 October 2015)

Despite increasing education levels, in 2015 some junior high school students in several of the study villages did not continue their education to a higher level. This is caused by several factors, including a lack of household funds, poor access to educational facilities that are located far from people's homes, and a lack of motivation to continue on to higher levels of education when job prospects are poor.

An interesting phenomenon occurred in Ndonga Village (Kabupaten Ngada), where many children dropped out of education at junior high school to work in the clove plantations. As the selling price of cloves increased, plantation owners were willing to spend more money to pay the children to assist in harvesting the cloves.¹⁰ The children mostly used the money received to purchase motorbikes. Moreover, findings from the study locations show that residents aged above 40 years of age generally had lower education levels and some were even illiterate.

"Sometimes the parents are capable, but their children are not. Or the children are able, but the parents are not." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Male Group, Sungai Seberang Village, Kabupaten Merangin, 18 November 2015)

"Many of our children dropped out of school because of the distance between home and school. For example, if the children have to walk 8 km to school." (participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Male Group, Ndonga Village, Kabupaten Ngada, 14 October 2015)

"To put the educational levels in perspective, it can be said that of the population, about 30 percent are high school graduates, 5 percent are university graduates, 20 percent are elementary school graduates, and 5 percent are illiterate. The illiterate ones are usually old people." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Male Group, Karya Mukti Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, 15 November 2015)

¹⁰During this baseline study, clove prices increased.

Despite receiving skills training, the knowledge gained through these sessions is not always utilized to develop livelihoods. Most informants in the FGD and in-depth interviews believed that skills training was not designed to be comprehensive, but focused only on conducting the training itself, without any follow-up assistance to ensure that the skills are being utilized for productive economic enterprises. Some individuals within communities were able to develop their skills, not because of the skills training provided by the village but more on their own motivation. In Karya Mukti Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, several informants expressed their expectation that the village government would assist those residents who had already undergone skills development training, particularly in terms of marketing.

"PNPM provided training in baking and sewing. But after the training was over, we were not shown how to turn our knowledge into an enterprise. It was only training for the sake of training." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Female Group, Beral Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, 21 October 2015)

"For example, there is an abundance of home industries. The village administration are supposedly able to help with marketing as well. Actually, marketing is our shared responsibility, but we need some creative assistance from the village." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Female Group, Karya Mukti Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, 13 November 2015)

In terms of health, none of the research locations experienced extreme cases of epidemic disease. Diseases were only a small-scale occurrence, such as the outbreak of viral *chikungunya* fever in Kalikromo Village (Kabupaten Wonogiri). Generally, diseases experienced by the community were those caused by seasonal changes, such as flu, fever, and similar ailments.

In terms of their lifestyles, residents in all study locations were already aware of and considerate of appropriate amounts of water consumption. However, there was a widespread shortage of water facilities. Almost all research locations experienced difficulties in accessing clean water, whether only parts of the *dusun* or throughout the entire village. Half of the *dusun* in Kalikromo and Beral Villages experienced difficulties in accessing clean water because of the absence of a water spring. In Kelok Sungai Besar and Tiang Berajo Villages (Kabupaten Batanghari), and Jembatan Rajo Village (Kabupaten Merangin), the residents' wells ran dry during long dry seasons and villagers were forced to buy water for cooking and drinking. As for bathing and washing, villagers utilized water from the river flowing through their villages. Citizens from Sungai Seberang Village (Kabupaten Merangin) and Ndonga Village (Kabupaten Ngada) utilized water from small streams running through their villages, even though the quality of the water was unsuitable for bathing, washing, and especially for cooking or drinking.

"During this dry season, I have to buy water, Rp 150,000 for one tank of water. In one season, I can buy water 4-5 times." (participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Male Group, Beral Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, 21 October 2015)

"For bathing, washing, cooking, drinking, I use milk water. The color of the river water is like this (brown)." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Female Group, Sungai Seberang Village, Kabupaten Merangin, 15 October 2015)

"Residents [of one of the *dusun*] drink muddy water, water from the dirty river... Only places where the water is running have water in them." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Male Group, Ndonga Village, Kabupaten Ngada, 14 October 2015)



Figure 7. A group of women with their children casually gathered in Sungai Seberang Village

3.4.2 Social Assets

In general, communal social institutions still perform well in the research locations, particularly in Central Java. There are numerous activities indicating the strength of social relationships. Meetings are routinely conducted at the RT (*rukun tetangga*/neighborhood unit) level to discuss *jimpitan*,¹¹ savings collections, and *arisan* (lottery gatherings), often referred to as cooperatives. Apart from being used for savings and loans, the money collected in *jimpitan* is partly used to fund social activities at the RT level. This includes assisting residents to give birth, those who fall ill, or those who have fallen victim to disaster. Furthermore, in all study areas located in the two *kabupaten* in Central Java communal activities, carried out for a variety of purposes, were still common. However, most FGD participants admitted that these communal activities had experienced a significant decline in the past five years.

A similar situation was also evident in Jambi. Every *dusun* held a weekly forum to recite the Yasin chapter of the Quran (*yasinan*) and gather funds for the *dusun* lottery (*arisan*). The communities also still worked together if a neighbor was holding a ceremony, for example a wedding or circumcision ceremony, or building a house. However, this custom was considered to have significantly diminished over the past five years. Residents of Jembatan Rajo Village in Kabupaten Merangin admitted that the communal values of the village had diminished following the introduction of programs that paid workers for these activities. Meanwhile, in Sungai Seberang Village of Kabupaten Merangin, the change in social relationships was influenced by the presence of a gold mine in the region. As a result, the importance placed on communal interests in the community was in decline.

¹¹*Jimpitan* is a term in Javanese meaning a few (*jumpit*). Here, the term is used by the community to depict a traditional Javanese mechanism of contribution fees, where every household leaves money or goods in a small box, commonly placed in front of the house. This money or goods will then be collected by an official for certain administrative purposes. In the context of this research location, *jimpitan* is usually used to fund the night patrol.

"All praise to God, it feels unified here. For social activities in the RT, for example, money collected from *jimpitan* is distributed to help our neighbors who are hospitalized. For our deceased neighbors, money from the treasury is utilized to help the family. The amount of money is agreed on by the community. We agreed on the number. For those who are inpatients, we give Rp 50,000, and for the deceased, we give Rp 100,000." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Deling Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, 11 November 2015)

"Communal work still exists, but it is different from old times. Now it feels less unified because people are busy meeting their own economic needs." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and Institutional FDG, Male Group, Kelok Sungai Besar Village, Kabupaten Batanghari, 14 October 2015)

"Social activities diminish every year. For example communal work, it is only carried out on the side of the road. The feeling of community is diminishing." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Male Group, Karya Mukti Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, 15 November 2015)

"Sometimes people are reluctant to leave their jobs. Those gold miners go to work from morning until evening." (Interview with the Secretary of Sungai Seberang Village, Kabupaten Merangin, 19 November 2015)

Adat and religious values were highly respected as the core of the community in Ngada, particularly due to its homogenous population of Catholic believers. Especially in Lekosoro Village, which is relatively more remote than Ndonga Village, the value of togetherness remained strong. Building a house, for example, was always carried out together with the community. In addition, people helped each other with various activities, for example, *arisan* and plantation work. Plantation workers were not expected to provide money, only food and drink.

"The sense of community here is extraordinary. When I came after hearing someone shouting and asked, 'What is that?' My neighbor said, 'It's an announcement the someone is building a home. Afterwards, everyone came to help build the house.'" (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Female Group, Lekosoro Village, Kabupaten Ngada, October 25, 2015.)

"In the *dasa wisma* (a group of mothers from 10 heads of families), we hold *arisan* and work together to garden. We take it in turns between each member. For example, today we are working in the garden of Mrs. A, and two days after that we will work in the garden of Mrs. B. For large gardens, we employ the help of the RT group, which consists of the fathers. The garden owner offers food. The *dasa wisma* and the RT group are different from the farmer group, which was established based on their work overlay. *Dasa wisma* was established a long time ago and has always been active in conducting their activities." (In-depth Interview, PKK Secretary, Women, 29 years old, Lekosoro Village, Kabupaten Ngada, October 26, 2015.)



Figure 8. Inauguration of the Church in Ndonga Village, Kabupaten Ngada

Religious institutionalism is generally the basis of community activities. In Ndonga Village, its religious and *adat* customs were the basis for social activities within the community. In other villages in Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Merangin, religious activities have also been institutionalized. Even the honoraria of religious officials, which are known as *sara'* officials, and Quran-reading teachers, were incorporated into the *kabupaten* budget. In Deling and Karya Mukti Villages, Kabupaten Banyuman, religious and social activities in the community were held by religious civil organizations.

In contrast to the above-mentioned villages, in Kalikromo and Beral Villages in Kabupaten Wonogiri, religious activities were nothing extraordinary. In these villages, syncretism was very common. So, *Karang Taruna* (youth organizations) at the *dusun* level were more prominent than religious institutions in both villages. Generally, these organizations were reliable for various social activities. A well-known term in both villages, also in Kabupaten Wonogiri in general, is *sinoman*, which is used to describe an activity to help others hold a ceremony, ranging from preparing to executing the ceremony. In the FGDs, both men and women agreed that *sinoman* were the most important activities of the *Karang Taruna* and included in the community's social capital.

"There are many activities conducted by religious organizations, including the provision of annual aid. Generally, all members of the community are involved. Here, religious organization is rooted in the community." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Female Group, Deling Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, 10 November 2015)

"*Karang Taruna* is most involved with the community through *sinoman*. We are grateful that because of *sinoman* our ceremony went well without having to spend lots of money." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Male Group, Kalikromo Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, 15 October 2015)

Political dynamics in the research area, particularly in Central Java and NTT, are considered to be stable because they are still rooted in social values. Political commotions during *pilkades*, such as those occurring in Tiang Berajo and Sungai Seberang, usually did not last long. Villagers generally accept winning or losing as a part of the routine process in electing a village head. In addition to this, there has never been a conflict between religions or ethnic groups in any of the research locations. The condition of social relationships in the community, despite the various differences, does not make them vulnerable to conflict.

"There still is a relationship between the present village head and the former one. Conflicts during the elections ended peacefully. Like in the last election, where the losing candidate wandered out of his hometown again after the end of the election." (In-depth interview, Village Activists, Kalikromo Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, October 2015)

"I come from NTT, and the people are very open. I'm always invited to the consultative meeting. I like the atmosphere here." (In-depth Interview, Marginalized Man, Deling Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, 8 November 2015)

Table 14. Villages' social assets

Village	Social asset	
	Social activity	Religious institution
Ndona	. Communal work is well-maintained . Rooted religious and <i>adat</i> activities	Strong religious institutions
Lekosoro	. Communal work is well-maintained . Rooted religious and <i>adat</i> activities	Strong religious institutions
Kalikromo	. <i>Jimpitan, sinoman</i> . Communal work is well-performed	Ordinary religious activity
Beral	. <i>Jimpitan, sinoman</i> . Communal work is well-performed	Ordinary religious activity
Deling	. <i>Jimpitan</i> . Communal work is well-performed	Rooted religious civil organizations
Karya Mukti	. <i>Jimpitan</i> . Communal work is well-performed	Rooted religious civil organizations
Tiang Berajo	. Recitation of Yaasin Chapter . Communal work for ceremonies	Institutionalized religious institutions (<i>sara'</i> officials and Quran-reading teacher)
Kelok Sungai Besar	. Recitation of Yaasin Chapter . Communal work for ceremonies	Institutionalized religious institutions (<i>sara'</i> officials and Quran-reading teacher)
Jembatan Rajo	. Recitation of Yaasin Chapter . Communal work for a ceremony . Diminishing communal work due to paid workers in the program	Institutionalized religious institutions (<i>sara'</i> officials and Quran-reading teacher)
Sungai Seberang	. Recitation of Yaasin Chapter . Communal work for ceremonies . Diminishing communal work due to gold mining	Institutionalized religious institutions (<i>sara'</i> officials and Quran-reading teacher)
General depiction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social institutions in all research location perform well • In all villages (except Ndona and Lekosoro Villages), communal work is still strong, but is significantly decreasing • Stable political dynamics in all villages 	

Source: FGD and in-depth interviews.

3.4.3 Financial/Economic Assets

In general, the livelihoods of the communities in all regions varied, depending on the commodities available at the local market. Communities in villages in Batanghari mostly relied on palm oil and rubber plantations for their livelihoods, while Jembatan Rajo Village in Kabupaten Merangin relied only on rubber. However, during the research period, the price of rubber and palm oil fell, weakening the communities' welfare conditions. Meanwhile, in Sungai Seberang Village in Kabupaten Merangin, many people had abandoned their gardens and rice fields. From 2011-12, most of its villagers had become involved in gold-mining. In the villages in Jambi Province, citizens countered economic fluctuations in their permanent jobs by taking side jobs, such as collecting pebbles in Jembatan Rajo Village, utilizing produce from orchards for daily consumption in Tiang Berajo Village, and farming in RT 15 of Kelok Sungai Besar Village.

"People here live off rubber and palm oil. Their welfare depends on the price of those commodities."
(Participant of Pentagonal Assets and Institutional FDG, Male Group, Tiang Berajo Village, Kabupaten Batanghari, 22 October 2015)

"The main plantations here are palm oil and rubber and there are some coffee plantations and rice paddies for self-consumption." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and Institutional FDG, Male Group, Kelok Sungai Besar Village, Kabupaten Batanghari, 14 October 2015)

"Our rice fields have all hardened. We cannot farm them anymore because they have turned to rocks and are being excavated to mine gold." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FDG, Male Group, Sungai Seberang Village, Kabupaten Merangin, 18 November 2015)

"Here, 90 percent [of our livelihoods] come from rubber. And what's more, most of the rubber is no longer productive. A lot of it is too old. That's the potential of our village." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FDG, Male Group, Jembatan Rajo Village, Kabupaten Merangin, 10 November 2015)

"Besides working in the plantations, we also collect pebbles." (Participant of Pentagonal Asset and institutional FDG, Male Group, Jembatan Rajo Village, Kabupaten Merangin, 10 November 2015)

In Kabupaten Ngada most of community livelihoods depend on clove and cacao cultivation. During the research period, the two study villages in the *kabupaten* experienced good returns from their clove harvests, increasing the incomes of the farming families. However, according to most FDG participants, this increase in income due to the rise of clove prices was often accompanied by poor financial management. As a result, many of the families failed to manage their finances responsibly and spent in excess of their needs.

"We earned a lot of money by selling candlenuts and cloves, but we have bad financial management. Expenditure is out of control. We buy things we don't really need." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FDG, Female Group, Ndonga Village, Kabupaten Ngada, October 15, 2015.)

In Kalikromo and Beral Villages, the livelihoods of the people depend on agriculture and plantations. Almost all households have home-raised cows and timber planted for the long term. Over the past three years, most residents in Kalikromo Village enjoyed a profit from their tobacco harvest that was almost four times their harvest from planting additional staple crops. In Deling Village, the main livelihood of the people is the farming of seeds and some crops. It is common for people's houses and yards to be full of various seeds to be sold outside of Java. In Beral Village, most of the community works as agricultural cultivators and workers. A large portion of the community also works in the service sector or migrates from their homeland.

"Our livelihood is from agriculture. Some raise cows or plant trees, but we only use these if it is absolutely necessary." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FDG, Male Group, Beral Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, 21 October 2015)

"The economy here is generally pretty standard. Before, when we were planting soybeans, it was hard to make Rp 2 million. But since we started planting tobacco, making even Rp 30 million is not a big deal." (Participant of Pentagonal Asset and institutional FDG, Female Group, Kalikromo Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, 15 October 2015)

"Most people's livelihoods here are in agriculture, particularly in nurseries. There are fluctuations due to the weather and the season, with nurseries facing slow times during the dry season. During dry season, profits decrease, but expenditure rises because of the many *hajatan* (celebrations) we are having." (Participant of Pentagonal Asset and institutional FDG, Male Group, Deling Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, 11 November 2015)

"Not everyone here works in the rice fields. Some work as civil servants, farmers, traders or sappers. There are also shop owners, traders, resellers and lots of things. The rice fields might be vast, but only 10 percent are owned by the locals. The others all take a share of the profits. Many people work

here as hired labor." (Member of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Male Group, Karya Mukti Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, 15 November 2015)



Figure 9. Palm oil plantation in Kelok Sungai Besar Village

In terms of finances, communities in general had access to both formal and informal financial agencies/institutions. Villagers from Kabupaten Banyumas usually borrowed amounts of up to Rp 1 million from RT collection funds or village credit agencies (*Badan Kredit Desa/BKD*).¹² Meanwhile, in Wonogiri, the residents usually borrowed money informally from cattle and palm sugar *blantik* (brokers). They then repaid the money (to the *blantik*) using cash or in the form of palm sugar at an amount equal to the market price of the sugar, including interest. In four villages in Central Java, there was also a mobile money-lenders, referred to by the locals as the *bank pipil* or *bank pelecit*. These lenders were considered easier to access with daily installment payments, although at high interest rates.

Meanwhile, for urgent borrowing needs, the villagers of Kabupaten Batanghari went to palm oil or rubber *touke* (brokers). This also happened in Jembatan Rajo Village of Kabupaten Merangin. Villagers in Sungai Seberang Village, besides borrowing from rubber *touke*, also borrowed from gold *touke* in other villages. The situation in Ndonga Village and Lekosoro Village in Kabupaten Ngada was rather different. To access additional sources of income, villagers in Ndonga and Lekosoro in Kabupaten Ngada went to a credit union. There was also a KUB that collected contribution fees for the building of churches, death ceremonies, among others, that could also be accessed by the community for loans.

"It is common for the community to borrow from the cooperative (community savings that can be used for small-scale savings and loans at the RT level). There are also some who borrow Rp 2 million from the RT. To borrow more money, they can go to BKD and Sharia Bank." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Female Group, Karya Mukti Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, 13 November 2015)

"Most people borrow money from relatives, neighbors, kiosks. There is also the Daily Bank, the mobile one, but borrowing money from the Daily Bank is the last choice. Their funds are also limited, because so many people borrow from it. The next place is RT savings, savings that are quickly used up because many people need money at the same time, for example during the rainy season." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Female Group, Deling Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, 10 November 2015)

¹²village-level financial institution that cooperates with BRI (Bank Rakyat Indonesia).

"I borrow from the neighbor, from the cow seller. We don't need anything, as long as we have a cow. But we don't have to pay it with our cow." (Participant of Pentagonal Asset and institutional FGD, Female Group, Kalikromo Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, 15 October 2015)

"When I don't have any other choice, I borrow from the *bank plecit* (daily bank), but I have to pay it off everyday." (Participant of Pentagonal Asset and institutional FGD, Female Group, Beral Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, 21 October 2015)

"We borrow from the *touke* (broker) based on the harvest. When the harvest is abundant, we are allowed to borrow a lot of money. When the harvest is scarce, you can only borrow a small amount of money." (Participant of Pentagonal Assets and Institutional FDG, Female Group, Tiang Berajo Village, Kabupaten Batanghari, 22 October 2015)

Table 15. Villages' financial/economic assets

Village	Financial/economic assets	
	Livelihood	Financial institution
Ndona	Cloves	. Credit Union . KUB
Lekosoro	Livestock	. Credit Union . KUB
Kalikromo	plantations and agriculture (tobacco)	. Cow <i>blantik</i> (broker) and palm sugar broker. Loan sharks (<i>bank pipil/bank pelecit</i>)
Beral	plantations and agriculture	. Cow <i>blantik</i> (broker) and palm sugar broker. Loan shark (<i>bank pipil/bank pelecit</i>)
Deling	agriculture, nurseries, and planting of half food crop	. Badan Kredit Desa (loans under Rp 1 million) . Mobile money-lenders (<i>bank pipil/bank pelecit</i>)
Karya Mukti	agriculture	. Badan Kredit Desa (loans under Rp 1 million) . Mobile money-lenders (<i>bank pipil/bank pelecit</i>)
Tiang Berajo	Palm oil and rubber plantations	<i>Touke</i> (Palm oil /rubber broker)
Kelok Sungai Besar	Palm oil and rubber plantations	<i>Touke</i> (Oil palm/rubber broker)
Jembatan Rajo	Rubber	<i>Touke</i> (Oil palm/rubber broker)
Sungai Seberang	Rubber and gold mines	<i>Touke</i> (Rubber/gold broker)
General depiction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In general, the community's livelihood varies between each region • For financial institutions, loans are sought from formal and informal institution 	

Source: FGD and in-depth interviews.

3.4.4 Physical/Infrastructure Assets

It was relatively easy to access some of the research locations, such as Kabupaten Wonogiri, Kabupaten Banyumas, and Kabupaten Batanghari. However, access to Sungai Seberang Village, Kabupaten Merangin was severely damaged, one of the causes being the heavy equipment needed for gold mining that was frequently brought through. The same could be seen in Lekosoro Village, Kabupaten Ngada, where the road was not only severely damaged, but also steep and quite dangerous. This damaged road is a *kabupaten* road, the management of which is under the authority of the regional government. Because of this, the villagers were unable repair it although they had the resources to do so.

Regarding road conditions within the villages, all roads in Banyumas and Wonogiri were in good condition, except in Kalikromo Village where half of the roads were unfinished, the longest being only 30 meters. In Ndona Village, Kabupaten Ngada, there were remote *dusun* that could only be reached by motorcycle. Meanwhile, in Lekosoro Village, in the same *kabupaten*, every road was passable by car despite being damaged. Public transportation in this village was by truck. In Kelok Sungai Besar Village of Kabupaten Batanghari, the condition of the road was relatively good, but there was still one remote RT where the road conditions were less than ideal. In Tiang Berajo Village in Kabupaten Batanghari and Jembatan Rajo Village in Kabupaten Merangin, the condition of the road was relatively good, except the road heading into the *adat* forest in Jembatan Rajo Village, which had started to deteriorate and had not been repaired.

Box 3.

Access of networked resources between villages

RT 4 / RW 4 of Deling Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, is located far from other *dusun* and villages. To reach the location, vehicles must bypass plantations, valleys, and cliffs. However, it has a relatively easy access to neighboring villages.

The condition of infrastructure, especially electricity and water, is limited compared with other RT in Deling Village. To resolve the water problem, the village head is currently connecting the water channel to a neighboring village, although there has been no formal agreement, such as a shared decision letter signed by the two village heads. Such an agreement may be important in preventing possible conflict between the two villages over water resources in the future.

