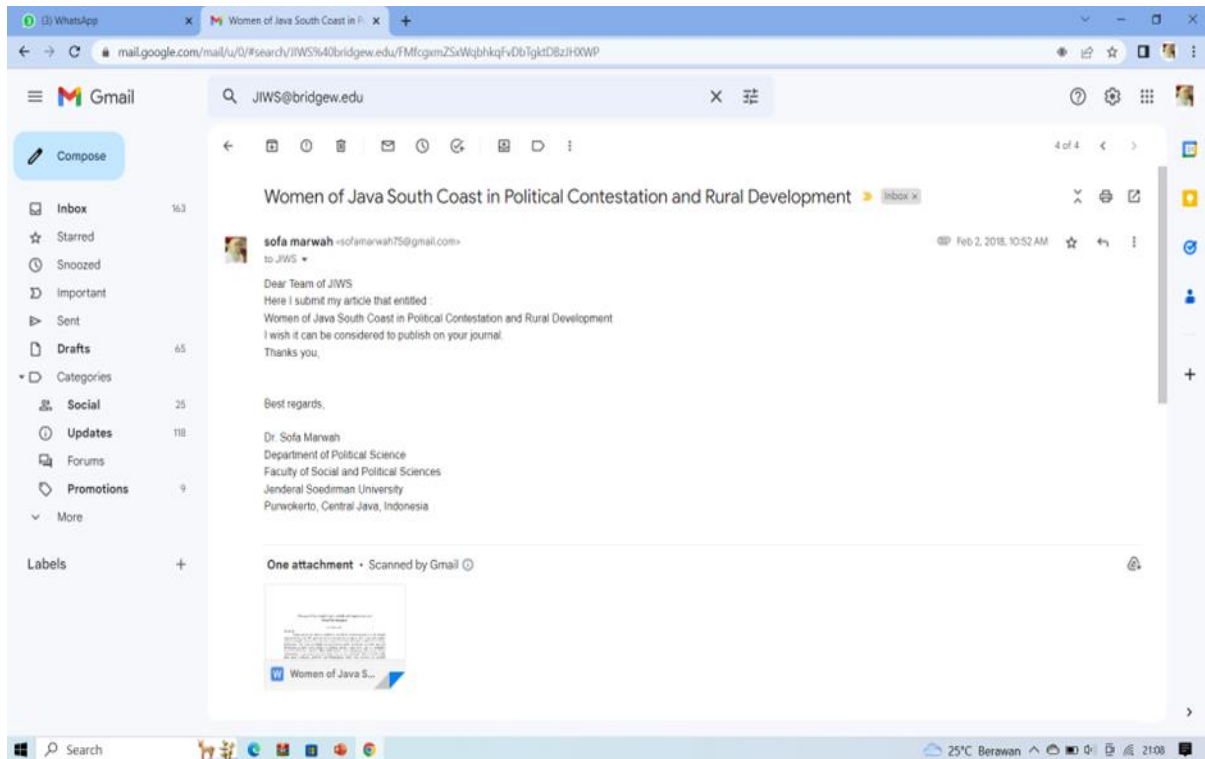


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**Women of Java South Coast in Political Contestation and
Rural Development**

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Abstract:

Women and politics studies in Indonesia most discuss women and politics at the national and local levels as the 30% quota of women in the legislature is applied. Few studies that examine women and politics in the lowest unit of government are village and women contribution to village development. This study accordingly aims to elaborate women involvement in politics and rural development in three coastal villages of Kebumen District, Central Java. This is a qualitative research by involving women in village administration, women managing business group, village administration, empowerment program manager and so on as informants. Data collected through focus group discussions, interviews and documentation studies were processed and analyzed simultaneously to draw conclusions. The study results show that women representation in politics and village administration is low, whereas the female population is almost comparable with the male population. However there is chairwoman of the Village Deliberation Board (BPD) and the female secretary of BPD, so there is optimism for the increase of women representation. BPD is an institution that has similar function to legislative bodies at the village level. Other contributions are shown through the women involvement in empowerment programs entitled Resilient Coastal Areas Development (PKPT), in which women act as part of managers, initiators, actors, and beneficiaries. There is an acknowledgment of the intensive women involvement, shown by PKPT programs related to the women interests. Increasing the women

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role in the political and rural development process is possible, since coastal women contribute a lot to the management of fishing, tourism and environmental conservation groups which can become women social capital to pave the way to political stage and village government. The results of this study have implications for the importance of continuing to support women representation through affirmative and political education policies for village women so that women can continue to work in the politics and village governance as well as provide meaning to the progress of government and village communities.

Keywords: coastal women, rural development, rural politics

Introduction

Few studies discuss women, politics and development in Indonesia at the lowest level of government namely village particularly in coastal areas. The coastal zone is an area identical with poverty, low education level, lack of health facilities, unclean environment, and away from the political echoes and village government which currently becomes academicians and NGOs activists' concerns due to the enactment of Law no. 6 Year 2014. Studies on women and politics in Indonesia do not comprehensively examine rural women while most Indonesian women live in rural areas. Viewing village women only from political standpoint seems to neglect the large contribution of rural women in other areas of development. Many studies on women and politics in Indonesia highlight the 30% quota since the 2004 Legislative Election. Davies (2005), for example, wrote about the development of public recognition of women's right to participate in politics in Indonesia following the agreement of Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Meanwhile, Mörmel and Schweissheim (2009) wrote that the increase of political representation of women in the 2009 Election is due to a celebrity factor, because some the women candidates come from the artist or the political figure's daughters. In line with the study, Soeseno's (2014) study shows the political representation of women closely associated with the typology of political parties in Indonesia as cadre seekers.

At the provincial and district government levels, Rhoads (2012) examines the low women participation in Bali Province caused by money politics, the revitalization of *adat* (customs) institutions, the strengthening of local identity through decentralization, and the collective memory of the women movement attached to the PKI (Indonesia Communist Party), namely Gerwani. Another study from Hastuti Dewi (2015) elaborates the success of Muslim women leaders as regional heads, such as Rustriningsih (from Kebumen District), Siti Qomariyah (from Pekalongan District), and Ratna Ani Lestari (from Banyuwangi District). In her explanation, Islam, gender and social networking became an important factor supporting the victory of women who run for regional heads. See also in depth review of the Hastuti Dewi's study from Afrianty (2015).

Although the aforementioned studies seem to be complex in assessing women and politics in Indonesia, only few studies do emphasize on the importance of women in political and development constellation at the village level as has been stipulated by Law no. 6 Year 2014 on Village, especially in coastal areas. It is generally known that Indonesia is an enormous country and a large part of its people live in rural areas. Village is a politically authorized government organization since it is the smallest government unit in Indonesia. Thus, a study on women in the context of politics and rural development actually talks about the portrait of the majority of women in Indonesia at the lowest levels of politics and development, the portrait of how they participate in speech and organization as the political map changes in the reform era since the Soeharto (New Order) government collapsed (1998).

In the New Order period, according to Soeharto's policy that focused on economic growth and national stability, village was regulated in Law No. 5 of 1979 on Villages. The law confirms the village government form and do not recognize village diversity based on customs.

At that time, the entire government structure at the lowest level of state bureaucracy changed its name from the each of indigenous structure to village or *kelurahan* following the structural model applied in Java (Maschab, 2013). When the reforms took place, the villagers were barely involved in the reform movement (Maschab, 2013: 139), because the reforms more involved urban and educated communities. The fall of the New Order brought about a change in the arrangement of central and regional power relations. In this case, the policy on the village is integrated in the law on local government, namely No. 22 Year 1999 on Regional Government which subsequently replaced the Law No. 32 Year 2004 on Regional Government. The amendment also provides for the position of the village as an autonomous institution. In other words, the transformation also promotes democratization with information disclosure and changes in the political behavior of rural communities.

Now that politics in this country is increasingly occupied with political liberalization and decentralization of power from national governments to the local level, the study of politics and rural development becomes significant. One of them is the study of women in rural politics which may be far from publicity, unlike the widespread coverage of female migrant workers who are predominantly from rural areas. The study of women, politics and rural development becomes vital and noteworthy, especially with the enactment of Law no. 6 Year 2014 on Villages that provide a great space for strengthening the autonomy of village and involving rural communities in village-level decision-making processes.

This study aims to elaborate women's involvement in politics and rural development by focusing on villages in the southern coastal areas of Java, especially in Kebumen District. The selection of coastal areas based on the fact that in the midst of rare studies of women in politics and rural development, even less is actually a study on women, politics and the development of coastal villages.

Currently coastal areas becomes the main concern of President Joko Widodo who wants the state of Indonesia becomes maritime state which is independent, advanced, strong, and based on national interests. Consequently, empowerment programs for coastal communities are initiated by the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (KKP). To elaborate, the study of women involvement in rural politics in the coastal area of Kebumen District is divided into five sections; the first part is an introduction to this study urgency which fills the gap between the previous studies of women and politics in Indonesia; the second part presents the research method by using qualitative research method; the third section discusses the low representation in the political process and the village administration, for instance in village governance structure yet coloring presence; the fourth section presents the important contribution of women in various development programs; the fifth part is the conclusion of the whole women depictions in coastal rural areas supported by various suggestions for promoting women representation especially in politics and village administration.

Literature Review on Women Involvement in Politics and Rural Development

Theoretically, women involvement in village politics cannot be separated from the theory of the importance of women involvement in legislature. In this case BPD has a similar function to legislative body, facilitating the aspirations of village communities and supervising the performance of village heads. The legislative body has the function of legislation, budgeting, and supervision. Thus the presence of women in BPD is actually significant to represent the village women interests. Pitkin (in Lovenduski, 2008: 38) states that representation is to represent an activity that makes citizen's perspective, opinion, and voice

"present" in the public policy-making process ". When women in BPD can act on behalf of the interests represented, Squires (1999: 202) declares representation as a form of acting for the sake of represented principles. In this context, it is important to bring more women into BPD, in accordance with the principle of political presence (Phillips, 1995), that women can present themselves in the political process according to the principle of political equality. Hence, the number of men and women in BPD should be proportional according to the village population. What Phillips states about the importance of women presence in politics is in line with Norris's (2003) notion that women's representation in politics can support the emergence of specifically required policies.

In the context of rural development, the intended policy concerns about the village regulations that accommodate the women interests in rural areas. Village government as the smallest government unit in Indonesia allows the village government, members of BPD and the community to interact intensively. Referring to the view of Cornwall (2004), participation has four levels starting from the lowest level, i.e. consultation, presence, representation, to the highest level, influence. Participation in consultation levels means citizens are only asked for certain information without being involved in the decision-making process. Then in the presence level, citizens are present in the decision-making process but it fluctuates depending on the issue that becomes the policy focus. Afterwards, in the representation level, citizens have been represented in the process of policy formulation, or in other words there is a standard representative function in policy making. The highest level of participation is when citizens are able to influence the process and substance of policies (participation of influence). As the smallest government unit in Indonesia, it allows intensive engagement between the village government and the community. In this regard, Cornwall and Gaventa (2001: 3) state that participation has expanded in various aspects of life as an effort to influence the decision-making process including social policy. Strengthening citizen involvement is expected to encourage their understanding of needs and perspectives. In the context of village government, it allows intensive community involvement in the political process and development in the village until it reaches the form of influence participation.

Research Method

This study focuses on assessing women's involvement in politics and rural development in south coast of Java. The southern coastal areas in this research refer to Kebumen District of Central Java Province, especially Jogosimo Village, Tegalretno Village, and Tanggulangin Village of Klirong Sub-district. This study applies qualitative method in constructing social reality, cultural meaning, and more focus on interactive processes and events (Newman, 1994: 14). The flexibility of qualitative research also makes it easier for researchers to determine the research steps. To collect primary data, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted while secondary data were collected through documentation studies. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted involving women managing empowerment programs, women in village government, women in working groups, village government, community leaders and others. Data analysis is done at all times as collecting data simultaneously. It started from data clarification for consistency, followed by a theoretical abstraction of information and facts in the field, which allows generating fundamental statements and then drawing conclusions (Silbergh, 2001: 173-175).

Dynamics of Politics and Coastal Village Governance: The Meaning of Women Presence

The source history of political and governance development of a region is one of the most difficult issue to find including remote areas like coastal villages of Kebumen. Regarding the scarce sources, seeking women figures who participate in political and governmental sectors is difficult even more. Should a woman name emerges, she does not occupy top leader. Rather, women usually occupy domestic domain.

From a few of historical documentation of Jogosimo Village formed since 1946, no women occupy positions as village heads until now. It means that since the period of colonialism, independence, the Old Order government, the New Order, until the current reform era, men always take a position as a top leader at the level of village government. The same condition also occurred in the village of Tegalretno which was established in 1922. It has never had a female village head until now. Similarly, in Tanggulangin established in 1924, no woman who became the head of the village (History and Structure of Village Government, 2015: 5-17).

The absence of women as village heads in the coastal villages of Kebumen District from the past to present shows that men are the dominant figure in rural politics in this area. Even when the political changes in which the reform era are occupied with the demands of participation of every element of society, including women groups, the reality of the winds of change does not blow the remote coastal villages. Since the reformation, village is regulated in Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government, and subsequently replaced by Law No.32 of 2004 on Regional Government. In this case, the election mechanism of village head stays the same in both laws, namely direct election. Only the term of office changes, from ten years to six years at most. However, it did not bring a change for women's underdevelopment to occupy the highest rank in village administration. The shorter term of office could have opened up opportunities for all elements of society to participate in village governance. Yet the village heads of coastal areas are still dominated by men. When Law No. 6 of 2014 on Village is enacted, the tenure of the village head is unchanged. However, the term of office of the last village heads is not yet completed regarding the election period.

The absence of women in village politics and government over time shows no gender balance. Even by observing nearly equal women-men population in rural areas, it appears that women are not a minority group; meaning that it should not be considered a minority. For instance, in 2015, the population composition of Jogosimo Village: 1,377 female and 1,475 male; Tegalretno: 869 women and 984 men; Tanggulangin: 1,433 female and 1,508 male (Klirong sub-district in Number 2015).

Direct election of village heads should have been a political space that promotes equal representation of women and men. The election could have been one of the places for women to get involved in rural politics. In fact, women do not present themselves in politics or according to the concept of political presence (Anne Phillips, 1995: 30), by principle of political equality, it allows each person to be counted one, not exceeding the other so that the number of individual presence in political and governmental institutions becomes balanced and representative according to the actual population.

Similarly, if we note the current structure of village government organizations in the three coastal villages, not only is the number of women fewer than men, but also the women position is not far from domestic domain. Out of 11 levels of government administration, there is only one woman in village government, or there are no women in the governance structure at all. Read more in Table 1 below.

Table 1.
Governmental Organization Structure of the Three Coastal Villages

| Position | Jogosimo | | Tegalretno | | Tanggulangin | |
|---|----------|------|------------|------|--------------|------|
| | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male |
| Village Head | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Village Secretary | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Governmental Affairs | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Developmental Affairs | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Public Affairs | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Financial Affairs | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Head of Welfare Affairs | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| Head of <i>Dusun</i> (sub-village) I-IV | 1 | 3 | - | 3 | - | 3 |

Source : Governmental Structure of Jogosimo, Tegalretno, Tanggulangin Village, 2013-2019

Laws and legislation on the election of village heads included in the substance of Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government and Law No.32 of 2004 on Regional Government is gender-neutral or applies equally to both women and men without providing affirmative policies for women to appear more in executive positions in village. This reflects the village political domain is a free and competitive domain to run for the election process. It is a principle of "competitive equality", i.e. there is no need for women and men differentiation as the policy of eliminating formal barriers by granting the right to be elected and voted to both men and women is considered sufficient to solve the problem (Dahlerup, 1998: 95).

The national political echo of the spirit of gender mainstreaming policy since Presidential Instruction No.9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming and the 30% quota policy of women in the legislature since the 2004 Legislative Election is inadequate to encourage more village women to occupy government positions. Factors contributing to the low participation of women in politics and government in coastal villages include; 1) instead of being farmers, women in coastal villages also have much to do with fisheries socio-economic roles, such as managing and marketing fish, processed fish production, food production rather than being actively involved in the political process and village governance; 2) high political costs for women's participation in the village head electoral process, whereas the average female in coastal villages rely on agricultural products or fish caught by their husbands; 3) the women's education average is low, since most of them are primary school graduate or even not graduated. The number of inhabitants of Jogosimo village with no education or primary school graduate reaches 63% and Tegalretno's reaches 61% (Coastal Zone Profile, 2015). As a result, many women in coastal areas are not supported by adequate resources to take part in village politics and government.

The women underdevelopment in politics and government in coastal villages is not much different from other villages in Indonesia. The results of the YSKK NGO study in Gunung Kidul District of Yogyakarta Province and the Puskapol UI study in Sidomulyo

Village of Batu City, East Java Province, Belabori Village of Gowa District, South Sulawesi Province, and Noelbaki Village of Kupang District, East Nusa Tenggara Province indicate that the low involvement of women in village politics are caused by 1) the absence of affirmative policies that support women's representation in politics; 2) the high cost of political election of village heads which burden women who largely depend on husbands in terms of income, whereas the highest political costs are actually used for unofficial expenses; 3) low resource of women, due to low education level; 4) socio-cultural aspects that favor men over women (YSKK, 2013); (Puskapol UI, 2014).

After Law No. 6 of 2014 on the Village has been stipulated, the village head election regulations remain gender neutral which means providing equal opportunities between women and men without certain affirmative policies to support the emergence of female leaders. In fact, Pippa Noris (2003) claims that to encourage women's representation in politics requires a certain policy support in accordance with the condition of each country.

Indeed, there is optimism for increasing political representation of women through BPD. In accordance with Law No. 6 Year 2014 on Village, membership of BPD has been supported by affirmative policies in terms of women's membership. BPD is a body assigned to: 1) discuss and agree on village regulations draft with village heads; 2) to accommodate and facilitate the aspirations of village communities; 3) to supervise the village head performance (Law No. 6 of 2014 on Village 2014: 18). The number of members of BPD shall be determined by odd number, of at least five persons and nine persons at most by taking account of the territory, women, population, and financial capacity of the village. Unfortunately, the number of female members in BPD coastal villages is very low. BPD Jogosimo village consists of 9 members (8 men and 1 woman) while BPD Tegalretno Village consists of 7 members (6 men and 1 woman). Interestingly, the head of Desa Tegalretno BPD is a woman and the secretary of BPD Jogosimo village is a woman as well. Of course this is quite encouraging, in the midst of infrequent women representation, she becomes the BPD chairperson. Women representation in BPD is important as women population is almost equal with men and they also become direct beneficiary groups of policies approved by BPD. In the case of women requirement, the women themselves undoubtedly understand their own need the most, such as health, social, economic, employment, and so forth. In this context, regarding the small scope, it enables both village government and community to engage more intensive interaction, and the village government easily recognizes local demands of the community especially women population which is not minority. Ironically, it does not occur. In the BPD membership, it only takes one women in each village, an unfavorable condition relating to the level of representation and voting-based decision-making process.

Coastal Women in Empowerment Program: Contestation amidst Affirmative Policies

The southern coastal area of Java, especially Kebumen District is unique. Despite their locations, the local people not only rely on fish catching for living but also farming. One of the factors is the strong Indian Ocean waves that fishermen cannot go for fishing every day. It causes the area prone to abrasion, tsunami, or strong wind. Actually, the area is potential for coastal tourism development, coastal ecosystems or agriculture yet it is now much damaged by sand mining and shrimp embankment by investors. In contrast, the majority of residents do not live prosperously with inadequate infrastructure.

All of those conditions form the basis for the coastal villages including Jogosimo Village, Tegalretno Village and Tanggulangin Village to receive empowerment program

entitled Resilient Coastal Areas Development (PKPT) from the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) in the period 2015-2016, under the coordination of the local Marine and Fishing Service. In this program, Marine and Fishing Service were assisted by co-team formed through the selection process consisting of 4 people. Currently there is women representation (3 men and 1 woman). The PKPT manager at the village level is the Coastal Communities Group (KMP). Interestingly, KMP considers the women representation importantly. Each KMP has 4 members (3 men and 1 woman). Although the representation of coastal women is only one in the KMP, the affirmative spirit of the Marine and Fishing Service of Kebumen District should be appreciated as an effort to encourage women involvement in PKPT program management.

The PKPT program is empowerment program that combines top-down and bottom-up approach. In relation to the top-down, the 2015 PKPT Technical Guideline becomes the main basis for the establishment of program activities. PKPT also uses a bottom-up approach through the preparation of an activity program called the Coastal Development Plan (RPKP) through a participatory village forum. The RPKP preparation takes account of the planning in Village Mid-Term Development Plan (RPJMDes). In practice, this generates a paradox. On the one hand, PKPT tries to participate in absorbing the aspirations of all elements of coastal villages; on the other hand, the determination of program activities by Marine and Fishing Service after all still refers to the PKPT Technical Guidelines.

In the aforementioned context, the involvement of women and all elements of society start from PKPT socialization in the beginning of each year (2015 and 2016). However, although PKPT has tried to involve all elements of society, the socialization is more understood by PKPT management and village administration by hardly involving the lowest level of society. PKPT socialization is mostly understood only by the managers of KMP, village government, and village counseling teams of Marine and Fishing Service, not all elements of society. In particular, despite their representatives in KMP, not all women groups understand PKPT. For example, women take part only 20% in socialization activities.

Similar conditions also occur during the RPKP drafting without involving larger community elements. In the preparation of 2015 RPKP, Jogosimo, Tegalretno and Tanggulangin were represented by only 15 people for each including village government, BPD, *Karang Taruna* (the youth group), LPMD (the village empowerment group), PKK (the women group), and community leaders. Besides, in the preparation of 2015 RPKP and the review of 2016 RPKP, not all program activities are in accordance with the real potentials of the community. Moreover, the provision which requires the RPJMDes as the main reference causes many citizen proposals regarding PKPT program activities cannot be accommodated because they are not in the RPJMDes. Then, PKPT Technical Guidelines has to be the basis for determining the program of PKPT activity by Marine and Fishing Service. In other words, forums that should have been participatory cannot absorb people's aspirations effectively.

The process of preparing each RPJMDes does not have an affirmative rule that requires women involvement at particular percentage to attend the meeting, referring to Law No. 6 of 2014 on the Village. Village meetings are held to discuss strategic matters in the administration. Similarly, in the RPKP drafting, there is no affirmation policy on the quota of women's presence. Nonetheless, women are already involved in the PKPT forum in spite of low number. Out of 15 people who participated in the 2015 RPKP drafting forum in Jogosimo Village, 5 or 33% were women from village government and community elements, while RPKP of

Tegalretno Village was followed by 2 or 13% women, and RPKP of Tanggulangin Village followed by 4 or 26% women.

PKPT programs were conducted for two consecutive years in 2015-2016. In this program, there were activities directly related to and involved women while other programs relate to the procurement of facilities and infrastructure. Those programs are explained in details in the following table:

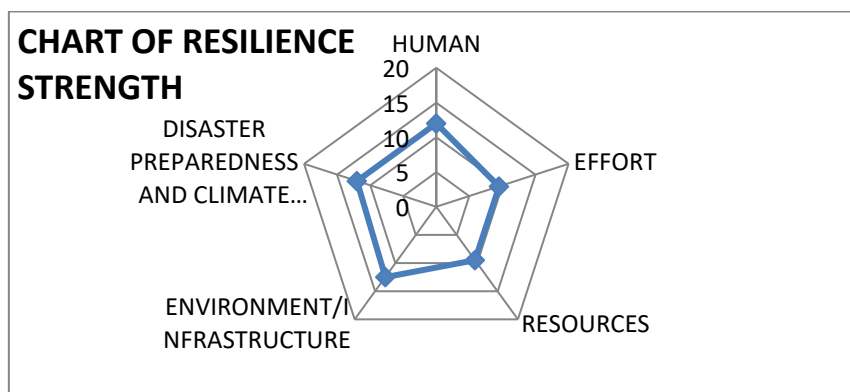
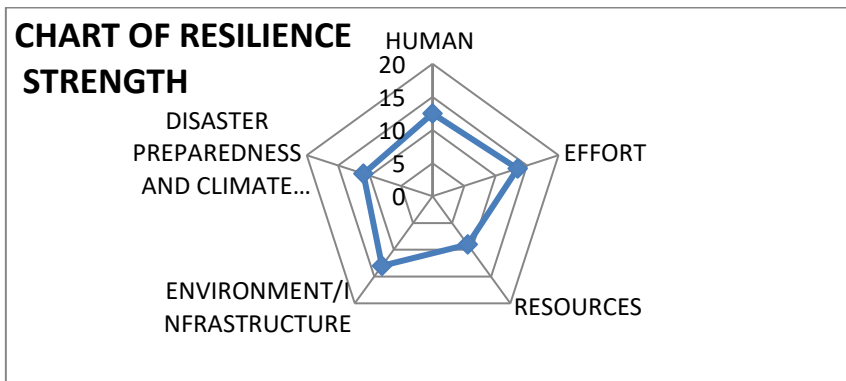
Table 2.
PKPT Programs in Three Coastal Villages and Women Involvement

| Village | 2015 | Women Involvement | 2016 | Women Involvement |
|--------------|--|-------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| Jogosimo | Procurement of Fish processing instruments | Procurement ideas, instrument users | Disaster Preparedness | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Training on fish nugget | Trainee, Beneficiaries | Institutional training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Training on fresh water fish culture | trainee, organizing committee | | |
| Tegalretno | Training on <i>nata de coco</i> | Trainee, Beneficiaries | Training on Disaster Preparedness | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Procurement of instruments for <i>nata de coco</i> | Ideas initiator, instruments users | Institutional training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Planting of pine trees | Initiator and executor | | |
| | Training on palm sugar | Trainee, Beneficiaries | | |
| Tanggulangin | Training on Fish nugget | Trainee, Beneficiaries | Training on Disaster Preparedness | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Procurement of Fish processing instruments | Ideas initiator, instruments users | Institutional training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Training on Marketing | Trainee, Beneficiaries | Procurement of Fish processing instruments | Ideas initiator, instruments users |

Source : *Report of PKPT Program 2015*, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2015; *Report of PKPT 2016 Program*, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2016.

