

## ELITICAL PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

<sup>1</sup>Vina Dini Pravita, <sup>2</sup>Supardal

<sup>1</sup>Ambarrukmo Tourism College (STIPRAM) Yogyakarta

<sup>2</sup>Master of Government Science, Village Community Development College 'APMD'  
Yogyakarta

Email: vinadinipravita@stipram.ac.id, gusdal66@gmail.com

### Abstract

*Citizen participation in development planning is a necessity in accordance with Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages, in fact not all villages apply the principle of participation in preparing development planning. Starting from this problem, the author intends to examine how the participatory village development planning process takes place and involves the community of Wirokerten Village. Because until now community participation is still considered not very important in the agreement to express opinions and influence village development policy plans. Community presence is also still seen as formalistic participation limited to approving policies designed by the village government. Many community members have not received information about village development planning. This research uses a qualitative research method using a type of descriptive research that attempts to describe the empirical facts of various phenomena that exist in the Wirokerten District, through a process of observation and interviews with all stakeholders. These results indicate that the level of participation of Wirokerten residents in the planning process has not been optimal. This shows that even though residents attended the forum, they did not express many aspirations and ideas. Residents also do not have access to and carry out supervision in village development planning*

**Keywords:** *Community Participation, Village Development Planning, Village Deliberation.*

### Introduction

According to the new Village Law, village development planning must be carried out in a participatory manner and involve all community members. Because the involvement of all village residents, including vulnerable groups, is an important key in village development planning. This participatory model aims for village communities to participate in efforts to improve the welfare of village communities and the quality of human life as well as overcoming poverty through fulfilling basic needs, developing village facilities and infrastructure, developing local economic potential, and utilizing natural resources and the environment sustainably.

Village development, according to the new village law, according to Sutoro Eko et al (2017), the village forms an inclusive village. The indicators for an inclusive village are: first, re-knitting village traditions. Second, strengthening village autonomy and independence. Third, create strong and resilient villages socially, economically, and ecologically. Fourth, foster the spirit, values, institutions, and system of village democracy based on people's sovereignty. Fifth, make the village progress or bring about

<b>How to cite:</b>	Vina Dini Pravita, Supardal (2024) Elitical Participation in Planning Village Development, (5) 1
<b>E-ISSN:</b>	<a href="#">2722-5356</a>
<b>Published by:</b>	<a href="#">Ridwan Institute</a>

change and progress in the village with a "building village" and "village building" approach. These five meanings provide insight into the mission of the Village Law: developed, strong, independent, and democratic villages.

Maximizing participation makes the community feel that it is useful for them to take responsibility for developing the village so that this benefit can be an opportunity to accelerate village development. So, the acceleration of village development can realize its goals if there is cooperation built between the community and the community and the community and the village government, so that village communities are no longer objects, but subjects of development.

In the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 114 of 2014 concerning Village Development Guidelines, it is stated that the village head has the authority to involve the community in carrying out the preparation of village development policies to obtain community ideas regarding the actual situation in the village. Elements of society who have the right to be involved in formulating village development policies consist of traditional leaders, religious leaders, community leaders, educational leaders, representatives of farmer groups, representatives of fishermen groups, representatives of craftsmen groups, representatives of women's groups, representatives of child care and protection groups, and representatives poor community groups. Deliberation is a discussion of a particular problem by prioritizing an exchange of opinions and arguments carried out involving all elements of society (Ministry of Village, 2015).

The dominance of the village head and his officials is still very strong in choosing which community representatives will take part in village development deliberation forums. The role of the village head also determines the openness of space for participation by the poor, women's groups, and all village residents in village development. Space is open for the village head to determine the elite involved in deliberations on village development plans, to speed up the decision-making process for village development planning.

According to Cahyono (2017), the village head's leadership style greatly determines the direction and achievement of democratic development in the village. Leaders are an important instrument in raising citizens' awareness to participate in village development. Leadership style also influences the availability of access and openness to public spaces, the effectiveness of the role of democratic agents, and the process of political institutionalization in the village. In the future, village elites need to be encouraged to be open in the process of preparing development programs, involving residents in development implementation, and reporting activities transparently.