Meanwhile, in terms of electricity, one of the marginalized informants who lives in the area admitted to connecting to the electricity supply of the closest house in a neighboring village, under the condition that he contributed to this house owner's electricity bills based on an agreement reached with the house owner.

In terms of electricity, only Lekosoro Village in Kabupaten Ngada and Desa Sungai Seberang Village in Kabupaten Merangin, had no access to electricity at the time the research was conducted. In addition, there was one RT (RT 15) in Kelok Sungai Besar Village in Kabupaten Batanghari with no access to electricity. For lighting, the community relied on diesel engines.

The availability of clean water is a common problem in almost all the *kabupaten*, particularly during the dry season. In Kalikromo and Beral Villages, only some of the communities had access to clean water through PAMSIMAS and PDAM. Meanwhile, in research villages in Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Merangin, the community relied on the river as a source of clean water. In 2014, Jembatan Rajo Village received aid in the form of a borewell from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources. The well is located in one of the *dusun* in Jembatan Rajo Village. Until now the community has used the facility free of charge by providing a donation to the engine-keeper for the purchase of fuel.



Figure 10. Residents of a study village in Kabupaten Ngada collecting clean water

In terms of information access, particularly the availability of phone connections to telecommunications providers, most study villages were covered by a cellular network. However, in Sungai Seberang Village, Merangin, not a single telecommunication provider could be accessed. The same situation was observed in Beral Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri (Central Java) and Ndonga Village, Kabupaten Ngada (NTT).

Although much of the infrastructure was not well managed, most communities in each research location agreed that development in the villages had rapidly increased over the past five years. This was due to the greater diversity of development programs implemented at the village level, from both the central and regional government. In addition, many village heads were persistent in contacting the *kabupaten* to request development programs.

Table 16. Physical assets/infrastructure in the villages

Village	Physical assets/Infrastructure			
	Road network	Electricity	Clean water	Access to information
Ndonga	good	available	access to clean water is difficult	some <i>dusun</i> do not have access to a telecommunications network
Lekosoro	severely damaged	not available	access to clean water is available	access to telecommunication network is available
Kalikromo	good, but there is a damaged road	available	access to clean water is difficult	access to telecommunication network is available
Beral	good	available	access to clean water is difficult	some <i>dusun</i> do not have access to a telecommunications network
Deling	good	available	access to clean water is available	access to telecommunication network is available
Karya Mukti	good	available	access to clean water is available	access to telecommunication network is available
Tiang Berajo	good	available	access to clean water is difficult	access to telecommunication network is available
Kelok Sungai Besar	good	There is 1 RT with electricity	access to clean water is difficult	access to telecommunication network is available
Jembatan Rajo	good	available	access to clean water is difficult	access to telecommunication network is available
Sungai Seberang	severely damaged	electricity is not available	access to clean water is difficult	no telecommunications network
General depiction	Although much of the infrastructure is not well-managed, most communities in each research location agreed that in the last 5 years development in the villages has rapidly increased.			

Source: FGD and in-depth interviews.

3.4.5 Natural Assets

All informants in the research locations said that the available natural resources were still able to support the community's livelihoods. Some villages did not utilize the forest because of agreements, such as *adat* forest in Jembatan Rajo Village (Kabupaten Merangin) and *adat* land in Ndonga Village (Kabupaten Ngada), which cannot be traded due to its vulnerability to landslide. In Lekosoro Village there is abundant water and land, supporting agricultural activities. Meanwhile, in Sungai Seberang Village (Kabupaten Merangin) there is a community gold mine. The presence of this gold mine, on one hand, has created a new source of income for the community, while on the other hand, it has damaged the environment and road infrastructure. The river, which was once clean, has become turbid and is no longer suitable for drinking. As a result, people found it difficult to find clean water and were relying on small rivers in their *dusun* that were still relatively clear.

"There used to be a regulation which prohibited constructing pools for fishing.¹³ Since the presence of this illegal mining, the pools no longer existed. The last fish harvesting in protected pools was in 2012. As illegal mining started, the pool started to diminish, and the water became turbid." (Interview with marginalized resident, Sungai Seberang Village, Kabupaten Merangin, 20 November 2015)



Figure 11. Adat forest of Jembatan Rajo Village

Beral Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, has a source of clean water that is managed by PDAM, but it cannot serve some of the *dusun*. There are three *dusun* that directly face the southern sea, but this has only been utilized to grow seaweed. Community members were disinclined to sail because there were no boat tethers or incoming paths. As such, most residents relied on agriculture and plantations, with only a small number catching reef lobster.

"... there are numerous kinds of sea produce, such as seaweed, fish, and lobster, but the community only utilizes lobster and seaweed. People don't often fish, because it is difficult to tether a boat. (Member of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Male Group, Kalikromo Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, 15 October 2015)

Kalikromo Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, does not have water springs, and to reach clean water wells have to be drilled to more than 80 meters in depth. As a result, the community faced difficulties in meeting their need for clean water. In this village, there is also a sand mine, which the village was

¹³A deep and protected area of the river designed to protect fish habitats. However, fish can be harvested at certain times determined by *adat* institutions.

not yet able to manage, and was individually owned. In Deling Village, some residents utilized rock mining, while in Karya Mukti Village the residents made bricks from clay. However, in the past two years the village's own clay supply had become exhausted and the village now had to purchase clay from other areas.

Table 17. Assets from village natural resources

Village	Natural resources
	Emerging issues
Ndona	<i>Adat</i> land
Lekosoro	. Sufficient water source for agriculture and plantation
Kalikromo	. Difficulty to get clean water . C-cut sand mine that is not managed by the village (privately owned)
Beral	. Clean water is managed by PDAM . Sea is not efficiently utilized
Deling	. Only a few people utilize rock mining
Karya Mukti	Utilizing clay to make bricks
Tiang Berajo	Turbid river
Kelok Sungai Besar	Turbid river
Jembatan Rajo	. <i>Adat</i> forest
Sungai Seberang	. Gold mining causes river to become turbid
General depiction	In general, the available natural resources can still support communities' livelihoods

Source: FGD and in-depth interviews.

3.4.6 Vulnerabilities

There will always be vulnerabilities that communities must face. These vulnerabilities can cause poverty, because they are one of the influencing factors of community-owned assets. DFID (2000) divided the concept of vulnerability into three categories: shock, trend (tendency for change), and seasonality (occurrence of seasons). This concept can be utilized to understand the causes of vulnerability and its effect on the study villages.

During the research, Kabupaten Batanghari and Merangin were affected by the forest fire smoke disaster. Communities in the research locations admitted that the disaster was extremely disruptive to their daily activities and had not been fully resolved. Another research location to experience a major shock was Kalikromo Village in Kabupaten Wonogiri, where flooding washed away the community's assets, leading it to establish a disaster-ready group at the village level. Meanwhile, in two villages in Kabupaten Ngada and Kabupaten Banyumas, as well as Beral Village in Kabupaten Wonogiri, according to informants' and FDP participants' opinions, no serious disasters had occurred.

"This smoke is a disaster, Sir. Everyone has been put out, community activities have lessened, the the economy has decreased, health has worsened." (Member of Pentagonal Assets and Institutional FDG, Male Group, Tiang Berajo Village, Kabupaten Batanghari, 22 October 2015)

"The flood was extreme, the people resolve problems on their own. Livestock and crucial appliances are missing, homes are damaged. In the end, we asked for anyone's help. It inspired us to establish a disaster-ready group." (In-depth interview, Figure, Male, Kalikromo Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, 10 October 2015).



Figure 12. Smoke haze from forest fires in Jambi

Besides experiencing shocks, all informants (of FGDs and in-depth interviews) in all research locations admitted that their communities' livelihoods were highly influenced by seasonality, and that there were certain times of the year when they spent large amounts of money, for example *hajatan* (ceremonies), the school academic year, and the dry season. During these times, communities independently resolved their financial problems, for example by selling or mortgaging their assets, borrowing money from others, or rearranging their resources.

"During certain months, Rp 1 million per day is not enough. I sell my cow and goat for the sake of the ceremony. We can spend up to Rp 100,000 per day. For the smallest scale ceremony, it can cost Rp 30,000 to Rp 50,000. Don't forget the rice, because we bring rice too. We provide at least 5 kg of rice and at the most 10 kg. Also sugar and tea. Rice, sugar, tea, oil, and if a relative is holding the ceremony it is more again. 1 kg sugar is at least Rp 14,000, plus 1 pack of Dandang brand tea. Calculate all of that, plus Rp 100,000 extra, and the fee for a *ojek* (hired motorcycle)." (Member of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Female Group, Beral Village, Kabupaten Wonogiri, 21 October 2015)

Table 18. Vulnerability in villages

Village	Vulnerability
	Emerging Issues
Ndona	disaster
Lekosoro	no disaster yet
Kalikromo	no disaster yet
Beral	flood
Deling	no disaster yet
Karya Mukti	no disaster yet
Tiang Berajo	no disaster yet
Kelok Sungai Besar	smoke
Jembatan Rajo	smoke
Sungai Seberang	smoke
General depiction	smoke

Source: FGD and in-depth interviews.

The most worrying aspect for communities in all study locations was the changing conditions that contributed to a decrease in community welfare standards. For example, the effects of exploitation on natural resources; the transfer of land ownership to certain people, both inside or outside the village; and the decline in the selling price of commodities that they grew and managed.

"Well, even though we make enough now, the wet rice fields are all owned by a couple of people. To make bricks, we buy the clay from other regions. This will not be beneficial for the community." (Member of Pentagonal Asset and institutional FGD, Male Group, Karya Mukti Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, 15 November 2015)

"We constantly wonder what our descendants will say, knowing that we have exploited the natural resources. For temporary income, gold is indeed more promising. But in the long run, plantations are better because they are sustainable. If the government agrees, plantations should be managed more effectively." (Member of Pentagonal Assets and institutional FGD, Male Group, Sungai Seberang Village, Kabupaten Merangin, 18 November 2015)

In relation to the context of this research, the characteristics of each study location, at both the village and *kabupaten* levels, indicate that the possible and expected results from the implementation of the Village Law may be different. Characteristics refer to aspects that are distinctive to each region and can contribute to the implementation of policies. Hence, data and information obtained from the baseline study should be used as a basis for estimating trends appearing as a result of the implementation of the Village Law, through monitoring conducted after the baseline study. Following is a conclusion of the subchapters presented above.

3.4.7 Village-related Regional Policies

An interesting indicator at the *kabupaten* level, identified in the baseline study, is village-related policies. By examining these policies, it is possible to estimate the extent to which regional governments (*Pemda*) pay attention to village governments (*Pemdes*) in order to improve the welfare of villagers. It was found that not all *Pemda* achieved the same performance in terms of policy innovation, fiscal allocations, and institutional conditions.

One promising policy innovation at the regional level, for example, was the establishment of an ad hoc team to implement the Village Law/assist in village governance, as seen in Ngada, Banyumas, and Batanghari. The presence of such a team has the potential to improve the implementation of the Village Law. Furthermore, programs similar to PNPM, such as the one implemented in Kabupaten Ngada, can potentially influence other villages in the *kabupaten* to implement practices of good governance. The achievements of some *kabupaten*, such as Batang Hari, in implementing PNPM and its audited reports (*wajar tanpa pengecualia/WTP*) further indicate efforts to mainstream practices of good governance down to the village level. In the context of practicing the Village Law and conducting this study, these conditions need to be further examined, especially in relation to the issue of sustainability.

In terms of fiscal allocations, not all *kabupaten* were committed to providing additional funding to villages to execute development initiatives. Although the *Pemda* in Kabupaten Ngada ranked the lowest rank in terms of APBD when compared to the other regions, it had a higher allocation rate of ADD than outlined in the *Perbup* that had clear operational guidelines. The *Pemda* in Kabupaten Banyumas also provided additional funding above the mandatory allocations of DD and ADD in order to increase the number of development initiatives being conducted in its villages. It is important, however, to monitor whether this additional funding made real contributions to the quality of village governance and welfare.

Institutions at the *kabupaten* level that are responsible for village matters were also influential. In Kabupaten Wonogiri, inter-institutional conflicts relating to these responsibilities indicated that there were certain administrative inefficiencies in implementing the Village Law. In contrast, the presence of local NGOs that actively contributed to village development in Kabupaten Banyumas was considered to have supported achievements in meeting the goals of the Village Law.

It is also interesting to examine cases of the most basic implementation of village governance, such as in Kabupaten Merangin, where the basic requirements of the Village Law were fulfilled without significant innovations. Findings from the baseline study show no significant achievements for the region. At the end of the longitudinal study this case could serve as a valuable lesson concerning the need for *pemkab* to be innovative in implementing Village Law in order to reach their aim for regional welfare.

3.4.8 Village Characteristics

The topographic and demographic characteristics, as well as fiscal capabilities of each village are notably different. Except in terms of livelihoods, all study villages rely on the primary sectors, such as agriculture, plantations, and/or mining. In terms of topography and demography, general patterns related to the research issues are more difficult to define, except in indicating that development needs and challenges were varied. Lowland villages experienced fewer difficulties than higher mountainous villages.

In terms of demography, a balanced proportion of men and women within a village does not impact on the variation of needs. However, in terms of the proportion of poor residents, a higher percentage of poor residents in some villages tends to have implications for the prioritization of basic necessities. This was the case in Kabupaten Ngada and Kabupaten Merangin, where half of the residents had no electricity, and in Kabupaten Wonogiri with its recurring droughts during the dry season.

3.4.9 Pentagonal Assets

In accordance with the context of this research, the use of pentagonal assets consisting of human resources, social, financial, physical, and natural assets, is one of the most important basic concepts in implementing the Village Law. A comprehensive understanding of each of these assets, taking into consideration the aspect of vulnerabilities, indicates their influence on the practice of these policies.

Human Resource Assets

Education levels were seen to have improved over the previous five years, as the number of high school and university graduates increased. This gives hope that higher standards of village governance can be implemented once more educated members of the community become village officials.

Apart from issues related to the quality of education, no other challenges were identified in relation to health, healthy livelihoods, or skills, that could potentially stand in the way of the implementation of the Village Law.

Social Assets

Social characteristics that are considered to be an asset, or capital, are crucial to the implementation of the Village Law, because they help to improve other aspects, such as the local economy (Sedyadi, 2012; Anggita, 2012) and governance. In the study villages, deeply-rooted social activities to collectively accumulate economic capital within the *dusun* or *desa* were evident, such as *arisan* (lottery gathering), *jimpitan* (collection of contributions in form of money or rice), and savings. The value of togetherness was also evident in other personal activities, such as the building of houses and the construction of public facilities. However, people admitted that these collective activities had started to decline due to the implementation of paid work schemes in construction programs, or the arrival of more time-consuming economic activities, such as mining and the planting of commodities which require intensive care, such as cloves and tobacco. These social values and activities could potentially be utilized by village administrations to support the execution of village development initiatives.

Regular community units, such as the RT, *dusun*, or religious institutions, represent hubs of community activities, and are often utilized as a medium to disseminate information from and to villagers concerning various issues.

Financial Assets

A community's economy is influenced by a number of factors, such as seasonal changes or shocks. In villages that rely on only one kind of commodity (for example rubber or palm oil in Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Merangin), their influence on the community's economy is extremely high, because disturbances to the commodity are usually felt by the whole community. For example, pest invasions or falling commodity prices can hit at any time. The situation was different in Kabupaten Wonogiri, where citizens could change their commodities from rice and other stable crops to tobacco, depending on the season. For urgent financial needs, villagers can rely on *arisan*, loan providers, or *touke* (brokers)/*blantik* (cow brokers) in Central Java, or even the treasury of "basis people groups" (*kelompok umat basis/KUB*) such as Catholic KUB.

Physical Assets

In general, development programs in the villages have improved due to the increasing number of supra-village activities. Nevertheless, the challenges and needs faced by each village range from roads, electricity, and water sources, implying that many villages were still lacking in basic infrastructure. Interestingly, although the Village Law promotes villages' fiscal capabilities, it does not necessarily mean that villages are able to implement projects to improve their infrastructure. In several villages, *kabupaten*-level infrastructure vital to the community's livelihoods was in poor condition. The villages, however, were unable to do anything to address the situation because they did not have the authority to do so. Hence, this study shows that there is a need for further monitoring of how villages conduct development initiatives and how village development can be conducted harmoniously.

Natural Assets

Not all communities made the most of the environmental potential in their villages. For example, the use of groundwater, *adat* forests, coastal resources, and mineral mines was not well-managed.

Dengan demikian, investigating the potential for independence offered by village-owned enterprise (BUMDes) in the Village Law could be of interest, in order to determine whether the five community livelihood assets could be utilized to optimize community welfare.

IV. BASIC INSTITUTIONS AND SERVICES AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

This chapter discusses institutions and services in the study location villages at the level of the village administration or within the community. Referring to Law No. 6/2014 on Villages, institutions in the village are categorized into two major groups: the village government, consisting of the village administration and the BPD, and the village's societal institutions, existing outside the village government.

The discussion of institutions is specifically placed in this chapter—as opposed to the discussion on social assets—because they are viewed from the perspective of village governance. Hence, the discussion in this chapter is divided into several parts, including institutions within the village administration and institutions outside the village administration. In relation to services, the discussion is focused on those provided services by the village administration.

4.1 Village Institutions

The village head and village officials are the executors of village administration. The BPD also performs functions of village administration, such as discussing and agreeing on draft village regulations, accommodating and channeling villagers' aspirations, and monitoring the performance of the village head. The relationship between the community and the village administration can be simplified into the following graphic.

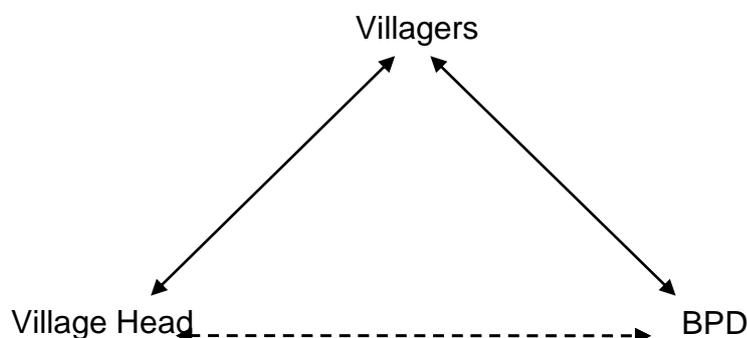


Figure 13. Representation of the relationship between the community and the village administration

Normatively, this structure places villagers at the top of the pyramid to reflect their position as the subject of village development. The community democratically elects the village head and members of BPD as the community's representatives. The dotted line between the village head and the BPD indicates the partnership between them, with specific rights and obligations in relation to village administration operations. Although the BPD monitors the performance of the village head (and the village administration), it does not have the authority to impeach the village head.

The ideal relationship between the village administration and the BPD is one that allows both parties to perform their roles and obligations in accordance with the regulations. This means that they should not be too "intimate" such that the BPD can still criticize the performance of the village

administration. In addition, they should not be too contradictory or "fundamentally different", as this could result in an inability to execute various policies and programs. A relationship at either end of these two extremes would be a disservice to the community, while finding the middle ground encourages good governance.

In general, the relationship between these institutions in all study locations was positive. There were no conflicts or contradictory attitudes between the two parties in managing village administration. Both the village heads and the BPDs viewed the operation of village administration and village development as a mutual responsibility, hence both parties worked in collaboration to achieve the intended outcomes. However, such a positive relationship was not found in Tiang Berajo Village. Here, political tensions were high and tended to result in conflict. This finding is confirmed by the information in Table 20, showing that in Tiang Berajo Village conflict occurred during the local elections. In addition, Table 21 shows that Tiang Berajo Village has had the highest number of village heads compared with other villages. This is because village heads in Tiang Berajo Village were often "impeached" prior to completing their elected terms.

In general, the community's perception of the presence of the village government, such as the village administration and the BPD, was reflected in the results of FGDs conducted with groups of men and women in the villages (Table 19). In terms of which institutions or actors were seen as helping the community most in resolving problems in the village, answers from all FGDs indicated elements of the village administration.

Table 19. Perceptions of FGD Participants on Parties Helping to Resolve Village Problems

District	Information source	Village administration			BPD		
		Help to resolve problem	Most important	Closest *)	Help to resolve problem	Most important	Closest *)
Ngada	Ndona Men	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
	Ndona Women	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
	Lekosoro Men	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
	Lekosoro Women	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
Wonogiri	Kalikromo Men	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no
	Kalikromo Women	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no
	Beral Men	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no
	Beral Women	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
Banyumas	Deling Men	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
	Deling Women	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
	Karya Mukti Men	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
	Karya Mukti Women	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
Batanghari	Tiang Berajo Men	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
	Tiang Berajo Women	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
	Kelok Sungai Besar Men	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no
	Kelok Sungai Besar Women	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no
Merangin	Jembatan Rajo Men	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
	Jembatan Rajo Women	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no
	Sungai Seberang Men	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
	Sungai Seberang Women	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no

Source: FGDs.

Notes: Closest means that the institution is ranked either first or second of those considered the closest to the community.

Furthermore, when asked to determine which of the institutions or actors they considered to be the most important, all of the community members answered that the village administration was the most important institution in the village, and most of the communities viewed the village administration as being the most closely related to the community. This perception has the potential to provide important social capital to village administrations' ability to implement the mandates of the Village Law. This finding also strengthens the outcomes of the longitudinal local level institution (LLI) study, which indicates that there has been an increase in village administrations' involvement in resolving problems in villages, with an overall increase from 25% during LLI II in 2000/01 to 33% during LLI III in 2012 (PSF-World Bank, 2013). This perception is made because, among other reasons, villagers feel an increasing need for services from village administration such as provision of cover letters for ID cards, marriage certificates, birth certificates, and financing eligibility statement.

Results from the FDGs also show that, in general, community members perceive the BPD to be weaker than the village administration. Although the majority of FDGs (12 out of 20 FDGs) viewed the BPD as an institution that helped villagers to resolve their problems, only two FDGs viewed the BPD as the

most important institution, and only one FGD viewed the BPD as the closest institution to the community.