Although not all direct activity concerned with the women necessity, efforts to incorporate programs closely linked to women involvement are interesting among the lack of women representation in village governance structures and KMP. This can be seen by requiring women presence as a form of their involvement as participants and proposing ideas on particular matters, such as training on making fish nugget, *nata de coco*, palm sugar, joint-business training, even their involvement in disaster preparedness and institutional training. In relation to women involvement in empowerment programs, a study from Cornwall (2016: 356) suggests that a contemporary form of empowerment development shall be initiation started and ended by increasing women's access to resources to encourage women to understand their own needs as women, as citizens, as well as human beings.

At the beginning of PKPT activities, Marine and Fishing Service and PKPT team distributed questionnaires to the community of three PKPT recipients by setting up criteria of resilience on human, business, resource, environment, and disaster preparedness and climate change aspects. At the end of the activity, similar questionnaires were also distributed again to see the impact of PKPT program on the resilience of coastal communities. Figure 1 below is the result of the analysis showing that for Jogosimo Village, the value of community resilience increases in terms of human (1.5); business (3); environment/infrastructure (0.5); disaster preparedness and climate change (0.5). Nevertheless, there is no increase for resource. Next, for Tegalretno Village, the value of resilience rises especially the aspect of human (2.5); business (6); environment/infrastructure (2), disaster preparedness and climate change (0.5). Similar to Jogosimo Village, the resilience value of resources is still stagnant. The results of Tanggulangin are somewhat different from the previous ones. The PKPT program is relatively less successful in increasing the community resilience in various aspects. There is no improvement in terms of human, resource, disaster preparedness and climate change. Only on business aspect does increase up to 0.5. Even the value of environment or infrastructure fell 0.5.



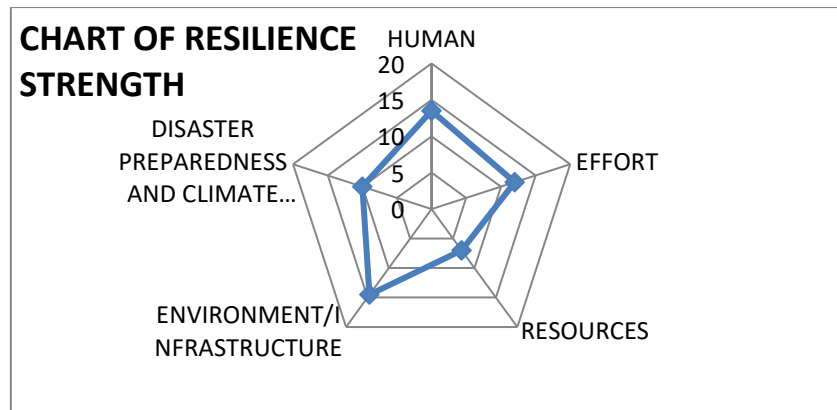


Figure 1.
Impact of PKPT on Coastal Villages Community Resilience
(Jogosimo, Tanggulangin and Tegalretno)

Source : *Program Report of PKPT 2015*, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2015; *Program Report of PKPT 2016*, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2016.

Although Marine and Fishing Service evaluation adequately describes the assessment of community resilience in the three coastal villages, they did not specifically sort out the impact of the PKPT program on women. In fact, from the beginning of socialization, planning, and implementation, women were also involved in this stage although their representatives were less balanced than men. A gender-disaggregated resilience assessment can actually be useful for evaluating the existence of PKPT programs to the extent that it can specifically encourage women resilience in various aspects including resources, business, disaster preparedness, environmental management, whether women's resilience is equal to men or not.

As part of society with nearly equal population with men, with equally strategic positions and roles in coastal areas, the contribution of coastal women cannot be underestimated. In fishery, women play an important role in managing post-fish catching, marketing, and processing of various fish products to support income. Similarly their role is significant in agricultural sector which constitutes important sector in coastal area of Kebumen District. Agriculture in the coastal areas tend to be classified as dry land so the suitable crops for this type are *palawija* and horticulture, i.e. corn, peanut, chilli, watermelon, and papaya (Coastal Area Profile, 2015). In this regard, women play an important role in planting, crops growing, harvesting and marketing.

Another important contribution of coastal women to the economic aspects is seen in their involvement in various fishing business groups. In particular, in Jogosimo village, there are fish farming groups (*pokdakan*) such as Mina Jaya and Simo Fish, as well as processing and marketing group (*pohlasar*) like Mino Rini Putri. The Simo Fish and Mino Rini Putri groups are headed by a woman. Meanwhile, in Tegalretno, there are Manok Jaya *pokdakan* and Sumber Rejeki and Mekar Sari *poklahsar*. Sumber Rejeki and Mekar Sari groups are also headed by a woman. Furthermore, in Tanggulangin Village, there are *pokdakan* of Mina Sari Lukulo, Muji Rahayu and Karya Mina Sejahtera, and *poklahsar* of Mino Kencono, Telaga Mina Sari and Mina Harapan. Mino Kencono and Mina Harapan groups are led by a woman. The data shows that women involvement in post-fishing and fish marketing is quite prominent. The conditions of high waves Indian Ocean and sometimes with extreme weather force fishermen to stay at home sometimes without going fishing. Consequently, they develop fish

farming. Alternatively, the community also farms on dry land or gardening. In this context, women contribution is relatively well-balanced and equally important to men in supporting the economic life of coastal fishermen.

Other important women contribution is their involvement in the development of coastal tourism and environmental management. Kebumen coastal areas have high tourism potentials. There is a stretch of mangroves, grass, lagoon, and sand dune that adds to the beauty of the coast as well as a tidal wave barrier or tsunami wave and sea water intrusion. Regrettably, the increasingly development of shrimp ponds around the lagoon and large-scale illegal sand mine damages coastal ecosystems. Shrimp ponds developed in the coastal border also damage the environment due to poorly treated ponds. In fact, the management of resources and environment in coastal areas is regulated in Law No.1 year 2014 on the Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands. Related to these conditions, women are also involved in maintaining coastal resources and environments through planting of mangrove, pine trees and *ketapang* more extensively. The development of greenbelt by planting *pandanus* tree, sea pine trees and *nyamplung* is also done through PKPT program in Tegalretno and Tanggulangin Village. Currently coastal vegetation has been increased by the planting of sea pine trees that also serves as a barrier of sea water vapor. Another PKPT program related to coastal tourism management and involving women participation is disaster preparedness training conducted by comparative studies in Timbulsoko Village, Demak District.

The description of coastal women in support of the rural development programs shows that women have important positions and contributions. In particular, what can be carried out by coastal women is filled with contestation between forms of involvement that may be less balanced because of male dominance in terms of numbers and types performed. Yet this is when coastal women are able to show their existence. In PKPT program, for example, when the KMP women representation is only provided for one of three people, the idea shared by female member is not less strategic. When the PKPT programming forum was conducted, the initial form of involvement was the women presence in the RPKP drafting, as Cornwall (2004) called as participation. When women are asked to convey an issue and current issues in the coastal environment and what needs to be a priority scale, according to Cornwall (2004) this is the participation of consultation. Not only being asked to propose, women participation can influence the set policy. Although not in an ideal model of representation and participation, the contribution of coastal women in the PKPT program potentially to be influence or participation capable of influencing policy processes and substances (Cornwall, 2004). This is reflected, among others, by various programs of activities close to and directly related to women such as training of various processed fish products and industry. This condition can be compared to, for example, the study of Eder (2005: 147) that gender differences in coastal communities affect the extent to which the advantages and disadvantages of coastal resource management programs can be felt by the community. According to him, gender differences also lead to limited community participation, thus it is important for the government to encourage more local communities' role in coastal resource management. So far women of the coastal area of Kebumen have shown significant contribution as an initiator, implementer and beneficiary in various PKPT empowerment programs.

Instead of in empowerment program, the coastal women contribution also appears in their management role of various fishermen groups. This is a contestation when it is generally accepted that coastal women are left behind and even politically less actively participate and women do not take an equal role with men. However, in the socio-economic aspect like in the

management of fishery groups, women occupy strategic position. Fishery business of fishery catch and production is influenced by the women contribution in the management of post fishing, processing and marketing. In terms of political process and village governance, coastal women may not take a role in the structure but in other development sectors they have shown significant contributions. In fact, the contribution of women in these business groups is their social capital to engage in other fields, such as politics and government. In this case, coastal women have social capital in the form of networking among members or groups supported by confidence that ease them to cooperate. Referring to Robert Putnam et.al (1993: 36), social capital is a set of horizontal relation among people which consists of networks of civic engagements governed by norms which influence a group productivity. To involve in political and governmental area, the women actually have adequate social capital.

Conclusion

This paper finally draws on conclusion that among least studies on women, politics and rural development in coastal areas, this study shows that the contribution of coastal women is present and potential. Considering the number of attendance in the political and governance process, women representation is low and unbalanced with a nearly equal population with men. Nevertheless, this study is optimistic that women representation in politics and village government potentially increases. At least, in the absence of women heads of villages of the three coastal villages of Kebumen, there are BPD chairwoman and BPD female secretary. It is worth-considering for policy makers to encourage the women representation in politics and government at village-level by providing affirmative policies in village head elections and making minimum quotas for women representation in BPD.

In contrast, the women contribution in coastal development can be seen in their involvement of the PKPT empowerment program. In this regard, the policies of KKP and Marine and Fishing Service Kebumen District have established affirmative policies for women participation as managers of the empowerment program. Unfortunately, the minimum presence of women in village meetings and forums of PKPT programming activities have not supported the affirmation. Even so, there is recognition of the intensive women involvement. It is shown in the existence of some PKPT program activities that are close and directly related to women interests. Thus, coastal women can act as initiators, actors, and beneficiaries. The contribution of coastal women is also supported by their important position in managing fishing groups, tourism development and environmental conservation. What these coastal women can do, in fact, potentially become women social capital to initiate political and governmental success through the strengthening and coordination of their social networks. It implies political education and training for them is indispensable.

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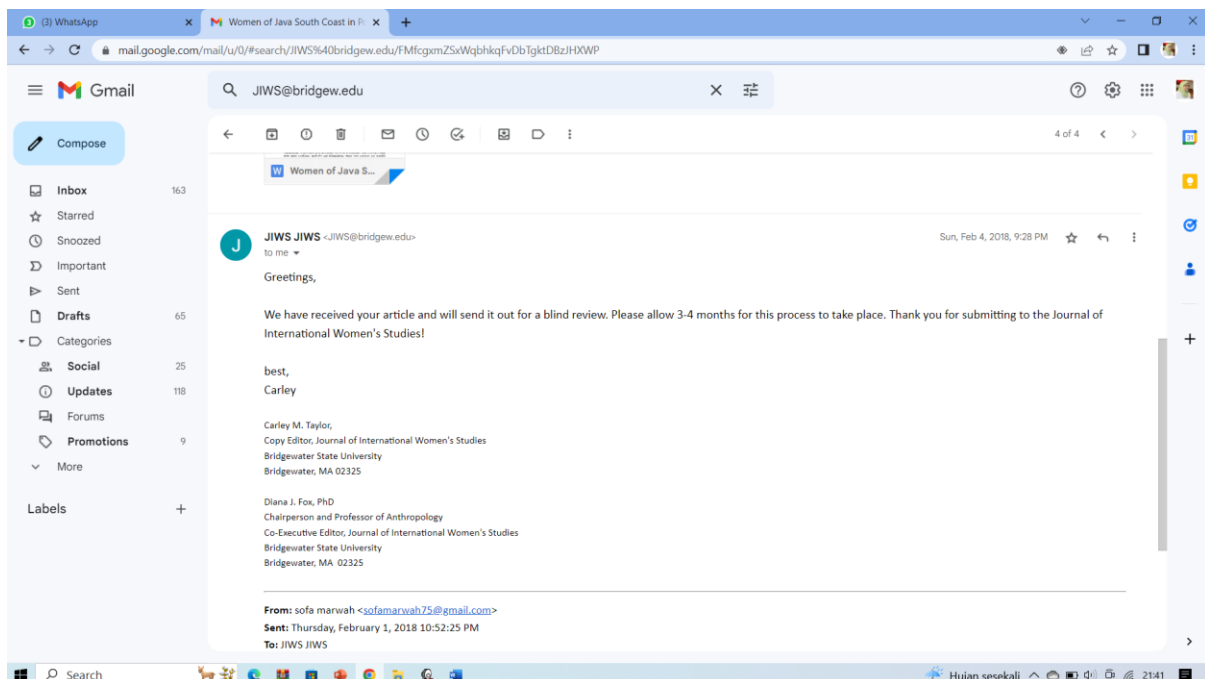
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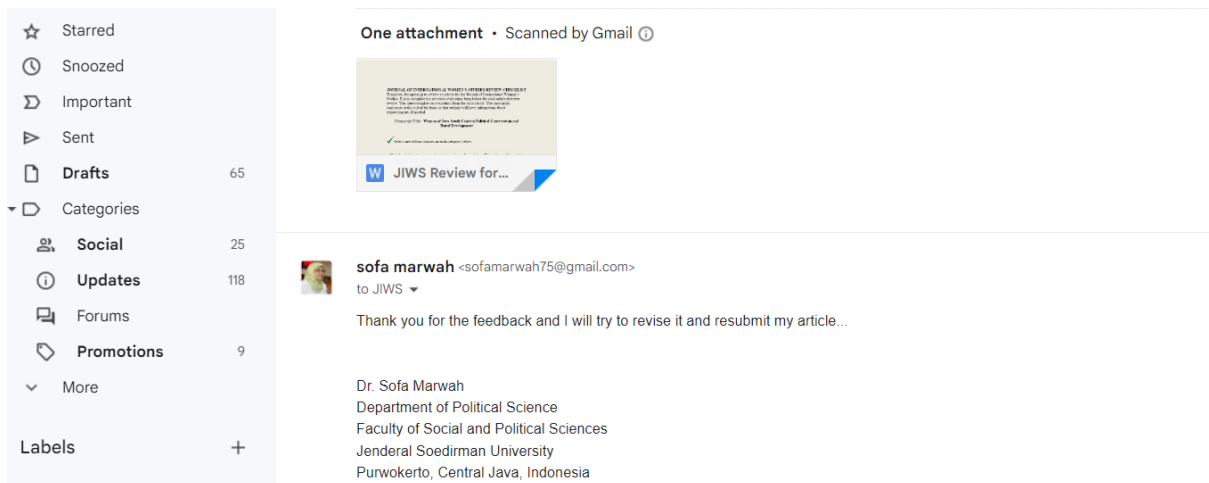
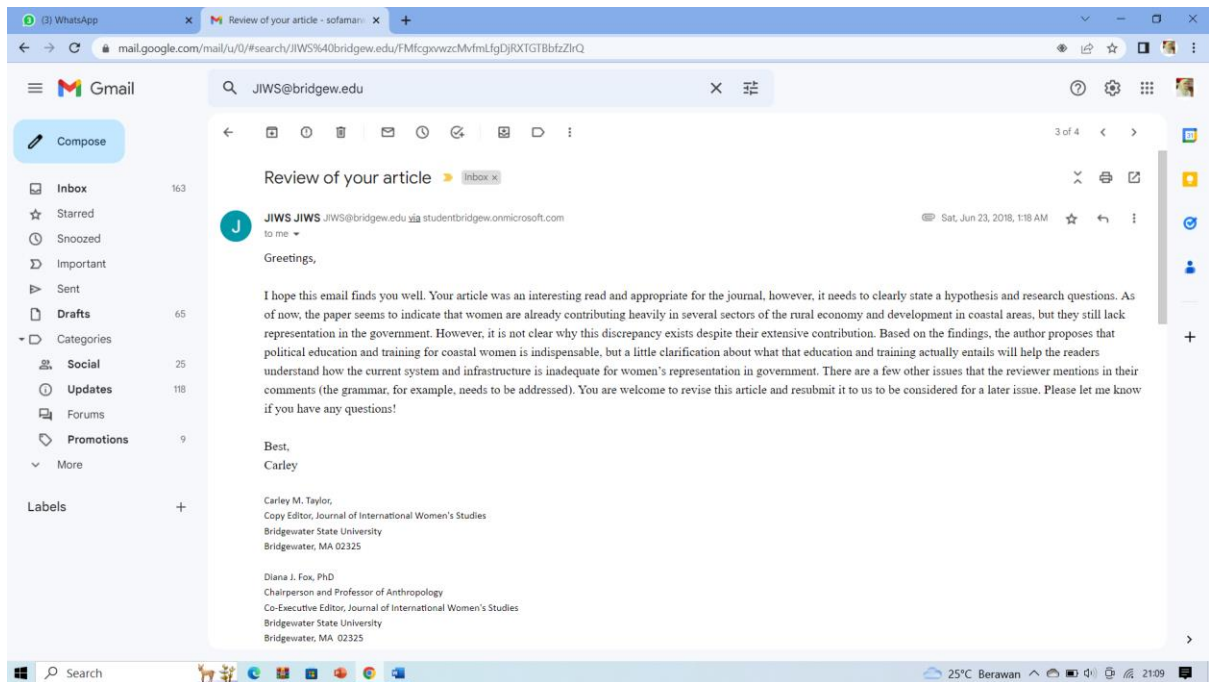
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This paper needs to clearly state a hypothesis and the research questions.

As of now, the paper seems to indicate that women are already contributing heavily in several sectors of the rural economy and development in coastal areas, but they still lack representation in the government. However, it is not clear why this discrepancy exists despite their extensive contribution. Based on the findings, the author proposes that political education and training for coastal women is indispensable, but a little clarification about what that education and training actually entails will help the readers understand how the current system and infrastructure is inadequate for women's representation in government.

Also, are there any underlying social or traditional factors that are perpetuating the invisibility and devaluation of women, regardless of women's extensive contribution to rural development/economy? Would just more training and education for coastal women suffice to bring about equal gender representation in the government or do the current government officials also need some type of education to change their mindsets about women? Is it possible that training and exposure to gender-sensitization is indispensable for government officials? It would help if the author explores this additional angle when offering suggestions for women's equal representation in governance. This will certainly make the arguments made in this paper more robust and comprehensive, if nothing else.

There are several grammatical errors throughout the paper, hence a grammarian can help clean up the errors and make it more coherent for the readers.



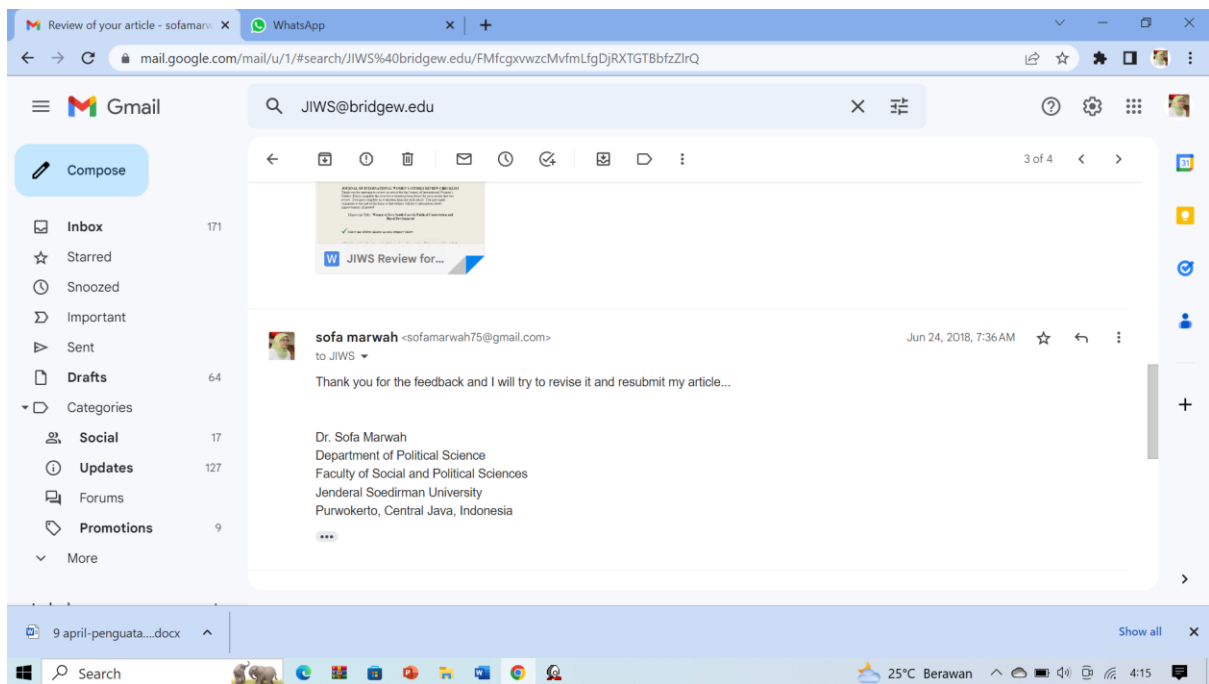
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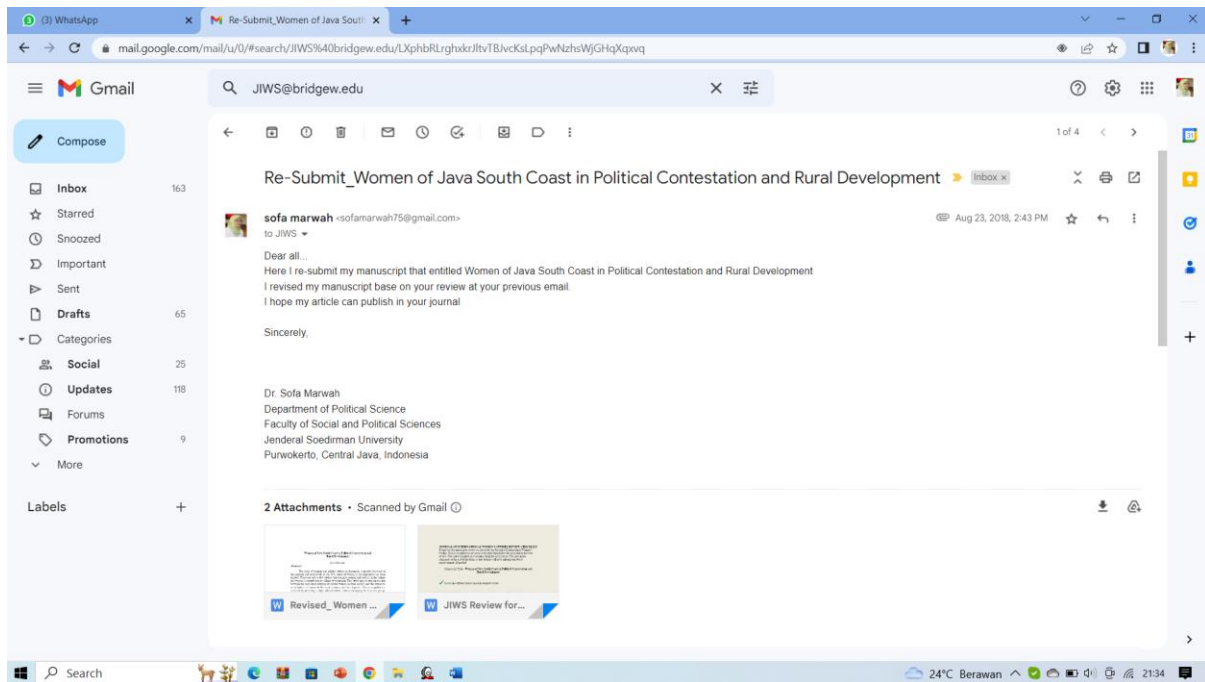
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Women of Java South Coast in Political Contestation and Rural Development

Sofa Marwah*

Abstract:

The issue of women and politics studies in Indonesia is mostly discussed at the national and local levels as the 30% quota of women in the legislature has been applied. There are only a few studies that examine women and politics in the village and women's contribution to village development. This study aims to explain the gap between the lack representation of coastal women in rural politics and the extensive contribution of women in the rural economy and development. This is a qualitative research by involving village administration, women managing the business group, empowerment program manager and so on as informants. The study results show that women representation in politics and village administration is low, whereas the female population is almost comparable to the male population. However, women contribute substantially in several sectors of the rural economy and development. They involved in empowerment programs, in which women act as part of managers, initiators, actors, and beneficiaries. Women also contribute a lot to the management of fishing, tourism, and environmental conservation groups. The involvement of women in the rural economy and development is an extension of the domestic role of women, while they have less experience and capital to actively participate in rural politics. The implications are the importance to support women's representation through affirmative and political education for village women, i.e. as politic rights, the functions of village deliberation board, the rules of village administration, and others. Also, need to train government officials for gender sensitiveness, so gradually it can support women's equal representation in rural politics.

Keywords: coastal women, rural development, rural politics

Introduction

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Few studies discuss women, politics, and development in Indonesia at the lowest level of government, namely village, particularly in coastal areas. The coastal zone is an area identical with poverty, low education level, lack of health facilities, unclean environment, and away from the rural politics echoes which currently becomes academicians and NGOs activists' concerns. Studies on women and politics in Indonesia do not comprehensively examine rural women while most Indonesian women live in rural areas. Viewing village women only from a political standpoint seems to neglect the large contribution of rural women in other areas of development. Many studies on women and politics in Indonesia highlight the 30% quota since the 2004 Legislative Election. Davies (2005), for example, wrote about the development of public recognition of women's right to participate in politics in Indonesia following the agreement of Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Meanwhile, Mörmel and Schweisshelm (2009) wrote that the increase of political representation of women in the 2009 Election is due to a celebrity factor because some the women candidates come from the artist or the political figure's daughters. In line with the study, Soeseno's (2014) study shows the political representation of women closely associated with the typology of political parties in Indonesia as cadre seekers.

At the provincial and district government levels, Rhoads (2012) examines the low women participation in Bali Province caused by money politics, the revitalization of customs, the strengthening of local identity through decentralization, and the collective memory of the women movement attached to the PKI (Indonesia Communist Party), namely Gerwani. Another study from Hastuti Dewi (2015) elaborates the success of Muslim women leaders as regional heads, such as Rustriningsih (from Kebumen District), Siti Qomariyah (from Pekalongan District), and Ratna Ani Lestari (from Banyuwangi District). In her explanation, Islam, gender, and social networking became an important factor in supporting the victory of women who run for regional heads. See also the in-depth review of the Hastuti Dewi's study from Afrianty (2015).

Although the aforementioned studies seem to be complex in assessing women and politics in Indonesia, only a few studies do emphasize on the importance of women in political and development constellation at the village level as has been stipulated by Law no. 6 The Year 2014 on Village, especially in coastal areas. It is generally known that Indonesia is an enormous country and a large part of its people live in rural areas. The village is a politically authorized government organization since it is the smallest government unit in Indonesia. Thus, a study on women in the context of politics and rural development actually talks about the portrait of the majority of women in Indonesia at the lowest levels of politics and development, the portrait of how they participate in speech and organization as the political map changes in the reform era since the Soeharto (New Order) government collapsed (1998).