According to Rendy A. Diningrat (2022), the figure of the village head remains important in knowing the extent to which the village will have quality leaders. If the village head's attitude is still anti-democracy and community participation, then the desire to create a developed, strong, independent, and democratic village will not be successful. The impact is that village development is under the hegemony of the village head and village elite, community opinions will be silenced, community access will also be closed, and there will be no control from the community. According to the new village law, the

preparation of development plans must involve the participation of village residents in the process of preparing inclusive development plans.

The fact is that in society, not all residents are willing and able to be involved in the deliberation process, so if they are forced to attend, they are less able to exercise their rights to express their aspirations and opinions, and it is not uncommon for village heads to take shortcuts in selecting representatives or well-known community figures. Until now, the culture of feudalism has not completely disappeared, whether in the bureaucratic apparatus, village elites, or village communities. A common phenomenon is that the majority of groups who are marginalized in socio-economic dynamics tend not to be able to voice their interests. Public discourse is controlled by the rulers and the social groups that dominate them (Cahyono, 2012).

Based on Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages, placing villages based on the principles of recognition and subsidiarity, namely recognition of rights of origin, delegation of authority, and decision making is handed over to the village. The transfer of authority to the village in the form of power in decision-making cannot be separated from the influence of community involvement. This opportunity is an important moment in opening up space for citizen involvement and participation in village development planning, so it is hoped that this village development planning can answer the needs of residents because village residents know better the needs of their residents.

The involvement of community members, especially marginalized community members, has not been actively involved in preparing village development plans. This means that there is a need for reform of village government, village parliament, and local institutions, as well as economic participation of citizens and access of marginalized (poor) groups to policies and distribution of resources (Kamardi, 2003). Village renewal will fail to realize democracy and social justice if marginalized community groups do not critically participate in village management, both in terms of governance and economic management. Participation also talks about the involvement of marginalized groups, especially the poor, who have been marginalized by elitist political processes

In this study, we will look at citizen participation in the development planning process for Wirokerten Village, formally participatory, but substantively seen as elitist. In this case, the discussion will focus on three things. First, discuss the voices and aspirations of the community in the development planning process for Wirokerten Village. In this context, community aspirations are a space where the community can express opinions and input into development planning for Wirokerten Village. Second, access for residents to view development programs in Wirokerten Village, and also the space provided by village elites for residents to provide input and criticism on village development. Third, look at the form of community supervision over development planning for Wirokerten Village

Ideally, village development planning can be directed towards making the lives of village communities better with all efforts to empower the community. so that they have access to economic and political resources (Sunyoto Usman, 1998: 31). A statement like this is the same as considering that the cause of poverty in villages is because people

do not have access to economic and political resources. With this, we want to confirm whether Wirokerten Village has also provided access for residents to be actively involved in preparing village development plans.

Rahmawati Wijaya Ningrum as Wirokerten Village Head is determined to be a community leader who acts innovatively and progressively to support democratic practices, good governance and change to solve the problem of poverty through participatory Wirokerten Village development planning. This determination was based on the fact that Wirokerten village in 2017 was the village with the largest number of poor people in the Banguntapan District. In this case, it is something of a contradiction because the Wirokerten Village area is in a developing area and close to the urban border, but ironically the poverty level is still quite high.

According to Sutoro Eko (2005), there are several causes of poverty in rural communities, namely: (1) The influence of low education, (2) inequality in land ownership and agricultural capital, (3) inequality of investment in the agricultural sector, (4) budget allocation limited credit, (5) limited availability of necessities, (6) urban development policies (pushing rural people to cities), (7) economic management that still uses traditional methods, (8) low productivity and capital formation, (9) savings culture that has not yet developed among village communities, (10) bad governance which generally still develops in rural areas, (11) no social security to survive and to maintain the survival of village communities, and (12) low health insurance

Budi Winarno (2003) views that poverty in villages is caused by development policies made by the government that are more profitable for rich communities and rural elites. The objective condition of the problem of poverty continues to be a complex problem in the village. According to Sutoro Eko (2005), poverty has even limited people from obtaining work that is worthy of humanity, the right to obtain legal protection, the right to obtain a sense of security, the right to obtain access to affordable necessities (clothing, food and shelter), the right to obtain access to educational needs, the right to obtain access to health needs, the right to obtain justice, the right to participate in public and government decision making, the right to innovate, the right to exercise one's spiritual relationship with God, and the right to participate in organizing and managing government with Good.