4.1.1 Village Administration

a) Village Head

The village head is the central official in the village. The process of electing the village head is an important indicator in understanding political dynamics in the village. The Village Law specifically sets out the process for *Pilkades* in Articles 31 to 39. *Pilkades* in all research locations can be categorized into two groups: *Pilkades* with conflict and *Pilkades* without conflict. Conflict in this context refers to horizontal friction in the village, involving the mediation of extra-village parties. There are two types of *Pilkades* without conflict where: (a) candidates register regularly, marked by the presence of a campaign team; or (b) candidates must be approached to be willing to join the *Pilkades*, without the presence of a campaign team.

Table 20. Classification of Village Head Elections¹⁴

Village	First type: With conflict	Second type: Without conflict	
		(a) Candidate registers and is accompanied by a campaign team	(b) Candidate must be approached for his/her willingness, no campaign team
Ndona			v
Lekosoro			v
Kalikromo		v	
Beral		v	
Deling		v	
Karya Mukti		v	
Tiang Berajo	v		
Kelok Sungai Besar		v	
Jembatan Rajo		v	
Sungai Seberang	v		

Source: in-depth interviews with informants from various villages.

The first type is *Pilkades* with conflict, as occurred in Tiang Berajo Village, Kabupaten Batanghari, where an incumbent candidate who allegedly forged his diploma was invalidated administratively. The committee's decision was not accepted by the candidate, resulting in a disturbance that made the protraction of the *Pilkades* unavoidable. Disturbances during *Pilkades* also occurred in Sungai Seberang Village, Kabupaten Merangin, triggered by the invalidation of the victory of one of the candidates due to fraud, resulting in the recalculation of votes at the *kecamatan* level. The conflict only started to subside once the *kecamatan* had brought in *Brimob* (*Brigade Mobil*/Mobile Brigade Corps) and the army to control the situation.

¹⁴The influence of these classifications on the implementation of the Village Law will be explored further in the advanced study later in 2017.

Box 4.
***Pilkades* turned into gambling arenas**

A unique situation occurred during the election of the village head in several *kabupaten* in Central Java, including Banyumas, Cilacap, and Kebumen. The villages in these *kabupaten* turned the *Pilkades* into a gambling arena. For example, extensive *tanah bengkok* (customary land) owned by villages in Kecamatan Wangon, Kabupaten Banyumas, were used as an incentive for the candidates to run for village head. One of the study villages with a strong gambling culture during its *Pilkades* is Karya Mukti Village.

Botoh is a local term for a gambler who bets on certain candidates and who is capable of influencing the outcome in favor of their preferred candidate. The scope of bets placed by the gamblers can be as low as Rp 50,000, but can also go as high as to Rp 1 billion. Gamblers place bets not only in the form of money, but also assets such as land, houses, and cars. *Botoh* are also known to get involved in money politics when fighting for their preferred candidate to win. A good village head candidate can be eliminated if he/she is not backed by *botoh* and, in contrast, an incompetent candidate can win with the support of *botoh*. *Botoh* then become highly influential in shaping village policies if his/her preferred candidate wins the election.

Type 2a *Pilkades* are those occurring without conflict and involving a campaign team, as was the case in most study villages in general. The most aggressive Type 2a *Pilkades* occurred in Jembatan Rajo Village, Kabupaten Merangin. Campaign teams in Jembatan Rajo Village targeted candidates with large families to support them, so that they would gain more votes and stand a greater chance of success. A variant on the presence of a campaign team occurred in Karya Mukti Village with its entrenched gambling custom (Box 4).

Meanwhile, Type 2b *Pilkades* are those with candidates but no campaign teams. This occurred in the study villages in Kabupaten Ngada. This type of *Pilkades* emerged due to the lack of community interest in becoming the village head (Box 5). In these two villages, the elected village heads won unequivocally over the other candidates. In Lekosoro Village, the village head was in fact not part of the candidate selection process. However, of the six people identified by the committee, only two of them were finally willing to become candidates. Due to the *kabupaten* regulation stating that there should be at least three candidates in *Pilkades*, the village head was forced to join the candidate selection process for the purpose of complying with the regulations. As a note, the elected village head in Lekosoro Village was the son of the first village head.

Box 5.
Lack of interest in becoming a village head

In general, members of the community were reluctant to stand as leaders in Ndonga and Lekosoro Villages. Becoming a leader was considered to impose an additional strain on their lives or those of their families, due to their responsibilities for taking care of rice fields, gardens, and livestock. In addition to their own economic activities, village leaders are also required to attend *adat* and religious activities in their area, which is inhabited mostly by followers of the Catholic faith. For example, in May and October, every night there are recitals of the Rosary prayers. Meanwhile, the incentives for becoming a village head are considered insufficient to make the responsibilities worthwhile.

As the result, the process of *Pilkades* in Kabupaten Ngada was not preceded by candidate registration. Instead, the survey found that selection teams were forced to identify several candidates who were "persuaded" to join the election process. This approaching of candidates was conducted two or three times, in the form of home visits, due to reluctance on the part of the candidates and their families. An extreme case occurred in Lekosoro Village where the *Pilkades* had to be repeated after the winner immediately stepped down because he believed that he was not capable of meeting the requirements of a village head. In both these villages, there were no campaign teams because the candidates themselves were not enthusiastic about running for village head.

Tabel 21 illustrates the diversity of village head figures in the study locations. In terms of its year of establishment, Kelok Sungai Besar Village is the only village that was formed as a result of the division of a region. In terms of the establishment year and the number of village heads, villages in NTT and Central Java (except Karya Mukti Village) have longer transitions between village heads. Meanwhile, in Jambi Province the village heads changed regularly. In relation to this finding, political dynamics in villages in Jambi are relatively complex. After the election is over, former village heads usually returned to being regular citizens, while opposition candidates were also not offered positions in the new village administration.

Table 21. Overview of Village Head Elections

Village	Establishment year	Number of village heads after establishment year	Year of <i>Pilkades</i>	Present village head	Post- <i>Pilkades</i>	
					Position of former village head	Position of competitors
Ndona	1955	5	2010	Not incumbent	Head of Governmental Affairs	<i>Dusun</i> head
Lekosoro	1969	3	2011	Not incumbent	BPD member	Head of Development Affairs, <i>dusun</i> head
Kalikromo	1945	6	2010	Not incumbent	Deceased	---
Beral	1918	5	2013	Incumbent	Commoner	---
Deling	1951	4	2013	Incumbent	Deceased	---
Karya Mukti	1939	9	2013	Not incumbent	Commoner	---
Tiang Berajo	1911	20	2014	Not incumbent	Commoner	---
Kelok Sungai Besar	2005 *)	2	2013	Not incumbent	Commoner	<i>Dusun</i> head
Jembatan Rajo	1970 **)	6	2011	Not incumbent	Head of BPD	---
Sungai Seberang	***)	***)	2010	Temporary Officer	Commoner	---

Source: Calculated based on village documents and in-depth interviews

Notes:

*) Division village. Its parent village was established in 1940.

**) It has been present since 1150 AD but the genealogy of the village head stated 1970 as its year of establishment.

***) there is no such information in RPJMDes.

Except in Beral and Deling Villages, the current village heads were new. In general, a village head's victory in a *Pilkades* is influenced by (i) prestige, (ii) voting base, and (iii) support from community figures/campaign team. The most influential indication of a village head's prestige is in his/her ability to communicate effectively, his/her level of activity within the community and his/her credibility in the eyes of the local population. The factor of prestige is based entirely on the individual background of the village head, including his/her organizational experience, previous involvement in the village administration, professional experience, and also the relationships he/she has managed to build within the community. For example, the village heads of Ndona, Kalikromo, and Kelok Sungai Besar, were all former heads of the BPD. Meanwhile, the village heads in Tiang Berajo, Jembatan Rajo and Sungai Seberang were actively involved in *Karang Taruna*.

The second factor, voting base, is influenced by the background of the village head in relation to his/her networks and social relationships built at the community level, the leading factors being regional and familial relationships. In villages in Kabupaten Merangin, the victory of a village head is highly influenced by the support of his/her extended family. The more inclusive the familial relationship with the villagers, the greater the chance of winning. Meanwhile, villages in Central Java are influenced more by spatial association. The larger the population of an area, the greater the chance that a candidate from that area will win the *Pilkades*. In addition, support can also arise from the candidate's family background, for example if he/she comes from a well-respected family (acclaimed extended family in the village) or is native to the area.

The third factor, support from community figures/campaign teams, strengthens the position and superiority of a village head through his/her influence over the local population. The presence of community figures in the campaign team can be an additional influence in obtaining votes, due to the paternalistic nature of culture in the study villages. Moreover, in some villages the campaign teams also support the funding needs of the candidates. In Karya Mukti Village *Pilkades* are even included in the local gambling culture.

b) Village Officials

The election of village officials is also a part of village political dynamics. However, the Village Law does not explicitly regulate the length of service of village officials. Article 26 (2b) specifies that the appointment and discharge of village officials is under the authority of the village head. However, this authority is also limited by Article 53 (2), which states that a village official can be discharged if he/she: (i) is 60 years old; (ii) has a permanent impediment; (iii) is no longer eligible to be a village official; or (iv) violates the rules for village officials. With these limitations, a changeover of village officials does not necessarily occur with the election of a new village head, although village officials often find ways to work around requirement (iii) of Article 53 (2).

The Village Law also specifies new provisions for filling the positions of village officials, whereby they must be advertised and selected by a selection team. The results must be discussed with the *kecamatan* administration. Prior to the implementation of the Village Law, there were two variations of village official recruitment in the study areas (Table 22).

Table 22. Classification of Village Official Recruitment¹⁵

Officials are discovered and selected by selection team		Officials are discovered and selected by selection team, then elected directly by the community
Based on their acquaintance with the village head	Based on the candidate's capabilities	
Ndona	Kelok Sungai Besar	Lekosoro
Tiang Berajo	Deling	Kalikromo
Jembatan Rajo	Beral	Karya Mukti
Sungai Seberang		

Source: in-depth interviews in all villages.

In Kabupaten Ngada, the term for village officials is seven years and the recruitment process takes place through advertising and selection processes at the *dusun* level, conducted by the committee.

¹⁵The influence of the recruitment process of village officials on the implementation of the Village Law will be explored further in the advanced study later in 2017.

However, in Ndonga Village, many people believed that the final results were different from those initially proposed. The Ndonga village head stated that appointing village officials was the right of the village head and could be carried out either by recruiting new personnel or maintaining those already in office (the personnel remain the same, but occupy different positions). In his opinion, advertising was merely a formality. Nevertheless, many local citizens felt that the village officials should be replaced. In Lekosoro Village, officials are elected directly by the community. The committee finds and selects the candidates based on age and educational background, in accordance with the applicable regulations. However, the Lekosoro village head admitted that it was not always easy to find candidates who were young and had graduated from the senior high school in the village. Residents who met the criteria had usually moved to the city, especially as there was no electricity in the village. Furthermore, the majority of the eligible candidates came from the main *dusun*, which was the administrative center of the village. Some of the elected officials even relinquished their positions because they were unable to carry out their work as officials while still having to rely on other forms of livelihood.



Figure 14. Capacity improvement for village administration in Kabupaten Banyumas

In Kabupaten Wonogiri, the capacity of village officials was high compared with other regions, because some officials were younger and had graduated from senior high school. The *dusun* head was elected through a written test. Some of these officials were capable of operating computers, thus facilitating the reporting of activities. Some officials were also studying degrees through distance learning. However, in Kalikromo Village, officials tended to be older and had limited technical capabilities, but could not be replaced until *Perda* SOTK is enacted. The *Perda* still effective allows for the extension of the retirement age of village officials. On average, the education levels of village officials were only to primary school (*sekolah dasar/SD*), and only three officials could operate a computer.

Furthermore, previous methods of electing village officials in study locations in Jambi Province were highly varied. In Kelok Sungai Besar Village, Kabupaten Batanghari, village officials were elected by the village head based on their capabilities and willingness. One of the positions for *dusun* head was even filled by an opposing candidate of the elected village head (Table 21). In Tiang Berajo Village, Kabupaten Batanghari, and Jembatan Rajo Village, Kabupaten Merangin, most of the elected village officials were members of campaign teams and relatives of the village head. In Sungai Seberang Village, Kabupaten Merangin, the election of village officials was based on their previous experience in administration.

Generally, elected village officials have filled the same position previously. This tendency needs further investigation to determine whether it is a sign of low participation rates in the community, or the result of efforts by elites to hold on to their authority and prevent the broader community from participating in village administration. Decreasing community participation in village administration seems to be caused by several factors. Firstly, a small population due to the high level of outward migration (for example Lekosoro Village, which only has 200 heads of household and a topography that restricts the community's mobility). Secondly, low levels of interest, apathy, or unsuitable incentives. Thirdly, the perception that holding a position as a village official morally equates to a position in the social order. Fourthly, various combinations thereof. This issue is discussed further in Chapter 5.

In Tiang Berajo and Jembatan Rajo Villages, every turnover of the village head was followed by the turnover of almost all other village officials. Both villages have high political "passion", indicated by the fact that most village official positions were filled by the campaign team of the elected village head. Only one or two officials remained from the previous administration, who were kept on because of their specific experience or capabilities, and the performance of the administration would have been jeopardized if they had been replaced. For example, the head of the General Division, who was also a treasurer in Jembatan Rajo Village, had been a village official during the previous term and was considered to be an expert in village administration affairs. In addition to being maintained in the same position due to his capabilities and experience, he was also "entrusted" by the previous village head, who has since become the head of the BPD.

A relationship between types of *Pilkades* and recruitment methods for village officials is seen in the case of Sungai Seberang and Tiang Berajo Villages. In both villages, conflict in the *Pilkades* also occurred in the acquaintance-based election of village officials. However, this did not occur in the conflict-free *Pilkades* in Ndona Village. In both villages in Kabupaten Ngada, the election of village officials was not related to *Pilkades*, because village officials' terms are seven years, while the village heads' term is only six years.

Table 23. Organizational Structure of Village Administration and Its Problems

Village	Village Head	Village Secretary	Type of head of division	Type of head of section	Current problem
Ndona	Occupied	Civil servant	Heads of Affairs: Government, Development, General	Guardians of: Agriculture, Public Welfare, Environment One computer operator	Elderly; computer-illiterate
Lekosoro	Occupied	Civil servant	Heads of Affairs: Government, Development, General	Agriculture, Development, Security	Some officials are computer-illiterate
Kalikromo	Occupied	Position held by head of governance affairs	Heads of Affairs: Government, Finance, Public Welfare, Economy and Development	No Head of Section	Double positions, elderly
Beral	Occupied	Position held by head of governance affairs	Heads of Affairs: Government, Finance, Public Welfare, Economy and Development	No Head of Section	Double positions
Deling	Occupied	Position held by head of governance affairs	Head of Divisions: Finance, General	Head of Sections: Government, Development, Welfare and Empowerment.	Double positions
Karya Mukti	Occupied	Civil Servant (will be transferred to <i>kabupaten</i>)	Head of Divisions: Finance, General	Head of Sections: Government, Development, Welfare and Empowerment.	Double positions
Tiang Berajo	Occupied	Position held by head of development affairs	Head of Divisions: Government, Development, Finance, General	No Head of Section	Double positions
Kelok Sungai Besar	Occupied	Position held by head of governance affairs	Head of Divisions: Government, Development, Finance, General	No Head of Section	Double positions
Jembatan Rajo	Occupied	Non-civil servants	Head of Divisions: Government, Development, General/Village Treasurer	No Head of Section	Double positions
Sungai Seberang	Vacant	Civil servant	Head of Divisions: Government, Development, General/Village Treasurer	No Head of Section	Double positions; computer-illiterate

Source: in-depth interviews.

In terms of the amount and types of village official positions, there are variations across the 10 villages. Table 23 reveals that this village diversity is determined by *kabupaten* diversity. Villages under the same *kabupaten* generally had the same types of head of divisions and head of sections. Double positions were a common problem in all *kabupaten*, except Kabupaten Ngada. This problem

arises from the fact that since the implementation of the Village Law, there has been no regulation that can be referred to technically in filling vacancies in the village administration. In fact, the Village Law states that the organization of village officials should be regulated by district regulations (see Chapter 5 of Law No. 6/2014 on Villages).¹⁶ Additional problems included old age and the low quality of village officials, seen in the very low capability rates in operating computers.

Table 24 shows that the issue of double positions could be potentially disruptive to the performance of village administration. The most extreme situation was found in Karya Mukti Village with the highest population and highest number of RT. In such a situation, the doubling-up of positions could potentially decrease the quality of service. One example was the doubling of positions in Kabupaten Merangin, where one person was relied upon to complete all administrative work and village administration services. In Jembatan Rajo Village, the authority of the head of the General Division was highly evident, while in Sungai Seberang Village the predominant official was the village secretary, who was also temporarily working as an officer for the village head.

Tabel 24. Number of Village Officials and Head of RT/RW

Village	Village Officials					Total	No. of Head of RT/RW	Number of Villagers
	Head of Village	Village Secretary	Head of Affairs	Head of Section	Head of Dusun			
Ndonga	1	1	3	3	3	11	11 RT	1.878
Lekosoro	1	1	3	3	3	11	11 RT	913
Kalikromo	1	0	4	0	8 ^{a)}	13	18 RT, 6 RW	3.366
Beral	1	0	4	0	10	15	15 RT, 8 RW	2.957
Deling	1	0	2	3	2	8	24 RT, 4 RW	4.836
Karya Mukti	1	1	2	3	3	10	51 RT, 12 RW	13.038
Tiang Berajo	1	0	2	0	2	5	7 RT	1.141
Kelok Sungai Besar	1	0	2	0	3	6	15 RT	2.855
Jembatan Rajo	1	1	2	0	4	8	7 RT, 3 RW	1.261
Sungai Seberang	0	1	2	0	3	6	---	755

Note: ^{a)} Of the 9 *dusun*, two were headed by one head of *dusun*

Source: village documents and in-depth interviews

¹⁶A month after the collection of field data, MoHA issued Permendagri No. 84/2015. This newest regulation stipulated that the village secretary should supervise at least two departments and at the most three departments (Article 3); and that the village head should be technically assisted by at least two sections and at the most three sections. Districts are required to use this regulation as a reference in formulating local regulations on village officials.

4.1.2 Village Consultative Board (BPD)

Generally, the role of the Village Consultative Board (*Badan Permusyawaratan Desa/BPD*) could still be improved. In almost all villages, BPD activities were limited to attending invitations from the village administration. The BPD itself hardly ever holds internal meetings to determine its approach to village policies. Only in Kabupaten Ngada did the BPD conduct meetings to accommodate the community's aspirations regarding evaluations of village head accountability. In addition, in all villages, the head of the BPD seemed to be the only figure representing the BPD.

Since the establishment of uniformity in the forms and structures of the village administration during the New Order era, technical regulations concerning the BPD have not been formulated, particularly regarding the election of its members. PP No. 72/2005 on Villages only specifies that BPD members should be representatives of the local population based on regional representativeness, determined through consultative meetings and consensus. This provision is risky, as consultative meetings allow for potential coercion of will if there are unbalanced power relations among the participants of the meeting.

The Village Law itself does not explicitly outline the election process of BPD members. Article 56 (1) only specifies that BPD members are representatives of local populations based on regional representativeness, the election of whom is conducted democratically. There is no elaboration on how the democratic process should be conducted, if all residents should be involved, or to what extent each resident should be involved. Until now, there are no technical guidelines to manage these issues, for example ministerial regulations. Hence, election processes in villages from the study locations are diverse, as demonstrated in Table 25.

Table 25. Election of BPD members

Village	Direct election at village level by villagers	Election through consultative meeting at <i>dusun</i> level	Election through consultative meeting at village level	Women representation
Ndona	v			v
Lekosoro	v			v
Kalikromo		v		v
Beral		v		v
Deling		v		none
Karya Mukti			v	v
Tiang Berajo			v	none
Kelok Sungai Besar			v	v
Jembatan Rajo	v			v
Sungai Seberang			v	v

Source: in-depth interviews with BPD members.

4.2 Institutions Other than Village Administrations

4.2.1 Institutions Other than Village Administrations that Help to Resolve Problems in the Village

In addition to village administrations, there are many organizations that help to resolve problems and provide services to villagers. Types of aid and services differ: from help in various disaster situations and misfortune, assistance to the poor, and *arisan*. These organizations are also a channel to obtaining government assistance.

Institutions that are most commonly referred to in assisting the community are as follows. First, religious institutions, such as Yasin recital groups, *takmir* (caretakers) of the mosque, KUB, etc. Yasin recitals and Islam-learning groups are usually held at the RT level, while mosque *takmir* depend on the reach of the mosque, with usually one mosque per 1-2 *dusun*. For example, the mosque *takmir* played an important role when floods hit Kalikromo Village in 2010. In addition to those at the village-level, religious institutions that are affiliated with higher structures were also mentioned. For example in Kabupaten Ngada, there are KUB and sub-parishes that sit under a parish and a diocese. The same situation is evident in Central Java, where there are smaller groups of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah.

Box 6. Religious groups in Central Java

The majority of Karya Mukti Village residents are Muslim. In this village, religious organizations play an important role in societal life. In Dusun 3, Kalipetung, the majority of residents are Muhammadiyah adherents. The Kalipetung Department is the oldest department of Muhammadiyah in Kecamatan Wangon. In Dusun 2, Citomo, the majority of the residents are Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) adherents. Meanwhile, in Dusun 1, Karya Mukti, neither *Ormas* is dominant. Muhammadiyah in Dusun Kalipetung (Kalipetung Department) has a LAZISMU (*Lembaga Zakat dan Shodaqoh Muhammadiyah/Muhammadiyah Charity Institution*), which provides monthly charity donations of Rp 60,000 to poor residents. The donors are residents of Kalipetung and the recipients are poor residents from the same *dusun*. The recipients are not necessarily Muhammadiyah adherents. Besides donations to poor residents, in 2015 Muhammadiyah in Dusun Kalipetung was also asked by village administration to donate Rp 3.5 million of funding to fill the village square. Dusun 2, Citomo, also has LAZISNU (*Lembaga Zakat, Infaq dan Shodaqoh NU/NU Charity Institution*), but no information was obtained on the amount of donations or number of recipients of the charity.