In the New Order period, according to Soeharto's policy that focused on economic growth and national stability, the village was regulated in Law No. 5 of 1979 on Villages. The law confirms the village government form and does not recognize village diversity based on customs. At that time, the entire government structure at the lowest level of state bureaucracy changed its name from the each of indigenous structure to village or *kelurahan* following the structural model applied in Java (Maschab, 2013). When the reforms took place, the villagers were barely involved in the reform movement (Maschab, 2013: 139), because of the reforms more involved urban and educated communities. The fall of the New Order brought about a change in the arrangement of central and regional power relations. In this case, the policy on the village is integrated into the law on local government, namely No. 22 The Year 1999 on

Regional Government which subsequently replaced the Law No. 32 The Year 2004 on Regional Government. The amendment also provides for the position of the village as an autonomous institution. In other words, the transformation also promotes democratization with information disclosure and changes in the political behavior of rural communities.

Now that politics in this country is increasingly occupied with political liberalization and decentralization of power from national governments to the local level, the study of politics and rural development becomes significant. One of them is the study of women in rural politics which may be far from publicity, unlike the widespread coverage of female migrant workers who are predominantly from rural areas. The study of women, politics, and rural development become vital and noteworthy, especially with the enactment of Law no. 6 The Year 2014 on Villages that provide a great space for strengthening the autonomy of village and involving rural communities in village-level decision-making processes.

This study aims to explain the gap between the lack of participation of coastal women in rural politics and the extensive contribution of women in the rural economy and development? As a hypothesis, this paper assumes that the gap between the low participation of women in rural politics and the strong contribution of women in economy and rural development is due to the lack of experience and capital of women to be active in politics, while the participation of women in rural coastal areas in the economic field is due to the close participation of women's activities in the realm domestic. This study focuses on villages in the southern coastal areas of Java, especially in Kebumen District. The selection of coastal areas based on the fact that in the midst of rare studies of women in politics and rural development, even less is actually a study on women, politics and the development of coastal villages.

Currently, coastal areas become the main concern of President Joko Widodo who wants the state of Indonesia becomes the maritime state which is independent, advanced, strong, and based on national interests. Consequently, empowerment programs for coastal communities are initiated by the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (KKP). To elaborate, the article is divided into six sections; the first part is an introduction to this study urgency which elaborates women involvement in rural politics and coastal development; the second part presents literature review on women involved in politics and rural development; the third section presents the research method by using a qualitative research method; the fourth section discusses the low representation in the political process and the village administration; the fifth section presents the important contribution of women in various development programs; the sixth part is the conclusion of the whole women depictions in coastal rural areas supported by various suggestions for promoting women representation especially in politics and village administration.

Literature Review on Women Involvement in Politics and Rural Development

Theoretically, women involvement in village politics cannot be separated from the theory of the importance of women involved in the legislature. In this case, The Village Deliberation Board (BPD) has a similar function to the legislative body, facilitating the aspirations of village communities and supervising the performance of village heads. The legislative body has the function of legislation, budgeting, and supervision. Thus the presence of women in BPD is actually significant to represent the village women interests. Pitkin (in Lovenduski, 2008: 38) states that representation is to represent an activity that makes the citizen's perspective, opinion, and voice "present" in the public policy-making process ". When women in BPD can act on behalf of the interests represented, Squires (1999: 202) declares

representation as a form of acting for the sake of represented principles. In this context, it is important to bring more women into BPD, in accordance with the principle of political presence (Phillips, 1995), that women can present themselves in the political process according to the principle of political equality. Hence, the number of men and women in BPD should be proportional according to the village population. What Phillips states about the importance of women presence in politics is in line with Norris's (2003) notion that women's representation in politics can support the emergence of specifically required policies.

In the context of rural development, the intended policy concerns the village regulations that accommodate the women interests in rural areas. Village government as the smallest government unit in Indonesia allows the village government, members of BPD and the community to interact intensively. Referring to the view of Cornwall (2004), participation has four levels starting from the lowest level, i.e. consultation, presence, representation, to the highest level, influence. Participation in consultation levels means citizens are only asked for certain information without being involved in the decision-making process. Then in the present level, citizens are present in the decision-making process but it fluctuates depending on the issue that becomes the policy focus. Afterward, at the representation level, citizens have been represented in the process of policy formulation, or in other words, there is a standard representative function in policymaking. The highest level of participation is when citizens are able to influence the process and substance of policies (participation of influence). As the smallest government unit in Indonesia, it allows intensive engagement between the village government and the community. In this regard, Cornwall and Gaventa (2001: 3) state that participation has expanded in various aspects of life as an effort to influence the decision-making process including social policy. Strengthening citizen involvement is expected to encourage their understanding of needs and perspectives. In the context of village government, it allows intensive community involvement in the political process and development in the village until it reaches the form of influence participation.

Research Method

This study focuses on assessing women's involvement in politics and rural development the south coast of Java. The southern coastal areas in this research refer to Kebumen District of Central Java Province, especially Jogosimo Village, Tegalretno Village, and Tanggulangin Village of Klirong Sub-district. This study applies the qualitative method in constructing social reality, cultural meaning, and more focus on interactive processes and events (Newman, 1994: 14). The flexibility of qualitative research also makes it easier for researchers to determine the research steps. To collect primary data, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted while secondary data were collected through documentation studies. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted involving women managing empowerment programs, women in village government, women in working groups, village government, community leaders and others. Data analysis is done at all times as collecting data simultaneously. It started with data clarification for consistency, followed by a theoretical abstraction of information and facts in the field, which allows generating fundamental statements and then drawing conclusions (Silbergh, 2001: 173-175).

Dynamics of Politics and Coastal Village Governance: The Importance of Women Presence

The source history of political and governance development of a region is one of the most difficult issues to find including remote areas like coastal villages of Kebumen District. Regarding the scarce sources, seeking women figures who participate in political and governmental sectors is difficult even more. Should a woman name emerges, she does not occupy the top leader. Rather, women usually occupy the domestic domain.

From a few of historical documentation of Jogosimo Village formed since 1946, no women occupy positions as village heads until now. It means that since the period of colonialism, independence, the Old Order government, the New Order, until the current reform era, men always take a position as a top leader at the level of village government. The same condition also occurred in the village of Tegalretno which was established in 1922. It has never had a female village head until now. Similarly, in Tanggulangin established in 1924, no woman who became the head of the village (History and Structure of Village Government, 2015: 5-17).

The absence of women as village heads in the coastal villages of Kebumen District from the past to present shows that men are the dominant figure in rural politics in this area. Even when the political changes in which the reform era are occupied with the demands of participation of every element of society, including women groups, the reality of the winds of change does not blow the remote coastal villages.

Since the Reformation, the village is regulated in Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government, and subsequently replaced by Law No.32 of 2004 on Regional Government. In this case, the election mechanism of village head stays the same in both laws, namely direct election. Only the term of office changes, from ten years to six years at most. However, it did not bring a change for women's underdevelopment to occupy the highest rank in village administration. The shorter term of office could have opened up opportunities for all elements of society to participate in village governance. Yet the village heads of coastal areas are still dominated by men. When Law No. 6 of 2014 on Village is enacted, the tenure of the village head is unchanged. However, the term of office of the last village heads is not yet completed regarding the election period.

The absence of women in village politics and government over time shows no gender balance. Even by observing nearly equal women-men population in rural areas, it appears that women are not a minority group; meaning that it should not be considered a minority. For instance, in 2015, the population composition of Jogosimo Village: 1,377 female and 1,475 male; Tegalretno: 869 women and 984 men; Tanggulangin: 1,433 female and 1,508 male (Klirong sub-district in Number 2015).

Direct election of village heads should have been a political space that promotes equal representation of women and men. The election could have been one of the places for women to get involved in rural politics. In fact, women do not present themselves in politics or according to the concept of political presence (Anne Phillips, 1995: 30), by principle of political equality, it allows each person to be counted one, not exceeding the other so that the number of individual presence in political and governmental institutions becomes balanced and representative according to the actual population.

Similarly, if we note the current structure of village government organizations in the three coastal villages, not only is the number of women fewer than men, but also the women position is not far from the domestic domain. Out of the 11 levels of government administration

in each of the villages, there is only one woman in village government, or there are no women in the governance structure at all. Read more in Table 1 below.

Table 1.
Governmental Organization Structure of the Three Coastal Villages

| Position | Jogosimo | | Tegalretno | | Tanggulangin | |
|---|----------|------|------------|------|--------------|------|
| | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male |
| Village Head | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Village Secretary | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Governmental Affairs | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Developmental Affairs | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Public Affairs | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Financial Affairs | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Head of Welfare Affairs | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| Head of <i>Dusun</i> (sub-village) I-IV | 1 | 3 | - | 3 | - | 3 |

Source: Governmental Structure of Jogosimo, Tegalretno, Tanggulangin Village, 2013-2019

Laws and legislation on the election of village heads included in the substance of Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government and Law No.32 of 2004 on Regional Government is gender-neutral or applies equally to both women and men without providing affirmative policies for women to appear more in executive positions in the village. This reflects the village political domain is a free and competitive domain to run for the election process. It is a principle of "competitive equality", i.e. there is no need for women and men differentiation as the policy of eliminating formal barriers by granting the right to be elected and voted to both men and women is considered sufficient to solve the problem (Dahlerup, 1998: 95).

The national political echo of the spirit of gender mainstreaming policy since Presidential Instruction No.9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming and the 30% quota policy of women in the legislature since the 2004 Legislative Election is inadequate to encourage more village women to occupy government positions. After Law No. 6 of 2014 on the Village has been stipulated, the village head election regulations remain gender neutral which means providing equal opportunities between women and men without certain affirmative policies to support the emergence of female leaders. In fact, Pippa Noris (2003) claims that to encourage women's representation in politics requires a certain policy support in accordance with the condition of each country.

Factors contributing to the low participation of women in politics and government in coastal villages include;

First, instead of being farmers, women in coastal villages also have much to do with fisheries socio-economic roles, such as managing and marketing fish, processed fish production, food production rather than being actively involved in the political process and village governance; Second, high political costs for women's participation in the village head electoral process, whereas the average females in coastal villages rely on fish caught or agricultural products by their husbands;

Third, the women's education average is low, since most of them are primary school graduate or even not graduated. The number of inhabitants of Jogosimo village with no education or primary school graduate reaches 63% and Tegalretno's reaches 61% (Coastal Zone Profile, 2015). As a result, many women in coastal areas are not supported by adequate resources to take part in village politics and government.

According to the cultural situation in the rural areas, the strong contribution of women in the field of development economics is an extension of the work done by women at home. Processing food and always trying to meet the needs of food is a role commonly used by rural women including rural areas in coastal areas. The fisherman, their husband works out by catching fish in the sea that spends up to several days. Such conditions make women the main figure in meeting the needs of everyday families. Thus, when women work to produce processed fish and sell it, it actually describes women's customs in their domestic work. It also causes women on the coast to appear shackled in socio-economic work that depends on male productivity as the breadwinner. Meanwhile, to participate in the rural politics, women need funding support that is difficult to obtain, because coastal women rely more on living livelihood from the fish caught by husband, which fish are managed by women, directly sold or become fish processed products. Involvement in politics also requires extensive knowledge, while the educational level of coastal women in South Java is mostly at the primary school level.

Actually, the women underdevelopment in politics and government in coastal villages is not much different from other villages in Indonesia. The results of the YSKK NGO study in Gunung Kidul District of Yogyakarta Province and the Puskapol UI study in Sidomulyo Village of Batu City, East Java Province, Belabori Village of Gowa District, South Sulawesi Province, and Noelbaki Village of Kupang District, East Nusa Tenggara Province indicate that the low involvement of women in village politics is caused by 1) the absence of affirmative policies that support women's representation in politics; 2) the high cost of political election of village heads which burden women who largely depend on husbands in terms of income, whereas the highest political costs are actually used for unofficial expenses; 3) low resource of women, due to low education level; 4) socio-cultural aspects that favor men over women (YSKK, 2013); (Puskapol UI, 2014).

Indeed, there is optimism for increasing political representation of women through BPD. In accordance with Law No. 6, The Year 2014 on Village, membership of BPD has been supported by affirmative policies in terms of women's membership. BPD is a body assigned to 1) discuss and agree on village regulations draft with village heads; 2) to accommodate and facilitate the aspirations of village communities; 3) to supervise the village head performance (Law No. 6 of 2014 on Village 2014: 18). The number of members of BPD shall be determined by the odd number, of at least five persons and nine persons at most by taking account of the territory, women, population, and financial capacity of the village. Unfortunately, the number of female members of BPD coastal villages is very low. BPD Jogosimo village consists of 9 members (8 men and 1 woman) while BPD Tegalretno Village consists of 7 members (6 men and 1 woman). Interestingly, the head of Desa Tegalretno BPD is a woman and the secretary of BPD Jogosimo village is a woman as well. Of course, this is quite encouraging, in the midst of infrequent women representation, she becomes the BPD chairperson. Women representation in BPD is important as women population is almost equal to men and they also become direct beneficiary groups of policies approved by BPD. In the case of women requirement, the women themselves undoubtedly understand their own need the most, such as health, social, economic, employment, and so forth. In this context, regarding the small scope, it enables both village

government and community to engage more intensive interaction, and the village government easily recognizes local demands of the community especially women population which is not the minority. Ironically, it does not occur. In the BPD membership, it only takes one woman in each village, an unfavorable condition relating to the level of representation and voting-based decision-making process.

The law of participation of women in politics is contrary to the contribution of women to the economic activities of coastal development. As mentioned above, it is an extension of the domestic workings of women at home, who are accustomed to cultivating and feeding the family. In line with the custom, women also take strong positions in empowerment activities, community groups, or environmental management. For that reason, the next section of this paper describes the contribution of coastal rural women in economic activities and development programs.

Coastal Women in Empowerment Program: Contestation amidst Affirmative Policies

The southern coastal area of Java, especially Kebumen District is unique. Despite their locations, the local people not only rely on fish catching for the living but also farming. One of the factors is the strong Indian Ocean waves that fishermen cannot go fishing every day. It causes the area prone to abrasion, tsunami, or strong wind. Actually, the area is potential for coastal tourism development, coastal ecosystems or agriculture yet it is now much damaged by sand mining and shrimp embankment by investors. In contrast, the majority of residents do not live prosperously with inadequate infrastructure.

All of those conditions form the basis for the coastal villages including Jogosimo Village, Tegalretno Village and Tanggulangin Village to receive empowerment program entitled Resilient Coastal Areas Development (PKPT) from the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries in the period 2015-2016, under the coordination of the local Marine and Fishing Service. In this program, Marine and Fishing Service were assisted by co-team formed through the selection process consisting of 4 people. Currently, there is women representation (3 men and 1 woman). The PKPT manager at the village level is the Coastal Communities Group. Interestingly, Coastal Communities Group considers the women representation importantly. Each Coastal Communities Group has 4 members (3 men and 1 woman). Although the representation of coastal women is only one in the Coastal Communities Group, the affirmative spirit of the Marine and Fishing Service of Kebumen District should be appreciated as an effort to encourage women involvement in PKPT program management.

The PKPT program is an empowerment program that combines top-down and bottom-up approach. In relation to the top-down, the 2015 PKPT Technical Guideline becomes the main basis for the establishment of program activities. PKPT also uses a bottom-up approach through the preparation of an activity program called the Coastal Development Plan through a participatory village forum. The Coastal Development Plan preparation takes account of the planning in Village Mid-Term Development Plan. In practice, this generates a paradox. On the one hand, PKPT tries to participate in absorbing the aspirations of all elements of coastal villages; on the other hand, the determination of program activities by Marine and Fishing Service after all still refer to the PKPT Technical Guidelines.

In the aforementioned context, the involvement of women and all elements of society start from PKPT socialization in the beginning of each year (2015 and 2016). However, although PKPT has tried to involve all elements of society, the socialization is more understood by PKPT management and village administration by hardly involving the lowest level of society. PKPT socialization is mostly understood only by the managers of Coastal

Communities Group, village government, and village counseling teams of Marine and Fishing Service, not all elements of society. In particular, despite their representatives in Coastal Communities Group, not all women groups understand PKPT. For example, women take part in only 20% in socialization activities.

Similar conditions also occur during the Coastal Development Plan drafting without involving larger community elements. In the preparation of 2015 the Coastal Development Plan, Jogosimo, Tegalretno, and Tanggulangin were represented by only 15 people for each including village government, BPD, Karang Taruna (the youth group), LPMD (the village empowerment group), PKK (the women group), and community leaders. Besides, in the preparation of 2015, the Coastal Development Plan and the review of 2016 the Coastal Development Plan, not all program activities are in accordance with the real potentials of the community. Moreover, the provision which requires the Village Mid-Term Development Plan as the main reference causes many citizen proposals regarding PKPT program activities cannot be accommodated because they are not in Village Mid-Term Development Plan. Then, PKPT Technical Guidelines has to be the basis for determining the program of PKPT activity by Marine and Fishing Service. In other words, forums that should have been participatory cannot absorb people's aspirations effectively.

The process of preparing each Village Mid-Term Development Plan does not have an affirmative rule that requires women involvement at the particular percentage to attend the meeting, referring to Law No. 6 of 2014 on the Village. Village meetings are held to discuss strategic matters in the administration. Similarly, in the Coastal Development Plan drafting, there is no affirmation policy on the quota of women's presence. Nonetheless, women are already involved in the PKPT forum in spite of low number. Out of 15 people who participated in 2015 the Coastal Development Plan drafting forum in Jogosimo Village, 5 or 33% were women from village government and community elements, while the Coastal Development Plan of Tegalretno Village was followed by 2 or 13% women, and the Coastal Development Plan of Tanggulangin Village followed by 4 or 26% women.

PKPT programs were conducted for two consecutive years in 2015-2016. In this program, there were activities directly related to and involved women while other programs related to the procurement of facilities and infrastructure. Those programs are explained in details in the following table:

Table 2.
PKPT Programs in Three Coastal Villages and Women Involvement

| Village | 2015 | Women Involvement | 2016 | Women Involvement |
|----------------|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Jogosimo | Procurement of Fish processing instruments | Procurement ideas, instrument users | Disaster Preparedness | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Training on fish nugget | Trainee, beneficiaries | Institutional training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Training on freshwater fish culture | Trainee, the organizing committee | | |
| Tegalretno | Training on <i>nata de coco</i> | Trainee, beneficiaries | Training on Disaster Preparedness | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Procurement of instruments for <i>nata de coco</i> | Ideas initiator, instruments users | Institutional training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |

| | | | | |
|--------------|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| | Planting of pine trees | Initiator and executor | | |
| | Training on palm sugar | Trainee, beneficiaries | | |
| Tanggulangin | Training on Fish nugget | Trainee, beneficiaries | Training on Disaster Preparedness | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Procurement of Fish processing instruments | Ideas initiator, instruments users | Institutional training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Training on Marketing | Trainee, Beneficiaries | Procurement of Fish processing instruments | Ideas initiator, instruments users |

Source: *Report of PKPT Program 2015*, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2015; *Report of PKPT 2016 Program*, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2016.

Although not all direct activity concerned with the women necessity, efforts to incorporate programs closely linked to women involvement are interesting among the lack of women representation in village governance structures and Coastal Communities Group. This can be seen by requiring women presence as a form of their involvement as participants and proposing ideas on particular matters, such as training on making fish nugget, nata de coco drink, palm sugar, joint-business training, even their involvement in disaster preparedness and institutional training. In relation to women involved in empowerment programs, a study from Cornwall (2016: 356) suggests that a contemporary form of empowerment development shall be initiation started and ended by increasing women's access to resources to encourage women to understand their own needs as women, as citizens, as well as human beings.

At the beginning of PKPT activities, Marine and Fishing Service and PKPT team distributed questionnaires to the community of three PKPT recipients by setting up criteria of resilience on human, business, resource, environment, and disaster preparedness and climate change aspects. At the end of the activity, similar questionnaires were also distributed again to see the impact of PKPT program on the resilience of coastal communities. Figure 1 below is the result of the analysis showing that for Jogosimo Village, the value of community resilience increases in terms of human (1.5); business (3); environment/infrastructure (0.5); disaster preparedness and climate change (0.5). Nevertheless, there is no increase in the resource. Next, for Tegalretno Village, the value of resilience rises especially the aspect of human (2.5); business (6); environment/infrastructure (2), disaster preparedness and climate change (0.5). Similar to Jogosimo Village, the resilience value of resources is still stagnant. The results of Tanggulangin are somewhat different from the previous ones. The PKPT program is relatively less successful in increasing the community resilience in various aspects. There is no improvement in terms of human, resource, disaster preparedness, and climate change. Only on business aspect does increase up to 0.5. Even the value of environment or infrastructure fell 0.5.

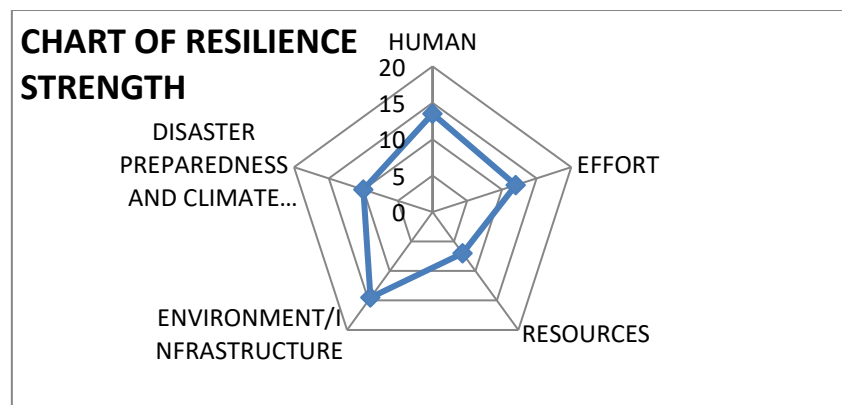
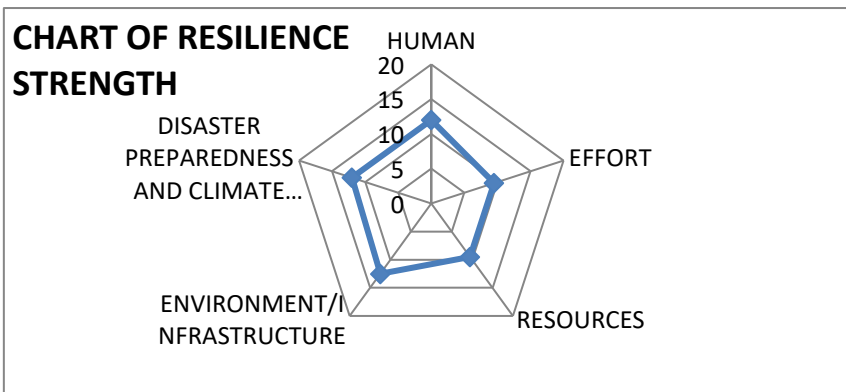
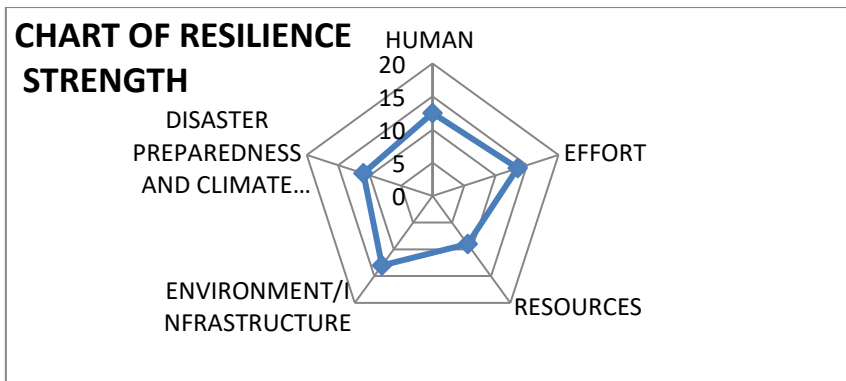


Figure 1.
Impact of PKPT on Coastal Villages Community Resilience
(Jogosimo, Tanggulangin, and Tegalretno)

Source: Program Report of PKPT 2015, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2015; Program Report of PKPT 2016, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2016.

Although Marine and Fishing Service evaluation adequately describes the assessment of community resilience in the three coastal villages, they did not specifically sort out the impact of the PKPT program on women. In fact, from the beginning of socialization, planning, and implementation, women were also involved in this stage although their representatives were less balanced than men. A gender-disaggregated resilience assessment can actually be useful for evaluating the existence of PKPT programs to the extent that it can specifically

encourage women resilience in various aspects including resources, business, disaster preparedness, environmental management, whether women's resilience is equal to men or not.

As part of society with the nearly equal population with men, with equally strategic positions and roles in coastal areas, the contribution of coastal women cannot be underestimated. In fishery, women play an important role in managing post-fish catching, marketing, and processing of various fish products to support income. Similarly, their role is significant in the agricultural sector which constitutes an important sector in the coastal area of Kebumen District. Agriculture in the coastal areas tends to be classified as the dry land so the suitable crops for this type are horticulture, i.e. corn, peanut, chili, watermelon, and papaya (Coastal Area Profile, 2015). In this regard, women play an important role in planting, crops growing, harvesting and marketing.

Another important contribution of coastal women to the economic aspects is seen in their involvement in various fishing business groups. In particular, in Jogosimo village, there are fish farming groups (pokdakan) such as Mina Jaya and Simo Fish, as well as processing and marketing group (pohlasar) like Mino Rini Putri. The Simo Fish and Mino Rini Putri groups are headed by a woman. Meanwhile, in Tegalretno, there are Manok Jaya pokdakan and Sumber Rejeki and Mekar Sari poklahsar. Sumber Rejeki and Mekar Sari groups are also headed by a woman. Furthermore, in Tanggulangin Village, there are pokdakan of Mina Sari Lukulo, Muji Rahayu and Karya Mina Sejahtera, and poklahsar of Mino Kencono, Telaga Mina Sar, and Mina Harapan. Mino Kencono and Mina Harapan groups are led by a woman. The data shows that women involvement in post-fishing and fish marketing is quite prominent. The conditions of high waves the Indian Ocean and sometimes with extreme weather force fishermen to stay at home sometimes without going fishing. Consequently, they develop fish farming. Alternatively, the community also farms on dry land or gardening. In this context, women contribution is relatively well-balanced and equally important to men in supporting the economic life of coastal fishermen.