Several of these concepts can be a frame of reference for studying the poverty phenomenon of Wirokerten Village seen from the dimension of community participation in the village development planning process. Wirokerten Village, Banguntapan District, Bantul Regency, is one of the sub-districts located in an urban area because Banguntapan District borders Yogyakarta City. This geographical location provides opportunities for the community's conditions to be quite good in terms of welfare and education so that residents should be able to participate well in the sub-district development process. The conditions of many residents still include poverty and low levels of education (2018 pre-survey results), so conditions for citizen participation in government and development are also inadequate. What's more interesting is that Rahmawati Wijaya Ningrum's leadership wants to develop community participation in development planning.

Starting from this phenomenon, this paper wants to examine the participation of community members in development planning in Wirokerten Village. This is important because development will be effective if it involves community participation so that development policies can be right on target, namely responding to the needs of village residents. Community participation in this case involves voice in the sense of residents' aspirations and ideas, access in the sense of space and opportunities for residents to be able to accept and know various village development policies, as well as control in the sense of supervision of residents in the village development process.

### **Research Methods**

In this research, a qualitative research method was used, namely trying to explore field data, and then describing in depth various phenomena of community participation in development planning related to access, ideas, and community supervision in development planning in Wirokerten Village in 2019. To extract data, data collection techniques were used using observations or observations and interviews with all figures who were deemed to know participation in planning such as the Village Head, Carik, Head of Development, BPD, LKMD, Dukuh, and other community leaders. To control the interview data, document data and observations of researchers in the field were compared.

From several data, the data used in this research was then analyzed, namely reducing the data, presenting and interpreting the data, and presenting a conclusion. This data analysis technique is essentially an activity to support knowledge in processing data that has been collected from interviews, observation, and documentation. According to Miles and Huberman in Afrizal (2016), data reduction is the activity of selecting important and unimportant data from the data that has been collected. Meanwhile, presenting data is the work of presenting structured information, and conclusions are interpretations or interpretations of the data that has been presented. Finally, we can get an overview of citizen participation in the process of preparing development planning for Wirokerten Village in 2019 with all its dynamics.

### **Results and Discussion**

#### **Access as a Community Political**

Space Access means space and community capacity to enter the governance arena, namely influencing and determining policies and being actively involved in managing public goods (Sutoro Eko, 2004). In this process, various struggles take place between various actors, community organizations, community members, and the community and the government where the development policy for Wirokerten Village is being designed. In the Wirokerten Village development planning arena, community interest groups negotiate and exchange interests.

The idea put forward by Shore and Wright (2003) in Scoones (2022: 85) that policy processes do not take place smoothly, are full of debate, and are primarily political is very relevant when we look at current village development planning. Scoones (2022) provides an overview of a simple analytical framework related to the policy process that

separates several perspectives. First, the power of narrative (how policies are discussed and how different forms of knowledge and expertise are used).

Second, the power of actors and networks (how different people and their networks combine to influence policy change). Third, political power and interests (how interest groups shape and influence policy outcomes through negotiation, bargaining, and political competition). Third, these dimensions are interrelated and determine what policy space is available, both for existing policies and for policies that might be created. Participatory development planning for Wirokerten Village, whether it is the preparation of the Village Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMDes) or Village Government Work Plan (RKPDes) can be placed and understood as a political space for the community to carry out negotiations, bargaining, and political competition aimed at welfare interests. and solve the problem of poverty.

This can be seen in the Village Law which opens up opportunities for the entire community to play a role in planning the development of Wirokerten Village, such as community access to become members of the drafting team, as well as participating in idea exploration forums, Village Deliberations (Musdes), and Village Development Planning Deliberations (Musrebangdes). Because the Village Law has several important principles, namely: First, anti-discrimination (Articles 29, 51, and 62). Second, the community's right to equal access to information (Articles 26, 27, 68, 82 and 86). Third, the principle of participation (Articles 2, 4, 68, 72, 82 and 94). For this reason, space for community participation can be regulated by the new Village Law (Ibad & Suryani, 2017).

In the research findings, several parties are believed to be capable of carrying out their duties as members of the team that prepares development policies such as preparing the RPJM for Wirokerten Village. These parties are the village government and representatives of community organizations such as the Village Community Empowerment Institute (LPMK) and Karangtaruna. This means that the Wirokerten Village government has not selected community members to be directly involved, except through community organizations as members of the RPJMDes drafting team.