In Deling Village, where the majority of the residents are NU adherents, NU plays an important role in social and educational affairs. NU holds a monthly Islam-learning forum for the village administration, officials of NU departments, and other community figures. Religious educational units such as *Madrasah Diniyah* (Islamic boarding school), and *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* (elementary school) under NU are also active and advanced. Every year, NU provides charity to children without parents.

Second are farmers' and fishermen's groups. These groups show that, in general, residents in the study locations were still highly dependent on farming yields. Various programs conducted among farmers' groups—for example subsidized fertilizer, seed distribution, training on organic fertilizer, etc.—can explain how these groups help the community in resolving problems. Residents from all *kabupaten*, from both the men's and women's groups, considered these groups to be helpful for the community, except in Kabupaten Merangin. In Merangin, there were also rubber and agarwood farmers' groups, and a chicken farmers' group that worked in cooperation with a local company.

Third, the PKK and *Karang Taruna* groups were considered to have helped the community to resolve their problems in all villages, except in Ndonga and Jembatan Rajo Villages. In each village, the wife of the village head determines the level of activity of the PKK, a women's family planning

organization that is formally present in all villages. Therefore, in villages where the village head's wife is reluctant to become involved, the PKK is highly unlikely to function. For example, the wife of the village head in Ndonga Village had personal issues with the head of the BPD. As a result, there were no PKK activities in Ndonga.

Box 7.
Margo Utomo Group, Beral Village

The hierarchy of the Margo Utomo Group, a farmers' group in Beral Village, consists of head, secretary, and treasurer. There are 84 members in total, who are all residents of *dusun* 9. Although 25 is the maximum regulated number of members allowed in farmers' groups, there were concerns that residents who were not allowed to participate would be disappointed, so it was agreed that all those who were interested could become members of this group. This meant that if aid was received for 25 persons it had to be equally distributed among all 84 members.

The main activity of this group is the distribution of subsidized fertilizer, seeds, and remedies, training and counselling. There are no contribution fees from members, other than money collected every 35 days in a lottery and on *Pon* (a day in the Javanese calendar) on Saturday night in the house of the group's head. Regular meetings are held in the *kecamatan* once every three months and are attended by the village head.

The group's head is elected through "acclamation" in a meeting of all group members. Meanwhile, the officials are elected through consultative meetings. Officials hold their position for four months. Since 2009, two officials have been replaced, but not the group head. "I am already reluctant to be the head, but I keep getting elected. The young are even more reluctant. I don't know why," said the head of the group.

Karang Taruna also provides significant assistance to the village residents, except in Kabupaten Ngada where the organization does not exist. As a substitute, there is *Mudika (muda mudi Katholik/Catholic youth group)*, which plays a limited role in national or religious holidays. In Central Java, *Karang Taruna* function not only at the village level but also in the *dusun*. The *Karang Taruna* in Deling Village even won a national championship. Its ongoing activities included regular meetings, agricultural enterprises, waste management, and creative economy. In Karya Mukti Village, a *Karang Taruna* was only active in Dusun 2. It ran a shared enterprise in agriculture and fisheries. It also offered basic training on leadership, which was financed from village funding and development-partner contributions.

Fourth are *adat* institutions. Villages with *adat* institutions that still play an important role in the community were found in Kabupaten Ngada and Kabupaten Merangin. In both regions, *adat* institutions still regulate the life of the community, including in terms of resources and the imposition of sanctions for violations. The *adat* institution in Ngada regulated the rights to land, thus, land could only be utilized and could not be traded. In Merangin, particularly in Jembatan Rajo Village, resources such as *adat* forest were protected by the *adat* institution, and cutting down the *adat* forest was a violation with sanctions already in place. In the same region, problems were always resolved through *adat* institutions, including crime. Besides these similarities, there was one basic difference between the *adat* institutions in both *kabupaten*. The *adat* institutions in Ngada were not formal in nature, and neither were they related to the village administration, although the actors might overlap. The *adat* institution in Jembatan Rajo Village, however, was formal in nature, and its officials had a decision letter from the village administration and received incentives from the APBDes. The structure itself was laid out, comprising a head, vice-head, secretary, treasurer, and various sections, ranging from historical, educational, religious, consultative meeting, legal, youth, to marriage. *Adat* activities in this village included the formulation of regulations on exploiting the river, *Lubuk Larangan*, the management of *adat* forest, the celebration of heart-eating day, etc.

4.2.2 Significance and Familiarity of Institutions Other than the Village Administration

The communities were asked to rank the institutions, organizations, and actors that they considered most helpful, in order of significance and familiarity. Most communities believed that the village administration was the most significant and familiar village institution. This perception is more profound when it is seen in the context of all the institutions, organizations, and actors involved in helping communities to address and resolve their problems (Table 26).

Table 26. Community Perceptions of the Significance and Familiarity of Other Institutions/Organizations outside of the Village Administration

Information sources	Other institutions (other than village administration) that are also the most important	Other institutions (other than village administration) that are also the most familiar
Ndona Men	RT, sub-parish, elementary school, <i>arisan</i> **)	RT, elementary school, <i>arisan</i> , sub-parish **)
Ndona Women	Sub-parish, school committee **)	None ***)
Lekosoro Men	None	KUB, sub-parish, parish
Lekosoro Women	None	KUB, sub-parish, parish
Kalikromo Men	None	<i>Karang Taruna</i> , community figures
Kalikromo Women	None	<i>Karang Taruna</i> , farmers' group
Beral Men	None	<i>Karang Taruna</i> , farmers' group
Beral Women	None	<i>Karang Taruna</i>
Deling Men	None	None ***)
Deling Women	None	IPPNU (Association of Female Students of Nahdlatul Ulama)/IPNU (Association of Students of Nahdlatul Ulama), Fatayat, Muslimat, Ansor
Karya Mukti Men	None	NU, Muhammadiyah, LDII, Salafi
Karya Mukti Women	None	<i>Posyandu</i>
Tiang Berajo Men	None	Teacher, religious figures
Tiang Berajo Women	<i>Touke</i> , RT, village midwife, traditional paramedic in the village, PKK	<i>Touke</i> , RT
Kelok Sungai Besar Men	PPL (field agriculture instructor) and plantation company	Rubber auction, farmer's group, PPL, plantation company
Kelok Sungai Besar Women	Community figures, <i>syara'</i> workers, RT	Plantation company, PPL, rubber auction, farmer's group, PNPM
Jembatan Rajo Men	Religious figures, community, <i>adat</i> figures, <i>syara'</i> workers	Religious figures, <i>syara'</i> workers, community figures
Jembatan Rajo Women	<i>Adat</i> Institution, <i>syara'</i> workers, group for learning Islam, PKK, village midwife, <i>Posyandu</i>	PKK, group for learning Islam, <i>adat</i> institution, <i>syara'</i> workers, village midwife
Sungai Seberang Men	<i>Lubuk larangan</i> (conserved watershed) group, village midwife	Yasin recital group, traditional paramedic in the <i>kampung</i>
Sungai Seberang Women	Village midwife, <i>adat</i> figures, <i>adat</i> head, Yasin recital group	Yasin recital group, <i>adat</i> figures, <i>adat</i> head, <i>Karang Taruna</i>

Source: Results of various FDGs

Notes: *) Most familiar means that the institution is in the first and second most familiar positions with the community.

**) Sub-parish is a Catholic institution at the village level.

***) First and second order that is most familiar refers to village administration, for example village head and *dusun* head.

Table 26 shows that in 11 out of 20 FGDs, the community felt that there was no institution as significant as the village administration. However, religious institutions were often considered to be equal in significance to the village administration, particularly in Jambi Province. Religion is highly respected in Jambi culture, as it is deeply rooted in their *adat* values. Hence, religious figures are also respected and considered to be able to help with the community's problems.

In terms of familiarity, only religious institutions can compete with the village administration in their familiarity with the community. This was especially the case in Kabupaten Ngada and Karya Mukti Village, which placed religious institutions first. For example, religious institutions were integrated with governmental institutions in Kabupaten Ngada. Hence, similar to the village administration, religious institutions were consistently referred to as an institution that was helpful, significant, and familiar with the community. Gatherings in a religious institution were also part of the community's tradition. The community also saw the religious institution as a place to seek support when members faced problems in their daily lives. However, in Kabupaten Wonogiri the role of religious institutions was not as prominent as in other *kabupaten*.

Box 8.

Village activities and religious activities

"In this month of Rosary, there is a recital of Rosary prayers every day. Outside of the month of Rosary, it depends of the agreement of the KUB. Sometimes it can be once a week, we call it obligatory noon. It includes spiritual and physical activities. The physical ones include activities in the village, the spiritual ones are the prayers." (FGD Participant of Institution for Ndona Village. Femal Group. October 15, 2015.)

The terms physical and spiritual are often used to juxtapose village activities and religious activities in both villages in Kabupaten Ngada. In general, perceptions of religious and government-related activities are inseparable in both villages. "The village community is the religious community and vice versa. They are just those people", the informant said. Therefore, in several *dusun* in both villages, the positions of head of the RT and head of the KUB (religious group at RT level) are held by the same person. In other *dusun*, generally the head of the RT is also the vice-head of the KUB, while the head of the KUB is also the vice-head of the RT. The RT and the KUB represent the physical and spiritual lives of the residents, respectively.

Particularly in Jambi Province, *syara'* workers were perceived to be an important and familiar institution. These include the *imam* (leader of the communal prayer), *muadhin* (reciter of the call prayer/*adhan*), and *khotib* (someone who gives the sermon) of a mosque, who are considered to be religious figures. Their role is important in managing the mosques in a village. They are considered to be workers due to the monthly salary provided to them from the APBD/DD.

Adat institutions are also deemed to be important and familiar, particularly in Jembatan Rajo Village, where the *adat* institution conducted activities within the community. Compared with other villages in Kabupaten Merangin, Jembatan Rajo Village had an influential *adat* institution whose authority existed not only in Kecamatan Renah Pembarap, but also in Kecamatan Sungai Manau, and parts of Kecamatan Pangkalan Jambu. This probably relates to historical factors in the region, with Jembatan Rajo previously being the center of Marga Pembarap, which included both *kecamatan*. The establishment of a regulation on villages in 1969 was followed by the division of the villages, and residents of Jembatan Rajo Village tried to maintain their identity as the center of Marga Pembarap. Until now, Jembatan Rajo residents still promote themselves as being the true "natives".

Institutions that are often referred to as being important, but that are less familiar to the residents, are health-related institutions. Village midwives, traditional paramedics (*mantri*) in the village, and *Posyandu* were considered important by women, particularly in Tiang Berajo, Jembatan Rajo and Sungai Seberang Villages. In the remote Sungai Seberang, the village midwife was also important to

the men. However, the midwife was rarely present in the village and so, as a result, the traditional midwife (*dukun beranak*) was considered even more significant.

In contrast to health institutions, *Karang Taruna* is an institution that the villagers are familiar with, but one that is not considered particularly important. In Kabupaten Wonogiri, both male and female residents were unanimous in this opinion. This organization assisted residents in resolving their problems. *Karang Taruna* could also be relied upon in community activities, such as *hajatan* (ceremony), gathering to pray in times of death, etc. They assist in conducting various community activities, particularly during the *hajatan*, usually referred to as *sinoman*, ranging from cooking, to building ceremonial tents, serving guests, and washing the dishes. They are also highly active in helping to hold national and religious holiday celebrations.

Attention also needs to be paid to farmers' groups. Villagers considered farmers' groups to be very helpful. However, these groups were not considered to be integral or familiar with the community. The presence of farmers' groups has not yet proven to facilitate cooperation among farmers. There is even a tendency for decreasing cooperation among farmers. For example, clove farmers in Ndonga Village, who in the past harvested cloves together assisted by their families or fellow farmers, now had to pay people from outside the village to do the clove harvesting.

4.3 Role of Former PNPM Activists

The definition of PNPM activists are villagers who, during the operation of PNPM, were appointed by the community as village cadres in the development process of various PNPM projects. Some became Village Community Empowerment Cadres (KPM), while others became members of the Activity Executor Team (TPK). A few became assistants for the Savings and Loans for Women (SPP) group. As PNPM cadres, they have received training in various technical skills, such as how to facilitate the process of *Musdes* for the KPM, how to manage development for the TPK, and how to manage the finances of SPP members. In addition, these former PNPM activists have generally received training on the importance of good governance.

After the discontinuation of PNPM and the implementation of the Village Law to replace PNPM at the end of 2014, these former PNPM activists became the most competent villagers in implementing the substance of the Village Law, based on good governance. Therefore, it is reasonable when there is an expectation that they can play a role in the village by sharing their experiences, as either village administration officials or others, from the PNPM era.

Regarding gender, most former PNPM activists are men (Table 27). Based on PNPM rules, the position of KPM was filled based on the principles of gender equality. For example, if there were four KPMs, usually two were male and two were female. However, this principle was not applied in the TPK. Due to the fact that the TPK was the executor of development activities, generally the TPK members were men. Women in the TPK usually held the position of treasurer.

Table 27. Distribution of PNPM Activists Based on Gender and Educational Level (%)

Village	Gender (%)		Educational level (%)				Involvement in village administration (%) *)
	M	F	Elementary school	Junior high school	Senior high school	University	
Ndona (7 people)	86	14	0	57	43	0	86
Lekosoro (6 people)	83	17	33	17	50	0	100
Kalikromo (4 people)	75	25	0	25	75	0	50
Beral (10 people)	60	40	0	0	80	20	40
Deling (7 people)	71	29	0	0	100	0	43
Karya Mukti (11 people)	55	46	0	0	82	18	55
Tiang Berajo (6 people)	50	50	0	0	67	33	50
Kelok Sungai Besar (7 people)	43	57	0	14	86	0	43
Jembatan Rajo (3 people)	67	33	0	0	67	33	0
Sungai Seberang (12 people)	42	58	0	25	67	8	0

Source: Based on the results of various in-depth interviews

*) Involvement in village administration is broadly interpreted. It is defined not only as working in village administration, but also in institutions closely related to the village administration, for example LPM, RT, or as important figures in the community.

Table 27 highlights a significant gap between the situation of former PNPM activists in NTT and Jambi. Regarding the educational level of the activists, Kabupaten Ngada had far lower educational levels than the other regions. In Lekosoro Village, there was a PNPM activist who was only an elementary school graduate. Regarding the proportion of men and women, the difference in the number of male activists and female activists in Kabupaten Ngada was the highest of all study locations. In contrast, in Jambi Province, the number of female activists was slightly higher than male activists, and their average educational levels were high. For example, in Jembatan Rajo and Tiang Berajo Villages, educational levels of the activists were similar to those in Central Java. However, in terms of activists employment in village institutions, Kabupaten Ngada performed much better than *kabupaten* in Jambi. In Kabupaten Merangin, for example, none of the former PNPM activists was involved in the village administration.

In Central Java, the number of male activists was higher than that of the female activists, with the majority being senior high school graduates, while those who were university graduates were unevenly distributed between the villages. Many of these activists worked for the village administration. Their number is bigger than that of activists working for the village administration in Kabupaten Merangin but smaller than in Kabupaten Ngada.

There is an important note in Desa Deling (Banyumas Regency) and Desa Tiang Berajo in relation to women's representation in the BPD (Table 25). The two villages did not have female representatives even though both had female activists. In Desa Jembatan Rajo and Desa Sungai Seberang Village, Kabupaten Merangin, none of the male and female PNPM activists were involved in the village administration. This could happen because of the fact that village heads tend to appoint their campaign team members and relatives and also probably because of the low incentives received as village officials.

Table 28. Involvement of Former Activists in Village Administration based on Gender, Educational Background, and Involvement in Village Administration (%) *)

Desa	Gender		Educational background				Position in Village Administration *)	
	M	F	Elementary School	Junior High School	Senior High School	University	Yes	No
Ndona (6 people)	83	17	0	67	33	0	83	17
Lekosoro (6 people)	83	17	33	17	50	0	50	50
Kalikromo (2 people)	100	0	0	50	50	0	50	50
Beral (5 people)	80	20	0	0	100	0	60	40
Deling (3 people)	100	0	0	0	100	0	100	0
Karya Mukti (6 people)	67	33	0	0	83	17	50	50
Tiang Berajo (2 people)	0	100	0	0	50	50	100	0
Kelok Sungai Besar (4 people)	75	25	0	0	100	0	75	25
Jembatan Rajo (none)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sungai Seberang (none)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Based on the results of various in-depth interviews

Keterangan: *) Holding a position in village administration refers to working as a village official or a member of BPD. Having no position means that the person participates as a member of LPM, head of RT, or a community leader.

Table 28 explores the involvement of activists based on their gender and educational background. On average, more men were involved in activities of village administration than women, except in Desa Tiang Berajo, Kabupaten Batanghari.

Despite inter-village variations, it is clear that former PNPM activists were given the opportunity to participate in the implementation of the Village Law, with many of them holding positions in the village administration, except in the two villages in Kabupaten Merangin. Most were men who had graduated from senior high school. In areas with high political tension, such as Kabupaten Merangin, the employment of former PNPM activists depended greatly on the village leadership. As discussed earlier, political dynamics in Kabupaten Merangin showed that the election of village officials was not based on professionalism, but on acquaintance with the elected village head, with data from Table 22 reinforcing this characteristic. In addition, former PNPM activists who held a position in the village administration and those who did not had similar characteristics in terms of education. This shows that, while a cadre may be experienced and have a good educational background, he/she will not automatically be accepted in the village administration. Other factors such as the political dynamics in a village and the village head's authority also play an important role.

4.4 Public Services in the Villages

Improving public services for villagers is one of the main objectives of the village arrangements and regulations that are formulated in the Village Law (Articles 4 and 7). Public services are broadly defined, with administrative services being just one of the elements. This is outlined in Law No. 25/2009 on Public Services, which divides the fulfillment of service needs into three areas: goods, services, and administration (Article 1). Administrative services, particularly population administration, are regulated in Law No. 23/2013 on Population Administration. Article 7 of the Village Law authorizes *kabupaten/kota* governments to delegate the task of carrying out population administrative affairs to the villages, based on the principle of co-administration.

Regarding public services, attention must be paid to contradictions between *Permendagri* and *Permendes* in the beginning of the implementation of the Village Law. *Permendes* No. 5/2015 and *Permendes* No. 21/2015, which regulate the priorities of DD expenditure, do not include the operation of village administration and social guidance in the expenditure priorities of DD, the most common reason being that remuneration and incentives for village administration are already paid through ADD, sourced from the APBD. The Community Empowerment Division, which is one of the priorities of the Village Law, does not define village officials as being actors in the established empowerment initiatives. In fact, *Permendagri* No. 114/2014 on Village Development, Article 6, specifies education, training, and counselling for the village head, village officials, and the BPD as part of the Community Empowerment Division's responsibilities.

Briefings in the form of capacity-building and the improvement of village administration standards have been made mandatory, given the increasing burden placed on the village administration in the implementation of the Village Law, both in terms of managing development initiatives and providing public services. In addition, the Village Law requires village administrations to cover additional costs, because they are often required to coordinate with the *kecamatan* and *kabupaten*. This is experienced by village administration officials who have to go back and forth to the *kecamatan* and *kabupaten* to obtain approval from supra-village governments, as a requirement for the disbursement of DD and ADD. However, because of the limited financial capacity of *kabupaten* governments, no party is able to cover the costs of travelling back and forth, especially if there are numerous villages in the same *kabupaten*. It is difficult to conceive how the village administrations manage their mandates as the sole actor in village development and public services without the support of an adequate budget. Hence, the priority of DD expenditure should not only be focused on development and community empowerment, but also on improving the capacity of village officials in operating the government and guiding the community.

4.4.1 Public Services from the Village Administration

In general, the village administration's role in population administration affairs is limited to issuing cover letters to produce ID cards, family cards, birth certificates, marriage certificates, relocation certificates, and proof of incapacity (*Surat Keterangan Tidak Mampu/SKTM*). In Kabupaten Wonogiri, administrative services provided by the village government also include the provision of teak and land-ownership certificates for financial collateral. Meanwhile, in Kabupaten Banyumas administrative tasks also include providing permission letters to hold an assembly.

Although these administrative services only include providing cover letters, letters of recommendation, or references, this role is directly related to the daily necessities of the local residents. In this way, the performance levels of the village administration are felt by the community. The results of the FGDs in the 10 villages show that, generally, FGD participants understood the requirements in applying for an ID card, family card, or other documents. They also

stated that village administration services for administrative matters were quick and generally free of charge. In NTT and Jambi, the application process was completed in one day, while in Central Java it took only 1-2 hours. Hence, the majority of FGD participants were satisfied with administrative services in the village (Table 29).

Table 29. FGD Participants' Satisfaction in Administrative Services in the Villages

Kabupaten	Village (n = FGD Participants)	Family Card	ID Card	Others	
				Score	Type of certificate
Ngada	Ndona (11)	3	3	3	SKTM
	Lekosoro (6)	3	3	3	Birth certificate
Wonogiri	Kalikromo (11)	3	3	3	Assembly permission
	Beral (13)	4	4	4	Assembly permission
Banyumas	Deling (12)	3	3	3	Birth certificate, SKTM, assembly permission, relocation letter
	Karya Mukti (13)	3	3	3	Birth certificate, SKTM, assembly permission, relocation letter
Batanghari	Tiang Berajo (11)	4	4	4	Birth certificate
	Kelok Sungai Besar (11)	4	4	4	Marriage certificate
Merangin	Jembatan Rajo (8)	3	3	3	Birth certificate
	Sungai Seberang (9)	3	3	3	Birth certificate

Source: Results of FDGs

Notes: Satisfaction Score 1 – 4 (dissatisfied – highly satisfied).

Obstacles occurred in the process of applying for administrative documents at the *kecamatan* and *kabupaten* levels after the introduction of the e-ID card, due to an accumulation of documents. In Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Merangin, residents usually asked for their documents to be handled by village officials up to *kabupaten* level, by giving them a voluntary contribution of around Rp 20,000 to Rp 75,000 to cover the costs of transport. In Kabupaten Ngada, village officials stated that, when applying for administrative documents, the community was required to pay an initial contribution fee. In the two *kabupaten* in the province of Central Java, although the application for administrative documents was free of charge, there were *kotak amal* (donation boxes) that could be stocked voluntarily by people applying for documents. Local residents did not have a problem with "levies" collected when applying for administrative documents, even though such levies have been withdrawn since 2013.