Other important women contribution is their involvement in the development of coastal tourism and environmental management. Kebumen coastal areas have high tourism potentials. There is a stretch of mangroves, grass, lagoon, and sand dune that adds to the beauty of the coast as well as a tidal wave barrier or tsunami wave and seawater intrusion. Regrettably, the increasing development of shrimp ponds around the lagoon and large-scale illegal sand mine damages coastal ecosystems. Shrimp ponds developed in the coastal border also damage the environment due to poorly treated ponds. In fact, the management of resources and environment in coastal areas is regulated in Law No.1 Year 2014 on the Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands. Related to these conditions, women are also involved in maintaining coastal resources and environments through the planting of mangrove, pine trees and ketapang trees more extensively. The development of greenbelt by planting pandanus trees, sea pine, and nyamplung trees is also done through PKPT program in Tegalretno and Tanggulangin Village. Currently, coastal vegetation has been increased by the planting of sea pine trees that also serves as a barrier to seawater vapor. Another PKPT program related to coastal tourism management and involving women participation is disaster preparedness training conducted by comparative studies in Timbulsoko Village, Demak District.

The description of coastal women in support of the rural development programs shows that women have important positions and contributions. In particular, what can be carried out by coastal women is filled with contestation between forms of involvement that may be less balanced because of male dominance in terms of numbers and types performed. Yet this is

when coastal women are able to show their existence. In PKPT program, for example, when women representation in the Coastal Communities Group is only provided for one of three people, the idea shared by the female member is not less strategic. When the PKPT programming forum was conducted, the initial form of involvement was the women present in the Coastal Development Plan drafting, as Cornwall (2004) called participation. When women are asked to convey an issue and current issues in the coastal environment and what needs to be a priority scale, according to Cornwall (2004) this is the participation of consultation. Not only being asked to propose, women participation can influence the set policy. Although not in an ideal model of representation and participation, the contribution of coastal women in the PKPT program potentially to be influence or participation capable of influencing policy processes and substances (Cornwall, 2004). This is reflected, among others, by various programs of activities close to and directly related to women such as training of various processed fish products and industry. This condition can be compared to, for example, the study of Eder (2005: 147) that gender differences in coastal communities affect the extent to which the advantages and disadvantages of coastal resource management programs can be felt by the community. According to him, gender differences also lead to limited community participation, thus it is important for the government to encourage more local communities' role in coastal resource management. So far women of the coastal area of Kebumen have shown significant contribution as an initiator, implementer, and beneficiary in various PKPT empowerment programs.

Instead of the empowerment program, the coastal women contribution also appears in their management role of various fishermen groups. This is a contestation when it is generally accepted that coastal women are left behind and even politically less actively participate and women do not take an equal role with men. However, in the socio-economic aspect like in the management of fishery groups, women occupy the strategic position. Fishery business of fishery catch and production is influenced by the women contribution in the management of post fishing, processing, and marketing. In terms of political process and village governance, coastal women may not take a role in the structure but in other development sectors, they have shown significant contributions. In fact, the contribution of women in these business groups is their social capital to engage in other fields, such as politics and government. In this case, coastal women have social capital in the form of networking among members or groups supported by the confidence that ease them to cooperate. Referring to Robert Putnam et.al (1993: 36), social capital is a set of horizontal relationships among people which consists of networks of civic engagements governed by norms which influence group productivity. To involve in the political and governmental area, the women actually have adequate social capital.

Conclusion

This paper finally draws on the conclusion that among least studies on women, politics and rural development in coastal areas, this study shows that the contribution of coastal women is present and potential. Considering the number of attendance in the political and governance process, women representation is low and unbalanced with a nearly equal population with men. Nevertheless, this study is optimistic that women representation in politics and village government potentially increases. At least, in the absence of women heads of villages of the three coastal villages of Kebumen District, there are BPD chairwoman and BPD female secretary. It is worth considering for policymakers to encourage the women representation in

politics and government at village-level by providing affirmative policies in village head elections and making minimum quotas for women representation in BPD.

In contrast, the women contribution in coastal development can be seen in their involvement in the PKPT empowerment program. In this regard, the policies of Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries and Marine and Fishing Service Kebumen District have established affirmative policies for women participation as managers of the empowerment program. Unfortunately, the minimum presence of women in village meetings and forums of PKPT programming activities have not supported the affirmation. Even so, there is recognition of the intensive women involvement. It is shown in the existence of some PKPT program activities that are close and directly related to women interests. Thus, coastal women can act as initiators, actors, and beneficiaries. The contribution of coastal women is also supported by their important position in managing fishing groups, tourism development, and environmental conservation. The gap between the low participation of women in rural politics and the strong contribution of women in the economy and rural development is due to the lack of experience and women's capital to be active in politics, while the participation of women in rural coastal areas in the economic field is due to the close participation of women's activities in the domestic sphere. The conclusion of this study is in accordance with the author's hypothesis above.

What these coastal women can do, in fact, potentially become women social capital to initiate political and governmental success through the strengthening and coordination of their social networks. It implies political education and training for them is indispensable. The intended political education includes the political rights of the citizens, the duties and functions of the village deliberation board (BPD) and the village government, the rules of village administration, the management of the village funds, and others. Political education for coastal women can be started from spaces in their groups, namely fishing business groups, the development of coastal tourism groups, and environmental management groups. This will make them have an earlier political experience.

However, political education will not be sufficient if the male-dominated village government officials do not have gender sensitivity. That means they also need to get training on gender equality. The joint awareness process through the training of political education for rural women and training for village government officials on gender sensitiveness in the political process and village development is expected to support gender equality in politics and governance although gradually.

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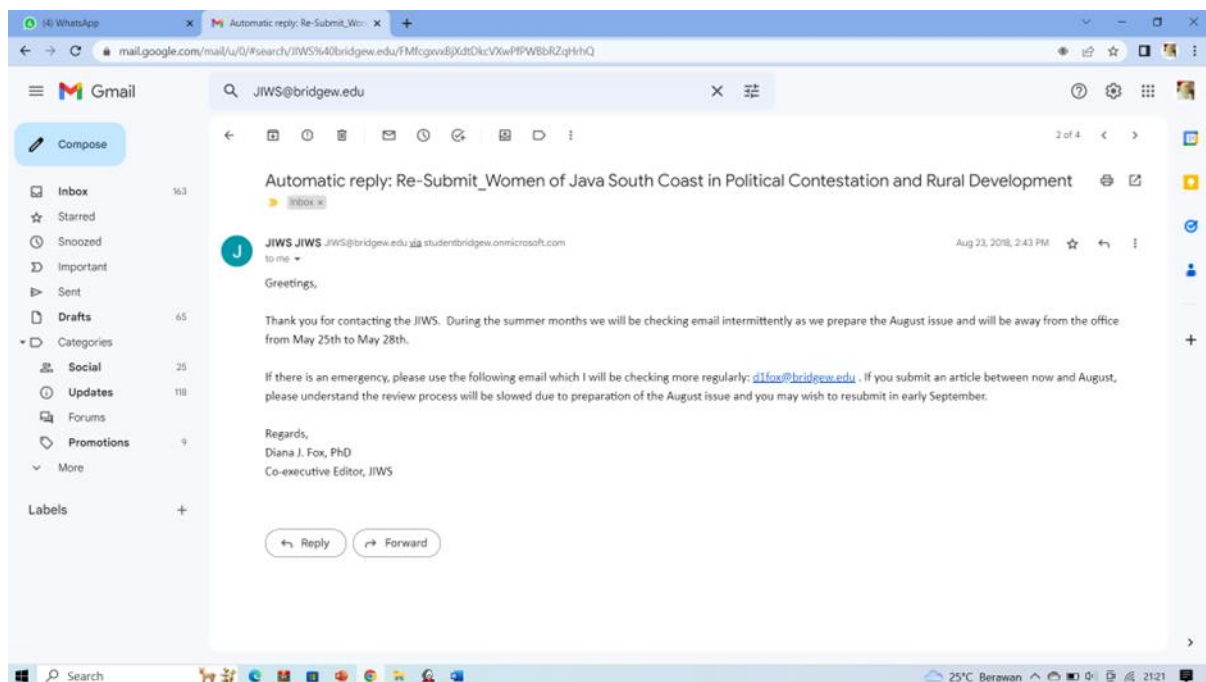
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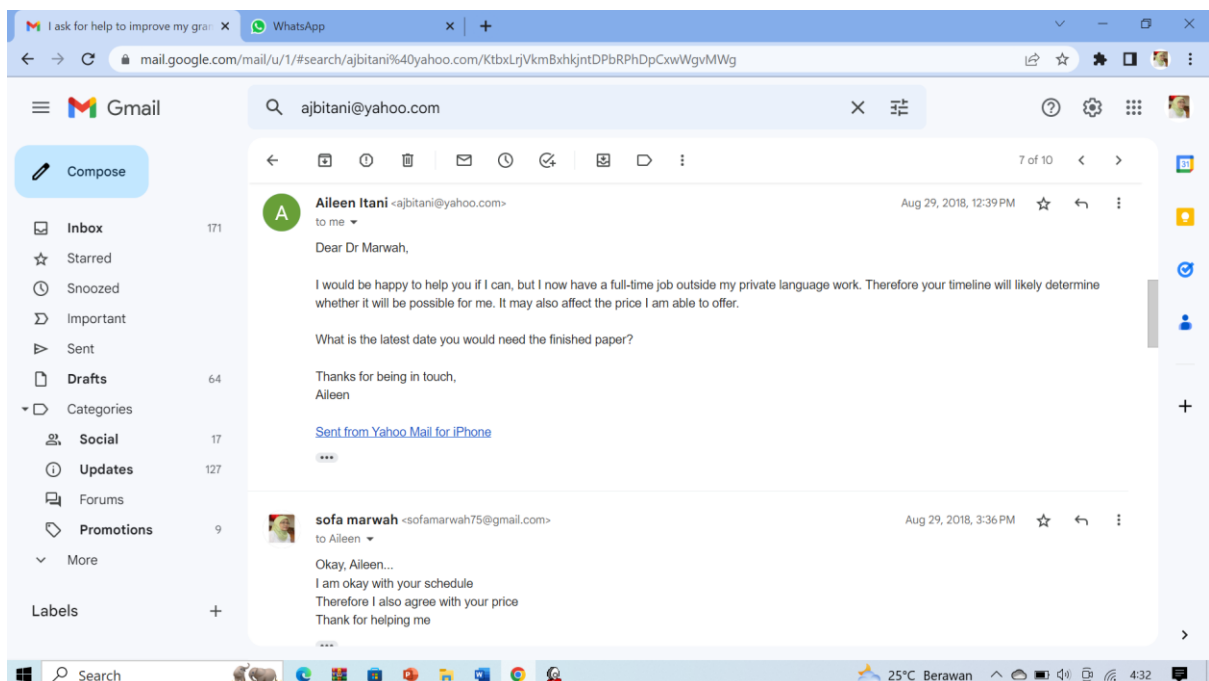
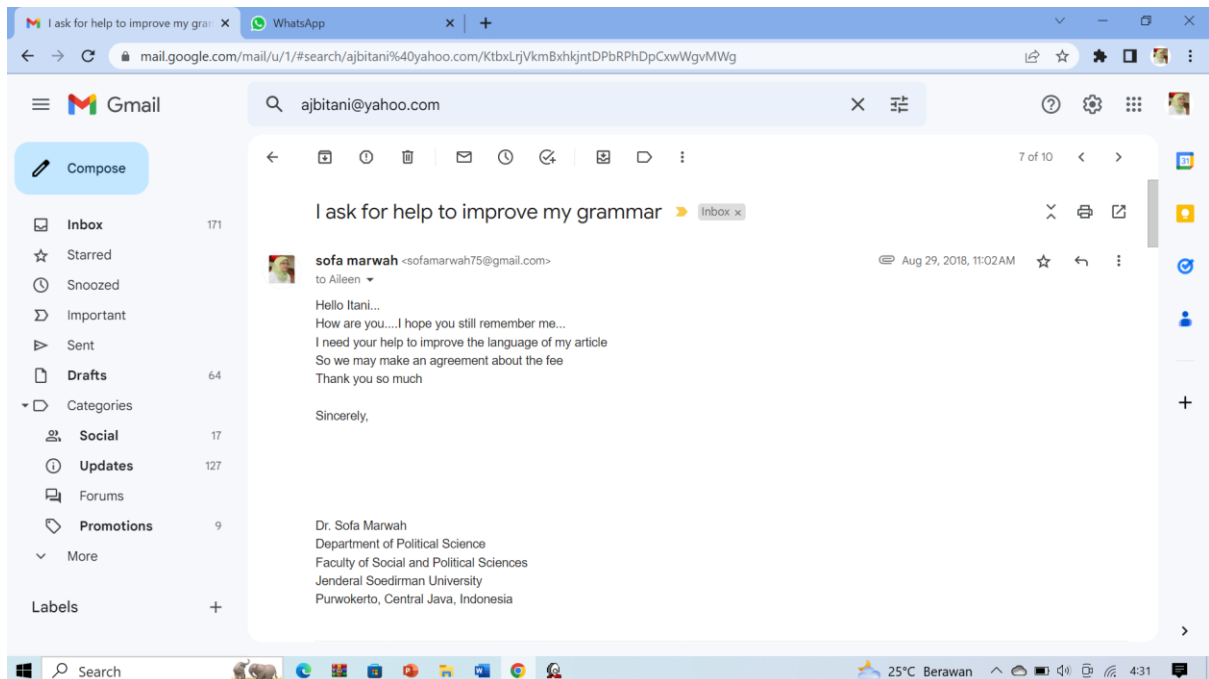
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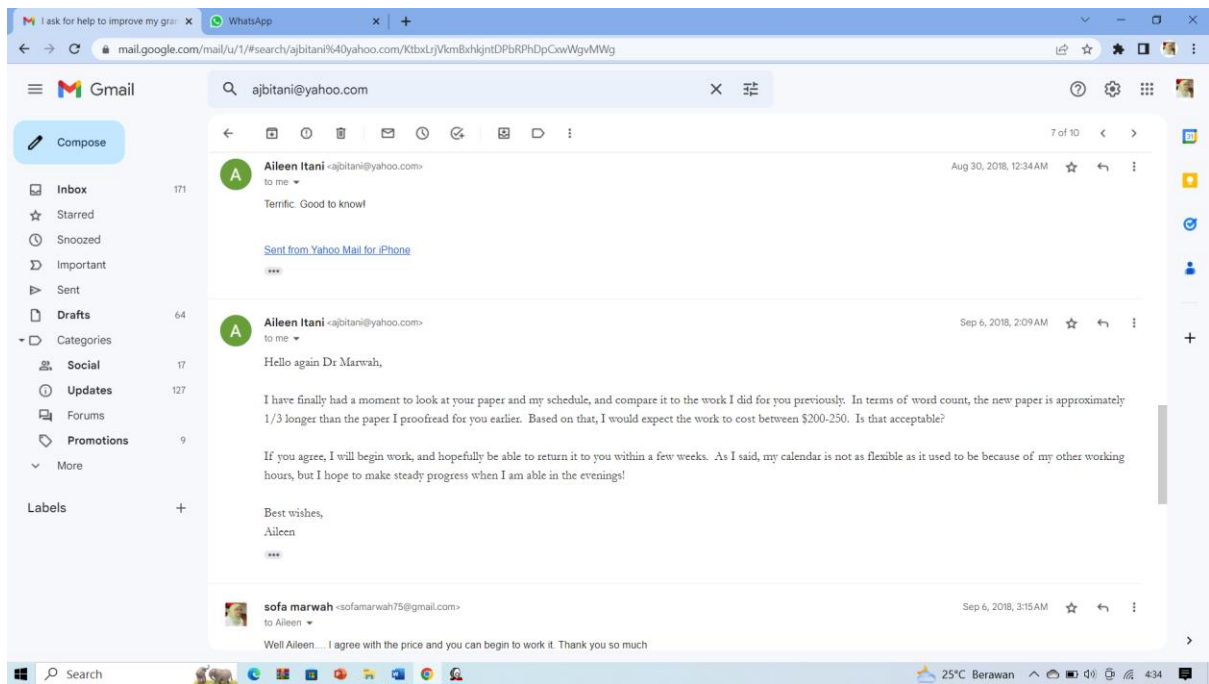
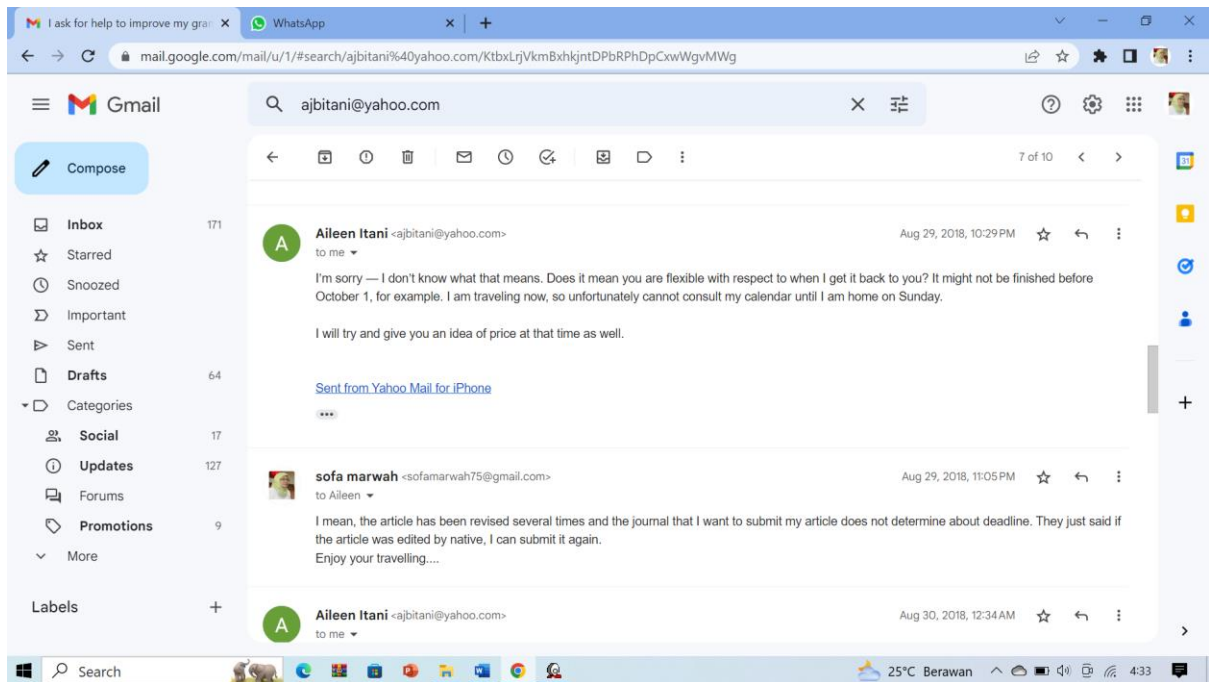
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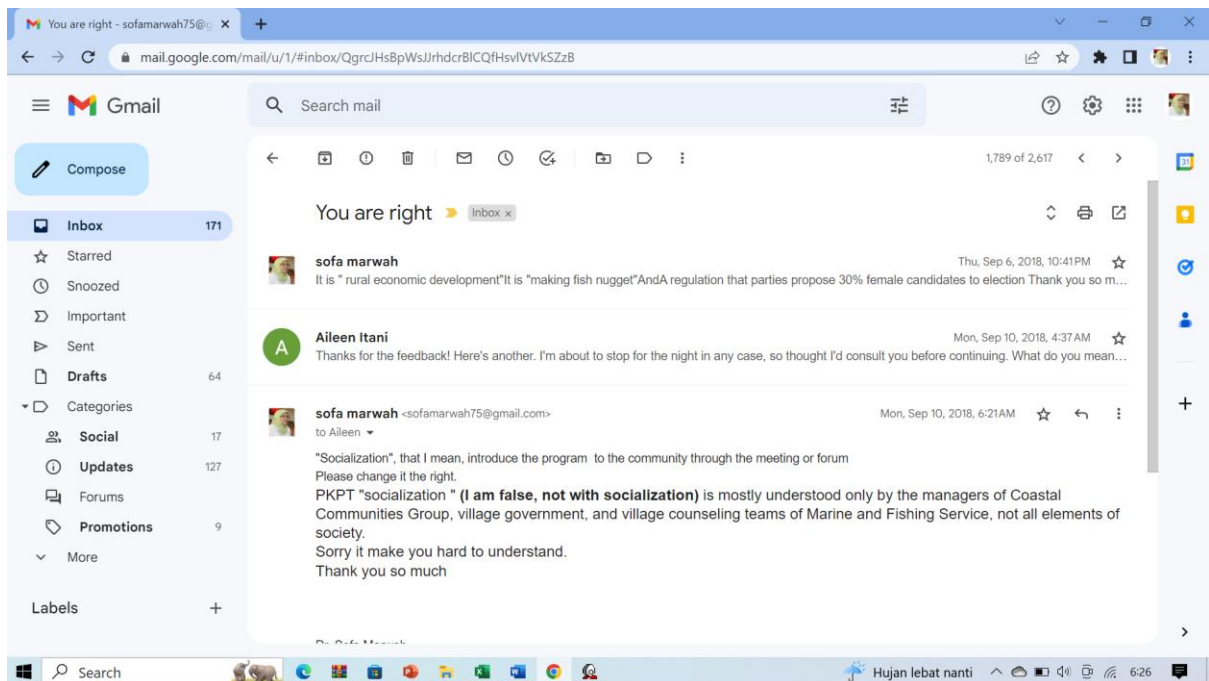
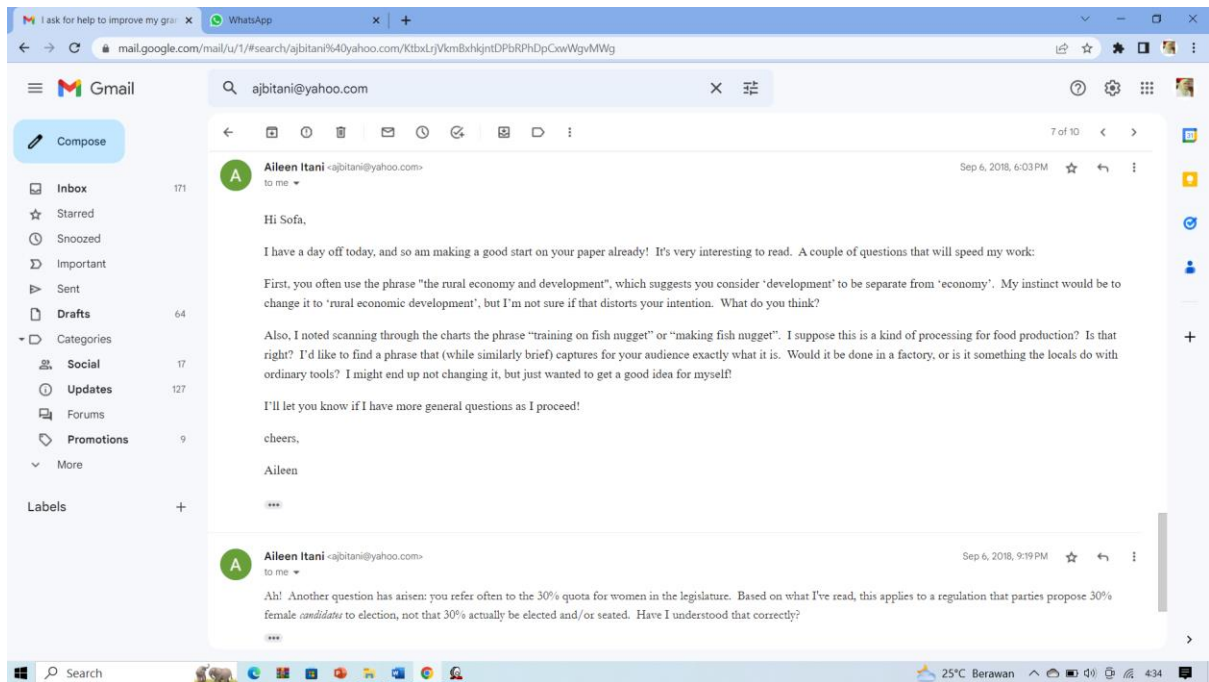
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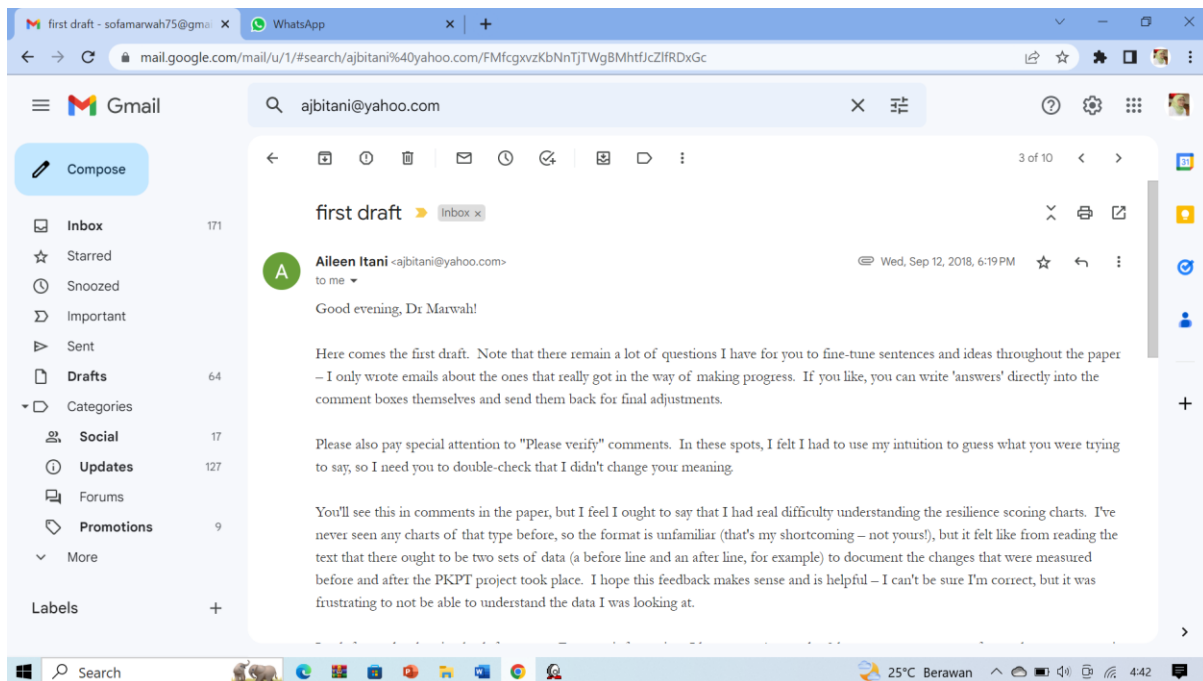
Keterangan:

Sesuai permintaan dari Tim Journal of International Women's Studies agar artikel saya mendapatkan perbaikan bahasa dari Native Speaker maka penulis menghubungi Aileen Itani, seorang Native English Speaker, Denmark. Berikut bukti korespondensi dengan Aileen Itani.