Because the village government has not carried out an open selection process for people who will become members of the RPJMDes drafting team. The Wirokerten Village Government also provides access to the community in village deliberations as a political space to influence village development planning decisions, although the village residents have not yet utilized this. According to Sutoro Eko, et al (2014), village deliberations have four meanings. The first meaning is village deliberation as a forum for associative democracy.

Second, village deliberations as a forum for inclusive democracy. Where all residents in the village make decisions together regardless of social status. Third, village deliberations as a forum for deliberative democracy that facilitates village residents to share information, interact, and discuss. Fourth, village deliberation has a protective democratic function. The participation of village residents as a whole plays a role in protecting the village from intervention by the state, capital, and other parties who are deemed unfavorable to the village.

By paying attention to the principles of village deliberation, namely participation, justice, village deliberation, openness, transparency, accountability, democracy, and equality, the Wirokerten Village deliberation held by the Village Consultative Body will discuss and agree together with the community and village government regarding the results of the assessment of the village situation, the formulation the direction of village

development policy as outlined in the vision and mission of the village head, and priority plans for government administration, development, community development and community empowerment activities.

From the results of observations and interviews, it can be interpreted that Wirokerten Village has formed discussion forums such as village deliberations and also village development deliberations (Musbangdes), but residents have not yet used them optimally to express aspirations and input in development. This happens for two reasons, namely first, groups of middle and upper-class citizens, some of whom are immigrants, are too lazy to express their aspirations in forums because they have no interest. Meanwhile, the group of representatives from the middle to lower economic background did not express their aspirations because they had low education, besides they felt that the village elite had represented them in the forum, so they tended not to have aspirations in the forum. Finally, citizen participation was taken over by the village elite group on behalf of the residents.

### **Delivery Of Community Ideas**

Community ideas are a form of community aspirations, ideas, initiatives, and input aimed at the village government in preparing village development plans. This process is very important and must be seen and responded to by the village government in planning the development of Wirokerten Village. Because in this process, the community has the opportunity to fight for the needs and interests of community members which are guaranteed by Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages, and Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 114 of 2014 concerning Village Development Guidelines in the context of realizing prosperity, justice and development progress.

The discourse of citizen participation in development planning for Wirokerten Village cannot be separated from the community's right to be able to express their ideas. This right in question is the most important part associated with the current motto that Wirokerten Village development programs require community ideas. With this motto, the community is encouraged and directed to propose various village development programs, provide an assessment of the program, and finally speak out when it is time to make a decision.

So the results of the development planning for Wirokerten Village are acceptable because they are by democratic principles according to the Village Law. Afan Gaffar (2006) states that the prerequisite for democracy is that society as the holder of power enjoys basic rights in the form of freedom of opinion, assembly, association, enjoying a free press, and influencing government decisions. In connection with the opinion on the prerequisites for democracy, the residents of Wirokerten Village have not expressed freely in giving their aspirations to the development planning process.

In village development planning deliberation forums (Musrenbangdes), some participants do not want to convey their ideas and aspirations, so decisions tend to be elitist. This has an impact on development results that are not in favor of community members, especially the poor because the needs and interests of the poor are not voiced and accommodated in the development planning process.

Another opinion was expressed by Sutoro Eko et al (2014), that democracy means where the people are politically sovereign. A democratic village has the value that every

villager has the right to touch, discuss, and even own every item and process of governance and development. As a theory, democratic values should be upheld to achieve national, state, and village goals. This means that there is minimal community participation in providing ideas and ideas in development planning.

It can be seen and analyzed that village residents have not exercised their sovereign right to express their opinions. This is due to many factors that need to be explored further. The low level of citizen participation in planning can also be analyzed from the opinion, of Andrew Heywood (2016) explains that democracy requires community political participation which is legalized by the Constitution to limit government power and be involved in discussing policies.

This means that there must be an effort to limit the government's power, in this case, the village elite provides wider opportunities for representatives of the poor to be able to provide aspirations and input in village development planning. For this reason, the elite provides greater opportunities than the opportunities provided by the elite group. In the context of Wirokerten Village, the village head has provided space for residents to be involved in development planning deliberations, but not all residents are willing to use this access, so the village head appoints other residents who are willing to participate.

Citizens' rights to participate have been opened to all citizens, but not before all citizens are ready to convey it. This right still has a polemic that must be read from the perspective that the ideas of the Wirokerten Village community are still subject to the control of the village bureaucracy in a formal process. As can be seen, the village bureaucracy plays its role in the stages of formulating development planning for Wirokerten Village by deciding which people get access, one of which is being a member of the RPJMDes drafting team.