In Kabupaten Merangin and Kabupaten Ngada, office infrastructure limitations were seen as an obstacle in providing village services. In Kabupaten Merangin, the Jembatan Rajo Village office was being renovated, while in Sungai Seberang Village the village office was about to be rebuilt due to its poor condition. Meanwhile, other villages were still experiencing electrical problems. Ndona Village (Ngada) often experienced power outages. Meanwhile, there was no electricity at all in Lekosoro (Ngada) or Sungai Seberang (Merangin) Villages, compelling the village administrations to use diesel fuel or gasoline to power generators in order to serve the community. In these villages, on top of the electrical issue, the use of laptops to improve service facilities was rare.

Regarding the availability of village administration officials who work in the provision of public services, a regulation put in place by the *kabupaten* government requires village officials to work at

least five days a week in the office. However, in reality, this regulation has proven difficult to implement in both NTT and Jambi, due to a lack of monitoring. Generally, most village officials were present in the office on Monday mornings. In Jambi, it was easier to visit village officials in the two villages in Kabupaten Batanghari during working hours than those in Kabupaten Merangin. Moreover, service hours were flexible to fit in with the daily activities of the village head and village officials, who also worked as rubber farmers, palm oil farmers, or gold miners in Jambi, and clove and cow farmers in Kabupaten Ngada. In Jambi, rubber and palm oil plantations had to be taken care of every morning and evening. In Lekosoro Village, every morning village officials had to take care of their livestock before going to the village office. In Ndonga Village, during the clove harvesting season, village officials harvested their cloves first before going to the village office.

Such circumstances mean that the concept of a “village office” with strict service hours from morning until early afternoon is far from reality in the study areas. However, public officials were not necessarily limited to morning, noon, or even evening, as villagers could visit the homes of village heads and other village officials on Saturdays, Sundays, or in the evenings to request services. This flexibility of service hours was common in all study villages. In several villages, it was convenient for the houses of village officials to be located near the village office. For example, in Ndonga Village, the house of the *Setdes* was located beside the village office. Meanwhile, in Lekosoro Village, most of the village officials’ houses were located near the village office.

Administrative services in Kabupaten Wonogiri and Kabupaten Banyumas were already formal in nature and service hours in village offices were more regular, i.e., Monday to Friday, 8.00 am to 3.00 pm. Even on weekends, there were alternative officials in the village office to help with the community's needs. This provided certainty and ease for residents who needed to apply for administrative documents. Although in Jambi Province and Kabupaten Ngada service conditions were not inconvenient for the community, they were often unable to take a break from their primary jobs. Thus, the opportunity to apply for documents during the night by visiting the village head or village officials proved advantageous.

Another reason behind the lack of standardized service hours was the low incentives offered to the village head and village officials. Village officials in Kabupaten Ngada, Merangin, and Batanghari stated that incentives that they received were not only limited, but also inconsistent. Their salaries were paid once every three months, the value of which was lower than HOK, which is up to Rp 40,000/day. For many this is why the role of village head and village officials was often considered to be a side job, instead of a primary source of income.

Table 30. Fixed Incomes and Benefits of Village Officials and BPD in 2015

		Kades (IDR/month)	Sekdes (IDR/ month)	Kaur (IDR/ month)	Kadus (IDR/ month)	Keseluruhan BPD (IDR/bulan)
Ngada	Ndona	1,500,000	- ^a	800,000	700,000	3,816,667
	Lekosoro	1,500,000	- ^a	800,000	700,000	2,885,417
Wonogiri	Kalikromo	2,737,000	- ^b	1,451,000	1,311,000	1,282,500
	Beral	2,427,000	- ^b	1,221,000	1,357,000	1,410,000
Banyumas	Deling	5,957,833	- ^c	1,970,000	2,325,000	976,667
	Karya Mukti	12,727,850	- ^d	5,671,632	6,142,632	2,083,333
Batanghari	Tiang Berajo	2,000,000	1,400,000	1,000,000	735,000	5,548,667
	Kelok Sungai Besar	2,000,000	1,400,000	1,000,000	735,000	6,778,000
Merangin	Jembatan Rajo	1,200,000	840,000	600,000	600,000	2,150,000
	Sungai Seberang	1,200,000	840,000	600,000	600,000	2,791,667

Source: 2015 APBDes.

Note:

^aThe village secretary position is held by a civil servant and does not receive a fixed income from APBDes.

^bThe people in charge of secretarial duties in Kalikromo and Desa Beral do not receive a fixed income from APBDes; but in Desa Beral they receive honoraria.

^cThe person in charge of secretarial duties in Desa Deling does not receive a fixed income but received additional income from *tanah bengkok* and an additional honorarium.

^dThe village secretary position in Desa Karya Mukti is held by a civil servant and does not receive a fixed income from APBDes but gets additional income from *tanah bengkok*.

Table 30 provides information on the variation of fixed incomes and benefits received by village officials and BPD members in the study locations. There is a clear gap between villages located in and outside Java, particularly in relation to the locally applicable provincial and *kabupaten* minimum wage (UMP/UMK) (Table 31).

Table 31. Provincial/*kabupaten* Minimum Wage (UMP/UMK) 2015

Province/ <i>Kabupaten</i>	UMP/UMK (IDR/month)
Province of NTT	1,250,000
Kabupaten Wonogiri	1,001,000
Kabupaten Banyumas	1,100,000
Province of Jambi	1,710,000

Source: Kep. Gub NTT No. 248/KEP/HK/2014, Kep.Gub. Jateng No.560/85/2014, and SK Gub Jambi No.554/Kep.Gub/Dinsosnakertrans/2014.

In addition to the regular services mentioned above, the performance of the village administration can also be seen in the specific services conducted in individual villages. However, these services are limited only to the arrangement of the *Raskin* program (*beras miskin*/rice for poor households). There are at least three types of *Raskin* arrangements in villages in the study locations. First, several villages only distribute *Raskin* to residents who are predetermined by the central government. In Lekosoro Village, the community complained about this arrangement and proposed an equal distribution of *Raskin*. However, the village head stated that the list of recipients decided by central government was final. The same reason was also given by head of Tiang Berajo Village.

Second, villages that equally distribute *Raskin* among all residents. In Ndonga Village, despite the knowledge that *Raskin* should be distributed to elderly and unemployed residents, the villagers agreed that *Raskin* must be equally distributed, with all villagers participating voluntarily. The same situation occurred in Sungai Seberang Village where the villagers agreed on a village policy to equally distribute *Raskin*. The difference between the equal distribution of *Raskin* in Ndonga and Sungai Seberang Villages was that, in the latter, civil servants and village officials were not included as recipients of the distribution, while in Ndonga Village every villager received *Raskin*, including civil servants and village officials.

Third, some villages modified the distribution of *Raskin* based on certain arrangements. In Kelok Sungai Besar Village, the volume of *Raskin* distributed to each KK (*kepala keluarga*/head of household) was reduced: from a three-person ration per KK to a two-person ration per KK. Another modification occurred in Jembatan Rajo Village, where *Raskin* recipients were determined in a *Musdes*. For this reason, the number of recipients fluctuated, particularly to accommodate unregistered widows and elderly people.

Table 32. Provision of *Raskin* by Village

Kabupaten	Village	Raskin management			Assessment from FGD participants
		Based on the procedure	Equally distributed	Modifications	
Ngada	Ndonga		v		Majority agree
	Lekosoro	v			Majority disagree
Wonogiri	Kalikromo			v	
	Beral	v			
Banyumas	Deling		v		Majority agree
	Karya Mukti			v	Majority agree
Batanghari	Tiang Berajo	v			Majority agree
	Kelok Sungai Besar			v	Majority agree
Merangin	Jembatan Rajo			v	Majority agree
	Sungai Seberang		v		Majority agree

Source: FGDs.

Meanwhile, almost no services were provided by non-village administration institutions, except in Kabupaten Wonogiri, and in Jembatan Rajo Village, Kabupaten Merangin. In the two villages in Wonogiri, youth organizations held activities, as well as providing services in the form of assistance to families holding ceremonies. Whenever a ceremony was being held, "multi-tasking" staff were usually members of youth organizations. Meanwhile, in Jembatan Rajo Village, there was an organization for managing *adat* forests, which managed the provision of permission to utilize wood from *adat* forests for the community. When residents wanted to take some wood, the organization would verify and grant permission in coordination with the village administration.

To conclude, FGD participants were generally satisfied with the public services provided by their village administrations. However, public services that were in fact forms of supra-village assistance could cause conflict, because they were considered to be unfair and to impair the village's sense of community.

4.5 Village Budgets

Following the budget cycle, the formulation of the village budget (*Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Desa/APBDes*) should ideally be based on the village administration work plan (*Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Desa/RKPDes*), which is specified in village regulations. This process highlights the presence of necessity-based budgeting, which is specified in the RKPDes. Table 33 depicts the findings in the field.

In terms of availability, up to the end of 2015, the RKPDes for Kalikromo Village could not be obtained. Meanwhile, in Sungai Seberang Village, it was only possible to obtain the village's medium-term development plan (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Desa/RPJMDes*). However, once obtained the RKPDes only specifies types of activity, without additional details relating to these activities or their budget. After the analysis, it was evident that the contents of the RPJMDes were exactly the same as in the previous period. Only the cover and validating pages had been replaced. Access to and availability of the village's important documents are important indicators of village governance.

Table 33. Comparison between RKPDes 2015 and APBDes 2015

Village	RKPDes availability	Amount of RKPDes	APBDes revenue	Compatibility of APBDes and RKPDes	
				Whether or not all activities in APBDes is in RKPDes	Type of DD activity
Ndona	Yes	520,521,105	579,177,912	Yes	Tracked
Lekosoro	Yes	714,440,552	576,132,552	Yes	Tracked
Kalikromo	No	Unavailable	809,852,000	---	---
Beral	Yes	10,180,000,000	1,099,514,000	Not all	Untracked
Deling	Yes	2,144,000,000	939,912,188	Not all	Untracked
Karya Mukti	Yes	Activity list	1,802,637,497	Not all	Untracked
Tiang Berajo	Yes	6,305,000,000	856,953,280	Not all	Untracked
Kelok Sungai Besar	Yes	8,015,673,000	843,110,280	Not all	Untracked
Jembatan Rajo	Yes	Activity list	383,213,333	Yes	Untracked
Sungai Seberang	Yes	No activity and amount	375,451,431	---	---

Source: RKPDes and APBDes 2015 documents.

Ideally, the RKPDes should include a priority list, estimated value, and the budget of each activities, as well as a design image of the work (for infrastructure projects), as was the case in Kabupaten Ngada. However, in reality, several villages had not reached this level of competence. For example, the RKPDes in Karya Mukti Village and Jembatan Rajo Village consisted only of a list of activities, without specifying their estimated values. The RKPDes of Sungai Seberang Village did not even include a list of priorities. It is difficult to further analyze the RKPDes in such a situation.

The most prominent issue is the striking difference in values between the RKPDes and APBDes. An extreme example was in Beral and Kelok Sungai Besar Villages, whose values of RKPDes were nine times higher than their APBDes. This raises questions about the planning process. The planning documents appeared in the form of a list of all residents' wishes, without determining an order of priority.

An important factor to analyze in the process of planning and budgeting within the village is the compatibility of the RKPDes and the APBDes. Essentially, all activities that receive APBDes funding should have been proposed in the planning stage. However, in reality several activities in the APBDes did not appear in the RKPDes. For example, the rehabilitation and empowerment of the security posts (*Poskamling*) in eight *dusun* in Beral Village's APBDes were not found in its RKPDes. The word *Poskamling* did not appear at all in the RKPDes. In Deling Village, the construction of a fence for the Early-Childhood Education Center (*Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini/PAUD*) that was included in the APBDes was not evident in the RKPDes. In Karya Mukti Village, the procurement of a means of motorized land transportation was evident in the APBDes, but not in the RKPDes. In Kelok Sungai Besar Village, capital expenditure for building was not included in the RKPDes. In Jembatan Rajo Village, activities in the APBDes were exactly the same as those in the RKPDes.

Difficulties in tracking the compatibility between activities and sources of funding in both these documents in most villages gave rise to the following allegations. First, both documents may not have been compiled with reference to one another. Second, the APBDes were amended without consulting with the BPD or the community. Third, the information on the DD arrived late, causing the processes of planning and budgeting to be incompatible and hastily conducted. Fourth, many activities were not specified in the *kabupaten*-level regulations.

Table 34. Expenditure of DD in APBDes 2015

Village	Fund source is mentioned		Expenditure of DD based on APBDes
	RKPDDes	APBDes	
Ndona	yes	yes	Procurement of cement mixer, hand tractor, plastic chairs for <i>Posyandu</i> , and water fibre;
Lekosoro	yes	yes	Construction of kindergarten building, pathway (2 lanes) in 2 <i>dusun</i> , training to farmer groups
Kalikromo	no RKPDDes	no	<i>Jalan usaha tani</i> (agricultural road), pathway (2 lanes), Aid in form of toilets for poor households, afforestation
Beral	yes	no	Pathway (2 lanes) in 2 <i>dusun</i> , construction of supporting wall of a stream in 1 <i>dusun</i> , pathway in 1 <i>dusun</i> , fence of village clinic
Deling	yes, but one activity can be funded by various sources	no	Operation of village administration, construction of drainage and <i>talud</i> (supporting wall of a stream), fence of PAUD post, MCK (public restroom), building rehabilitation, and community development, such as PKK, <i>Posyandu</i> , <i>Linmas</i> (<i>perlindungan masyarakat</i> /community protection) ^{b)}
Karya Mukti	none	no	Procurement of motorized land transportation, processing means for agriculture and farming products, computer, kitchen equipment, communication means ^{a)}
Tiang Berajo	-	-	Construction of pedestrian way and empowerment (KPM training, purchase of <i>kompangan</i> equipment, and sewing training) ^{c)}
Kelok Sungai Besar	yes	no	Education/human resource improvement, Ranperdes legislation workshop, road construction, irrigation ^{b)}
Jembatan Rajo	no	no	Office building, pedestrian way, MCK, prayer room, bridge rehabilitation, furniture and office equipments, honorarium for <i>syara'</i> worker (mosque caretaker) and Quran-reading teacher, cleaning service worker, adat institution, training, RT/RW, LPM, <i>majelis taklim</i> (forum for learning Islam) ^{a)}
Sungai Seberang	no	no	Construction of office building and office equipment, concrete rebates, social aid in the form of MTQ, <i>Karang Taruna</i> , Quran-reading teacher, <i>Posyandu</i> cadre, PAUD teacher, village profile, <i>Bimtek</i> (<i>bimbingan teknis</i> /technical guidance) for village head and village officials ^{a)}

Source: RKPDES and APBDes TA 2015 documents

Notes:

^{a)} estimation only.

^{b)} DD is tracked from the APBDes due to an increase in DD.

The compatibility of the RKPDes and the APBDes can be easily assessed if both documents include the sources of the funding, as was the case in Kabupaten Ngada. This *kabupaten* required villages to apply good administration practices as soon as the Village Law was implemented. BPMPD of Kabupaten Ngada, together with the *kecamatan* and former facilitators of PNPM, assisted villages to complete 14 documents as a requirement for DD disbursement. They attempted to avoid administrative errors that could have led village heads to encounter legal issues, as this could have also had a traumatic effect on other village heads.

In relation to the compatibility of the APBDes and the RKPDes, there is an analysis of all activities conducted using DD. Compiling this analysis proved to be extremely difficult, because Kabupaten Ngada was the only village that included the sources of funding for its activities in the APBDes. Villages such as Beral, Deling, Simpang Rantau included their sources of funding in the RKPDes, but not in the APBDes. This is crucial, particularly with regard to the case of Deling, where the RKPDes specified that one activity was funded by both APBD and DD.

Out of the 10 villages, only three villages, namely Beral, Deling and Kelok Sungai Besar, made APBDes amendments. This was because those villages had applied the APBDes prior to the establishment of DD. In Deling, DD was allocated to the operational components of village administration and development. Indirect expenditure (operational spending of the village government) increased more than threefold due to DD, while direct expenditure (village development) more than doubled. Meanwhile, in Kelok Sungai Besar, DD caused an increase in direct expenditure components, namely capital expenditure, human resource improvement, and *Ranperdes* legislation workshops. In Beral, the value of the APBDes amendment was influenced more by an increase in financial support from the *kabupaten* government.

V. PRACTICE OF GOVERNANCE IN THE VILLAGES

This chapter discusses the practice of governance in the village administration and community. To understand governance in village administration, governance in community life must also be observed, and vice versa. Each aspect of governance in village administration is discussed further, including in the phases of planning, execution, monitoring, and maintenance. The village administration's responsiveness is also discussed prior to looking at the various factors influencing village governance.

5.1 Participation in Village Governance

Planning phase: Community participation is considered to be high, particularly in the formulation of the RPJMDes.¹⁷ The community attended various meetings to plan village development over the next five years. The results are the RPJMDes and the RKPDes, as regulated in Permendagri No. 66/2007¹⁸ on the Planning of Village Development (Table 35). Before the Village Law was enacted, all of the study villages, with the exception of Sungai Seberang Village, had already formulated a medium-term village development plan (RPJMDes), facilitated by the PNPM-MP program. However, Sungai Seberang Village, which was facilitated by the PNPM-PISEW Program, was not required to have an RPJMDes.

Table 35. The term of RPJMDes and RKPDes, and the presence of PNPM

No	Village name	Kabupaten	Effective term of RPJMDes	Presence of PNPM
1	Kelok Sungai Besar	Batanghari	2011-16	PNPM-M
2	Tiang Berajo	Batanghari	2014-20	PNPM-M
3	Jembatan Rajo	Merangin	2015-20	PNPM-M
4	Sungai Seberang	Merangin	2015-19	PNPM-PISEW
5	Deling	Banyumas	2014-19	PNPM-M
6	Karya Mukti	Banyumas	2014-19	PNPM-M
7	Kalikromo	Wonogiri	2011-15	PNPM-M
8	Beral	Wonogiri	2014-18	PNPM-M
9	Lekosoro	Ngada	2015-19	PNPM-M
10	Ndona	Ngada	2011-15	PNPM-M

Source: respective RPJMDesa documents

¹⁷The definition of "high" varied greatly between villages. In Kabupaten Merangin, for example, the presence of 20-30 people is considered to be high. Meanwhile, in Kabupaten Batanghari, the presence is considered high if there are more than 70 people. This is due to the *kabupaten* government policy to provide incentives in the form of money to hold *Musrenbang*, and as a consequence, a minimum number of 70 participants is required.

¹⁸At the time this report was composed, there was Permendagri No. 114/2014 on Development in Villages, which includes the phases of Planning, Executing, and Monitoring. There was also Permendes No. 2/2015 on Guidelines of Code of Conduct and Mechanism of Decision-Making in Village Consultative Meetings.

However, truly participatory consultative meetings, which took on the suggestions of the community, were only seen at the *dusun* level. One village even held consultative meetings that started at the RT level and the suggestions that were forthcoming were considered in formulating the final RPJMDes, the priorities being determined at the village level. At the village level, the processes of formulating documents, as well as determining priorities, tended to be elitist in nature. Moreover, the formulation of the RKPDes each year, which involves the process of determining development priorities, no longer involves the community. This is because the RKPDes is only a derivative of the RPJMDes. In all villages, the establishment of the RKPDes was conducted through restricted consultative meetings, which were attended by village officials and village elites. This mechanism corresponds with the (old) regulation, Permendagri No. 66/2007, with attempts at innovation from the village administration to implement a more participatory mechanism. This usually leads to a situation in which the determination of development priorities at the village level replaces proposals for development activities that would be more beneficial to the community.

Table 36. Comparison of the formulation of the RPJMDes and the RKPDes

Aspects	RPJMDes	RKPDes 2015
Planning cycle	Every six years	Every year
The year of the last <i>Musrenbangdes</i>	Prior to the implementation of the Village Law/PNPM era	Following the implementation of the Village Law
Design	Begins with exploration of ideas at <i>dusun</i> /RT level, as well as religious and social forum in the community; continued at village level.	Directly at village level (except in <i>complang</i> system that is applied in Wonogiri)
Participants	At the level under village, all residents are invited. But at village level, only representatives of the residents are invited.	Based on invitation, dominated by village elites.

Source: In-depth interviews about village experiences holding *musrenbangdes*.



Figure 15. *Musrenbang* in Kelok Sungai Besar Village

Female participation in *Musrenbang* is generally filled by members of the PKK or religious organizations. However, the quality of their participation was considered low, due to their reluctance to participate during the consultative meetings. Female representation was often limited to the same group of elites, the members of which were reluctant to express their opinions.

This happened not only in Central Java, but also in Jambi. In Sungai Seberang Village female participation was low. The majority of women believed that consultative meetings were ineffective in influencing decisions about development in the village. Despite this, there were also villages in which female cadres were highly involved and motivated, for example in Deling Village.

I was given the opportunity to join the *Musrenbang*, and I had to mobilize supportive people to join the *Musrenbang*. The village head himself cannot make a decision on his own, if the forum is not accepted by the community. So I invited parents (in the PAUD) and I said (to them), "When there is an invitation to *Musrenbang*, all of us must attend it!" Be supportive! Who else will be supportive if you don't want your children to have wet floors in their school." They finally attended it, and they had the majority of votes. I was the moderator, anyway, haha.. (Female, 38 y.o, Kabupaten Banyumas, November 7, 2015)

Moreover, at the *dusun* level, regular meetings at the community level were usually conducted separately for men and women. However, for village necessities, for example in exploring ideas and proposals, a joint meeting was conducted with both men and women participating together. For such meetings, the presence of residents was calculated based on family units. Generally, one family was represented by the male head of the household. There was a view in Kabupaten Wonogiri that women should agree to the decisions made by the men during the meeting, so as not to be viewed as rebellious.

"So, development planning is only men's business. Women are told to be involved only in the execution. In Kalikromo, the women are active. Here, suggestions from *dusun* residents are also collected. It is only in Dusun Kalikromo, out of the existing nine *dusun*, that women are asked to be involved from the beginning. [Usually women] only join in the development activities.¹⁹ People will say that women are rebellious. Not [courageous enough to ask for information or to suggest something for the development] because men are dominant in the development. When women only (ask the *dusun* head), they will be ignored because of their weak position!" (FGD on Village Governance, Female, Kabupaten Wonogiri, October 13, 2015.)