Women of ~~Java~~ the South Coast of ~~Java~~ in Politics ~~at~~ Contestation and Rural Development

Sofa Marwah*

Abstract:

The ~~issue-discussion~~ of women and politics ~~studies-in~~ Indonesia ~~is-has been~~ mostly ~~discussed-confined to at~~ the national and ~~local~~ levels ~~as-since thea law requiring a minimum of 30% quota-of women-female candidates in-in the-legislative elections took effecture has-been applied~~. There are, ~~however~~, only a few studies ~~that examineof~~ women and politics ~~in-at~~ the village ~~level~~, and ~~examining~~ women's contributions to village development. This study aims to explain the gap between the lack ~~of~~ representation of coastal women in rural politics and the extensive contributions of women ~~in-tothe~~ rural economic ~~y-and~~ development. This is a qualitative ~~research-study by-that involsesing~~ informants in village administration, women managing ~~the-business groups~~, an empowerment program manager, and ~~so oothers-as-informants~~. The study's results show that women's representation in politics and village administration is low, ~~whereas-even though~~ the female population is ~~almost~~ comparable to the male population. However, women contribute substantially ~~in-to development of the rural economy in~~ several sectors ~~of-the-rural economy-and-development~~. These ~~includey-involved-in~~ empowerment programs, in which women act as ~~part-of~~ managers, initiators, actors, and beneficiaries, ~~as well as~~. ~~Women-also contribute a lot-to~~ the management of fishing, tourism, and environmental conservation groups. The involvement of women in ~~the-rural economy-and~~ development is an extension of their ~~traditional~~ domestic role ~~of women~~, while they ~~have-lesslack the~~ experience and ~~social~~ capital to ~~enable them to~~ actively participate in rural politics. The ~~study highlights-implications-are~~ the importance ~~to-of~~ supporting women's representation through affirmative ~~inclusion policies~~ and political education for village women ~~regarding~~, ~~i-e-as~~ political rights, the functions of village deliberation boards, the rules of village administration, ~~and othersetc~~. ~~AlsoIt also identifies a~~ need to train government officials ~~for-in~~ gender sensitivity, so ~~they can gradually-it can-support~~ the goal of women's equal representation in rural politics.

Keywords: coastal women, rural development, rural politics

Introduction

Few studies discuss women, politics, and development in Indonesia at the lowest level of government, namely ~~the~~ village ~~level~~, particularly in coastal areas.

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Aileen Itani
regional, perhaps? 'local' seems to suggest 'village' to me

The coastal zone is an area ~~identical~~ characterised by ~~eat~~ with poverty, low education levels, lack of health facilities, ~~and~~ ~~unclean~~ environment, ~~and away at some distance from the echoes of rural political concerns that s-echoes which currently becomes preoccupied~~ academics and NGOs activists' concerns. Studies of ~~a~~ women and politics in Indonesia do not comprehensively examine rural women, ~~even though while~~ most Indonesian women live in rural areas. Viewing village women only from a political standpoint seems to neglect the ~~large-major~~ contributions of rural women in other areas of development. Many studies of ~~a~~ women and politics in Indonesia highlight the 30% quota ~~of female candidates to office required~~ since the 2004 Legislative Election. Davies (2005), for example, wrote about the development of ~~the~~ public recognition of women's right to participate in politics in Indonesia following the agreement of Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Meanwhile, Mörmel and Schweissheim (2009) wrote that the increase of political representation of women in the 2009 Election ~~is was due attributable~~ to a celebrity factor, because some ~~of~~ the women candidates ~~come from the were the daughters of artists or the political figure's daughters. In line with the study~~ Similarly, Soeseno's (2014) study shows ~~that the~~ political representation of women ~~is~~ closely associated with ~~the~~ typology of political parties in Indonesia as cadre seekers.

At the provincial and district government levels, Rhoads (2012) ~~examines~~ attributes the low ~~women-female~~ participation in Bali Province ~~caused by to~~ money politics, the revitalization of ~~traditional~~ customs, the strengthening of local identity through decentralization, and ~~the~~ collective memory of the women's movement ~~known as Gerwani, which was affiliated with attached to~~ the PKI (Indonesia Communist Party), ~~namely Gerwani~~. Another study from Hastuti Dewi (2015) elaborates ~~on~~ the success of Muslim women leaders as regional heads, such as Rustriningsih (from Kebumen District), Siti Qomariyah (from Pekalongan District), and Ratna Ani Lestari (from Banyuwangi District). ~~In-According to her explanation,~~ Islam, gender, and social networking ~~became are an~~ important factors in ~~supporting the victory success~~ of women who ~~run for win~~ regional ~~heads leadership positions~~. See also the in-depth review of the Hastuti Dewi's study from Afrianty (2015).

Although the aforementioned studies ~~seem to be offer~~ complex ~~in-assessments~~ of ~~ing~~ women and politics in Indonesia, only a few studies ~~place any do emphasize~~ on the importance of women in political and development constellations at the village level, ~~as has been stipulated by in Law No. 6/ The Year 2014 on Villages,~~ especially in coastal areas. It is generally known that Indonesia is an enormous country, ~~and a large part many~~ of its people live in rural areas. The village ~~is a politically authorized government organization since it is~~ the smallest ~~politically authorized~~ government

Aileen Itani

or 'pollution', if you mean unclean because of industry, for example perhaps also 'unsanitary conditions', if you mean things like lack of public sewage systems, unsafe drinking water, etc.

Aileen Itani

Please verify. Your original was: and away from the rural politics echoes which currently becomes academicians and NGOs activists' concerns

Aileen Itani

it's not clear to me what this means.

Aileen Itani

it would seem to a reader unfamiliar with Indonesian history (like me!) that memory of such a movement would strengthen female participation rather than inhibit it; does Rhoads suggest that there were negative associations with the movement in Bali province? If so, perhaps change to '...a negative collective memory of...?'

Aileen Itani

There doesn't seem to be a standard way of expressing this legislative reference in English, but this seems like a good compromise compared to other references/sources online. I have changed all law references to this format, but it's up to you.

unit in Indonesia. Thus, a study of ~~an~~ women in the context of politics and rural development ~~could~~ actually ~~talks-provide aabout-the~~ portrait of the majority of women in Indonesia at the lowest levels of politics and development, ~~the-portrait of-including~~ how they participate in ~~political~~ speech and organization as the political map changes in the reform era ~~since-that has followed~~ the ~~collapse of the~~ Soeharto (New Order) government ~~collapsed~~ (1998).

In the New Order period, according to Soeharto's policy ~~that-focused~~ ~~enprioritizing~~ economic growth and national stability, the village was regulated ~~in-by~~ Law No. 5/~~of~~ 1979 on Villages. ~~That~~ law ~~confirmsestablished~~ the ~~form of~~ village government ~~form-and does-did~~ not recognize village diversity based on customs. ~~At that time~~ Throughout the country, the ~~name of the entire government structure at the~~ lowest level of state bureaucracy ~~was changed by law its name from the each of local~~ indigenous structures and names ~~to village-or~~ *kelurahan* (village), following the structural model applied in Java (Maschab, 2013). ~~When the-reform movements took placebegan,~~ the-villagers ~~were-barelyhad little~~ involvement ~~in-the reform movement~~ (Maschab, 2013: 139), because ~~of-themost~~ reforms ~~more-involveddealt with~~ urban and educated communities. The fall of the New Order brought about a change in the ~~arrangement-relationship betweenof~~ central and regional power ~~relationsstructures~~. In this case, ~~the-village~~ policy ~~on-the village-~~ is integrated into ~~the-law-on~~ local government law, namely Law No. 22/~~The Year~~ 1999 on Regional Government, ~~later which-subsequently-replaced by the-~~ Law No. 32/~~The Year~~ 2004 on Regional Government. The amendment also provides for the position of the village as an autonomous institution. In other words, the transformation ~~also-promotes~~ democratization ~~with-by requiring~~ information disclosure and changes in the political behavior of rural communities.

Now that politics in ~~this-country~~ *Indonesia* is increasingly occupied with political liberalization and decentralization of power from ~~the~~ national governments to the local level, the study of politics and rural development becomes significant. One ~~of-them-is-the studyimportant issue is that~~ of women in rural politics, which ~~may be far from publicity, unlike thereceives significantly less attention than, for example, widespread-coverage-of~~ female migrant workers ~~who-are-predominantly~~ from rural areas. The study of women, politics, and rural development ~~become-is~~ vital and noteworthy, especially ~~with-in view of~~ the enactment of Law ~~No. 6/-The Year~~ 2014 on Villages, ~~which-that~~ provides a great ~~space-opportunity tofor~~ strengthening the ~~village~~ autonomy ~~of-village-and to~~ involving rural communities in village-level decision-making processes.

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This study aims to explain the gap between the lack of participation of coastal women in rural politics and the extensive contribution of women in the rural economy and development². As a hypothesis, this paper assumes that the ~~gap~~ ~~apparent disconnect~~ between the low participation of women in rural politics and the strong contribution of women in ~~rural economic y-and-rural~~ development is due to the lack of experience and ~~social~~ capital of women ~~to be active in the realm of~~ politics, while the ~~active~~ participation of women in rural coastal areas in the economic field is due to the close ~~participation-relationship between these activities and of women's activities-traditional domestic roles in the realm domestic~~. This study focuses on villages in the southern coastal areas of Java, especially in Kebumen District. The selection of coastal areas ~~was based-prompted by~~ the fact that, ~~as rare as in the midst of rare~~ studies of women in politics and rural development ~~are, even less is actually a studiesy of~~ women, politics and the development of coastal villages ~~are even more lacking~~.

~~Currently, e~~Coastal areas ~~become-are at present at~~ the main concern of President Joko Widodo, who ~~wants-has expressed a desire for~~ the state of Indonesia ~~to becomes an the-maritime-state-which-is~~ independent, advanced ~~and~~ ,strong, ~~and based-on-national-interests~~ maritime state that is able to advance its national interests. Consequently, ~~the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) has initiated empowerment programs for coastal communities-are initiated by the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (KKP)~~.

~~To elaborate, the~~This article is divided into six sections. The first ~~part~~ is an introduction to the ~~urgency of this study, describing the urgency-which-elaborates women-involvement of women~~ in rural politics and -coastal development; the second ~~part~~ presents ~~a review of the~~ literature ~~review~~ on women ~~involved~~ in politics and rural development; the third ~~section-presentsdescribes~~ the ~~qualitative~~ research method ~~usedby-using-a-qualitative-research-method~~; the fourth ~~section~~ discusses ~~the~~ low ~~female~~ representation in the political process and ~~the~~ village administration; the fifth ~~section~~ presents the important contribution of women in various development programs; ~~and~~ the sixth ~~part-is-the-conclusion-offics together~~ the ~~whole-women~~ depictions ~~of women~~ in coastal rural areas, ~~offering-supported-by~~ various suggestions for promoting women's representation, especially in politics and village administration.

Literature Review of Literature on Women's Involvement in Politics and Rural Development

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Theoretically, women's involvement in village politics cannot be separated from the ~~theory-case made for~~ the importance of the participation of women involved in the legislature. ~~In this case~~ At the local level, ~~t~~ The Village Deliberation Board (BPD) has a function similar ~~function-to~~ that of the legislative body, facilitating the aspirations of village communities and supervising the performance of village heads. ~~The legislative body has the function of through~~ legislation, budgeting, and supervision. Thus the presence of women in BPDs is actually significant to an important part of representing the interests of village women ~~interests~~. Pitkin (in Lovenduski, 2008: 38) ~~states that defines~~ representation is ~~to represent~~ an activity that makes the citizen's perspective, opinion, and voice "present" in the public policy-making process "". ~~When women in BPD can act on behalf of the interests represented~~. Squires (1999: 202), ~~meanwhile, declares-calls~~ representation as a form of acting for the sake of ~~represented-the~~ principles being represented. In this context, it is important to bring more women into BPDs, in accordance with the principle of political presence (Phillips, 1995), so that women can present themselves in the political process according to the principle of political equality. Hence, ideally, the number of men and women sitting in BPDs should be proportional according to their numbers in the village population. ~~What~~ Phillips' statements about the importance of women's presence in politics is in line with Norris's (2003) notion that women's representation in politics can support the emergence of specifically required policies.

In the context of rural development, these intended policies concerns the village regulations that accommodate the interests of women ~~interests~~ in rural areas. ~~Village government~~ As the smallest government unit in Indonesia, ~~allows the~~ village government allows the members of each BPD and ~~the-its~~ community to interact intensively. ~~Referring to the view of~~ Cornwall (2004) suggests that there are four levels of political participation; from lowest to highest, these are: ~~has four levels starting from the lowest level, i.e.~~ consultation, presence, representation, ~~to the highest level, and~~ influence. Participation in-at the consultation levels means citizens are only asked for certain kinds of information, without being involved in the decision-making process. ~~Then in-t~~ At the presence level, citizens are present in during the decision-making process, but ~~it-this may~~ fluctuates depending on the policy matter at issue ~~that becomes the policy focus~~. ~~Afterward, at~~ At the representation level, citizens have been are being represented in the process of policy formulation , or in other words, there is a standard representative function in policymaking. The highest level of participation, influence, is when citizens are able to influence the process and substance of policies ~~(participation of influence)~~. As the

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Please verify ... open-quote to begin the citation was missing

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I couldn't figure out how the first phrase related to the rest of the sentence, so deleted it. It did not appear necessary in context.

Aileen Itani

This sounds a little like C&G are commenting directly on the situation in Indonesia, which I don't think is what you mean to say. What about: As the smallest government unit in Indonesia, the village now allows intensive engagement between the government and the community. Cornwall and Gaventa (2001:3) might view this as an expansion of participation, making it possible to influence the decision-making process, including in the realm of social policy.

smallest government unit in Indonesia, ~~it-the~~ village allows intensive engagement between the ~~village~~-government and the community. In this regard, Cornwall and Gaventa (2001:3) state that participation has expanded in various aspects of life ~~as-in~~ an effort to influence the decision-making process, including social policy. Strengthening citizen involvement is expected to encourage ~~their-government~~ understanding of needs and perspectives. ~~In the context of v~~Village government, ~~it~~ ~~therefore~~, allows intensive community involvement in the political process and development in the village, ~~up to and including-until it-reaches~~ participation in the form of influence-participation.

Research Method

This study focuses on assessing women's involvement in politics and rural development ~~along~~ the south coast of Java. The southern coastal areas in this research refer to Kebumen District of Central Java Province, especially Jogosimo Village, Tegalretno Village, and Tanggulangin Village of Klirong Sub-district. This study applies ~~the-a~~ qualitative method ~~in-of~~ constructing social reality, cultural meaning, and more focus on interactive processes and events (Newman, 1994:-14). The flexibility of qualitative research also makes it easier for researchers to determine the research ~~steps~~. To collect primary data, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted, while secondary data were collected through documentation studies. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted involving women managing empowerment programs, women in village government, women in working groups, village government, community leaders and others. ~~Data~~ analysis is done at all times as collecting data simultaneously. It started with data clarification for consistency, followed by a theoretical abstraction of information and facts ~~in-from~~ the field, which allow~~ed~~ ~~for thes~~ generation~~ing~~ of fundamental statements and then drawing ~~of~~ conclusions (Silbergh, 2001:-173-175).

Aileen Itani
procedures? sequence?

Aileen Itani
what does this mean? Analysis and collection were done at tl
same time?

Political Dynamics of Politics and Coastal Village Governance: The Importance of the Presence of Women Presence

~~The-source~~Documenting the history of political and government~~al~~ development ~~of-in~~ a region ~~is-one-of-the~~can be a most difficult ~~issues-to-find~~task, ~~especially-including in~~ remote areas like the coastal villages of Kebumen District. Regarding the scarce sources, seekingIdentifying women figures who participate in political and governmental sectors is ~~even more~~ difficult ~~even-more~~. ~~Should-Should~~ a woman's name emerges, she does not ~~usually~~ occupy the-a top leadership job. RatherBy and large, women usually occupy the domestic domain.

~~From a few of~~According to the scant historical documentation of Jogosimo Village, formed ~~in since~~ 1946, no women ~~have~~ occupied ~~they~~ positions ~~of-as~~ village heads ~~until now~~. ~~It-This~~ means that ~~since-throughout~~ the period of colonialism, independence, the Old Order government, the New Order, ~~until-and including~~ the current reform era, men ~~have~~ always ~~take-occupied the~~ position ~~as-aof~~ top leader ~~at the-level of the~~ village government. The same ~~condition-also-occurred~~ ~~is true of-in~~ the villages of Tegalretno, ~~which-was~~ established in 1922, ~~and~~ ~~-It has never had a female village head until now~~. Similarly, ~~in~~ Tanggulangin, established in 1924, ~~no woman who became the head of the village~~ (History and Structure of Village Government, 2015: 5-17).

The absence of women as village heads in the coastal villages of Kebumen District from the past to present shows that men are the dominant figures in rural politics in this area. ~~Even-when~~Despite the political ~~changes-in-which~~agenda of the reform era ~~are-occupied-with-the-demands-of-to~~ increase participation ~~of-among~~ every element of society, including women ~~-groups~~, the reality ~~of-is that~~ the winds of change does not ~~seem to be~~ blowing ~~in these~~ remote coastal villages.

Since the Reformation ~~period~~, the village ~~is-has been~~ regulated ~~in-by~~ Law No. 22/~~of~~ 1999 on Regional Government, and ~~subsequently-replaced~~later by Law No.32 ~~of/-~~ 2004 on Regional Government. ~~In this case,Both laws require that~~ the election mechanism of village head ~~stays-the same in both laws,be chosen by-namely~~ direct election, ~~but~~ ~~-Only~~ the term of office ~~was~~ changeds, from ten years to ~~a maximum of~~ six years at most. ~~This change, h~~However, ~~it did not bring a change-for~~was not sufficient to assist women's underdevelopment ~~-to-in~~ occupying the highest rank in village administration, ~~even though t-~~The shorter term of office could have opened up opportunities for all elements of society to participate in village governance. Yet the village heads of coastal areas ~~are-still~~remained dominated by men. ~~When-With the passage of~~Law No. 6/~~of~~ 2014 on Villages ~~is-enacted~~, the tenure of the village head ~~is~~ was unchanged; ~~h-~~However, the terms ~~of the sitting-of-office-of-the-last~~ village heads ~~is-at the time of the law's passage have~~ not yet ~~been~~ completed ~~regarding-the election period~~.

The absence of women in village politics and government over time ~~shows~~ ~~no~~demonstrates the lack of gender balance. ~~Even-by-observing~~With nearly equal ~~women-men~~female/male populations in rural areas, ~~it appears-that~~women ~~are-not-a minority group; meaning-that-it~~ should not be considered a minority. For instance, in 2015, the population composition of Jogosimo Village ~~was:~~ 1,377 ~~female-women~~ and 1,475 ~~male-men~~; Tegalretno ~~-had~~ 869 women and 984 men; ~~and~~ Tanggulangin ~~had:~~ 1,433 ~~female-women~~ and 1,508 ~~male-men~~ (Klirong sub-district in Number 2015).

Direct election of village heads should ~~have been offer~~ a political space that ~~promotes facilitates~~ equal representation of women and men, ~~allowing~~. ~~The election could have been one of the places for~~ women to get involved in rural politics. ~~In fact, women do not present themselves in politics or according to the concept of political presence (Anne Phillips, 1995: 30), by~~ According to the principle of political equality, ~~it allows~~ each person ~~to should~~ be counted ~~once~~, not exceeding the other, so that the number of individuals ~~presentee~~ in political and governmental institutions ~~becomes ought to be~~ balanced and representative ~~according to of~~ the actual population. ~~In fact, women do not present themselves in politics according to the concept of political presence (Anne Phillips, 1995:30)~~

Aileen Itani

I felt like this sentence sat better after the previous one. Hope it's OK.

Aileen Itani

suggest 'far fewer'

Aileen Itani

Please verify

Similarly, if we note the current structure of village government organizations in the three coastal villages, not only is the number of women ~~fewer~~ than men, but ~~also the women position of women remains mostly tied to is not far from the domestic domain~~. Out of the 11 levels of government administration in each of the ~~three~~ villages, there is ~~either~~ only one woman in village government, or ~~nonethere are no women in the governance structure~~ at all. Read more in Table 1 below.

Table 1.

Governmental Organization Structure of the Three Coastal Villages

| Position | Jogosimo | | Tegalretno | | Tanggulangin | |
|----------------------------------|----------|------|------------|------|--------------|------|
| | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male |
| Village Head | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Village Secretary | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Governmental Affairs | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Developmental Affairs | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Public Affairs | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Financial Affairs | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Head of Welfare Affairs | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| Head of Dusun (sub-village) I-IV | 1 | 3 | - | 3 | - | 3 |

Source: Governmental Structure of Jogosimo, Tegalretno, Tanggulangin Village, 2013-2019

Laws and legislation on the election of village heads included in the ~~substance texts~~ of Law No. 22/-of-1999 on Regional Government and Law No. 32/-of-2004 on

Regional Government ~~is-are~~ gender-neutral, ~~applying -or-applies~~ equally to both women and men, ~~but~~ without providing affirmative policies ~~for-to help~~ women to ~~appearobtain~~ more ~~in-executive~~ positions ~~in-at~~ the village level. This reflects a view of the village ~~political-domainelections is-as~~ a free and competitive domain, ~~adhering to -to run for the election process. It is~~ a principle of "competitive equality", i.e. there is no need ~~for-to differentiate between~~ women and men, ~~since-differentiation-as~~ the ~~policy-of-eliminationng~~ of formal barriers ~~by-granting-the-right-to-beto~~ ~~electioned and voted-to both men-and women~~ is considered sufficient to solve the problem (Dahlerup, 1998:95).

The national political echo of the spirit of gender mainstreaming policy since Presidential Instruction No. 9/-of-2000 on Gender Mainstreaming and the 30%-quota policy ~~requiring that women make up 30% of women-inof party the elective slates to~~ legislature since the 2004 Legislative Election ~~is-appears to be~~ inadequate to encourage more ~~village~~ women to occupy government positions ~~at the village level. After The~~ updated Law No. 6-of/-2014 on the Villages ~~has been stipulated, the retains~~ ~~gender-neutral regulations regarding~~ village head elections; ~~-regulations remain~~ ~~gender-neutral whichthis~~ means providing equal opportunities ~~between-for~~ women and men without ~~certain-undertaking~~ affirmative policies to support the emergence of female leaders. ~~In-factAccording to;~~ Pippa Norris (2003), ~~claims-that-to~~ ~~encouragegreater~~ women's representation ~~among women~~ in politics requires a ~~certain~~specific policy support in accordance with the condition of ~~each-the~~ country ~~in question.~~

There are a number of ~~f~~factors that ~~contributeing~~ to the low participation of women in politics and government in coastal villages; ~~include;~~

First, instead of ~~being-working as~~ farmers, women in coastal villages ~~also~~ ~~have much-to-deare~~ typically involved in ~~-with fisheries-the various~~ socio-economic roles ~~around fisheries~~, such as ~~the management ing-~~and marketing ~~of~~ fish, processed fish production, ~~and~~ food production, rather than being actively involved in the political process and village governance.;

Second, ~~there are~~ high political costs for women's participation in the village head electoral process, ~~whereas~~ the average females in coastal villages rely on fish ~~caught~~ or agricultural products ~~provided~~ by their husbands.;

Third, the ~~women's-average~~ educational attainment ~~among women~~ ~~average-~~is low, ~~since-with most-manyof-them having at most completed onlyare~~ primary school ~~graduate-or-even-not-graduated.~~ The number of inhabitants of Jogosimo village with no education or ~~with~~ primary school ~~graduate-only reaches-is as high as~~ 63%, and Tegalretno's reaches 61% (Coastal Zone Profile, 2015). As a result, many women in

Aileen Itani
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Aileen Itani
what are these? you don't seem to specify.

Aileen Itani
do you mean to compare these? it felt like 'whereas' should have been 'where'...

coastal areas ~~are not supported by~~ lack adequate resources to take part in village politics and government.

~~According to the~~ Given the cultural situation in the rural areas, the ~~strong main~~ contribution of women in the field of development economics is an extension of the work ~~done by women~~ they do at home. Processing food and always trying to meet ~~the~~ family food needs ~~of food~~ is a role commonly ~~used~~ filled by rural women, including ~~those in rural areas in and~~ coastal areas. The fisherman, their husband, works ~~outside the home by~~ catching fish, ~~where he can often be at in the sea that for~~ spends up to several days ~~at a time~~. Such conditions make women the main figure in meeting the ~~daily~~ needs of ~~everyday their~~ families. Thus, when women work to produce ~~and sell~~ processed fish ~~and sell it, it this is~~ actually ~~describes an extension of their~~ customary women's customs in their domestic work. It also causes women on the coast to appear ~~to be~~ shackled in socio-economic work that depends on male productivity as the breadwinner. ~~Meanwhile, to~~ In order to participate in ~~the rural local~~ politics, ~~then~~, women need funding support that is difficult to obtain, because coastal women rely more on ~~living the~~ livelihood ~~obtained~~ from the fish caught by ~~their~~ husbands; ~~these, which~~ fish are managed by women, directly sold or become ~~fish~~ processed ~~fish~~ products. ~~Furthermore, i~~ nvolvement in politics also requires extensive knowledge, ~~that may be difficult to come by in the~~ primary school education ~~obtained by most while the educational level of~~ coastal women ~~in of~~ South Java ~~is mostly at the primary school level~~.