Here, the village bureaucracy tends to choose representatives of community organizations to become community representatives in the membership of the RPJMDes drafting team. This means that who gets access to the formal process is a factor that also determines what ideas are conveyed or whether they are more likely to accept all proposals for Wirokerten Village development programs put forward by the village bureaucracy

The community's ideas in preparing the RPJM for Wirokerten Village are a reflection of democratic practices at the local level which are still phenomenal. Based on Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages and Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 114 of 2014 concerning Village Development Guidelines, the Wirokerten Village Government is not allowed to make RPJMDes without involving the community. Community participation as a reflection of democratic practice is a reaction to formulating development policies that are inclusive and avoid bureaucratic monopoly over development policy planning.

As explained in Article 7 paragraph (1) of Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 114 of 2014 concerning Village Development Guidelines, the person responsible for preparing the RPJMDes, namely the village head, is obliged to include elements of the village community. Access to community participation is provided fully and widely



for community members in the formulation of development policies so that various aspirations or suggestions from the community are found in the preparation of the Wirokerten Village RPJM which are directed towards the interests of development that support the community.

The researchers found various aspirations of the community regarding the Wirokerten Village development program from interviews with various parties, namely infrastructure development, development in the agricultural sector, empowerment of the Wirokerten Village community, development of Wirokerten Village Owned Enterprises, development of Wirokerten Village Small and Medium Enterprises, and health facilities and infrastructure. and education. So in fact access for community members to be involved in the planning process for Wirokerten Village has been opened by the Village government, but not all residents are willing to participate.

This gap can be exploited by sub-district elites to direct residents to express their aspirations so that there is an effort to mobilize residents because there is a stagnation in the planning process. This is what the sub-district head and sub-district government do not want, so to overcome this the elite next directs residents in the village development planning process. Apart from that, the village government also appoints representatives of residents who are elitist, because representatives of the poor still cannot be conditioned for various reasons.

#### **Dimensions Of Community Supervision**

In the development planning stages of the hamlet village, the role of community members is an important key to overseeing the process of preparing development plans for both the RPJMDes and RKPDes. The supervisory role means that all community members in Wirokerten Village participate in controlling the process of formulating policies and actions of the Village government.

As stated Article 82 of the Village Law states that village communities have the right to obtain information regarding village development plans and implementation, have the right to monitor the implementation of village development, report the results of monitoring and various complaints regarding the implementation of village development to the village government and the Village Consultative Body (BPD), as well as participating in village deliberations to respond to reports on the implementation of village development.

BPD reflects the political representation of village communities in policy making, this form of direct supervision from the community certainly has implications that can determine the realization of development directions that are by local village-scale responsibilities such as basic services, facilities and infrastructure, local economy, natural resources, and the environment. Institutionally, community members can convey their ideas and aspirations through the Wirokerten sub-district Deliberative Body, bearing in mind that not all residents are ready to express their opinions in deliberative forums.

If we refer to Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages, then several BPD rights have the potential to supervise development planning. First, supervise and ask the village government for information about the implementation of village government. And

secondly, express opinions on the implementation of village government, implementation of village development, development of village community, and community empowerment.

Apart from rights, the function of BPD Wirokerten based on Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages is to discuss and agree on Draft Village Regulations (Raperdes) with the village head, accommodate and channel the aspirations of the village community, and supervise the performance of the village head. With the political representation of the BPD, it can be said that this is supervision that represents the community in controlling the village development planning process.

Opportunity and obtains a central position in overseeing the process of formulating development policies for Wirokerten Village, which according to the belief of "lower way" thinkers that initiative and control from below is the only way for the future. In practice, the role of Wirokerten residents in supervision and monitoring, community members tend to hand over this role to the Wirokerten Subdistrict Representative Body (Bamuskel) to represent residents in exercising their supervisory rights in this planning process.

From the results of observations and interviews, there are groups of citizens, especially from the upper middle class, who tend to be apathetic because they feel they have no interests, on the other hand, there are lower middle-class groups who have many interests, but do not have the guts and courage to convey them, and feel they already have representatives in the BPD.