Most village administrations involved in the research did not encourage the participation of marginalized groups, such as the poor, elderly, or disabled. Inviting the poor to participate was seen only as a way to fill the required quotas. However, in several study villages, the village administration admitted to having given marginalized residents the opportunity to speak out during consultative meetings. However, despite being given this opportunity, their opinions were not utilized. These *Pemdes* held the view that the aspirations of marginalized groups were already reflected in the proposals provided by the *Musdes*. For example, in the villages in Jambi provincial government programs aimed at the renovation of housing were directed predominately towards helping to renovate the homes of the elderly.

In the province of NTT, the medium for community participation in consultative meetings to formulate RPJMDes always began with *Pagas* (*Penggalian Gagasan*/an exploration of ideas) at the *dusun* level. All members of the community were invited to this stage of the meetings, based on a system of representation of the head of household, the majority of whom are men. Women usually only attended as a substitute for heads of household who happened to be unable attend. In Ndonga Village, since the end of PNPM, yearly reviews of the RPJMDes no longer began at the *dusun* level. The review was conducted only by village officials and the BPD. Meanwhile, in Lekosoro Village, these reviews still began at the *dusun* level.

Of all 10 villages in the study locations, the governance of villages in Kabupaten Ngada was highly influenced by PNPM, where there is a program that replicates PNPM at the *kabupaten* scale, called

¹⁹The effect of women involvement in this *dusun* will be explored in advanced study in 2017.

Pelangi Desa. This program adopts the PNPM's approach and its implementation is directly under the control of the village administration. However, there are concerns that the presence of the *Pelangi Desa* program, along with its facilitators, may cause dependency on the facilitators. This was clearly evident when the PNPM program came to an end and from then on the planning processes, which had previously involved community participation down to the *dusun* level, such as in Ndonga Village, were only conducted at the village level. Such cases seem to provide evidence that the previous hypothesis of spillover from PNPM into village government was limited.

In the province of Central Java, generally the consideration of community desires during the planning phase began at the *dusun* level and included the contribution of a male representative from each family. If the head of a household could not attend the meeting, other family members could attend as a substitute, including women. The next phase was to convey the proposals during the *Musdes*, so that they could be included as priorities in the RPJMDes. At this level, the consultative meeting was usually attended by village and *dusun* officials, religious figures, and community figures.

Box 9.

Influence of the seasonal calendar on participation

The preoccupation of Ndonga Village community members in managing their clove plantations contributes to their limited participation in development planning. The cloves need to be tended to from morning until afternoon and must be cleaned during the evening. Clove harvesting takes place from August through to January. Meanwhile, in Lekosoro Village, residents sometimes harvest at night. As a result of their farming commitments, the residents from these two villages generally prefer to participate in the execution of development initiatives rather than in planning meetings. The benefits of working on the development initiatives are tangible, while discussing development planning produces no tangible return. Due to the residents' busy farming schedules, an understanding of the seasonal calendar in each village, and planning activities in accordance with the seasonal calendar, would help to improve residents' participation. When PNPM was being implemented, this calendar was examined during the planning process to guarantee participation levels.

Deling Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, followed a similar system, although its consultative meetings started at the RT level and were then directly escalated to the village level. There was no consultative meeting at the *dusun* level, because of the limited number of *dusun* (only two). In Karya Mukti Village, Kabupaten Banyumas, community participation was supported by a shared village administration and community initiative to set up an association in each *dusun*, which conducted monthly meetings.

Table 37. Differences in participation levels between villages

Aspects	NTT		Central Java				Jambi			
	Ngada		Wonogiri		Banyumas		Batanghari		Merangin	
	Ndona	Lekosoro	Kalikromo	Beral	Deling	Karya Mukti	Tiang Berajo	Kelok Sungai Besar	Jembatan Rajo	Sungai Seberang
Smallest Scale Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dusun (only when formulating RPJMDes) Since PNPM ended, brainstorming for RKPDes is conducted only by Village Officials and BPD 	Dusun	Dusun	Dusun	RT	Dusun	Village	Village	Village	Village
Medium of meeting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Brainstorming KUB (only for socialization) Women Consultative Meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Brainstorming KUB (only for socialization) Women Consultative Meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tablu/Selapanan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tablu/Selapanan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tablu/Selapanan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tablu/Selapanan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recitation of Yaasin Chapter Musrenbangdes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recitation of Yaasin Chapter Musrenbangdes 	Musrenbangdes	Musrenbangdes
Representation system	(dusun level/RPJMDes) The community, men and women	The community, men and women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Musdus: Per Head of Household Musdes: Representative of elements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Musdus: Per Head of Household Musdes: Representative of elements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Musdus: Per Head of Household Musdes: Representative of elements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Musdus: Per Head of Household Musdes: Representative of elements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Musdus: 10 representatives of RT Musrenbangdes: representative of elements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Musdus: all heads of household are invited Musrenbangdes: representative of elements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Musdus: representatives of figures Musrenbangdes: representative of elements 	All heads of household are invited to Musrenbangdes
Obstacles in participating	Handling clove (morning, afternoon, night time)	Farming time at noon	Farming time at noon (particularly during rainy season)	Farming time at noon (particularly during rainy season)	Farming time at noon (particularly during rainy season)	Farming time at noon (particularly during rainy season)	Rubber farming (morning – afternoon)	Rubber farming (morning – afternoon)	Rubber farming (morning – afternoon)	Gold mining (non-stop)
Time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meetings are usually conducted at night, because the residents are farming at noon. Women's meetings are usually conducted at noon/in the afternoon. 									

In the province of Jambi, there were differing practices between Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Merangin. The study villages in Kabupaten Batanghari formulated several proposals at the *dusun* level to be escalated to the village level through a representative system. At the village level, there was a high level of participation in the *Musdes*, supported by a *kabupaten* policy that provided a large amount of funding. Through Perbup No. 46/2014 on the Determination of Financial Aid for Villages in Budget Year 2015, Kabupaten Batanghari allocated Rp 7 million of funding per village to hold consultative meetings at the village level in order to improve the community's involvement in the process of development planning. The funding was usually spent on the operational costs of holding consultative meetings, refreshment costs, and transportation reimbursement for the participants. The funding allocation triggered an increase in the numbers of participants in the *Musdes*, which rose to as many as 120 people, from only 80 distributed invitations.

Box 10.
Implementation of *tablu* culture in village planning

In the province of Central Java in Kabupaten Wonogiri, regular meetings, referred to as *tablu*, are held once every 35 days (known as the Javanese *selapanan* calendar system) at the *dusun* level. These meetings have been taking place for a long period of time and have become part of the local culture to facilitate discussions about various issues, to make announcements about village activities, and to support capacity-building within the community. Every year, several *dusun* heads attend one of the *tablu* to ask about the community's desires, which will then be escalated into the formulation of the RKPDes and the APBDes. The participation of the community—men, women, and marginalized group—is guaranteed through the system of *complong*/family presence. *Tablu* are usually conducted at night, meaning that male heads of households are the most frequent attendees. Meanwhile, if the head of the household cannot attend, another family member can act as a substitute for him, including women. However, additional *selapanan* meetings are held only for women. These meetings take place in the house of the *dusun* head, with the aim of discussing every-day issues, loans and savings for women, and the dissemination of any necessary information from the village. All *tablu* meetings and women's meetings involve *arisan* to reinforce participation.

In both study villages in Kabupaten Merangin, consultative meetings were only conducted at the village level to formulate both the RPJMDes and the RPKDes. A unique situation occurred in Sungai Seberang Village in Kabupaten Merangin, in which all residents were invited to the *Musrenbangdes*. However, low interest levels among the local residents resulted in low attendance rates. Most informants in this study admitted that they preferred to spend their time mining gold in the face of weakening economic conditions after the rubber price (which previously was their livelihood) fell significantly. Moreover, several residents were reluctant to attend because they believed that the plans proposed in the meetings would never be realized.

Subsequently, the APBDes was formulated only by village officials, such as the village head, head of the development division, village treasurer, village secretary, and head of the General Division. This is in line with Permendagri No. 113/2015 on the Management of Village Finances, which does not oblige the community to be involved in the formulation and discussion of the APBDes. Discussions then took place among the village administration and the BPD. In Tiang Berajo Village in Kabupaten Batanghari, the formulation of the budget involved only a few people, who were considered to be 'compliant' to the interests of the village head. Such a situation risks the potential abuse of authority.

“The TPK and KPMD are also invited to the meeting to formulate the APBDes, but they often cannot attend. According to the regulations, inviting different elements of the community is unnecessary. The village government only needs to get the APBDes document approved by the BPD, as representatives of the community.” (Woman, 37, Kabupaten Batanghari, October 22, 2015.)

Execution phase: This phase requires the community’s participation. In almost all villages, the community participates by contributing its energy, money, or goods, such as building materials and food. This is particularly true of residents whose houses are close to the construction location. For example, residents whose houses are traversed by road construction voluntarily lend their land to the development process. The implementation of all construction projects is coordinated by the TPK at the *dusun*/regional level and is locally executed by residents from around the project site. In Kabupaten Ngada, construction of infrastructure was performed by residents at the RT level. For example, a 50-meter long concrete road was constructed by residents from RT 1 to RT 5, each constructing a strip 10 meters long. This was considered more efficient and better coordinated than involving all residents in the construction of the entire 50 meters. In Kabupaten Ngada and Kabupaten Wonogiri, women were also involved in road construction, for example helping to lift rocks and sand, as well as digging the earth. In other villages, women were involved by providing food for the workers. In Jembatan Rajo Village, participation rates were low because the execution of initiatives tended to be centered around village officials. Members of the TPK were village officials and BPD members were appointed by the village head. The *dusun* head was not invited to be involved during the execution process, including information on the project’s schedule, purchasing goods, or appointing workers. Consequently, the community was not well-informed about construction projects in the village.

“During communal work in *dusun* Kalikromo, the women usually cook. They do not participate in the communal work. Rather, they prepare the meals. Some other women join in the work physically, but only if their husbands are not at home. Meanwhile, on the site, some men cook.” (FGD of Village Governance, Male Group, Kabupaten Wonogiri, 13 October 2015.)

“In the construction of roads, the community needs to know the work schedule. Here, the women bring pails, and take and filter sand, while the men bring shovels, rocks, and water. Cooperation between men and women has existed since long ago.” (FGD on Village Governance, Femal Group, Kabupaten Ngada, 18 October 2015)

Box 11. Community monitoring of private contractors

In Kabupaten Banyumas, monitoring of construction work is usually conducted by members of the community themselves. Participation in the monitoring is more intense when the project is managed by a private contractor, with the aim of ensuring that the infrastructure constructed is consistent with the community’s specifications and planning. Monitoring is conducted by community members whose houses are in close proximity to the construction project, for example construction of a road in front of members’ homes. They ask the private contractor many questions and ensure that the work is of good quality. Should there be any problems, the community is not reluctant to reprimand the workers and ask that the problems be fixed. If the locals decide they want some additional work to be carried out, they set up money collections.

Phases of monitoring and maintenance: In terms of monitoring infrastructure construction, the villagers formally hand over this responsibility to the BPD, or other village administration units, such as the village head, the head of the TPK, or the head of the General Division. The monitoring is usually focused on work volume. In Kabupaten Ngada, the community relied on *kecamatan*-level former PNPM facilitators and former *Pelanggi Desa* facilitators to help monitor construction. In Lekosoro Village, the community helped with monitoring through *musyawarah desa serah*

terima (MDST/handover consultative meetings). The monitoring of construction originating from programs such as PAMSIMAS in Central Java was handled by a special team, with operational matters being funded by community contribution fees. Interestingly, if the construction work had been conducted by a third party, the community was more critical in its monitoring. Community members adopted this stance to ensure the highest possible standards of work.

Usually no particular party was given responsibility for the maintenance of the final product. Most residents admitted that the community itself usually took on the responsibility of maintenance. In Lekosoro Village, the community stated that TP3 was always established in MDST. The head of TP3 was selected at the village level, and the members were *dusun* heads. When damage occurred, for example leakage of waterways, generally the community took the initiative of making the necessary repairs. Program-based construction outcomes in Kabupaten Wonogiri were maintained by the same team that coordinated the planning, execution, and monitoring. Members of the community considered the maintenance of construction outcomes to be the responsibility of the property (house or rice field) owners, or *erep* in local terms, whose land intersected with the constructed infrastructure. Thus, community participation was only realized if infrastructure maintenance was directly in the interests of community members.



Figure 16. Women in Kalikromo Village also participate in physical work, such as constructing village roads

5.2 Participation in Community Governance

Community participation in religion, *adat*, and other societal matters remains strong in all of the study villages. Religion-based meetings were conducted in all villages, except in Kabupaten Wonogiri, which was more customs-based. Religious forums, including religious institutions and leaders, were a significant part of social relations within the communities.²⁰ In all villages, there were also regular meetings attended by economic activity groups and all community members or family representatives.

In villages in Ngada Kabupaten, which are predominantly Catholic, *Kelompok Umat Basis* (KUB) was the medium for religious activities at the RT level. In addition, there were local Catholic-based institutions, such as *Muda-Mudi Katolik* (Mudika) and the sub-parish, which allow numerous

²⁰The role of community institutions in the operation of village administration will be explored in the advanced study later in 2017.

groups in the community to gather for various activities, providing open and accommodating channels for community participation. Although they are not traditional (*adat*) villages, the villages in Ngada had *adat* institutions, which were led by respected public figures through consultative meetings. Participation in religious and *adat* institutions was universal in these villages. The life-cycle of the community followed religious and *adat* traditions. For the Catholic community, there was a prayer group at the RT level and the community was obliged to join in nightly prayer activities, particularly the Mother Mary prayer in May and October, and Sunday mass in the chapel. In addition, in relation to traditional customs, there was *adat* boxing, *adat* hunting, and the observance of *adat* sanctions. The community's highly respectful attitude towards religious/*adat* values in both villages was evident during the baseline study, particularly in that all activities were suspended in the event of a funeral ceremony. This situation was closely related to the community's homogenous social-characteristics.

In Kabupaten Wonogiri, *dusun*-level regular meetings are called *tablu* and in Kabupaten Banyumas regular meetings were held at the RT-level. The meetings, which were held once every 35 days (*selapanan*), had become a local tradition and were a medium for discussing every-day issues. Every family, regardless of their socioeconomic condition, usually delegated a representative to attend the meeting. This meeting was conducted at night and was usually attended by men. Women attended only if the head of the household (traditionally a man) was unable to attend. The women had a separate meeting schedule, which usually took place at noon or in the afternoon.

In Kabupaten Banyumas, Islam-based societal institutions, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, also held monthly meetings, or meetings among *dusun*-level officials and members of Islam-teaching recital groups. Local Islamic figures (*kyai/ustadz*) from these institutions acted as unifying figures and a space for consultation between the community and the village administration in determining the direction of village policies. In addition to religious groups, there was also a farmers' group that was active only when receiving government aid. After the aid had been received, this group did not hold further meetings. Another group, which was also universally present in all study villages, was *arisan*.

In the province of Jambi, all villages had weekly *yasinan* meetings that were separated between men and women (except in Sungai Seberang Village). A *yasinan* for men was held every Thursday night and for women every Friday afternoon/noon. Participation rates in this meeting were high, because all Muslim residents attended these groups. Communal activities were usually utilized as a medium to conduct consultative meetings in order to determine the community's aspirations to be included in the RPJMDes. In RT 15 of Kelok Sungai Besar Village, in Kabupaten Batanghari, part of the community that is geographically separated from the center of the village had its own system of unique community contribution fees. The region, where palm oil cultivation is the main source of livelihoods for the residents, applied a contribution fee of Rp 10/kg of palm oil during each harvest season. This fund was later used for road improvements and also a loans-and-savings treasury for its residents. Mosques in the region were also built by asking residents to contribute a fee of Rp 600,000 and were maintained through a contribution of one palm oil tree per head of household. In Jembatan Rajo Village, the forest and a part of the river called *Lubuk Larangan* are under *adat* law. Based on *adat* law, this *adat* region cannot be exploited. Violations of *adat* law are punishable with fines to the value of one buffalo and 100 *gantang* of rice (a measurement of rice equivalent to 3,125 kg). The community actively acknowledged these conditions based on their appreciation for *adat* law.

The community's participation in social activities has been ingrained into the members' daily lives. These social activities were always held at the *dusun* level or below, and not at the village level. In

this way, the consolidation of knowledge and togetherness also occurred at the *dusun* level and below. When a village-level activity was held without any invitation or relation to activities at the *dusun* level or below, it meant that the residents would not know about the activity, let alone become involved in it. Consequently, it can be understood that the community, in general, was unaware and uninvolved in village-level activities, although the situation differed for people in the community who were deliberately invited. An understanding of these conditions would allow the village authority to utilize community participation for formal activities in the village, through implementing activities at the *dusun* level or below.

5.3 Transparency in Village Governance

Planning phase: In general, village administrations in all study locations have not proactively implemented practices of transparency in the process of development. Not one village administration has a fixed mechanism to proactively provide information on village development to the community. Usually *Pemdes* are not deliberately concealing information and are willing to share information if residents ask for it, but up to now no residents have come to the village office to request such information. *Pemdes* generally believe that the residents are not interested enough in detailed information about the development process. They are more concerned about information regarding governmental/non-governmental aid. Within the community itself, few people realize the importance of the openness of information. Instead, they believe that detailed information on development initiatives is the prerogative of the *Pemdes* and the community should just follow its directives.

In Lekosoro Village, heads of *dusun* and RT were obliged to deliver the Building Cost Budgetary Planning (*Rencana Anggaran Biaya bangunan/RAB*) to the community before carrying out communal work for the development initiative. This RAB is required to ensure the calculation of HOK will be distributed evenly among the community. The community can also request RAB information from the village. The conditions in Lekosoro Village were universally implemented in the previous PNPM and ongoing *Pelangi Desa* programs.

Execution phase: Village officials tend to hold back information about the time schedule of development projects until the lead-up to the implementation date. If the results of village-level consultative meetings are immediately released to the community, village officials must respond to insistent questions from the community regarding the certainty of the project implementation, even though to some extent *Pemdes* themselves have to wait for decisions from higher-level institutions. Hence, it is safer for village officials to officially announce the implementation of development initiatives and to gather workers and funding from the community one or two weeks prior to the execution date.

Monitoring phase: Monitoring the execution of development initiatives in the village falls under the authority of the village administration and the results of monitoring have also never been conveyed to the community. Usually, information about the monitoring process is only discussed by village officials and the BPD. The results of these discussions are also not circulated throughout the community.

The use of media in conveying information about village activities/developments is still extremely limited. While there were announcement boards in all villages, no relevant information was posted there and they were often left unused, or the information posted on the boards was outdated. Despite this, on development sites there was usually a project information board

containing information about the project value, its year of execution, and the sources of funding. The widespread use of mobile phones could also be utilized to spread information. However, the use of technology such as SMS broadcast has not yet been considered. In all villages, information was conveyed through regular meetings in the RT/*dusun*, meetings conducted after Friday prayers, *yasinan*, weekly mass at church or in the RT.

Except in Deling and Karya Mukti Villages, generally villages did not convey information about the procedure, cost, or time period required to apply for statement letters or other administrative documents. In Deling Village, the procedures for these applications were displayed in the village office, while in Karya Mukti Village information on such procedures was printed in the form of a booklet. In villages without access to this information, members of the community went directly to village officials to ask for assistance. An application fee was usually voluntary and not a mandatory part of this process.

5.4 Transparency in Community Governance

Transparency in the management of community resources is more sensitive than transparency in managing village administration resources. Such community resources must be reported on regularly to the participants, and include contribution fees from various community groups, the community's *arisan*, and environmental contribution fees.

In Kabupaten Ngada, various contribution fees were paid to the parish (supra-village institution under diocese). Every week, the pastor in the parish read out the amount of money donated and at the end of the month a report was released on the total amount of money collected by the parish in contribution fees. At the village level, these contribution fees were usually collected after weekly mass, along with reporting to the congregation. Religious organizations, such as Mudika, whose activities are limited to observance of national holiday, such as Independence Day or religious holidays, conducted a simple reporting mechanism after each activity. Meanwhile, *adat* organizations in both villages, which manage the division of *adat* land and impose *adat* sanctions, did not collect contribution fees.

*Arisan*²¹ is employed in various regular meetings in the *dusun/village* as a way to increase participation rates. In Kabupaten Ngada, *arisan* were held only among women: money *arisan* and rice *arisan* (*jimpitan*) for urgent needs. In Lekosoro Village, the community *arisan* also discussed *Pemdes* activities. In Jambi, *arisan* were also conducted during *yasinan* for both men and women's groups. The same situation was evident in Central Java, where *arisan* were present in all residents' groups, for example women's savings-and-loans groups, Islamic-teaching groups, RT/*dusun* meetings, and also regular consultancy meetings conducted by the *kecamatan* administration for village officials. *Arisan* work by collecting and recording a contribution fee from all participants and the "winner" is determined using a lottery system. All of the processes are conducted openly in front of all the participants.

Non-religious activities in each village also involved the management and regular reporting of contribution fees. For example, in Tiang Berajo Village, the local *Karang Taruna* managed a record of its treasury, which could be accessed by all members. In Central Java, communities contributed rice to *jimpitan* and also a night patrol contribution fee that was recorded daily and reported in RT/*dusun*-level meetings. The way this fee was collected was also unique. In Deling Village,

²¹*Arisan* is a regular social gathering in which members operate a rotating savings scheme.

residents placed a cardboard box near the front door of their homes and placed the night patrol contribution fee of small change inside together with a notebook for recording the payment. Every night a night patrol officer collected the money and made a record in his own notebook and in the notebook of the resident. *Selapanan* RT also regularly reported the amount and expenditure of RT treasury money that was collected by the night patrol.

In contrast to the above groups, village farmers' groups did not apply transparent mechanisms. Most farmers' groups were established only to obtain subsidies or aid from supra-village government institutions and therefore did not hold regular meetings. However, some farmers' groups were more active than those in other villages. Farmers' groups in the community depended on the involvement of the on-site agriculture counsellor (*Penyuluh Pertanian Lapangan/PPL*). For example, the farmers' group in Lekosoro Village held meetings and initiatives to formulate the RAB and members contributed money to fulfill the RAB. This RAB was a requirement to obtain seed aid from the Agriculture Agency through the PPL. In addition, a tobacco farmer in Kalikromo Village initiated the establishment of a farmers' group that obtained the status of a legal entity and conducted regular meetings and *arisan*.

