

# **From CDD to VDD:** Village deliberation and community involvement in village development planning, Indonesia

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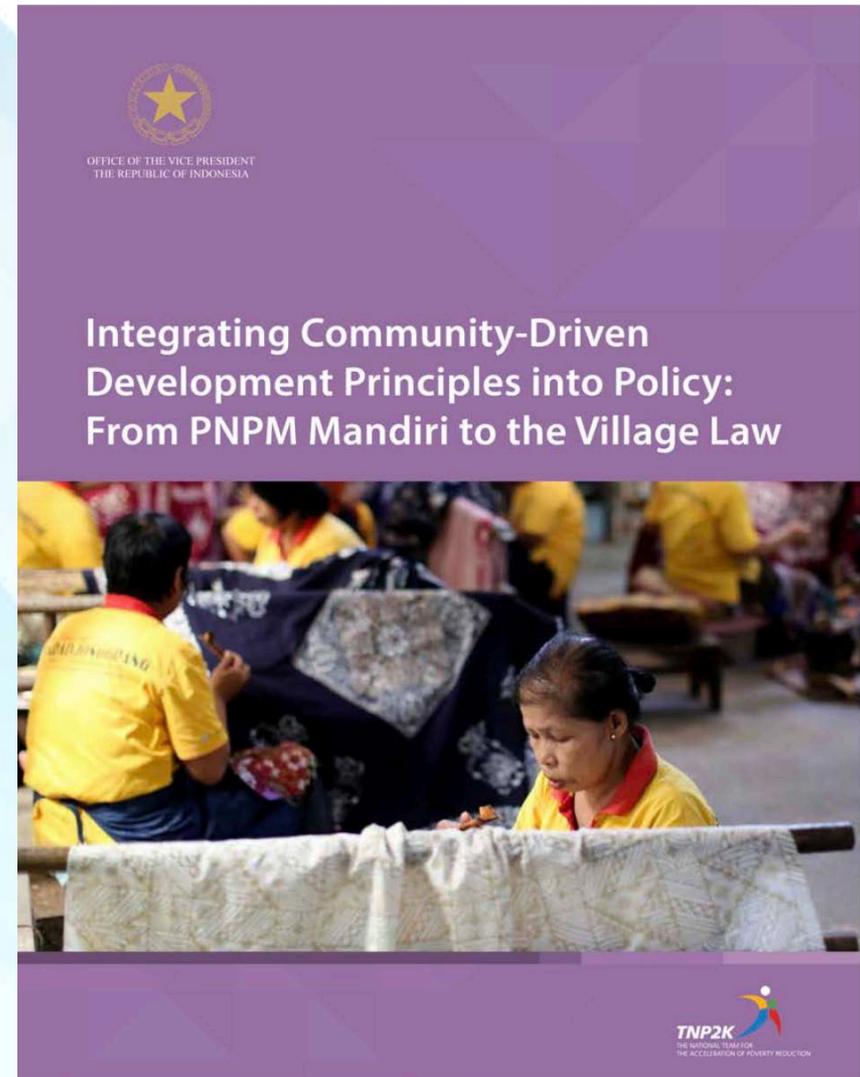
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# Background

- CDD empowers community by “reversing power relations...that creates agency and voice for poor people” (Mansuri & Rao 2004).
  - Indonesia implemented CDD programs: KDP & *PNPM Mandiri (1997-2014)*.
- Amid global debate on the efficacy of CDD principles in reducing poverty and inequality, Indonesian Government now implementing the principles through the enactment of the New Village Law No.6/2014.
  - Introduce deliberation into village planning and budgeting
- However, after more than five years, the problems persist (i.e misuse and corruption, low quality of planning process (i.e Smeru, 2019).