Actually, the ~~women under~~ underutilization of development women in politics and government in coastal villages is not ~~much so~~ different from other villages in Indonesia. ~~The r~~ Results of ~~obtained by the~~ YSKK NGO study ~~(conducted~~ in Gunung Kidul District of Yogyakarta Province) and the Puskapol UI study ~~(conducted~~ in Sidomulyo Village of Batu City, East Java Province; Belabori Village of Gowa District, South Sulawesi Province; and Noelbaki Village of Kupang District, East Nusa Tenggara Province) indicate that the ~~low limited~~ involvement of women in village politics is caused by 1) the absence of affirmative policies that support women's representation in politics; 2) the ~~high cost of~~ participating in political ~~election of~~ village head ~~elections~~ s which ~~can be a~~ burden ~~to~~ women who largely depend on ~~their~~ husbands' ~~in terms of~~ income, ~~whereas the highest political costs are~~ actually used for unofficial expenses; 3) low ~~level of resource of women, due to low~~ educational ~~achievement among women level~~; and 4) socio-cultural aspects that favor men over women (YSKK, 2013); (Puskapol UI, 2014).

~~Indeed,~~ there is ~~cause for~~ optimism ~~that for the increasing~~ political representation of women ~~may be increased through on~~ Village Deliberation Boards

Aileen Itani

I wonder, is the educational level of men so different in these regions? Are boys more encouraged to stay in school? Or how c they come by the specialized knowledge needed for political service? (In the West there have been many studies showing the men typically assume they are qualified for this kind of work eve without specific relevant experience, whereas women tend to dt themselves and feel like they need a stronger 'resume' first...I wonder if there is any parallel in the situation you are describing here.)

Aileen Itani

perhaps your readers would like to know what this stands for?

Aileen Itani

Please verify – not sure if you meant this or some other kind of c

Aileen Itani

not sure of your meaning here

Aileen Itani

Feels like you want a 'however' here instead of 'indeed'...what follows contrasts with what was said before, wouldn't you say?

(BPD). In accordance with Law No. 6, ~~The Year~~ 2014 on Villages, women's membership participation of on BPDs has been supported-increased as a result of by affirmative policies in terms of women's membership. The role of the BPD is a body assigned to 1) discuss and agree on draft village regulations draft-in cooperation with village heads; 2) to accommodate and facilitate the aspirations of village communities; and 3) to supervise the village head performance (Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages, 2014:-18). The number of members of BPD shall be determined by law, the BPD must comprise an the odd number of members - , of at least five persons and at most nine- persons- , at most by taking account of who represent the territory, women, population, and financial capacity of the village. Unfortunately, the number of female BPD members of BPD in coastal villages is very low. The BPD in Jogosimo Village consists of 9 members (8 men and 1 woman), while the BPD in Tegalretno Village consists of 7 members (6 men and 1 woman). Interestingly, the head of Desa Tegalretno's BPD is a woman, as is -and the secretary of the BPD in Jogosimo Village is a woman as well. Of course, this it is quite encouraging; to see a female chairperson at all in the midst of view of how rare infrequent female women representation she becomes the BPD chairperson is in this region. Women's representation in on BPDs is important, since the female as women population is almost equal to men, and, like men, they also become direct beneficiary groups of are directly affected by policies approved by their local BPD. In the case of women requirement, the wWomen themselves undoubtedly have the clearest understanding of their own need-s, whether the domain be the most, such as health, social, economic, employment, and so forth. The narrow local scope of BPD work should permit In this context, regarding the small scope, it enables both close engagement between village government and community to engage more intensive interaction, and helping the village government easily to recognizes the local demands of the local community, especially women those of the female population which is not the minority. Ironically Regrettably, it this does not occur. In With only one woman per village participating in the BPD membership, it only takes one woman in each village, an unfavorable condition relating to the level of women are clearly at a disadvantage with respect to representation and the voting-based decision-making process.

The law scarcity of female participation of women in coastal village politics is contrary in stark contrast to the robust contribution of women to the economic activities of influencing coastal development. As mentioned above, it this contribution is largely an extension of the domestic workings done by of women at in the home, who are accustomed to cultivating supporting and feeding their families.

Aileen Itani

Please verify; I have made your statement here a bit stronger, but do not want to overstate the case you are trying to make, either.

Aileen Itani

Please verify ... this is a guess based on context, but it's quite different from what you had ('law'). I don't THINK you're referring back to the quota law, are you?

In line with ~~this~~ custom, women ~~also take~~ occupy strong positions in empowerment activities, community groups, ~~or and~~ environmental management. ~~For that reason,~~ The next section of this paper, ~~therefore~~, describes the contribution of coastal rural women in economic activities and development programs.

Coastal Women in Empowerment Programs: ~~Contestation amidst~~ Effects of Affirmative Policies

The southern coastal areas of Java, especially Kebumen District, ~~is are~~ unique. Despite the ~~dominance of the sea locations, the locals here do~~ people not only solely rely on fishing ~~catching~~ for the living, but also practice farming. One ~~of the factors is~~ reason for this is ~~that~~ strong Indian Ocean waves often ~~that prevent~~ fishermen ~~cannot go from~~ fishing every day. They also make ~~It causes~~ the area prone to ~~abrasion erosion~~, tsunamis, ~~or and~~ strong winds. Actually, the coastal area ~~is has~~ great potential for ~~development of coastal tourism development~~, coastal ecosystems or agriculture, ~~yet it is now but it has been~~ much damaged by the lucrative sand mining and ~~shrimp embankment aquaculture~~ activities of distant ~~by~~ investors. In contrast, the majority of local residents ~~do not live prosperously~~ live humbly, with inadequate infrastructure ~~to support their livelihoods~~.

~~All of these~~ In view of these conditions, ~~form the basis for~~ the coastal villages including Jogosimo Village, Tegalretno Village and Tanggulangin Village, ~~were selected~~ to receive support via an empowerment program ~~entitled called~~ Resilient Coastal Areas Development (PKPT), ~~sponsored by~~ from the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries in the period 2015-2016, under the coordination of the local Marine and Fishing Service. ~~In As part of this program, the~~ Marine and Fishing Service ~~was~~ assisted by ~~eo team~~ the Coastal Communities Group, which ~~formed through the selection process consisted~~ of 4 people. ~~Currently, there is women representation (3 men and 1 woman) selected locally. This group is responsible for the PKPT manager program at the village level. is the Coastal Communities Group. Interestingly, Coastal Communities Group considers the women representation importantly. Each Coastal Communities Group has 4 members (3 men and 1 woman). Although the representation of coastal women is only one in the Coastal Communities Group has only one woman per locality, the affirmative spirit demonstrated by of the Marine and Fishing Service of Kebumen District in reserving a seat for a woman in each village group should be appreciated as an effort to encourage women's involvement in the management of the PKPT program management.~~

Aileen Itani

alternatively:

Economic Contributions of Coastal Women in Empowerment Programs

Aileen Itani

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Aileen Itani

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Aileen Itani

again, sort of reading between the lines, I colored this with changes that suggest the investors live far away and are making good money off these industries – I did so because you clearly wanted to set up a contrast ('in contrast'). Please remove 'lucrative' and 'distant' if this is not what you wanted to say.

Aileen Itani

you had 'shrimp embankment' – not sure what that is exactly, but I assume it's damage to the coastline because of building ponds etc for shrimp farming?

Aileen Itani

Please verify ... I shortened and rephrased much of this.

The PKPT program is an empowerment program that combines top-down and bottom-up approaches. ~~In relation to the top-down, the centralized, the 2015 PKPT Technical Guidelines becomes form the main-basis for the establishment of program activities. PKPT also uses a bottom up approach through the preparation of, while a participatory village forum engages locals in an activity program called the Coastal Development Plan through a participatory village forum.~~ The preparation of the Coastal Development Plan ~~preparation~~ takes into account of the ~~planning in local Village Mid-Term Development Plan.~~ In practice, this ~~generates-creates a kind of paradox in which -On the one hand, the~~ PKPT tries to ~~participate in absorbing absorb~~ the aspirations of all elements of coastal villages ~~on the one hand, while -on the other hand, the determination of~~ program activities are still determined by the Marine and Fishing Service ~~after all still refer to under~~ the PKPT Technical Guidelines.

Aileen Itani

Please verify...again, condensed for easier understanding.

Aileen Itani

choose other word?

Aileen Itani

this was the paragraph I asked you about regarding 'socialization' hope I've captured it correctly... Please verify.

Efforts to introduce the purpose and goals of the PKPT to local residents were undertaken in the early months of 2015 and 2016. ~~In the aforementioned context, the involvement of women and all elements of society start from PKPT socialization in the beginning of each year (2015 and 2016). However, Although the PKPT has tried made nominal attempts to involve all elements of society, - the socialization is more understood by PKPT's management and village administration have not succeeded in engaging members of the lowest socioeconomic classes; indeed, these community activities have for the most part involved by hardly involving the lowest level of society. PKPT socialization is mostly understood only by the managers-members of the Coastal Communities Group, village government, and village counseling teams of Marine and Fishing Service, not all elements of society.~~ In particular, despite the presence of female representatives ~~in-on the Coastal Communities Group, not all women groups understand PKPT. For example, women take part in represent only 20% in socialization of participants in these community activities.~~

Similar conditions ~~also occur~~ could be seen in the way ~~during~~ the Coastal Development Plan was drafted ~~without involving the involvement of elements of the larger-broader community-elements.~~ In the preparation of ~~the 2015 the Coastal Development Plan, the villages of Jogosimo, Tegalretno, and Tanggulangin were each represented by only 15 people, a number that had to include representatives of for each including~~ village government, BPD, Karang Taruna (the youth group), LPMD (the village empowerment group), PKK (the women's group), and community leaders. ~~Besides Moreover, in the preparation of 2015, the Coastal Development Plan of 2015 and the its review of in 2016 the Coastal Development Plan, not all program activities are proved to be in accordance with the real potentials of the community. Moreover This is complicated by a, the provision which-that requires the use of the~~

Aileen Itani

that is, 15 people per village, right? not 15 in all, for all three villages?

Aileen Itani

suggest 'needs'?

Village Mid-Term Development Plan as ~~the a primary~~main reference, ~~effectively eliminating from consideration causes many of the citizens' own~~ proposals ~~regarding for~~ PKPT program activities ~~cannot be accommodated because they are not in Village Mid-Term Development Plan. Then~~In addition to this, mandatory adherence to the PKPT Technical Guidelines ~~has to be the basis for determining~~restricts flexibility in ~~developing~~ the program of PKPT activity by ~~the~~ Marine and Fishing Service. In other words, forums that ~~should are meant to have been~~ participatory cannot absorb ~~people's citizens'~~ aspirations effectively.

The ~~process of preparing each~~ Village Mid-Term Development Plan ~~process~~ does not have an affirmative rule ~~that requiring a es~~ women involvement at the ~~particular percentage~~minimum standard ~~to attend the meeting of women's involvement in its preparation, referring according to Law No. 6/-of-2014 on the Villages. Village meetings are simply held to discuss strategic matters in the administration. Similarly, there is no specified quota of female participation in the drafting of the Coastal Development Plan-drafting, there is no affirmation policy on the quota of women's presence. Nonetheless~~Although their numbers are low, women are ~~already getting~~ involved in the PKPT forums ~~in spite of low number. Out of the 15 people who participated in 2015-the Coastal Development Plan drafting forum in Jogosimo Village in 2015, 5, or 33%, were women from village government and community elements, while the Coastal Development Plan of In Tegalretno Village, the number -was followed by 2, or 13% women, and the Coastal Development Plan of In Tanggulangin Village, followed by 4, or 26% women.~~

PKPT programs were conducted ~~for in~~ two consecutive years ~~in 2015 and -~~ 2016. ~~In T~~his program, ~~there were included~~ activities directly related to and ~~involving~~ women, while other programs related to the procurement of facilities and infrastructure. These ~~programs~~ are explained in details in the following table:

Table 2.

Women's Involvement in PKPT Programs in Three Coastal Villages and

Women Involvement

| Village | 2015 | Women's Involvement | 2016 | Women's Involvement |
|----------|--|--|---|------------------------|
| Jogosimo | Procurement of fish processing instrument equip ment | Procurement ideas, instrument equipment users | Disaster p Preparedness training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Training in fish nugget production | Trainee, beneficiaries | Institutional training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Training in freshwater fish | Trainee, the organizing | | |

Aileen Itani

suggest 'Open village meetings' – that would imply that women are welcome/permitted to come, but there isn't any requirement.

| | | | | |
|--------------|--|---|---|---|
| | culture | committee | | |
| Tegalretno | Training on <i>nata de coco</i> | Trainee, beneficiaries | Training on Disaster Preparedness training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Procurement of instruments equipment for <i>nata de coco</i> | Ideas initiator, instruments equipment users | Institutional training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Planting of pine trees | Initiator and executor | | |
| | Training on palm sugar | Trainee, beneficiaries | | |
| Tanggulangin | Training on fish nugget production | Trainee, beneficiaries | Training on Disaster Preparedness training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Procurement of fish processing instruments equipment | Ideas initiator, instruments equipment users | Institutional training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Training on Marketing training | Trainee, Beneficiaries | Procurement of Fish processing instruments equipment | Ideas initiator, instruments equipment users |

Source: Report of PKPT Program 2015, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2015; Report of PKPT 2016 Program, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2016.

Although not all ~~direct these activities~~ ~~are necessarily~~ concerned with the women ~~directly~~ ~~necessity~~, efforts to ~~incorporate initiate~~ programs closely linked to women's involvement are interesting ~~among given~~ the lack of ~~women female~~ representation in village governance structures and the Coastal Communities Group. This can be seen by ~~By~~ requiring ~~the presence of women female presence as a form of their involvement as participants, their and proposing ideas can be solicited on particular matters,~~ such as training ~~on making fish nugget in fish,~~ nata de coco drink and, palm sugar ~~processing~~, joint-business training, even ~~their involvement in~~ disaster preparedness and institutional training. ~~In relation to women involved in empowerment programs, a~~ study from Cornwall (2016: 356) suggests that a contemporary form of ~~women's~~ empowerment ~~and~~ development shall be ~~initiation started and ended the way we by~~ increasing women's access to resources, ~~to~~

Aileen Itani
Please verify

encourage women them to understand their own needs as women, as citizens, as welland as human beings.

At the beginning of PKPT activities, the Marine and Fishing Service and PKPT team distributed questionnaires to the three PKPT communitiesy of three PKPT recipients by settingto establish-up criteria-a baseline measurement of resilience as manifested in on-human capital, businessentrepreneurship, natural resources, environment, and-disaster preparedness and climate change aspects. At the end of the activityprogram, similar questionnaires were also-distributed again to see ascertain the impact of the PKPT program on these dimensions of -resilience-of coastal-communities. Figure 1 below is-shows the result of the analysis showing that for Jogosimo Village, in which the value-of community resilience demonstrated increases in terms of human capital (1.5); business-entrepreneurship (3); environment/infrastructure (0.5); and disaster preparedness and climate change (0.5). Nevertheless, there is-a No increase in the-natural resource management was measured, however. Next, for Tegalretno Village, the value-of-resilience measurements likewise risesrose, especially the-aspect-ofwith respect to human capital (2.5); business-entrepreneurship (6); environment/infrastructure (2); and; disaster preparedness and climate change (0.5). Similar-to-As in Jogosimo Village, the resilience value of- natural resources is-remained still stagnant. The results of-in Tanggulangin are somewhat different, however-from-the-previous-ones. The-Here, the PKPT program is-was relatively-comparatively less successful in increasing the community resilience in-various-aspectsaccording to these measures. The evaluation showed re-is no improvement in terms of human capital, natural resources, or disaster preparedness and; -and climate change. Only on-business-aspectthe dimension of entrepreneurship showed an increase, does-increase-up to 0.5, while -Even the value of environment or-and infrastructure actually fell to 0.5.

Aileen Itani

Please verify

Aileen Itani

changed my mind on 'human resources' ...it's not incorrect, but its more immediate meaning would make people think of a group of employees in a company...I think this is better.

Aileen Itani

I have to say, I find these charts very difficult to read. I don't see them showing 'change' at all - unless it's a form of chart I'm simply not trained in reading - wouldn't there have to be two sets of data, comparing 'before' and 'after'? I see only one set of data, and so the measurements of change you reference in the text are confusing.

Aileen Itani

it's not clear if this should be 'to' or 'by' - because I don't see two sets of data. If there was a 0.5 change, use 'by'. If the final value was 0.5, use 'to'. (This goes for the end of the sentence as well.)

Aileen Itani

I'm sorry - I began to try and edit the text right in the figure, but I clearly am unable to do this effectively! I suggest you put the name of each village in each box to help your reader keep track (no need for the word 'village'). And of course make changes as in the text to 'human capital', 'entrepreneurship' and 'natural resources'. (I think you want 'climate change' too, not simply 'climate'.)

RESILIENCE

DIMENSIONS

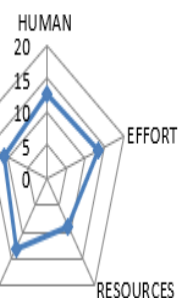
Jogosimo

DISASTER

PREPAREDNESS

AND CLIMATE...

ENVIRONMENT/
NFASTRUCTURE



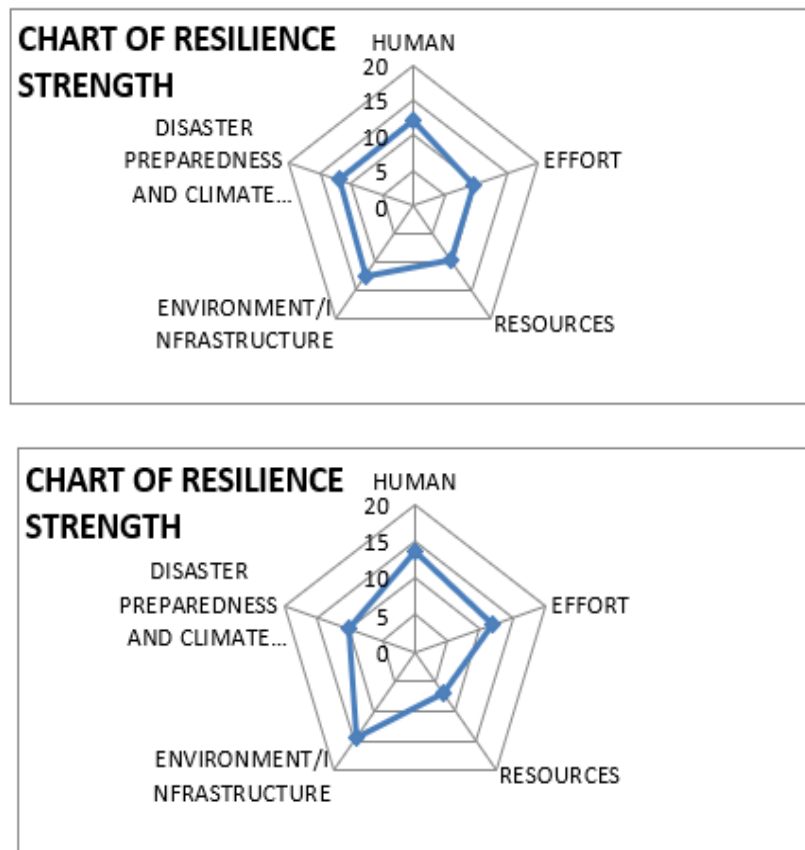


Figure 1.
Impact of PKPT on Coastal Villages Community Resilience
(Jogosimo, Tanggulangin, and Tegalretno)

Source: Program Report of PKPT 2015, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2015; Program Report of PKPT 2016, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2016.

Although the Marine and Fishing Service evaluation ~~adequately describes the~~ provides an adequate assessment of community resilience in the three coastal villages, ~~they-it~~ it did not specifically ~~sort-out~~ identify the impact of the PKPT program on women. In fact, throughout the process, ~~from the beginning of socialization and deliberations,~~ to planning, and implementation, women were ~~also~~ involved, even if ~~in this stage although~~ their representatives were ~~less-balanced~~ than outnumbered by men. A gender-disaggregated resilience assessment ~~can~~ would actually be useful ~~for-in~~ in evaluating the ~~existence-work~~ of the PKPT programs ~~to the extent that it can~~ specifically encourage ~~the women-resilience of women in~~

various aspects including resources, business, disaster preparedness, environmental management along these same dimensions, whether women's resilience or not it is proven equal to that of men or not.

As part of society a group with the nearly equal population with to that of men, and with possessing equally strategic positions and roles in coastal areas, the contribution of coastal women cannot be underestimated. In the local fishing industry, women play an important role in managing post fish catching the catch, marketing, and processing of various fish products to support family incomes. Similarly, their role is equally significant in the agricultural sector, which constitutes an important another vital sector in the coastal area of Kebumen District. In the arid climate of Agriculture in these coastal areas, small-scale farms typically raise tends to be classified as the dry land so the suitable crops for this type are horticulture, i.e. such as corn, peanuts, chili, watermelon, and papaya (Coastal Area Profile, 2015), and. In this regard, women play an important role in their planting, crops growing, harvesting and marketing.

Another important contribution of coastal women to the local economy is seen in their involvement in various fishing business groups. In particular, in Jogosimo village in particular, there are fish farming groups (pokdakan) such as Mina Jaya and Simo Fish, as well as processing and marketing groups (pohlasar) like Mino Rini Putri. The Simo Fish and Mino Rini Putri groups are headed by a woman. Meanwhile, in Tegalretno, where there are Manok Jaya pokdakan and Sumber Rejeki and Mekar Sari poklahsar, the Sumber Rejeki and Mekar Sari groups are also headed by a woman. Furthermore, in Tanggulangin Village, there are pokdakan are called of Mina Sari Lukulo, Muji Rahayu and Karya Mina Sejahtera, and poklahsar of called Mino Kencono, Telaga Mina Sar, and Mina Harapan. Here, the Mino Kencono and Mina Harapan groups are led by a woman. The data shows that women's involvement in post fishing and fish the sale and marketing of fish is quite prominent. The frequently dangerous wind, wave and weather conditions of high waves the Indian Ocean sometimes and sometimes with extreme weather force fishermen to stay at home sometimes without going fishing. Consequently as a result, they some in these communities have turned to develop fish farming. Alternatively, the community also farms on dry land or gardening. In this context, the women contribution of women is relatively well-balanced and equally important to that of men in supporting the economic life of coastal fishermen families.

Other important women contributions made by women include is their involvement in the development of coastal tourism and environmental management. Kebumen coastal areas have high tourism potential for attracting tourism s. There is a

Aileen Itani

this is how I interpreted your use of 'horticulture' ...let me know if I'm wrong.

Aileen Itani

I assume here and in the rest of the paragraph you mean these groups are headed by two different women. If not, let me know and I'll rewrite those phrases.

Its stretches of mangroves, grass, lagoon, and sand dunes that adds to the beauty of the coast as well as provide protective a tidal wave barriers against or tsunamis wave and seawater intrusion. Regrettably, the increasing development of shrimp ponds around the lagoon and large-scale illegal sand mining is damaging coastal ecosystems. Poorly-treated shrimp ponds developed in along the coast at border also damage the environment due to poorly treated ponds. In fact, the management of resources and environment in coastal areas is regulated in by Law No. 1/Year-2014 on the Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands. Related As a response to these conditions, women are have been also involved in maintaining coastal resources and environments through the planting of mangrove, pine trees and ketapang trees more extensively. Indeed, The development of a greenbelt by planting of pandanus trees, sea pine, and nyamplung trees is also done through was part of the PKPT program in Tegalretno and Tanggulangin Village. Currently, coastal vegetation has is being been increased by the planting of sea pine trees that also serves as a barrier to seawater vapor. Another PKPT program related to coastal tourism management and involving women's participation is disaster preparedness training conducted by via comparative studies in Timbulsoko Village, Demak District.

The description of the support coastal women in support of provide to these rural development programs shows that women can have fill important positions and make real contributions. In particular, what can be carried out the scale of the economic contributions of by coastal women is filled with contestation between forms of involvement that may be makes imbalances in the less balanced because of male-dominated political realm that much more obvious see in terms of numbers and types performed. Yet this is when these are the contexts in which coastal women are able to show their existence make their presence felt. In the PKPT program, for example, when in which women representation in the Coastal Communities Groups were is made up of one woman and three men only provided for one of three people, the ideas shared by the female members were is not less strategic. When At the initial PKPT programming forum was conducted, the initial form of involvement was the women were invited to be present in at the drafting of the Coastal Development Plan drafting, as a form of involvement Cornwall (2004) called participation. When women are were asked to convey an issue and identify current issues in the coastal environment and what needs to berate them in order of a priority scale, according to this was consultation, according to Cornwall (2004) this is the participation of consultation. Not only being asked to propose, women participation can influence the set policy. Although not in an ideal model of representation and participation, the contribution of coastal women in the PKPT program did yet more, enabling women

Aileen Itani

I wonder if this could be explained better...I don't understand the advantage or need for a seawater vapor barrier? Is it because of the salt content and what it does to agricultural land? If so, perhaps use 'a barrier to salty seawater vapor'.

Aileen Itani

Please verify ... your original suggested 1 woman and 2 men, but you have 1 woman and 3 men earlier in the paper.

Aileen Itani

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Aileen Itani

Please verify

potentially to ~~be influence or participation capable of influencing the~~ policy processes and substances ~~of policy~~ (Cornwall, 2004). ~~This is reflected, among others, by in~~ various ~~programs of activities close to and directly related~~ relevant to women, such as training ~~of with respect to various processed fish products processing~~ and industry. This ~~condition~~ can be compared ~~to~~, for example, ~~to the study of by~~ Eder (2005: 147), ~~who found~~ that gender differences in coastal communities affect the extent to which the advantages and disadvantages of coastal resource management programs can be felt by the community. According to him, gender differences ~~also lead to can~~ limited community participation, thus it is important for the government to encourage ~~more and support the role of~~ local communities' ~~role~~ in coastal resource management. So far, ~~the~~ women of the coastal area of Kebumen have shown significant contributions as ~~an~~ initiators, implementers, and beneficiaries ~~of in~~ various PKPT empowerment programs.