In Karya Mukti Village, a group of water-consumer farmers donated contributions in the form of rice during every planting season. From this contribution, the group was able to independently build a small bridge and footpath. However, the group was unwilling to provide the local *Pemdes* with information on the total amount of contributions collected, even though the *Pemdes* only wished to record the information in the APBDes. The group was internally transparent, but not open to the *Pemdes*. In their meetings, the head of the group always reported the amount of contributions collected to the members.

From the descriptions above, it can be concluded that transparency is practiced and performs well in most societal groups, although the mechanisms are often informal in nature. Transparency in these societal groups is even higher than in the *Pemdes*, which do not yet provide the community with financial reports. The higher the engagement of the community in a group, the higher the group's level of transparency.

5.5 Accountability in Village Governance

Accountability is an important principle in the implementation of good governance. In general, accountability practices in the study villages tended to be based on a system of hierarchical reporting from the bottom up, meaning that village administrations were required to report to higher institutions. The results of FGDs and interviews with village heads, village secretaries, and the BPD showed that downward accountability to the community was not widely practiced due to a lack of clear regulations or receptivity among communities.

Table 38. Practices of village administration accountability to supra-village institutions

Accountability Practice	Batanghari	Merangin	Banyumas	Wonogiri	Ngada
Planning and budgeting: Draft of RKPDes, RPJMDes, and APBDes	Document is analyzed by BPMPD with <i>kecamatan</i> recommendation	Document is analyzed by BPMPD with cover note from <i>kecamatan</i>	Document is analyzed by <i>kecamatan</i>	Document is analyzed by a Division in <i>Pemdes Setkab</i> with <i>kecamatan</i> recommendation	Document is analyzed by BPMPD with <i>kecamatan</i> recommendation
Implementation: Realization of APBDes	Document is reported every semester to BPMPD with <i>kecamatan</i> recommendation	Document is reported every semester to BPMPD with cover note from <i>kecamatan</i>	Document is reported every semester to the <i>bupati</i> through coordination with <i>kecamatan</i>	Document is reported every semester to the <i>bupati</i> through coordination with <i>kecamatan</i>	Document is reported every semester to BPMPD with <i>kecamatan</i> recommendation
	Inspectorate examination once every semester	Inspectorate examination once every DD term	Inspectorate examination once every year	Inspectorate examination once every year	Inspectorate examination once every semester
Monitoring	None	None	None	None	None
Maintenance	None	None	None	None	None

Source: interviews with village head, village secretary, heads of the Development Division and the Team of the Financial Formulator.

Planning phase: A common accountability practice performed by *Pemdes* is the reporting of draft RPJMDes and RKPDes documents to the *kabupaten* under the recommendation of the *kecamatan*. The *kabupaten* administration analyzes the draft documents and ensures that the list of attendees and minutes of the *Musrenbangdes* are attached, to guarantee that the documents supplied are the real results of ideas and agreements originating from community representatives. In Kabupaten Banyumas, the analysis of planning documents was conducted by the *kecamatan* based on the delegation of tasks assigned by the *bupati*. In Kabupaten Merangin, the term ‘*kecamatan* recommendation’ was avoided because members of the *kecamatan* did not feel they had the capacity to assess the quality of planning documents. They preferred to use the term ‘cover letter’. After passing the analysis, the RPJMDes and RKPDes are implemented by village administrations as a requirement for receiving DD and ADD.

This practice of planning is also conducted by the village administration during the budgeting phase, when *Pemdes* directly submit their budgets to the *kabupaten* administration. In Kabupaten Banyumas, *Pemdes* first asked the *kecamatan* for a recommendation and then submitted the draft APBDes to the *kabupaten*. The *kabupaten* also ensures the compatibility of budgetary documents concerning administrative and substantive matters, for example their compatibility with the RKPDes, formatting requirements, higher regulations, *kabupaten* policies, etc. The allocation of funding for each project must comply with the applicable price standards for the region or be based on village experience in procuring goods and services. To ensure accuracy, some study villages included the RAB and project design images with their APBDes. The process was helped considerably by the participation of former PNPM technical facilitators, who were experienced in calculating work volumes and cost estimates, such as in Kabupaten Batanghari, Wonogiri, and Ngada. The APBDes, which is determined by the *Perdes*, is reported back to *kabupaten* and *kecamatan* administrations to fulfill the prerequisites of DD distribution.

No village had a mechanism in place to ensure the accountability of planning and budgeting results released by the village administration, or of representatives involved in the formulation process. For village administrations, reporting to higher levels of government is one of their obligations, while reporting to the community is not considered important, because all decisions are made based on the results of *Musrenbangdes*, which discusses the community's proposals using a system of representation.

Each *dusun* understands that their proposals are included in the RKPDes. The village administration did not make any additions or reductions, so we did not need to make an announcement. But if the *dusun* asks, we will answer and prove that this is the RKPDes that we are proposing this year." (Interview, man, 29 y.o., village secretary, Kabupaten Merangin, November 7, 2015.)

Table 39. Practices of village administration accountability to the community

Accountability practice	Batanghari		Merangin		Banyumas		Wonogiri		Ngada	
	TBJ	KSB	JRJ	SSB	DLG	KRM	KKR	BRL	NDN	LKS
Dissemination of Information on Planning: RKPDes and RPJMDes	Informally during <i>yasinan</i> / Friday prayer forum	Informally during <i>yasinan</i>	Decisions are considered to be closed to the <i>dusun</i> and the community	Informally during Friday prayer forum	Informally during RT forum/ <i>yasinan</i>	Informally during RT forum	Informally during <i>selapanan</i> forum in the <i>dusun</i>	Informally during <i>selapanan</i> forum in the <i>dusun</i>	None, because it is considered to be mutually discussed	Decision is delivered in church during religious forums
Dissemination of Information on Budgeting	Per project, before the commencement of construction	Per project, before the commencement of construction	Decisions are considered to be closed to the <i>dusun</i> and the community	Per project, before the commencement of construction	Per project, before the commencement of construction	Through information board or <i>dusun</i> /RT meeting	Through <i>dusun</i> meeting			
Construction Execution	Informal, at the mosque after Friday prayer	Handing over LPJ from village head to BPD	None	None	None	None	Handing over LPJ from village head to BPD	Handing over LPJ from village head to BPD	Handing over and discussion of LPJ in LPJ forum	Handing over and discussion of LPJ in LPJ forum
Monitoring	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	Through LPJ forum by BPD	Through LPJ forum by BPD
Maintenance	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None

Source: Obtained from interviews with village head, village secretary, *dusun* head, and BPD

Notes: Tiang Berajo (TBJ); Kelok Sungai Besar (KSB); Jembatan Rajo (JRJ); Sungai Seberang (SSB); Deling (DLG); Karya Mukti (KRM); Kalikromo (KKR); Beral (BRL); Ndonga (NDN); and Lekosoro (LKS).

Table 40. Submission of complaints/requests outside of the formal mechanisms

Accountability practice	Batanghari		Merangin		Banyumas		Wonogiri		Ngada	
	TBJ	KSB	JRJ	SSB	DLG	KRM	KKR	BRL	NDN	LKS
Complaint approach	Directly to head of RT, BPD, and <i>dusun</i> head or through Islamic-teaching and Friday prayer forums	Directly to head of RT, <i>dusun</i> head, village head, or through <i>yasinan</i> forums	Directly to head of RT, <i>dusun</i> head, or Islamic-teaching forums	Directly to head of division, village head, or Islamic-teaching forums	Directly to head of RT, village head, or RT/ <i>yasinan</i> forums	Directly to head of RT, or Islamic-teaching forums, <i>arisan</i> , RT/ <i>dusun</i> meetings, PKK	Directly to <i>dusun</i> head or through <i>selapanan</i> forums	Directly to village head, <i>dusun</i> Head, head of RT/RW, or through <i>selapanan</i> forums	Directly to head of RT or through regular RT meetings	Directly to head of RT and <i>dusun</i> head, or through regular RT meetings
Most common complaints	Development	Aid, development	Development	Development	Development, aid	Development	Development	Development	Development	Aid
Perspectives of marginalized residents	Received the benefits of development programs	Think that it is not their business, realize that <i>Pemdes</i> is having difficulty accommodating the needs of less-populated RT	Received the benefits of development programs but lacks transparency	Accepted any development programs executed by the village	Received the benefits of development programs	Received the benefit of development programs	Received the benefit of development programs	Received the benefit of development programs	Received the benefit of development programs	Received the benefit of development programs

Source: Obtained from FGDs and interviews with marginalized residents.

Notes: Tiang Berajo (TBJ); Kelok Sungai Besar (KSB); Jembatan Rajo (JRJ); Sungai Seberang (SSB); Deling (DLG); Karya Mukti (KRM); Kalikromo (KKR); Beral (BRL); Ndona (NDN); and Lekosoro (LKS).

The village administration and its representatives usually only convey planning and budgetary information when they are requested to do so, or when it is informally discussed during religious forums, community meetings at the RT/*dusun* level, or casual gatherings in coffee shops. Although the results of the planning are publically released, this is only carried out once the RPJMDes, the RKPDes, and the APBDes are in their final stages, giving the community no opportunity to conduct public testing or to make amendments. Amendments only occur if there is an intervention from supra-village actors, such as the addition of village revenue sourced from DD, as was the case in Kabupaten Batanghari, Wonogiri, and Ngada, or Aspiration Fund aid, as occurred in Kabupaten Banyumas.

"A change to the APBDes was made this year because of a change in the *kabupaten's* budgetary calculations. The change was implemented through a meeting of the village officials. Residents were not involved in the meeting. The BPD did not propose any changes, because they agreed with everything. Also, they are not really active." (Interview, man, 44 y.o., Head of Finance Division, Kabupaten Wonogiri, October 17, 2015.)

In such situations, village administration representatives who were involved in the formulation process could only state that decisions had been made based on village agreement, and asked that those who had different opinions be patient and express their opinions in the next *Musrenbangdes*. In most study locations (Table 39), the village administration admitted that it often conveyed development decisions when projects were about to be executed, in order to avoid any demands from the community that would arise if the projects were announced before the budgeting process. However, in Jembatan Rajo Village criticism emerged from the *dusun* heads who were also members of the village administration regarding the process of planning proposals, the decisions of which were only known by the village head and several heads of divisions. Normally *dusun* heads and their residents do not know whether proposals will be funded or not, or the execution schedule.

"Usually the village head conveys [this information] in social forums such as ceremonies, funeral services, and community meetings at the RT, RW, and *dusun* levels. In RT forums, they receive many responses but, if there are any proposals, they will be collected to be considered in the planning for next year." (Interview, man, 53 y.o., *dusun* head, Kabupaten Banyumas, November 18, 2015.)

Although accountability to the community appeared to be low in the planning and budgeting phases, this did not cause conflict in the villages. In reality, village administrations were still willing to listen to residents' complaints outside the existing formal mechanisms outlined in the operation of village administration (Table 40). Most FGD participants in all villages also agreed that they were able to convey their complaints or requests personally and directly to the head of the RT, the *dusun* head, and the village head, or through societal and religious forums. In addition, from the perspective of marginalized groups, most residents admitted that they still felt the benefits of development programs conducted by the village administration, although they were not the ones proposing these programs directly. However, several marginalized residents in Kelok Sungai Besar Village still faced difficulties in being prioritized for development projects, because they were outnumbered by other groups, while villagers in Jembatan Rajo felt that their village administration was not transparent enough regarding development and aid in the village. When comparing the road condition in her *dusun* before and after the construction, an interviewee stated:

"... is extremely beneficial because, prior to the construction of the concrete road, there were only dirt roads (*makadam*) that become full of potholes during the rainy season. Everyone feels the benefits, because it is so much easier and more comfortable to get around." (Interview, woman, 49 y.o., marginalized group, Kabupaten Wonogiri, October 11, 2015.)

Execution phase: The village administration in each location reports its actual APBDes expenditure to the *kabupaten* at the end of every semester. In Kabupaten Wonogiri and Kabupaten Banyumas, *Pemdes* submitted this report to the *kecamatan* administration to be consolidated. The expenditure report must include lawful evidence, including a Letter of Accountability (*Surat Pertanggungjawaban/SPJ*) for the expenditure of DD, based on the disbursement specifications for each term. These specifications are: (i) expenditure of 40 percent of the village budget during the first term; (ii) expenditure of 40 percent of the village budget during the second term; and (iii) expenditure of 20 percent of the village budget during the third term. For physical development, the Letter of Accountability is accompanied with photographic evidence of the execution phase, taken before construction and then when 40 percent complete, 80 percent complete and fully complete. The Letter of Accountability is then assessed by the *kabupaten* administration by examining the compatibility between the original plan and actual realization of village finances. Assessment at the *kabupaten* level involves several institutions, usually including BPMPD/*Bapermas*, the finance and legal divisions of *Setda*, and the inspectorate. There are three variations in assessments conducted by the inspectorate: (i) those carried out every semester, for example in Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Ngada; (ii) those carried out at the end of every year, for example in Kabupaten Wonogiri and Kabupaten Banyumas; and (iii) those carried out at every term of DD distribution, for example in Kabupaten Merangin.

In Kabupaten Merangin and Kabupaten Banyumas there was no mechanism in place for the village administration to report the results of development initiatives, either to the BPD or to the community. Meanwhile, in Kabupaten Wonogiri and Kabupaten Batanghari, the village administrations' Accountability Reports (LPJ) were only submitted in writing to the BPD. Despite this, in Tiang Berajo Village (Kabupaten Batanghari), according to statements from the head of the BPD, the head of the village delivered a Report on the Establishment of Village Accountability (LKPJ) to the community every year at the end of Friday prayers. However, this statement was not confirmed by other informants in the community. A different situation was found in Kabupaten Ngada, where citizens from the two study villages were involved in LKPJ forums with the village heads. During these forums, the village heads reported on their responsibilities in carrying out development projects from the previous financial year.

The village administrations deliver reports on the outcomes of development initiatives to the community in forums held at the end of each financial year or the end of the village administration's term, at which point an accountability report is read out for that period. In these forums, the village head reports on various activities conducted by the village government, including activities from the APBDes that have already been completed and development initiatives carried out by supra-village institutions. In Kalikromo Village in Kabupaten Wonogiri, however, a different practice was followed whereby the accountability report was drafted but not publically released, while in Beral Village the execution of all development initiatives were reported on the village information board.



Figure 17. LPJ forum in Lekosoro Village

**Box 12.
Operation of LPJ by the BPD in Ndonga Village**

Kabupaten Ngada requires all villages to compose an Accountability Report (LPJ) at the end of each year and at the end of each village head's term. The composition of this report is usually conducted over one day, from the middle of December up to the end of March, by BPD through the LPJ forum. The village head sends his/her report to the BPD and then the BPD is given 14 days to read it before a meeting is held. The BPD invites all residents to listen to the village head's report on the execution of development in the village. This forum is also attended by *kecamatan* representatives.

In this forum, the BPD provides critical input on the LPJ report. The harmonious relationship between the village head and the BPD can be observed in this forum. The head of Ndonga Village stated, "The LPJ can be corrected (responded to) but cannot be rejected by the BPD, because the LPJ has been sent to the Inspectorate, so there shouldn't be any problems. In 2015, the BPD's corrections were that the PADes was still low because many contribution fees were in arrears, and that the village head was not actively involved with his residents. Residents who attend the meeting can only listen but they cannot express their opinions."

Monitoring and maintenance phases: There are no implementation mechanisms for the principle of accountability, either in the case of *Pemdes* reporting to higher structural institutions or in the case of *Pemdes* reporting to the community. This situation reflects the decreasing levels of involvement of the village administration and the community in both phases of accountability. The evaluation of development outcomes, which had previously been encouraged by PNPM, was not continued after the end of PNPM. This situation highlights the weak role of the BPD as an institution to monitor village administration activities, except in villages in Kabupaten Ngada. In Ndonga Village (Box 12) the head of the BPD, who happened to be a woman, sent a letter to the *bupati* due to the poor response she had received from a contractor hired by SKPD to construct a road in her village. When she was monitoring the work, she felt undermined by the contractor, due to a response she had received stating that "women do not know the difference between cement and sand".

5.6 Accountability in Community Governance

Communities also do not meet the implementation standards for the principle of accountability. Generally, community groups rely more heavily on the value of mutual trust, which is limited only to members from within the organization/group. However, in societal organizations that are established and maintained through financial aid from the village administration, such as the PKK, *Karang Taruna*, and LPM, a mechanism is in place to report their activities to the village treasury through compiling an Accountability Report. However, this practice was not carried out in all villages. For example, the farmers' group in Kalikromo Village (Kabupaten Wonogiri) and the *Gapoktan* (*Gabungan Kelompok Tani*/Association of Farmer Groups) in Tiang Berajo Village (Kabupaten Batanghari) were accused of corruption when financial aid from the *kabupaten* could not be accounted for.

"The remaining funding for *Gapoktan* of Rp 60 million has been redirected by the head of the group, it has already been distributed. The account is under his name, so he has the right to withdraw it. Consultative meetings? We fight each other, instead." (Interview, man, member of farmers' group, Kabupaten Batanghari, October 23, 2015.)

5.7 Village Administration Responsiveness

The principle of responsiveness is vital to the concept of village governance to fulfill the needs of local residents, including managing unexpected, urgent or irregular events. Responsiveness is reflected in the formal mechanisms of operating the village administration, by accommodating the needs of the community through a series of unrestricted consultative meetings to discuss planning at the RT, *dusun*, or village levels. The various needs of the community are reflected in the establishment of a priority list of approved proposals, regarding both physical and non-physical activities. A different situation, however, was found in Sungai Seberang Village, where numerous informants admitted having difficulties in amending development plans that had already been conceptualized by the village administration, even though these plans were still being discussed in consultative meetings (Box 13).

Some unexpected events require the management of resources beyond the normal planning, and village administrations need to be flexible in determining how to respond. Different forms of village administration responsiveness are seen in various situations, ranging from naturally occurring phenomena, the management of natural resources, to societal issues. One example of village administration responsiveness to natural occurrences was seen in Ndonga Village, where the *Pemdes* purchased a water tank for the *dusun* that had experienced a serious drought. Regarding natural resource management, in both Jembatan Rajo and Sungai Seberang Villages the village heads were relatively responsive in formulating village regulations to demarcate the river borders of the Lubuk Larangan river so that fish or other nature material from the river could not be indiscriminately exploited.

Village administration responsiveness is highly dependent on the quality of leadership of the village head. A good example of responsiveness was displayed by the head of Kalikromo Village looked for scholarships for poor children in his area and established special work teams based on specific community needs, such as a team to search for missing livestock and a disaster-response team. The village head was also instrumental in searching for a missing child through a network of drivers and former villagers who had moved to Jakarta, provided consultations to an engaged couple after one of them cancelled their wedding, and helped provide free medication for residents who did not have ID

cards. Meanwhile, in Karya Mukti Village, the village administration purchased a pickup truck and a van to service the community's various needs.

Box 13.
Top-down conceptualization of village planning

The *Musrenbangdes* in Sungai Seberang Village, Kabupaten Merangin, was conducted without being preceded by a *Musdus*, but all villagers were invited (about 200 heads of household). However, despite the widespread distribution of invitations only 30 people attended the *Musrenbangdes*, including village administration officials and BPD members. According to the local head of the General Division, the villagers were reluctant to attend because they preferred to mine gold to make a living rather than participate in village development. He admitted that proposals for development initiatives had been drafted by the village administration beforehand to be discussed in the consultative meeting.

"The community doesn't really know, (so) we are the ones who think about it. Over there we need a concrete road, and another one over there. We work out what is needed, allocate the budget, and give them the money. The community don't think about it, or (even) suggest anything, they just want enough to eat." (Interview, man, 36 y.o., Kabupaten Merangin, November 17, 2015.)

This situation is also reflected in a statement made by a public figure from the teachers' association. In his opinion, the community avoided attending *Musrenbangdes* because people thought they never resulted in anything meaningful (the proposals were always the same) and the village administration failed to take account of the community's proposals if these were contrary to plans already designed by the village administration.

"Most residents will just agree to it. We should be told earlier how much funding there is, what our requests are, and our needs. [But what happens is] the village head has already drafted [proposals for the activities] beforehand, and then they ask for the community's opinions. In the consultative meeting, [it seems like] the decision has already been made. If an opinion is different to that of the village head, it will not be accepted. If there is any debate about the issue, it happens secretly. So it's useless. In front of the forum we agree, but we actually disagree." (Interview, men, teacher, Kabupaten Merangin, November 20, 2015.)

5.8 Community Responsiveness

Groups or individuals at the community level can also play a role in responding to urgent incidents, especially societal issues. There are various types of responsiveness, both systematic and sporadic. Practices of systematic responsiveness in the community were demonstrated by *Karang Taruna* in Kalikromo and Beral Villages. The *Karang Taruna* was responsive in helping the community during ceremonies and funeral services (Box 14). In villages where *adat* and religious values are still maintained, such as in Jambi and NTT, societal issues such as domestic violence, theft, marriage, births, and deaths are often managed according to *adat* and religious values, rather than at the village level.

Box 14.
***Sinoman* assistance during community ceremonies**

Residents of Kalikromo and Beral Villages in Kabupaten Wonogiri are accustomed to helping each other in social matters, including the youth. In both villages, the youth organization is not only active in developing skills in sport and art, but also in providing free services to the community in the form of assistance for those who are about to hold a ceremony. They are known as *sinoman* and are willing to work as waiting staff and wash dishes at wedding ceremonies, or to help the community during funerals, providing services ranging from cleaning the deceased person's house to digging the grave.

Other common forms of community responsiveness include helping neighbors to build houses, hold celebrations, provide support during times of grieving and loss, and assist those who are affected by disaster. However, in almost all villages people felt that the community's willingness to be involved in communal work in building public infrastructure was in decline, as residents were under increasing pressure to work in order to fulfill their daily needs and make ends meet. Residents in one village also demanded higher wages when construction was funded by the village budget. The residents were more willing to be involved in communal work if the construction was being funded by the community itself, as occurred in RT 15 (Box 15).