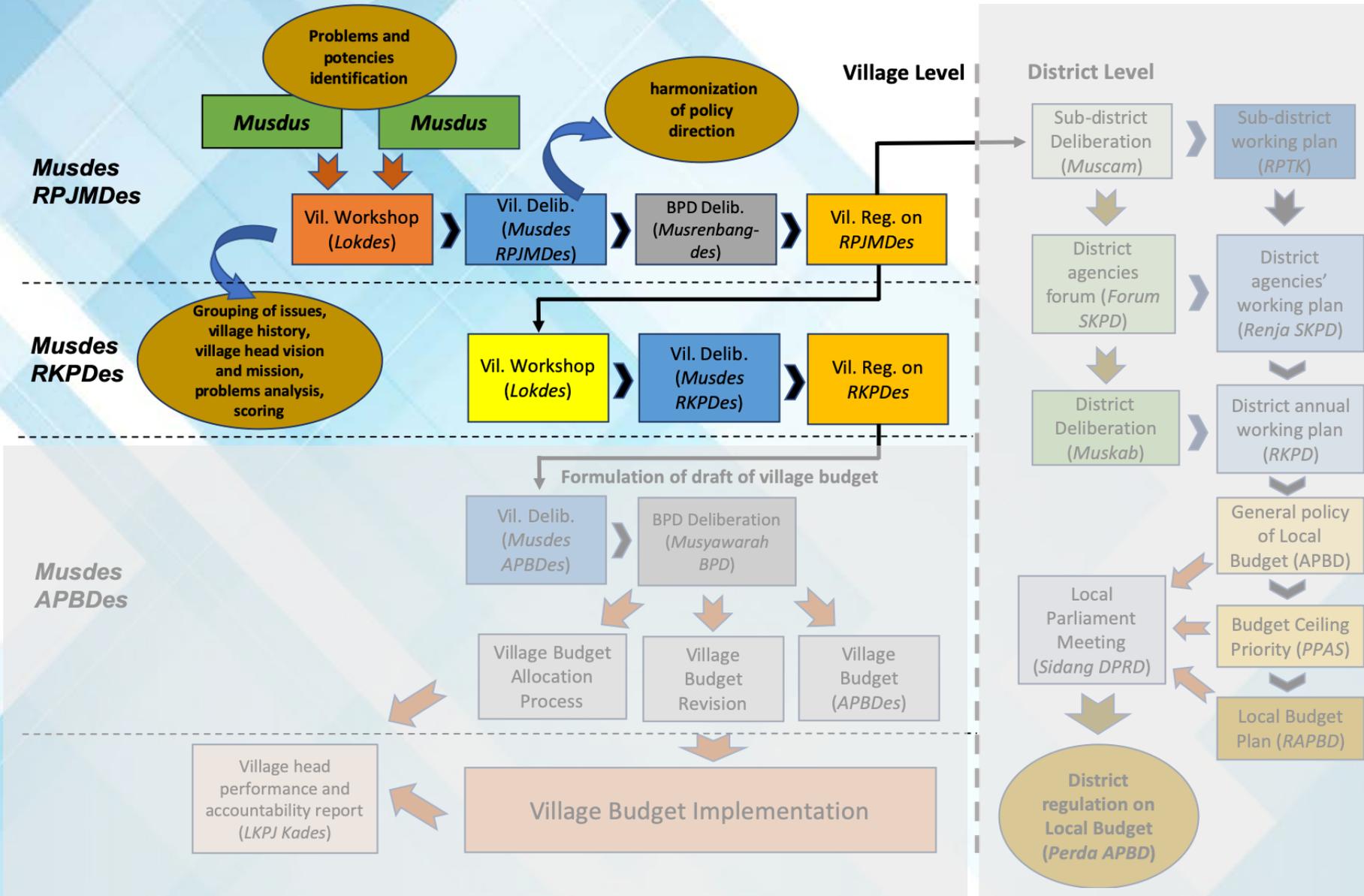


# Why has that happened?

- ICW (2017) identified **five vulnerable areas for corruption** to happen: **planning process**, accountability report, implementation process, M&E, and procurement process.
- Antlov et al., (2016) argued that the potential of Law 6/2014 to reduce poverty and social inequality becomes a reality **only if there is a combination of strong upward accountability to complement the pressure from empowered citizens** on village governments to work in the interest of the community.
- This project seeks to understand **how villages make decisions**, particularly on planning process area, which is the drafting of *RPJMdes* and *RKPDes*.

# The policy design and structural relations between village and district in drafting process of village development plan

(Based on Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs No.114/2014)



# Research question

- **How do villages make decisions?**
  - How does deliberation in the *musyawarah desa* occur and what shape the process?
  - How do voice and accountability principles operate and shape the process of *musyawarah desa*?

# Methodology

- Focus on *musyawarah desa* to formulate *RPJMDes* and *RKPDes*
- 3 different characteristics of villages in Central Java
- Ethnographic method: direct observation and in-depth interview
- Paradigmatic case study; Analytical generalization

# Conceptual frameworks (1): Deliberative democracy

- **Deliberation** is a mutual communication that involves weighing and reflecting on preferences, values, and interests regarding matters of common concern (Mansbridge, 2015).