Who fights for his interests. In such conditions, residents' interest in being involved in development planning deliberations is very limited, so it gives the impression that the village head and sub-district elites appoint groups of residents who are close to power. Participation and control are important indicators of democracy. The most basic democracy includes at least two dimensions. First, there is space for open competition to obtain all political positions and power.

Second, at the same time, there must be sufficient space for activity with adequate guarantees for the political participation of all citizens. On the other hand, political control and participation of citizens is a recommended condition for creating true democracy (Merkel 2003). Control/supervision in this paper refers to the conditions of village people's control/supervision over the running of village government; opportunities for citizens to monitor the course of the policy-making process; open public space in the village; implementation of village government that is more accountable, responsive and legitimate; there is leader accountability; and villagers took part in political competition.

Based on community control channeled through their representatives, residents want all their aspirations and ideas regarding development programs to be ensured to be included in the development planning documents for Wirokerten Village. With this, Bamuskel must ensure that residents' aspirations and input regarding development are included in the discussion and decision agenda for village development programs and activities so that the direction of development is not trapped in elite capture. In other

words, the aspirations and ideas of community members are not manipulated by elites for other elitist interests and orientations.

This opportunity opens up, considering that the residents of Wirokerten Village tend to entrust participation rights to the village elite, in this case, the Bamuskel elite and the Village Government elite. In the future, it is necessary to educate and strengthen Wirokerten residents so that residents can directly channel their aspirations into the village development planning deliberation forum so that they can directly monitor the aspirations and ideas of residents in determining development policies for Wirokerten Village.

So, the cause of the low level of community participation is a lack of understanding about a development program in the village whose planning did not involve the community from the start. In the end, the community's sense of ownership of a program becomes less. It was also found that community participation, especially in programs that directly touched their lives and involved the community in formulating the program, received great attention. Therefore, the leader factor becomes important. Leaders who are active in providing development information will give birth to a community with a relatively high level of participation (Thomas, 1995).

Village communities need to reactivate existing organizations in the village to get as much input as possible from the community for rural development planning (Suhaeb, 2000). The attitude of elites towards participation in each society is perhaps the single factor that most determines and influences the nature of participation in the society concerned (Keller 1984). Autonomous participation can occur only if political elites encourage it, allow it, or are unable or unwilling to suppress it.

In traditional societies, participation is generally undervalued. Because of the belief of political elites and citizens that expanding participation is not a goal that needs to be achieved in their interests, it may even be something that is better avoided or opposed to their interests (Asikin 1996). Another thing is related to the still strong patron-client relationship and the lack of space for citizen participation (Sahdan 2005). Village residents still perceive the village elite as their patrons, so they feel "with pakewuh" to convey their aspirations because they have been represented by the elite as their patrons. Ultimately, all decisions are left to the village elite, including decisions regarding their future.

## **Conclusion**

From the analysis of citizen participation in the process of preparing village development planning, it can be concluded as follows:

In the dimension of citizen access in the development planning process, the Wirokerten Village government has opened up quite a wide access space. In this case, the village head always opens space for residents to get involved in various development programs and activities. However, on the other hand, residents have not made much use of the access space that has been provided by residents to be able to directly voice their aspirations and ideas, so it gives the impression that the access space has been provided

in an elitist manner the village head has provided the space but not all residents can utilize the space to directly participate in development Planning.

In the dimension of giving voice to the aspirations and ideas of residents in various development planning deliberation forums, not all residents are willing and able to provide their aspirations directly in deliberation forums. Research findings show that most residents channel their aspirations to their representative elites, both those in the Village Consultative Body and the elites in the Wirokerten Village government. For various reasons, some residents, especially those from the lower middle class who should be able to have their aspirations heard directly, actually prefer to channel them through their representatives in Wirokerten Village.

Residents said that they had conveyed their messages and ideas through their representatives only because they felt "with pakewuh" with the elite if they voiced their aspirations directly. This has the potential for their voices and aspirations to be interpreted differently, resulting in a misorientation of residents' aspirations in the planning process.

In the control or supervision dimension in the Wirokerten Village development planning process, research findings show that supervision space has been provided by the Wirokerten Village Government. However, it has not been utilized optimally by residents. This happens because of 2 things, namely for the group of citizens who are economically in the middle group, their attitude is apathetic because they feel they don't have any interests, while the second group of middle to lower class citizens have interests related to village development, but this group is unable to do so. related to their supervision of development plans that they did not want. They are reluctant to convey it to their elites.

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