"In our region, the culture of gotong royong is almost non-existent, really difficult... in all areas of development. Simply building a road in the public interest is hard. And then there's the livestock farmers, if the animals are not watched they can disappear, but the watch schedule is hard to enforce. Some people show up and some don't" (Interview, member of farming group, Kabupaten Batanghari, 23 October 2015)

Box 15. **Voluntary contributions from marginalized groups for road rehabilitation**

In Kelok Sungai Besar Village, there is one RT, RT 15, which is located far from the center of the village administration. To reach RT 15, one has to pass through a road owned by a plantation company and part of a new neighboring village, which originated from transmigration dwellings. The RT, which is populated by around 20 households, has a badly damaged soil road that is the only means of access. There is also no electricity in this RT. Proposals to address these issues were given to the village administration many times but were never prioritized.

The village head was aware of the situation, but said that the limited budget and remote location made it hard to improve the road. "We have planned several *Musrenbangdes* since Bapak Tar held the *Kades* position. You can look at the village planning documents, it's all in there. The problem is the lack of money, and no institution will allow it. Another problem lies in the plantation company's road. Hopefully, with the Village Law we will have more than Rp 1 billion and this RT can receive some of it." (Interview, man, 37, village head, Kabupaten Batanghari, October 17, 2015.)

In order to raise funds, residents of RT 15 agreed to collect Rp 10/kg of palm oil per head of household for road maintenance (this contribution fee was raised to Rp 20/kg in 2015). In 2014, the funds were used for road repairs that cost Rp 26 million, the most costly expenditure item being the renting of a bulldozer and an excavator. "This RT is not a priority so we had to do everything ourselves. The excavator rent is Rp 500,000/hour, multiplied by 40 hours. How much is that? Plus the bulldozer at Rp 1 million/hour." (Head of RT 15 of Kelok Sungai Besar Village, 17 October 2015). Although the community has already attempted to repair the road, the current condition of the road was still poor quality.

5.9 Several Factors Influencing Village Governance

In general, the village head, previous PNPM experience, the presence of former PNPM facilitators, support from supra-village administrations and the level of community participation are all seen to influence the practice of village governance. In addition, external factors from outside the village, such as the presence of guidelines and encouragement, or examples of good implementation from the *kabupaten* administration, are also influential.

Influence of the Village Head. The village head is considered crucial in the practice of governance, with residents in all villages stating that the village administration was the most well-acquainted and significant institution in their lives. As discussed in Chapter 4, the closeness of an institution or actor to a community can be assessed by the community's ease of access to the institution or actor, and also their responsiveness to the community's issues and needs. Meanwhile, the importance of

institutions and actors is assessed by their role in resolving the community's issues. Village administrations, together with *dusun* heads, were considered by communities to be the most important and well-acquainted institutions.

The village head, as the leader of the village administration, is usually the most significant and well-acquainted person in the community. However, in some villages the community did not consider the village head to be approachable, available or responsive to the community's issues and needs. Based on the assessment of field observers, 10 out of 22 village heads observed received a good score. The only village head with a very high score for all three assessment variables (Table 41) was in Lekosoro Village in Kabupaten Ngada. The village head with the lowest score was from Jambi.

Table 41. Field observer assessment of the quality of village heads

Village	Assessment of field observer based on variable			
	Participation	Transparency	Accountability	Responsiveness
Ndona	Good	Good	Good	Good
Lekosoro	Very good	Very good	Very good	Good
Kalikromo	Less good	Good	Less good	Good
Beral	Good	Good	Good	Very good
Deling	Very good	Good	Good	Good
Karya Mukti	Good	Good	Good	Very good
Tiang Berajo	Less good	Less good	Good	Less good
Kelok Sungai Besar	Very good	Good	Good	Good
Jembatan Rajo	Good	Less good	Less good	Less good
Sungai Seberang	Good	Good	Good	Less good

Source: Subjective assessment by field observer based on good governance variables.

Village head performance is not always related to the dynamics of the village head elections. Village head elections in the two villages in Kabupaten Ngada, where elections are not so competitive, resulted in the appointment of high quality village heads in terms of governance. Meanwhile, in villages where village head elections were highly competitive, the quality of the village heads was also generally good, although some elected village head were also mediocre. Village election processes that are dynamic and highly competitive can also lead to conflict and this can lead to communities becoming divided, affecting the performance of the village head.

Current mechanisms for conducting village head elections are not capable of revealing potential leaders with the abilities and commitment to achieving village development. The case of a village head in Kabupaten Ngada is interesting. The election process was not competitive, but resulted in the election of an effective village head. The political situation in Ngada was also influenced by the important role of religion and *adat*, and a practice whereby certain clans and kinship groups have been hereditary leaders of the village. This is accepted as the traditional (*adat*) way of social life. Residents from prominent clans have access to more economic, human, and social capital than other clans, which means that they make more effective leaders. In several villages in Jambi, many citizens also held the view that becoming village head was not only a governmental task, but also a cultural, *adat*, and even religious duty. Education and experience of the village head are also considered important. For example, the village head of Lekosoro had previously studied and worked in Jakarta, shaping his leadership style and giving him more prestige within the community.

In other regions, the process of village head elections seems to be more secular and less influenced by religious or *adat* factors. In Kabupaten Banyumas, village head elections are a part of the gambling culture. Although betting on the election outcome does not seem to influence the performance of the village administration, support for a certain candidate by powerful bookmakers can have an impact of the outcome. Such cases should be examined further in the advanced study later in 2017.

PNPM Experience and the Presence of Former PNPM Facilitators. Except Jembatan Rajo Village, which received PNPM-PISEW, all study villages were previous recipients of PNPM Mandiri Perdesaan. The villages were encouraged to adopt the practices of participatory and transparent governance, particularly in the planning process of participatory development and budgeting, and the formulation of village development planning documents (the RPJMDes and the RKPDes). This process was introduced and managed by PNPM facilitators before the program closed in 2014, who were viewed as being instrumental in winning the competition for PNPM funding. The practices of governance introduced by PNPM contributed to the quality of village head leadership during the PNPM era. In all villages, almost all of the current village heads had experience of PNPM. However, not all villages followed PNPM practices of governance after the introduction of the Village Law. Out of 10 villages, only the two villages in Kabupaten Ngada still used post-PNPM programs. These programs were a commitment of the *kabupaten* government, which had developed a PNPM replication program funded from the APBD, called the *Pelangi Desa* program. After the conclusion of PNPM, the *Pelangi Desa* program continued to support villages in executing development projects. However, the quality of governance in the two villages was not the same. As highlighted above, previous PNPM experience was not the only influencing factor. Other factors included the leadership style of the village head, the age of the village head, and professionalism of village official elections (emphasizing closeness with the village), etc.

The institutionalization of the PNPM legacy into the administrations of some *kabupaten* is positive. The continuation of PNPM in the forms of the *Pelangi Desa* program in Kabupaten Ngada seems to have resulted from a commitment made by a past *bupati*. The role of *Pelangi Desa* under the Village Law will be explored further in the advanced study later in 2017.

At the village level, the limited adoption of PNPM principles, particularly during the first year of Village Law implementation, is largely explained by village administrations being too busy following the technical requirements for the distribution of DD, and ignoring more strategic ideas, including the institutionalization of PNPM values and practices. Given that village administrations largely follow instructions contained within regulations, they are highly dependent on the quality of those regulations regarding the implementation of development planning in the village. Permendes No. 2/2015 regulates all the details of development planning. However, in terms of *Musrenbang* implementation, it seems that Permendagri No. 66/2007 is more suitable and easier to follow, because it describes the tasks to be carried out at each phase, replicating the PNPM planning model.

Moreover, the lack of assistance also reduces the quality of planning and budgeting. In the study villages, recruitment of village associates was taking place up until the end of the baseline study. In addition to village associates who are mobilized by the central government, with the exception of the two villages in Kabupaten Merangin that did not use any former PNPM activists, almost all villages had cadres who had PNPM experience in implementing governance at the village level. As discussed in Chapter 4, except for the two villages in Kabupaten Merangin, most former PNPM activists were employed in a variety of village administration posts. Interviews with these cadres suggest that political dynamics in the two villages in Kabupaten Merangin motivated the village heads to select only people who they were well-acquainted with village administration officials. In one of the villages, the number of village officials was far higher than the average number of village officials across all study villages. This situation appears to be the result of agreements on the sharing

of village posts made during the *Pilkades*. As discussed in Chapter 4, the election of village officials in these two villages was greatly influenced by their proximity to the village head.

Support from Supra-village Administrations. Motivation and support from provincial and *kabupaten* governments appear to contribute significantly towards good governance at the village level. To understand why this is the case it is necessary to understand how *kabupaten* connect with villages in the context of Village Law implementation.

If the five research *kabupaten* are categorized based on the motivation and support they gave to village administrations, Kabupaten Ngada and Kabupaten Batanghari come out highest, followed by Kabupaten Banyumas and Kabupaten Wonogiri, with Kabupaten Merangin last. Kabupaten Ngada and Kabupaten Batanghari were seen to provide quality support in that they both not only provided sufficient guidelines to implement the Village Law and village governance but also established supporting institutions, for example village assistance teams to help in implementing the Village Law. However, Kabupaten Ngada was found to be the best, not only in establishing assistance teams but also in running the *Pelangi Desa* program, which assisted in facilitating the process of village planning and budgeting. Although the process of implementing the Village Law in each region tended to be hasty and oriented towards the fulfillment of the administrative requirements of budget governance, the presence of assistance teams in both these *kabupaten* encouraged villages to focus not only on technical matters to fulfill the administrative requirements, but also on the quality of village development.

Kabupaten Banyumas also provided effective support in implementing the Village Law, through establishing a similar institution to those in Kabupaten Batanghari and Kabupaten Ngada, called the Village Law Implementation Facilitation Team. However, a counterproductive policy was also introduced undermining village independence through a program called Financial Assistance for Specific Purposes for Villages (*Bantuan Keuangan Khusus untuk Desa/BKKDes*). This policy was implemented by the government in Kabupaten Banyumas in order to allocate APBD funds to members of the district parliament (DPRD) who worked in the field of village administration (village capacity). Through this policy, the *kabupaten* government remained responsible for development initiatives and these continued to be carried out by the regional government through a third party. The policy faced criticism for being a form of aspiration fund for DPRD members. Some parties argued that if the *kabupaten* administration was seriously committed to village sovereignty, then the funds should be included in ADD, which the village administration has full authority over.

Meanwhile, in Kabupaten Wonogiri, not only was there a lack of policy initiatives to ease the burden on the village administration in learning to manage its budget and development, but there was also a conflict between institutions managing village issues at the *kabupaten* level. The conflict was between the *Pemdes* and the village secretariat (*sekretariat desa/Setdes*) because they failed to coordinate with the Community Empowerment Board (*Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat/Bapermas*), which manages community empowerment. In addition, some practices undertaken by the regional government were considered by several village heads to be too rigid, for example formulating the RAB and accountability reports. These practices were not based on any specific policy, but instead came from dubious past bureaucratic practices that tended to deliberately complicate procedures.

Finally, Kabupaten Merangin lacked any innovations to ease the burden on village administrations implementing the Village Law. This *kabupaten* had little interest in village affairs and had little involvement with community members in development planning and other consultative meetings. As a result, village administrations worked largely on their own. The *kabupaten* government also tended to abuse its power. While such a situation does not necessarily lead to corruption, it generally results in the limited practice of good governance (see Sections 5.3. and 5.5.). As a Malay

proverb says, "*Bila guru kencing berdiri maka murid kencing berlari*" (monkey see, monkey do), whereby villages in this *kabupaten* did not perform well in terms of governance due to the lack of any role model to demonstrate the value and importance of good governance.

The categorization of *kabupaten* is useful in providing a qualitative assessment. However, this illustration at the *kabupaten* level cannot be directly transferred to the village level. For instance, although the two villages in Kabupaten Merangin performed far lower in terms of good governance than villages from other *kabupaten*, villages from some *kabupaten*, such as Kabupaten Batanghari, while performing somewhat better also displayed poor governance characteristics. One of the study villages in Kabupaten Batanghari, Tiang Berajo Village, was not that different from the two villages in Kabupaten Merangin, suggesting that there were specific factors at the village level that shaped such differences in governance quality.

The four villages in Central Java performed best in terms of governance. In addition to the factors above, villages in Central Java were beneficiaries of a program from the provincial government to provide financial aid to villages prior to implementation of the Village Law, which was managed in accordance with mechanisms specified in the Village Law. Central Java was the only research province to use such an innovation. The purpose of this program was to train members of village administrations to prepare for Village Law implementation so that they already had some experience with it. However, the implementation of this program experienced problems due to a lack of assistance.

Community Involvement. There was no strong evidence of community willingness to be involved in governance in the study locations. In general, community members believed that village administration should be conducted by the village government or elites and other public figures. Their concerns were limited to administrative and public services as recipients of those services. This meant that among groups of women that were targeted for empowerment by PNPM but were still marginalized, along with other marginalized groups, there was a strong belief that they had no role or responsibility in ensuring that governance performing well in their village. Cases where residents took an interest in village governance were rare.

As mentioned earlier, while community participation was relatively high, it was often only visible in activities or meetings held at levels lower than village, namely *dusun*, RW, or RT. This was not simply a question of access, but also because this is traditionally where communities gather and interact. Hence, *Musrenbangdes* activities that started from the *dusun* or even RT levels were attended by numerous residents, but when meetings were held at the village level the community's participation decreased. Moreover, communities traditionally hold regular meetings for various social and cultural activities, and therefore many members attend such activities if they are collaborating in formal village activities. This was the case in the villages in Central Java, where formal activities were incorporated into communities' regular meetings.

In addition to the perception that village governance was the responsibility of village elites, the inadequate levels of community participation in matters of governance were also caused by communities being preoccupied with their own activities. This situation was exacerbated by the limited effort by village administrations to adapt their agendas to fit in with their communities' daily life. Although it was difficult to achieve community participation during busy periods, two study villages had extremely low participation all year around, one in Kabupaten Merangin and one in Kabupaten Ngada. Residents in this village in Kabupaten Merangin were heavily involved gold mining, which was also attractive because the price of their main commodities, such as rubber and oil palm, had fallen. In the village in Kabupaten Ngada residents were busy harvesting cloves, the price of which has risen over the previous two years. The lack of other sources of livelihood

prompted residents to make the most of this opportunity, making it hard to encourage residents to attend, even only for a meeting.

The BPD were generally viewed as being part of the community and not as an institution with a governmental function. This perception came from the fact that in most villages had BPD that were inactive. Kabupaten Ngada was the only study location where village BPD were active and contributed towards good governance. In the two villages in Kabupaten Ngada, for example, the BPD had significant authority and were able to influence their village administrations' performance. Every year, the BPD held a special event to review the results of development initiatives and discuss their village heads' accountability report. The presence of an active BPD, both as individuals and institutionally, was highly influential in maintaining good governance in these two villages.

VI. CONCLUSION

6.1 Conclusion

In addressing this study's research questions, the previous chapters can be summarized as follows:

1. Over the past five years, in general, the conditions of the five main assets of regional community development have varied. The condition of human and social assets is considered to be good, while economic, physical infrastructure and natural assets in Java are better compared to the regions outside of Java.
 - a. The condition of human assets increased in terms of education and health. Improvements in education are indicated by the increasing number of citizens who have graduated from senior high school or tertiary education. Good health is indicated by the absence of epidemic diseases.
 - b. The condition of the community's social assets is said to be good, indicated by the continuance of communal values in the form of mutual attentiveness, mutual care and supervision. These communal values are possible thanks to traditional activities such as *hajatan*, *tegak rumah*, and funeral ceremonies. In the majority of the villages the influence of religion and traditional beliefs (adat) are still strong. However, in government infrastructure projects, community spirit in the province of Jambi has started to decline as the people are increasingly profit-oriented.
 - c. The condition of economic assets of the regional communities included in the study varied. Rural communities in the province of Jambi were dependent on the commodities of rubber and palm oil, and in Kabupaten Ngada on cloves and corn. Their welfare fluctuated in line with the increase and decrease of commodity prices. In the provinces in Central Java there is a larger variation of crops, such as rice, cassava, pepper, and tobacco. Communities' economic activities are usually supported by financial institutions, which occur both formally and informally based on social relations.
 - d. The conditions of physical infrastructure in the study locations in the provinces in Central Java were better than in other locations. In the villages in Jambi and NTT many of the roads were damaged, the bridges simple and electrical access limited. In terms of access to information technology, only one village in Kabupaten Merangin did not have access to a telecommunications signal.
 - e. The condition of natural assets in rural locations in Jambi and NTT are often disturbed, both by natural disasters and community interference. Natural disasters often cause damage to infrastructural assets. On top of that, although there are conservation efforts, natural resources are beginning to be destroyed. The worst damaged occurred in Kabupaten Merangin as a result of illegal gold mining. Clean water is not readily available and limited in many locations
2. In general, the practices of good governance are already in place, but with varying levels of success between different villages and phases.
 - a. Participation in the process of *Musrenbang* to formulate the RPJMDes is very high, due to several meetings that are conducted at the RT level to explore ideas on development. Generally, this formulation process was also conducted while PNPM was still active, so it is often now facilitated by former PNPM facilitators. The formulation of the RKPDes

usually only involves community representatives at the village level who are dominated by elite groups.

- b. No specific efforts are made by village administrators to include members of poor households and marginalized groups in village planning. Participation forums, which exist culturally and are passed down, such as *tablu* in Central Java, are also open to the general public, without any affirmative efforts to include poor households and marginalized groups.
 - c. Participation in development is high, particularly when it is self-managed and directly beneficial. However, in terms of workforce allocations there is no attempt to prioritize the hiring of community members from poor households and marginalized groups.
 - d. Transparency is more reactive, rather than proactive, in nature. This means that village administrations do not take the initiative in providing information to their communities if the communities do not ask for it. Policies/projects are announced just before their commencement dates. Both the community and officials consider information about the government, except regarding HOK, to be unnecessary, especially when the projects are self-managed. However, when projects are managed by a third party, communities often demand transparency.
 - e. The accountability of government operations is generally upwards, in the form of reporting to the *kabupaten* government. Meanwhile, downward accountability, defined as the process of reporting and disseminating information on the results of development execution, is not commonly conducted by village administrations. Reporting of expenditure is conducted by *Pemdes* for their *kabupaten* and national governments only, as an obligation to fulfill the reporting requirements. Accountability to the community was considered unimportant in a context where community members are unaccustomed to demanding it.
 - f. The responsiveness of village administrations is generally good, particularly in response to urgent community needs. In general, strategic needs that are expressed in *Musrenbang* are accommodated. However, the priority of execution often does not taken into account community needs. This responsiveness of the village administration is also highly influenced by the characteristics of the village head.
 - g. There are early indications that regions with mediocre governance traits have a higher potential for illegal practices, such as corruption, collusion, and abuse of power.
 - h. Various key factors influence the application of rural governance: (a) influence of the village head; (b) PNPM experience and the involvement of its facilitators; (c) support of supra-village government; and (d) community participation. These factors ultimately influence how rural areas drive the wheels of government, provide services, and manage their welfare assets.
3. In general, governance performed by village administrations does not fully correlate with the fulfillment of community needs.
 - a. The desires of communities are often accommodated in the RPJMDes. However, the yearly determination of execution priorities does not always follow the communities' needs. This is due to the tendency to distribute development projects equally to all *dusun*, by taking into account the highest number of beneficiaries of the development. As a result, a small number of beneficiaries is neglected.
 - b. There have not yet been any special efforts to include marginalized groups, especially poor, elderly or disabled citizens, in the process of regional development.

- c. Implementation of the Village Law in the first year seemed to be unorganized in terms of regulation and operationalization. This also obstructed the fulfillment of communities' needs to be accommodated by village funding.
4. The role of local institutions other than the village administration is not yet optimal in terms of village governance.
 - a. The role of the BPD in village administration is still limited. No internal activities are conducted by the BPD and BPD members only attended meetings held by the village administration.
 - b. Community institutions in the villages do not yet significantly influence the enhancement of regional governance. To date their role has been limited to carrying out routine activities, which have already been planned from above, or organizing celebratory events for important dates. Only in Banyumas was there a *Karang Taruna* which held activities to advance creative economies and manage waste.
 - c. Ex-PNPM activists who are involved in regional government have used their experience in PNPM to influence the process of regional governance. They usually participate as members of TPK, KPMD, honorary staff of the regional government, etc. However, their role is not yet optimal due to the influence of political dynamics in some villages.

6.2 Recommendations

1. Socialization of the Village Law must be distributed more equally across the community, the BPD, and other institutions in the village. At present, the community and most public figures in the community are unaware of any changes to the mechanisms of development following the enactment of the Village Law. Particularly for village officials, more technical training is required on the various mechanisms of implementing the technical provisions of the Village Law.
2. A central government regulation is required to encourage regional governments to provide more intensive assistance for village administrations. This assistance must also be accompanied by instructions on how to formulate a budget and training activities in the APBD.
3. The role of village associates in implementing the Village Law must be more specifically directed towards encouraging the village administrations and communities. This can be achieved by paying more attention to issues of community empowerment, particularly the participation of poor and marginalized community groups, in the process of village planning.
4. To increase the accountability and transparency of regional governments to the community, they need to create mechanisms for accountability and an effective and simple model for disseminating information, which is sensitive to local customs. In achieving this, *pemdes* needs to make use of community forums at the RT/RW/dusun level, which are regularly attended by many citizens.

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Regulations

Law No. 6/2014 on Villages

PP No. 22/2015 on the Amendment to PP No. 60 on Village Fund Sourced from National Budget

PP No. 43/2014 on the Regulation for Village Law Implementation

PP No. 47/2015 on the Amendment to PP No. 43/2014 on the Regulation for Village Law Implementation

PP No. 60/2014 on Village Fund Sourced from National Budget

Permendagri No. 112/2014 on Village Head Elections

Permendagri No. 113/2014 on Management of Village Funds

Permendagri No. 114/2014 on Guidelines for Village Development

Permendes PDDT No. 1/2015 on Village Authority

Permendes PDDT No. 2/2015 on Guidelines of a Code of Conduct and Mechanism of Decision-Making in Village Consultative Meetings

Permendes PDDT No. 5/2015 on Determination of Priorities in Village Fund Expenditure in 2015

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