## How to assess? (Ekenberg et al., 2015).

- **How deliberation process happens:** problem definition, problem structuring, openness, problem moderation, participants understanding.
- **Who deliberate:** who define the problem and dominate discourse, viewpoints of various groups, how to handle differences, actors who deliberate and their motivation.

# Conceptual frameworks (2): Voice and Accountability

- **Voice** refers to a variety of mechanisms – formal and informal –through which people express their preferences, opinions and views. (Goetz and Gaventa 2001)”.  
2001)”.
- **Accountability** is is the exercise of counter power to balance arbitrary action (Agrawal and Ribot 1999)

## How to asses?

- **Vertical accountability** is characterized by relations with “accountability agents” within the state (Brinkerhoff, 2001)
- **Downward accountability:** means to hold the state accountable to the public (Ribot, 2002)

## Pattern #1:

# *Musyawah* as a bargaining forum to get more programs

### Deliberation process

- **Issues: Inadequate budget and “the more programs, the better”**
- Occurred at *musrenbangdes* in finalizing draft *RPJMDes*.
- Village govts relies heavily on national guidance
- Village elites defined the problems on behalf of villagers
- Two-ways communication
- Offstage process
- Participants supported village headman/elites in voicing their concerns
- Village actors converged on common concerns and resulted in better understanding



### Voice and accountability

#### “Between upward and downward forms of accountability”

- **Gaining political support** (State’s actors; Local MP)
- **State imposing compliance** concerning national priority
- **Showing compliance** (actors’ interests)
- **Showing responsiveness** (headman being accountable to communities)
- **Reputation and popularity** (headman’s interests)

# Pattern #2:

## Musyawarah as ritual forum

### Deliberation process

- Issue: Inadequate time and “the faster, the better”
- Occurred at *musdes* and *musrenbangdes*
- The *Pokja* follows the national regulations
- **Elite dominated the process** (agenda setting, preparing the decision (draft) and dominate discourses) → **offstage process**
- One-way communication (State’s actors asked village government to allocate budget).
- Higher-level govts ‘hijack’ village development plan
- Village headman hope for additional programs



### Voice and accountability

“upward forms of accountability dominate”

- **Gaining political support** (headman to upper level gov’t)
- **State imposing compliance** concerning national priority
- **Maintaining good relationships** (headman to upper level gov’t)
- **Showing compliance and responsiveness** (headman to upper level govts)
- **Reputation** (to upper level gov’t and state’s actors)

# Pattern #3:

## Musyawarah as a Pocket of actual deliberation

### Deliberation process

- Issues: expressing common concerns
- Occurred at *musdus* (hamlet), and *musdes* on program scoring
- Deliberators assumed responsibilities to defend villagers' aspiration
- NGO staffs facilitated guided the process.
- **Yet, the longer the deliberation, the lower degree of deliberation quality.**

### Conditionality

- Selected delegates have equal position in the class structure and social-economic status.
- Know and respect each other (close relationships and maintaining harmony).
- 'Thick' social networks led to discursive deliberation



### Voice and accountability

#### “horizontal and downward forms of accountability”

- **Convergence** of villagers' and deliberators' interests
- **Headman's interests** (popularity, showing responsiveness to get assistances from higher-level governments and NGOs)
- **Convergence on common interest** (i.e village harmony)

# Conclusion (1): Deliberation process

- The governance institutions of village decision making circumscribed the process of *musdes* due to the domination of upwards power relations.
  - Village governments complied the governments guidance and regulations (i.e regulation in in making decision and on priority to use village fund)
- However, actual deliberation remained able to occur at hamlet and neighborhood forums, as the forums provided equal opportunities for them to speak and engage.

# Conclusion (2): Voice and accountability

- Village elites' (esp. headman) behavior is shaped by both vertical and downward relationships (depends on issues and context).
  - On one hand, headman assumed himself as representative of communities and should be accountable to voice villagers' aspirations (downward accountability) → (see Ribot, 2002)
  - On the other hand, headman assumed as the representative of state, hence should support the state's and actors' interests (i.e. Comply with state's regulation) (upward accountability) → (see Brinkerhoff, 2001)



Thank you