~~Instead In addition to their involvement in of~~ the empowerment program, the ~~contribution of~~ coastal women ~~can contribution also appears be seen~~ in their management role ~~of in~~ various fishermen groups. This ~~is presents~~ a ~~contestation challenge to when it is generally accepted norms discouraging that~~ coastal women are left behind and even politically less actively participate and women do not ~~take from taking~~ an equal role with men. ~~However Nevertheless~~, in ~~the certain~~ socio-economic ~~aspect arenas~~, like ~~in~~ the management of ~~these~~ fishery groups, women occupy ~~the strategic positions~~. ~~The fishing industry very business of fishery catch and production~~ is influenced by the ~~contributions of~~ women ~~contribution~~ in the management of ~~post fishing the sale~~, processing, and marketing ~~of the catch~~. ~~In terms of political process and village governance~~, Coastal women may not ~~take have much of~~ a role in the ~~political process and village governance~~ structure, but in other development sectors, they have ~~shown made~~ significant contributions. ~~Indeed fact~~, ~~the contribution their management of of women in~~ these business groups is ~~their evidence that women possess sufficient~~ social capital, ~~especially in the form of networking and leadership experience~~, to engage in other fields, such as politics and government. ~~In this case, coastal women have social capital in the form of networking among members or groups supported by the confidence that ease them to cooperate~~. ~~Referring According~~ to Robert Putnam et al. (1993: 36), social capital is a set of horizontal relationships among people, ~~which consist~~ ~~ings~~ of networks of civic engagements governed by norms ~~which that~~ influence group productivity. ~~To It seems clear that involve in the political and governmental area, the women actually have adequate social capital to become involved in the political governance of coastal areas~~.

Conclusion

In closing, This paper finally draws on the conclusion that among least studies on women, politics and rural development in coastal areas, this study shows that the contribution of coastal women are making contributions to politics and rural development at the present time is present, and have even greater potential to do so in the future. Considering Their numbers in terms of attendance and participation in the political and governance process, women representation is low and out of unbalanced with a nearly equal population with men, but. Nevertheless, this study is nevertheless optimistic that women's representation in politics and village government has the potential to increase. At least, in the absence of Although there are no women female village heads of villages of in the three coastal villages of Kebumen District, there are women serving as BPD chairperson woman and BPD female secretary. It is worth considering for The study suggests that policymakers to could encourage and improve the women representation of women in politics and government at the village level by providing implementing affirmative policies in village head elections and making establishing minimum quotas for women's representation in on BPDs.

In contrast, the women contribution of women in to coastal development can be seen in via their involvement in the PKPT empowerment program. In this regard In this instance, the policies of Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries and Marine and Fishing Service Kebumen District have established affirmative policies for women to ensure women's participation as managers of the empowerment program. Unfortunately, the minimum minimal presence of women in at village meetings and forums discussing of PKPT programming activities have did not supported these affirmation initiative. Even so, there is recognition of evidence of the intensive engagement of women involvement. It is shown apparent in the existence development of some PKPT program activities that are close and directly relate directly to women's interests. Thus, it is clear that coastal women can act as initiators, actors, and beneficiaries. The contribution of coastal women is also demonstrated supported by their important positions in the management of ing-fishing groups, tourism development, and environmental conservation. The gap disparity between the women's low rates of participation of women in rural politics and their outside strong contribution of women into the rural economy and rural development is due to their lack of political experience and women's capital to be active in politics, while their influence participation of women in rural coastal areas in the coastal economy field is due to the close participation links between of

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certain economic activities and traditional women's activities in the domestic spheres in this region. The conclusion of this study is therefore in accordance with the author's hypothesis above.

What ~~the~~ leadership ~~se~~ practiced by these coastal women in the economic sector ~~can do, in fact, has the~~ potential ~~to ly become women~~ translate into the kind of social capital needed to initiate political and governmental success through the strengthening and coordination of their social networks. ~~It~~ This suggests that implies political education ~~and training for them women~~ is indispensable. ~~The intended political education includes, including training in~~ the political rights of the citizens, the duties and functions of the village deliberation board (BPD) and ~~the~~ village government, the rules of village administration, the management of the village funds, and ~~others so on~~. Political education ~~for coastal women~~ can be ~~started initiated from in~~ spaces ~~in their groups where coastal women are already active~~, namely fishing business groups, ~~the development of~~ coastal tourism development groups, and environmental management groups, reaching them in a more efficient and specific way. ~~This will make them have an earlier political experience.~~

~~However, p~~ Political education will not be sufficient, ~~however~~, if the officials of the male-dominated village government ~~officials~~ do not ~~have practice~~ gender sensitivity. ~~This~~ at means they also need to get training on gender equality. ~~The~~ It is to be hoped that the joint process of growth and awareness ~~process~~ through ~~the training of~~ political education for rural women and gender sensitivity training for village government officials ~~on gender sensitiveness in the political process and village development is expected to will gradually support bring about~~ gender equality in politics and governance ~~although gradually~~.

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where is the close quote for the name of this article? It almost seems like there might be a mismatch between the authors and the title, too?

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parenthesis? not sure about this entry

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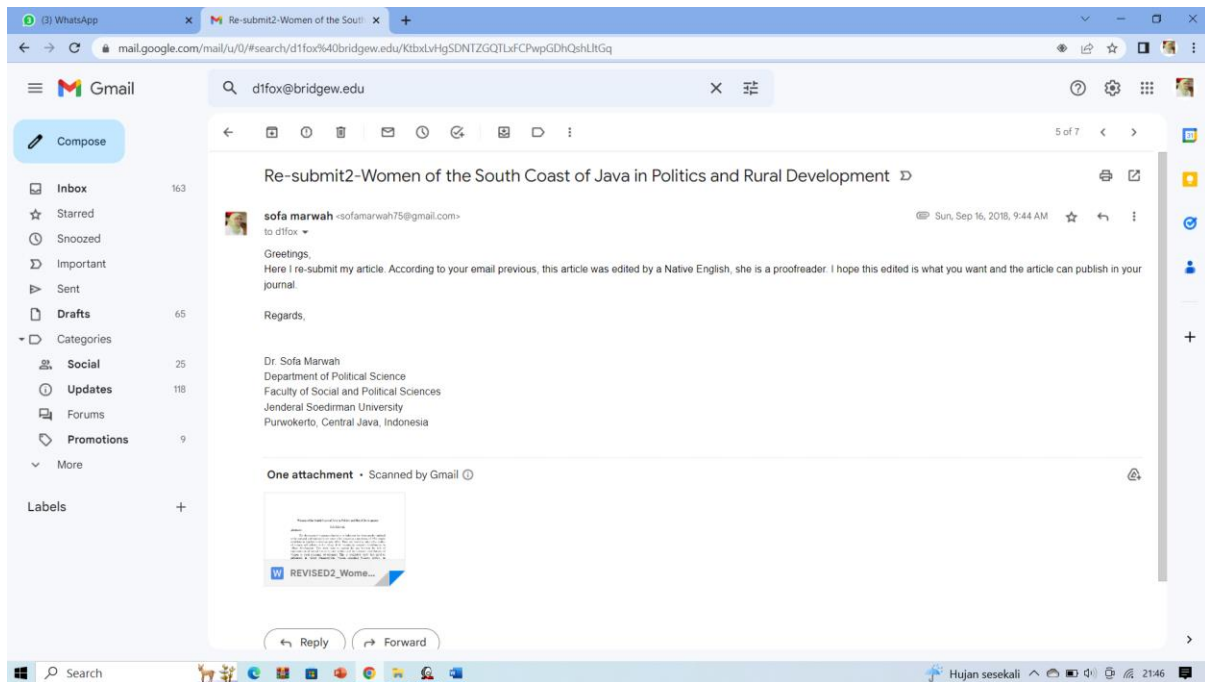
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it seems? this may be a nickname for Phillipa, but she appears to publish as Pippa



Women of the South Coast of Java in Politics and Rural Development

Sofa Marwah*

Abstract:

The discussion of women and politics in Indonesia has been mostly confined to the national and regional levels since a law requiring a minimum of 30% female candidates in legislative elections took effect. There are, however, only a few studies of women and politics at the village level, examining women's contributions to village development. This study aims to explain the gap between the lack of representation of coastal women in rural politics and the extensive contributions of women to rural economic development. This is qualitative study that involves informants in village administration, women managing business groups, an empowerment program manager, and others. The study's results show that women's representation in politics and village administration is low, even though the female population is comparable to the male population. However, women contribute substantially to development of the rural economy in several sectors. These include empowerment programs, in which women act as managers, initiators, actors, and beneficiaries, as well as the management of fishing, tourism, and environmental conservation groups. The involvement of women in rural economic development is an extension of their traditional domestic role, while they lack the experience and social capital to enable them to actively participate in rural politics. The study highlights the importance of supporting women's representation through affirmative inclusion policies and political education for village women regarding political rights, the functions of village deliberation boards, the rules of village administration, etc. It also identifies a need to train government officials in gender sensitivity, so they can support the goal of equal representation in rural politics.

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Keywords: coastal women, rural development, rural politics

Introduction

Few studies discuss women, politics, and development in Indonesia at the lowest level of government, namely the village level, particularly in coastal areas. The coastal zone is an area characterised by poverty, low education levels, lack of health facilities, and unsanitary conditions at some distance from the echoes of rural political concerns that currently preoccupy academics and NGOs activists. Studies of women and politics in Indonesia do not comprehensively examine rural women, even though most Indonesian women live in rural areas. Viewing village women only from a political standpoint seems to neglect the major contributions of rural women in other areas of development. Many studies of women and politics in Indonesia highlight the 30% quota of female candidates to office required since the 2004 Legislative Election. Davies (2005), for example, wrote about the development of the public recognition of women's right to participate in politics in Indonesia following the agreement of Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Meanwhile, Mörmel and Schweissheim (2009) wrote that the increase of political representation of women in the 2009 Election was attributable to a celebrity factor, because some of the women candidates were the daughters of artists or political figures. Similarly, Soeseno's (2014) study shows low female representation in political parties.

At the provincial and district government levels, Rhoads (2012) attributes low female participation in Bali Province to money politics, the revitalization of traditional customs, the strengthening of local identity through decentralization, and a negative collective memory of the women's movement known as Gerwani, which was affiliated with the PKI (Indonesia Communist Party). Another study from Hastuti Dewi (2015) elaborates on the success of Muslim women leaders as regional heads, such as Rustriningsih (from Kebumen District), Siti Qomariyah (from Pekalongan District), and Ratna Ani Lestari (from Banyuwangi District). According to her, Islam, gender, and social networking are important factors in the success of women who win regional leadership positions. See also the in-depth review of the Hastuti Dewi's study from Afrianty (2015).

Although the aforementioned studies offer complex assessments of women and politics in Indonesia, only a few studies place any emphasis on the importance of women in political and development constellations at the village level, as stipulated in Law No. 6/2014 on Villages, especially in coastal areas. It is generally known that Indonesia is an enormous country, and many of its people live in rural areas. The village is the smallest politically authorized government unit in Indonesia. Thus, a study of women in the context of politics and rural development could actually provide a portrait of the majority of women in Indonesia at the lowest levels of politics and development, including how they participate in political speech and organization as the political map changes in the reform era that has followed the collapse of the Soeharto (New Order) government (1998).

In the New Order period, according to Soeharto's policy prioritizing economic growth and national stability, the village was regulated by Law No. 5/1979 on Villages. That law established the form of village government and did not recognize village diversity based on customs. Throughout the country, the name of the lowest level of state bureaucracy was changed by law from local indigenous structures and names to *desa* (village), following the structural model applied in Java (Maschab, 2013). When reform movement began, villagers had little involvement (Maschab, 2013: 139), because most reforms dealt with urban and educated communities. The fall of the New Order brought about a change in the relationship

between central and regional power structures. In this case, village policy is integrated into local government law, namely Law No. 22/1999 on Regional Government, later replaced by Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Government. The amendment also provides for the position of the village as an autonomous institution. In other words, the transformation promotes democratization by requiring participation of rural communities and changes in the political behavior of rural communities.

Now that politics in Indonesia is increasingly occupied with political liberalization and decentralization of power from the national to the local level, the study of politics and rural development becomes significant. One important issue is that of women in rural politics, which receives significantly less attention than, for example, female migrant workers from rural areas. The study of women, politics, and rural development is vital and noteworthy, especially in view of the enactment of Law No. 6/2014 on Villages, which provides a great opportunity to strengthen village autonomy and to involve rural communities in village-level decision-making processes.

This study aims to explain the gap between the lack of participation of coastal women in rural politics and the extensive contribution of women in the rural economy and development. As a hypothesis, this paper assumes that the apparent disconnect between the low participation of women in rural politics and the strong contribution of women in rural economic development is due to the lack of experience and social capital of women in the realm of politics, while the active participation of women in rural coastal areas in the economic field is an extension of the work they do at home. This study focuses on villages in the southern coastal areas of Java, especially in Kebumen District. The selection of coastal areas was prompted by the fact that, as rare as studies of women in politics and rural development are, studies of women, politics and the development of coastal villages are even more lacking.

Coastal areas are at present a main concern of President Joko Widodo, who has expressed a desire for the state of Indonesia to become an independent, advanced and strong maritime state that is able to advance its national interests. Consequently, the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) has initiated empowerment programs for coastal communities.

This article is divided into six sections. The first is an introduction to the urgency of this study, describing the involvement of women in rural politics and coastal development; the second presents a review of the literature on women in politics and rural development; the third describes the qualitative research method used; the fourth discusses low female representation in the political process and village administration; the fifth presents the important contribution of women in various development programs; and the sixth ties together the depictions of women in coastal rural areas, offering various suggestions for promoting women's representation, especially in politics and village administration.

Review of Literature on Women's Involvement in Politics and Rural Development

Theoretically, women's involvement in village politics cannot be separated from the case made for the importance of the participation of women in the legislature. At the local level, the Village Deliberation Board (BPD) has a function similar to that of the legislative body, facilitating the aspirations of village communities and supervising the performance of village heads through legislation, budgeting, and supervision. Thus the presence of women on BPDs is actually an important part of representing the interests of village women. Pitkin (in Lovenduski, 2008:38) defines representation as an activity that makes the citizen's perspective,

opinion, and voice 'present' in the public policy-making process. Squires (1999: 202), meanwhile, calls representation a form of acting for the sake of the principles being represented. In this context, it is important to bring more women into BPDs, in accordance with the principle of political presence (Phillips, 1995), so that women can present themselves in the political process according to the principle of political equality. Hence, ideally, the number of men and women sitting on BPDs should be proportional to their numbers in the village population. Phillips' statements about the importance of women's presence in politics is in line with Norris's (2003) notion that it can support the emergence of specifically required policies.

In the context of rural development, these intended policies concern village regulations that accommodate the interests of women in rural areas. As the smallest government unit in Indonesia, village government allows the members of each BPD and its community to interact intensively. Cornwall (2004) suggests that there are four levels of political participation; from lowest to highest, these are: consultation, presence, representation, and influence. Participation at the consultation level means citizens are only asked for certain kinds of information, without being involved in the decision-making process. At the presence level, citizens are present during the decision-making process, but this may fluctuate depending on the policy matter at issue. At the representation level, citizens are being represented in the process of policy formulation; in other words, there is a standard representative function in policymaking. The highest level of participation, influence, is when citizens are able to influence the process and substance of policies. As the smallest government unit in Indonesia, the village allows intensive engagement between the government and the community. Cornwall and Gaventa (2001:3) might view this as an expansion of participation, making it possible to influence the decision-making process, including in realm of social policy. Strengthening citizen involvement is expected to encourage government understanding of needs and perspectives. Village government, therefore, allows intensive community involvement in the political process and development in the village, up to and including participation in the form of influence.

Research Method

This study focuses on assessing women's involvement in politics and rural development along the south coast of Java. The southern coastal areas in this research refer to Kebumen District of Central Java Province, especially Jogosimo Village, Tegalretno Village, and Tanggulangin Village of Klirong Sub-district. This study applies a qualitative method of constructing social reality, cultural meaning, and more focus on interactive processes and events (Newman, 1994:14). The flexibility of qualitative research also makes it easier for researchers to determine the research procedures. To collect primary data, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted, while secondary data were collected through documentation studies. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted involving women managing empowerment programs, women in village government, women in working groups, village government, community leaders and others. Data analysis started with data clarification for consistency, followed by a theoretical abstraction of information and facts from the field, which allowed for the generation of fundamental statements and the drawing of conclusions (Silbergh, 2001:173-175).

Political Dynamics and Coastal Village Governance: The Importance of the Presence of Women

Documenting the history of political and governmental development in a region can be a most difficult task, especially in remote areas like the coastal villages of Kebumen District. Identifying women who participate in political and governmental sectors is even more difficult. Should a woman's name emerge, she does not usually occupy a top leadership job. By and large, women usually occupy the domestic domain.

According to the scant historical documentation of Jogosimo Village, formed in 1946, no women have occupied the position of village head. This means that throughout the period of colonialism, independence, the Old Order government, the New Order, and including the current reform era, men have always occupied the position of top leader of the village government. The same is true of the villages of Tegalretno, established in 1922, and Tanggulangin, established in 1924 (History and Structure of Village Government, 2015: 5-17).

The absence of women as village heads in the coastal villages of Kebumen District from the past to present shows that men are the dominant figures in rural politics in this area. Despite the political agenda of the reform era to increase participation among every element of society, including women, the reality is that the winds of change do not seem to be blowing in these remote coastal villages.

Since the Reformation period, the village has been regulated by Law No. 22/1999 on Regional Government, and later by Law No.32/2004 on Regional Government. Both laws require that the village head be chosen by direct election, but the term of office was changed, from ten years to a maximum of six. This change, however, was not sufficient to assist women in occupying the highest rank in village administration, even though the shorter term of office could have opened up opportunities for all elements of society to participate in village governance. Yet the village heads of coastal areas remained dominated by men. With the passage of Law No. 6/2014 on Villages, the tenure of the village head was unchanged; however, the terms of the sitting village heads at the time of the law's passage have not yet been completed.

The absence of women in village politics and government over time demonstrates the lack of gender balance. With nearly equal female/male populations in rural areas, women should not be considered a minority. For instance, in 2015, the population composition of Jogosimo Village was 1,377 women and 1,475 men; Tegalretno had 869 women and 984 men; and Tanggulangin had 1,433 women and 1,508 men (Klirong sub-district in Number 2015).

Direct election of village heads should offer a political space that facilitates equal representation of women and men, allowing women to get involved in rural politics. According to the principle of political equality, each person should be counted once, not exceeding the other, so that the number of individuals present in political and governmental institutions ought to be balanced and representative of the actual population. In fact, women do not present themselves in politics according to the concept of political presence (Anne Phillips, 1995:30). Similarly, if we note the current structure of village government organizations in the three coastal villages, the number of women far fewer than men. Out of the 11 levels of government administration in each of the three villages, there is either only one woman in village government or none at all. Read more in Table 1 below.

Table 1.
Governmental Organization Structure of the Three Coastal Villages

| Position | Jogosimo | | Tegalretno | | Tanggulangin | |
|--------------|----------|------|------------|------|--------------|------|
| | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male |
| Village Head | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Village Secretary | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Governmental Affairs | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Developmental Affairs | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Public Affairs | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Head of Financial Affairs | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Head of Welfare Affairs | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| Head of <i>Dusun</i> (sub-village) I-IV | 1 | 3 | - | 3 | - | 3 |

Source: Governmental Structure of Jogosimo, Tegalretno, Tanggulangin Village, 2013-2019

Laws and legislation on the election of village heads included in the texts of Law No. 22/1999 on Regional Government and Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Government are gender-neutral, applying equally to both women and men, but without providing affirmative policies to help women obtain more executive positions at the village level. This reflects a view of village elections as a free and competitive domain, adhering to a principle of "competitive equality", i.e. there is no need to differentiate between women and men, since the elimination of formal barriers to election is considered sufficient to solve the problem (Dahlerup, 1998:95).

The national political echo of the spirit of gender mainstreaming policy since Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming and the quota policy requiring that women make up 30% of party elective slates to legislature since the 2004 Legislative Election appears to be inadequate to encourage more women to occupy government positions at the village level. The updated Law No. 6/2014 on Villages retains gender-neutral regulations regarding village head elections; this means providing equal opportunities for women and men without undertaking affirmative policies to support the emergence of female leaders. According to Pippa Norris (2003), greater representation among women in politics requires specific policy support in accordance with the condition of the country in question.

There are a number of factors that contribute to the low participation of women in politics and government in coastal villages.

First, instead of working as farmers, women in coastal villages are typically involved in the various socio-economic roles around fisheries, such as the management and marketing of fish, processed fish production, and food production, rather than being actively involved in the political process and village governance;

Second, there are high political costs for women's participation in the village head electoral process, where the average females in coastal villages rely on fish or agricultural products provided by their husbands.

Third, the average educational attainment among women is low, with many having at most completed only primary school. The number of inhabitants of Jogosimo village with no education or with primary school only is as high as 63%, and Tegalretno's reaches 61% (Coastal Zone Profile, 2015). As a result, many women in coastal areas lack adequate resources to take part in village politics and government.

Given the cultural situation in the rural areas, the main contribution of women in the field of development economics is an extension of the work they do at home. Processing food

and always trying to meet family food needs is a role commonly filled by rural women, including those in rural and coastal areas. The fisherman, their husband, works outside the home catching fish, where he can often be at sea for several days at a time. Such conditions make women the main figure in meeting the daily needs of their families. Thus, when women work to produce and sell processed fish, this is actually an extension of their customary domestic work. It also causes women on the coast to appear to be shackled in socio-economic work that depends on male productivity as the breadwinner. In order to participate in local politics, then, women need funding support that is difficult to obtain, because coastal women rely more on the livelihood obtained from the fish caught by their husbands; these fish are managed by women, directly sold or become processed fish products. Furthermore, involvement in politics also requires extensive knowledge that may be difficult to come by in the primary school education obtained by most coastal women of South Java. Moreover, women tend to doubt themselves and feel like they need a stronger support first.

Actually, the underutilization of women in politics and government in coastal villages is not so different from other villages in Indonesia. Results obtained by the YSKK NGO study (conducted in Gunung Kidul District of Yogyakarta Province) and the Puskapol UI study (conducted in Sidomulyo Village of Batu City, East Java Province; Belabori Village of Gowa District, South Sulawesi Province; and Noelbaki Village of Kupang District, East Nusa Tenggara Province) indicate that the limited involvement of women in village politics is caused by 1) the absence of affirmative policies that support women's representation in politics; 2) the high cost of participating in village head elections, which can be a burden to women who largely depend on their husbands' income, whereas the highest political costs are actually used for unofficial expenses; 3) low level of educational achievement among women; and 4) socio-cultural aspects that favor men over women (YSKK, 2013); (Puskapol UI, 2014).

However there is cause for optimism that the political representation of women may be increased on Village Deliberation Boards (BPD). In accordance with Law No. 6/2014 on Villages, women's participation on BPDs has been increased as a result of affirmative policies. The role of the BPD is to 1) draft village regulations in cooperation with village heads; 2) accommodate and facilitate the aspirations of village communities; and 3) supervise the village head (Law No. 6/2014 on Villages, 2014:18). By law, the BPD must comprise an odd number of members – at least five persons and at most nine – who represent the territory, women, population, and financial capacity of the village. Unfortunately, the number of female BPD members in coastal villages is very low. The BPD in Jogosimo Village consists of 9 members (8 men and 1 woman), while the BPD in Tegalretno Village consists of 7 members (6 men and 1 woman). Interestingly, the head of Desa Tegalretno's BPD is a woman, as is the secretary of the BPD in Jogosimo Village. Of course it is encouraging to see a female chairperson at all in view of how rare female representation is in this region. Women's representation on BPDs is important, since the female population is almost equal to men, and, like men, they are directly affected by policies approved by their local BPD. Women themselves undoubtedly have the clearest understanding of their own needs, whether the domain be health, social, economic, employment, and so forth. The narrow local scope of BPD work should permit close engagement between village government and community, helping the village government to recognize the demands of the local community, especially those of the female population. Regrettably, this does not occur. With only one woman per village participating in the BPD, women are clearly at a disadvantage with respect to representation and the voting-based decision-making process.

The scarcity of female participation in coastal village politics is in stark contrast to the robust contribution of women to the economic activities influencing coastal development. As mentioned above, this contribution is largely an extension of the domestic work done by women in the home, who are accustomed to supporting and feeding their families. In line with this custom, women occupy strong positions in empowerment activities, community groups, and environmental management. The next section of this paper, therefore, describes the contribution of coastal rural women in economic activities and development programs.

Economic Contributions of Coastal Women in Empowerment Programs

The southern coastal areas of Java, especially Kebumen District, are unique. Despite the dominance of the sea, locals here do not solely rely on fishing for the living, but also practice farming. One reason for this is that strong Indian Ocean waves often prevent fishermen from fishing. They also make the area prone to erosion, tsunamis, and strong winds. Actually, the coastal area has great potential for development of tourism, coastal ecosystems or agriculture, but it has been much damaged by the lucrative sand mining and shrimp aquaculture activities of distant investors. In contrast, the majority of local residents live humbly, with inadequate infrastructure to support their livelihoods.

In view of these conditions, the coastal villages including Jogosimo Village, Tegalretno Village and Tanggulangin Village, were selected to receive support via an empowerment program called Resilient Coastal Areas Development (PKPT), sponsored by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries in the period 2015-2016, under the coordination of the local Marine and Fishing Service. As part of this program, the Marine and Fishing Service was assisted by the Coastal Committees Group, which consisted of 4 people (3 men and 1 woman) selected locally. This group is responsible for the PKPT program at the village level. Although the Coastal Communities Group has only one woman per locality, the affirmative spirit demonstrated by the Marine and Fishing Service of Kebumen District in reserving a seat for a woman in each village group should be appreciated as an effort to encourage women's involvement in the management of the PKPT program.

The PKPT program is an empowerment program that combines top-down and bottom-up approaches: the centralized 2015 PKPT Technical Guidelines form the basis of program activities, while a participatory village forum engages locals in the Coastal Development Plan. The preparation of the Coastal Development Plan takes into account the local Village Mid-Term Development Plan. In practice, this creates a kind of dilemma in which the PKPT tries to absorb the aspirations of all elements of coastal villages on the one hand, while on the other, the program activities are still determined by the Marine and Fishing Service under the PKPT Technical Guidelines.

Efforts to introduce the purpose and goals of the PKPT to local residents were undertaken in the early months of 2015 and 2016. Although the PKPT has made nominal attempts to involve all elements of society, its management and village administration have not succeeded in engaging members of the lowest socioeconomic classes; indeed, these community activities have for the most part involved only members of the Coastal Communities Group, village government, and village counseling teams of Marine and Fishing Service. In particular, despite the presence of female representatives on the Coastal Communities Group, women represent only 20% of participants in these community activities.

Similar conditions could be seen in the way the Coastal Development Plan was drafted without the involvement of elements of the broader community. In the preparation of the 2015 Coastal Development Plan, the villages of Jogosimo, Tegalretno, and Tanggulangin were each

represented by only 15 people per village, a number that had to include representatives of village government, BPD, Karang Taruna (the youth group), LPMD (the village empowerment group), PKK (the women's group), and community leaders. Moreover, in the preparation of the Coastal Development Plan of 2015 and its review in 2016, not all program activities proved to be in accordance with the real needs of the community. This is complicated by a provision that requires the use of the Village Mid-Term Development Plan as a primary reference, effectively eliminating from consideration many of the citizens' own proposals for PKPT program activities. In addition to this, mandatory adherence to the PKPT Technical Guidelines restricts flexibility in developing the program of PKPT activity by the Marine and Fishing Service. In other words, forums that are meant to be participatory cannot absorb citizens' aspirations effectively.

The Village Mid-Term Development Plan process does not have an affirmative rule requiring a minimum standard of women's involvement in its preparation, according to Law No. 6/2014 on Villages. Open village meetings are simply held to discuss strategic matters in the administration. Similarly, there is no specified quota of female participation in the drafting of the Coastal Development Plan. Although their numbers are low, women are getting involved in PKPT forums. Of the 15 people who participated in the Coastal Development Plan drafting forum in Jogosimo Village in 2015, 5, or 33%, were women from village government and community elements. In Tegalretno Village, the number was 2, or 13% women, and in Tanggulangin Village, 4, or 26% women.

PKPT programs were conducted in two consecutive years, 2015 and 2016. This program included activities directly related to and involving women, while other programs related to the procurement of facilities and infrastructure. These are explained in detail in the following table:

Table 2.
Women's Involvement in PKPT Programs in Three Coastal Villages

| Village | 2015 | Women's Involvement | 2016 | Women's Involvement |
|--------------|--|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| Jogosimo | Procurement of fish processing equipment | Procurement ideas, equipment use | Disaster preparedness training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Training in fish nugget production | Trainee, beneficiaries | Institutional training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Training in freshwater fish culture | Trainee, organizing committee | | |
| Tegalretno | Training on <i>nata de coco</i> | Trainee, beneficiaries | Disaster preparedness training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Procurement of equipment for <i>nata de coco</i> | Ideas initiator, equipment use | Institutional training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Planting of pine trees | Initiator and executor | | |
| | Training on palm sugar | Trainee, beneficiaries | | |
| Tanggulangin | Training in fish nugget production | Trainee, beneficiaries | Disaster preparedness training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |

| | | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| | Procurement of fish processing equipment | Ideas initiator, equipment use | Institutional training | Trainee, Beneficiaries |
| | Marketing training | Trainee, Beneficiaries | Procurement of Fish processing equipment | Ideas initiator, equipment use |

Source: *Report of PKPT Program 2015*, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2015; *Report of PKPT 2016 Program*, Kebumen: Marine and Fishing Service, 2016.

Although not all these activities are necessarily concerned with women directly, efforts to initiate programs closely linked to women's involvement are interesting. By requiring the presence of female participants, their ideas can be solicited on matters such as training in fish, *nata de coco* drink and palm sugar processing, joint-business training, even disaster preparedness and institutional training. A study from Cornwall (2016:356) suggests that a contemporary form of women's empowerment and development shall be the way we increase women's access to resources, encouraging them to understand their own needs as women, as citizens, and as human beings.

At the beginning of PKPT activities, the Marine and Fishing Service and PKPT team distributed questionnaires to Jogosimo Village, Tegalretno Village, Tanggulangin Village, to establish a baseline measurement of resilience as manifested in human capital, entrepreneurship, natural resources, environment, disaster preparedness and climate change aspects. At the end of the program, similar questionnaires were distributed again to ascertain the impact of the PKPT program on these dimensions of resilience. The result of the analysis for Jogosimo Village and Tegalretno Village, in which community resilience demonstrated increases in terms of human capital, entrepreneurship, environment/infrastructure, disaster preparedness, and climate change. No increase in natural resource management was measured, however. The results in Tanggulangin are somewhat different, however. Here, the PKPT program was comparatively less successful in increasing community resilience according to these measures. The evaluation showed no improvement in terms of human capital, natural resources, or disaster preparedness, and climate change. Only the dimension of entrepreneurship showed an increase (Program Report of PKPT 2016, Kebumen : Marine and Fishing Service, 2016).

Although the Marine and Fishing Service evaluation provides an adequate assessment of community resilience in the three coastal villages, it did not specifically identify the impact of the PKPT program on women. In fact, throughout the process, from deliberations to planning and implementation, women were involved, even if their representatives were outnumbered by men. A gender-disaggregated resilience assessment would be useful in evaluating the work of the PKPT programs in specifically encouraging the resilience of women along these same dimensions, whether or not it proves equal to that of men.

As a group with nearly equal population to that of men, and possessing equally strategic positions and roles in coastal areas, the contribution of coastal women cannot be underestimated. In the local fishing industry, women play an important role in managing the catch, marketing, and processing various fish products to support family incomes. Their role is equally significant in agriculture, which is another vital sector in the coastal area of Kebumen District. In the arid climate of these coastal areas, horticulture typically raise crops such as corn, peanuts, chili, watermelon, and papaya (Coastal Area Profile, 2015), and women play an important role in their planting, growing, harvesting and marketing.

Another important contribution of coastal women to the local economy is their involvement in various fishing business groups. In Jogosimo village in particular, there are fish farming groups (pokdakan) such as Mina Jaya and Simo Fish, as well as processing and marketing groups (pohlasar) like Mino Rini Putri. The Simo Fish and Mino Rini Putri groups are headed by women. Meanwhile, in Tegalretno, where there are Manok Jaya pokdakan and Sumber Rejeki and Mekar Sari poklahsar, the Sumber Rejeki and Mekar Sari groups are also headed by women. In Tanggulangin Village, the pokdakan are called Mina Sari Lukulo, Muji Rahayu and Karya Mina Sejahtera, and poklahsar called Mino Kencono, Telaga Mina Sar, and Mina Harapan. Here, the Mino Kencono and Mina Harapan groups are led by women. The data shows that women's involvement in the sale and marketing of fish is quite prominent. The frequently dangerous wind, wave and weather conditions of the Indian Ocean sometimes force fishermen to stay at home. As a result, some in these communities have turned to fish farming or gardening. In this context, the contribution of women is relatively well-balanced and equally important to that of men in supporting the economic life of coastal families.

Other important contributions made by women include their involvement in the development of coastal tourism and environmental management. Kebumen coastal areas have high potential for attracting tourism. Its stretches of mangroves, grass, lagoon, and sand dunes add to the beauty of the coast as well as provide protective barriers against tsunamis and seawater intrusion. Regrettably, the increasing development of shrimp ponds around the lagoon and large-scale illegal sand mining is damaging coastal ecosystems. Poorly-treated shrimp ponds developed along the coast also damage the environment. In fact, the management of resources and environment in coastal areas is regulated by Law No. 1/2014 on the Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands. As a response to these conditions, women have been involved in maintaining coastal resources and environments through the planting of mangrove, pine trees and ketapang trees. Indeed, the development of a greenbelt of pandanus trees, sea pine, and *nyamplung* trees was part of the PKPT program in Tegalretno and Tanggulangin Village. Currently, coastal vegetation is being increased by the planting of sea pine trees that serve as a barrier to salty seawater vapor. Another PKPT program related to coastal tourism management and involving women's participation is disaster preparedness training conducted via comparative studies in Timbulsoko Village, Demak District.

The description of the support coastal women provide to these rural development programs shows that women can fill important positions and make real contributions. In particular, the scale of the economic contributions of coastal women makes imbalances in the male-dominated political realm that much more obvious. Yet these are the contexts in which coastal women are able to make their presence felt. In the PKPT program, for example, in which Coastal Communities Groups were made up of one woman and three men, ideas shared by the female members were no less strategic. At the initial PKPT programming forum, women were invited to be present at the drafting of the Coastal Development Plan, a form of involvement Cornwall (2004) calls *participation*. When women were asked to identify current issues in the coastal environment and rate them in order of priority, this was *consultation*, according to Cornwall (2004). Although not an ideal model of representation and participation, the PKPT program did yet more, enabling women to *influence* the processes and substance of policy (Cornwall, 2004). This is reflected in various activities relevant to women, such as training with respect to fish processing and industry. So far, the women of the coastal area have shown significant contributions as initiators, implementers, and beneficiaries of various PKPT empowerment programs. This can be compared, for example, to the study by Eder (2005: 147),

who found that gender differences in coastal communities affect the extent to which the advantages and disadvantages of coastal resource management programs can be felt by the community. According to him, gender differences can limit community participation, thus it is important for the government to encourage and support the role of local communities in coastal resource management.

In addition to their involvement in the empowerment program, the contribution of coastal women can also be seen in their management role in various fishermen groups. This presents a challenge to generally-accepted norms discouraging coastal women from taking an equal role with men. Nevertheless, in certain socio-economic arenas, like the management of these fishery groups, women occupy strategic positions. The fishing industry is influenced by the contributions of women in the management of the sale, processing, and marketing of the catch. Coastal women may not have much of a role in the political process and village governance structure, but in other development sectors, they have made significant contributions. Indeed, their management of these business groups is evidence that women possess sufficient social capital, especially in the form of networking and leadership experience, to engage in other fields, such as politics and government. According to Robert Putnam et al. (1993:36), social capital is a set of horizontal relationships among people, consisting of networks of civic engagements governed by norms that influence group productivity. It seems clear that women have adequate social capital to become involved in the political governance of coastal areas.

Conclusion

In closing, this study shows that female participation in coastal village politics is scarcity. Their numbers in terms of attendance and participation in the political and governance process are low and out of balance with men, but this study is nevertheless optimistic that women's representation in politics and village government has the potential to increase. Although there are no female village heads in the three coastal villages of Kebumen District, there are women serving as BPD chairperson and BPD secretary. The study suggests that policymakers could encourage and improve the representation of women in politics and government at the village level by implementing affirmative policies in village head elections and establishing minimum quotas for women's representation on BPDs.

In contrast, the contribution of women to coastal development can be seen via their involvement in the PKPT empowerment program. In this instance, the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries and Marine and Fishing Service Kebumen District established affirmative policies to ensure women's participation as managers of the empowerment program. Unfortunately, the minimal presence of women at village meetings and forums discussing PKPT programming activities did not support this initiative. Even so, evidence of the engagement of women is apparent in the development of PKPT program activities that relate directly to women's interests. Thus, it is clear that coastal women can act as initiators, actors, and beneficiaries. The contribution of coastal women is also demonstrated by their important positions in the management of fishing groups, tourism development, and environmental conservation. The disparity between women's low rates of participation in rural politics and their outsize contribution to rural economic development is due to their lack of political experience and capital, while their influence in the coastal economy is due to the close links between certain economic activities and the work they do at home. The conclusion of this study is therefore in accordance with the author's hypothesis above.

The leadership practiced by these coastal women in the economic sector has the potential to translate into the kind of social capital needed to initiate political and governmental success through the strengthening and coordination of their social networks. This suggests that political education for women is indispensable, including training in the political rights of citizens, the duties and functions of the village deliberation board (BPD) and village government, the rules of village administration, the management of the village funds, and so on. Political education can be initiated in spaces where coastal women are already active, namely fishing business groups, coastal tourism development groups, and environmental management groups, reaching them in a more efficient and specific way.

Political education will not be sufficient, however, if the officials of the male-dominated village government do not practice gender sensitivity. This means they also need to get training on gender equality. It is to be hoped that the joint process of growth and awareness through political education for rural women and gender sensitivity training for village government officials will gradually bring about gender equality in politics and governance.

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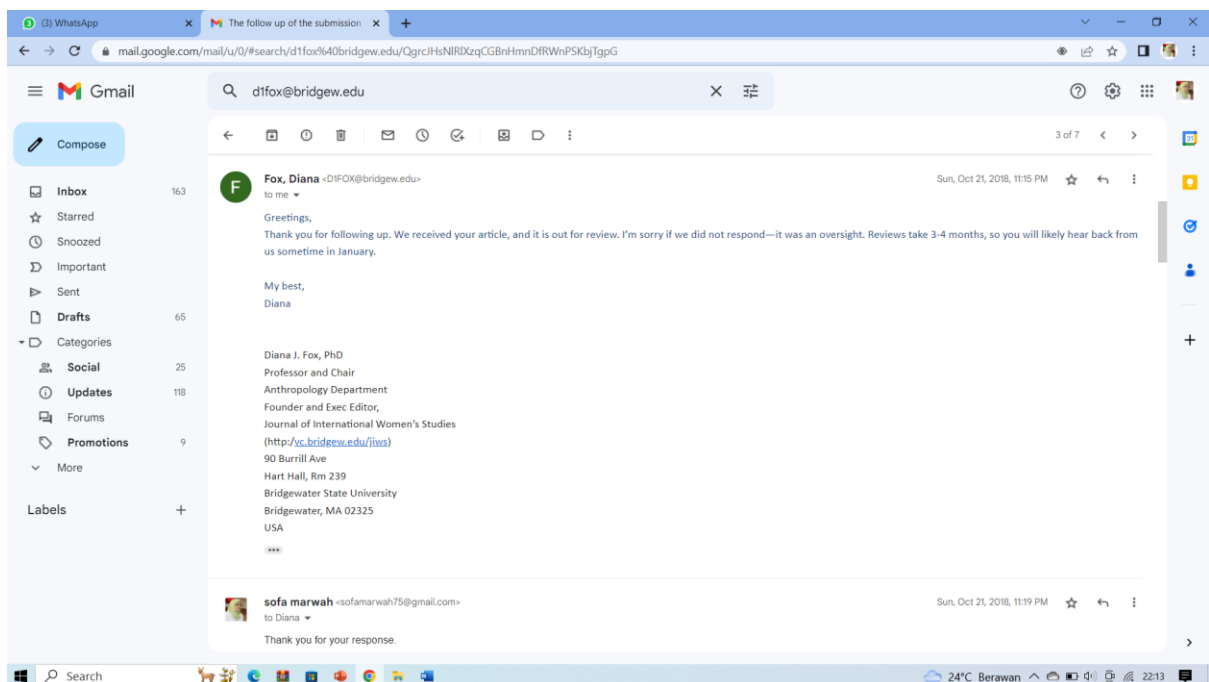
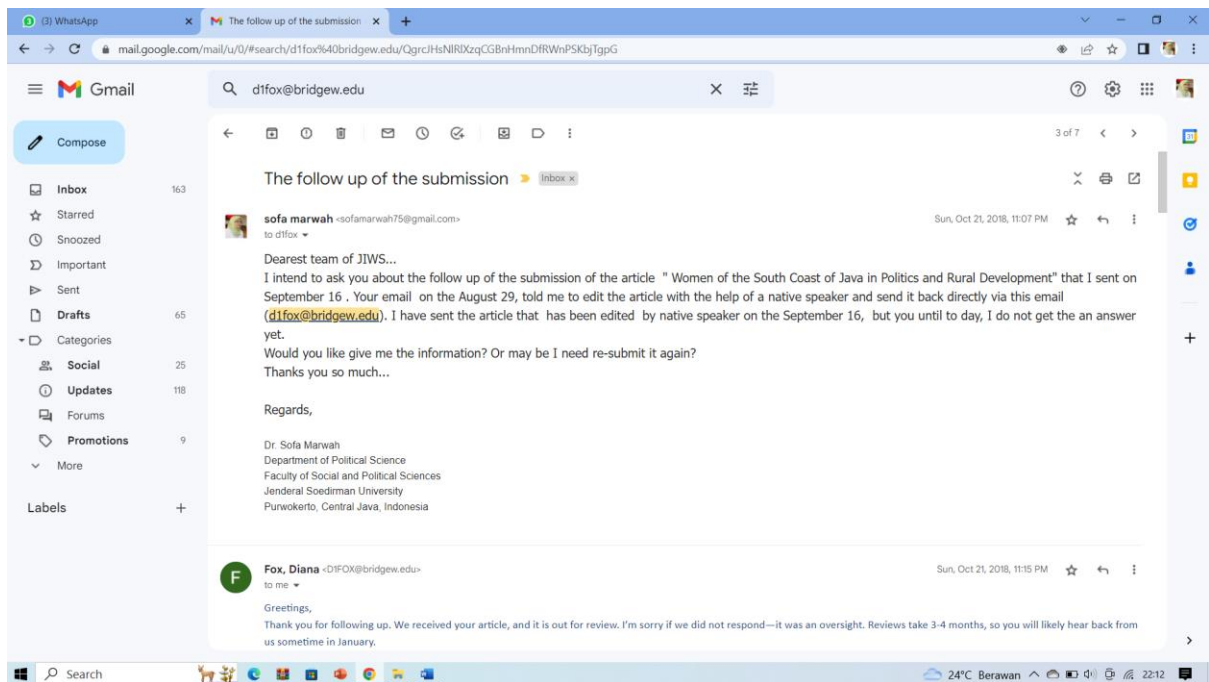
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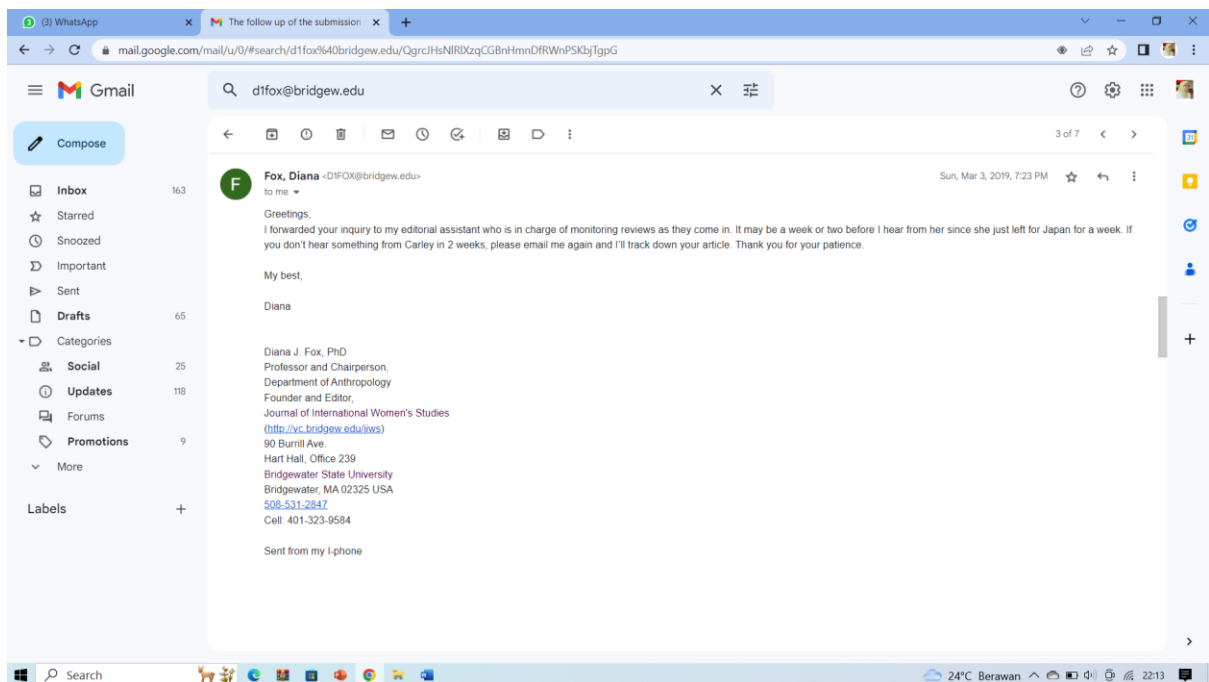
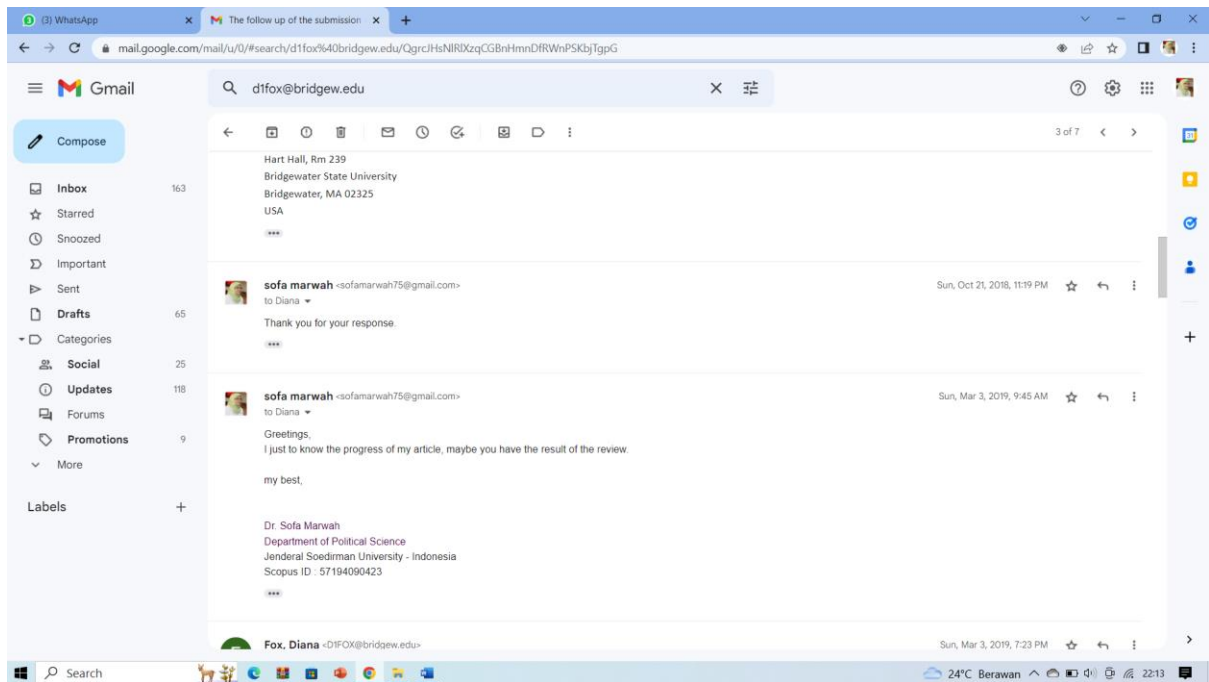
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thank you, Diana, you are very kind. I patiently follow your process. I really hope my article can be published in your journal. I will fix it again if needed

best regard,

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Department of Political Science
Jenderal Soedirman University - Indonesia
Scopus ID : 57194090423

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Dearest Dina,
I sent my article on 16 September 2018 after improving base on the result of the review. Well, here I submit it again.
Thank you so much for all your attention

best regard,

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Thank you for the feedback and I will try to revise it and resubmit my article...

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This paper needs to clearly state a hypothesis and the research questions.

As of now, the paper seems to indicate that women are already contributing heavily in several sectors of the rural economy and development in coastal areas, but they still lack representation in the government. However, it is not clear why this discrepancy exists despite their extensive contribution. Based on the findings, the author proposes that political education and training for coastal women is indispensable, but a little clarification about what that education and training actually entails will help the readers understand how the current system and infrastructure is inadequate for women's representation in government.

Also, are there any underlying social or traditional factors that are perpetuating the invisibility and devaluation of women, regardless of women's extensive contribution to rural development/economy? Would just more training and education for coastal women suffice to bring about equal gender representation in the government or do the current government officials also need some type of education to change their mindsets about women? Is it possible that training and exposure to gender-sensitization is indispensable for government officials? It would help if the author explores this additional angle when offering suggestions for women's equal representation in governance. This will certainly make the arguments made in this paper more robust and comprehensive, if nothing else.

There are several grammatical errors throughout the paper, hence a grammarian can help clean up the errors and make it more coherent for the readers.



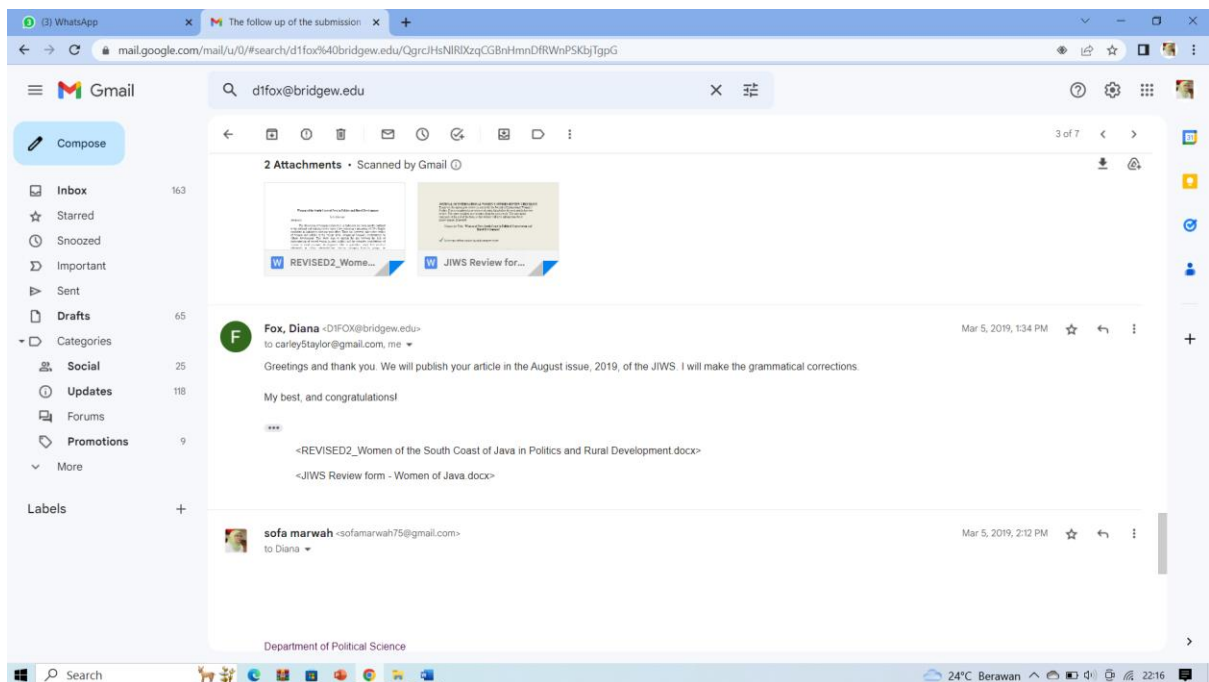
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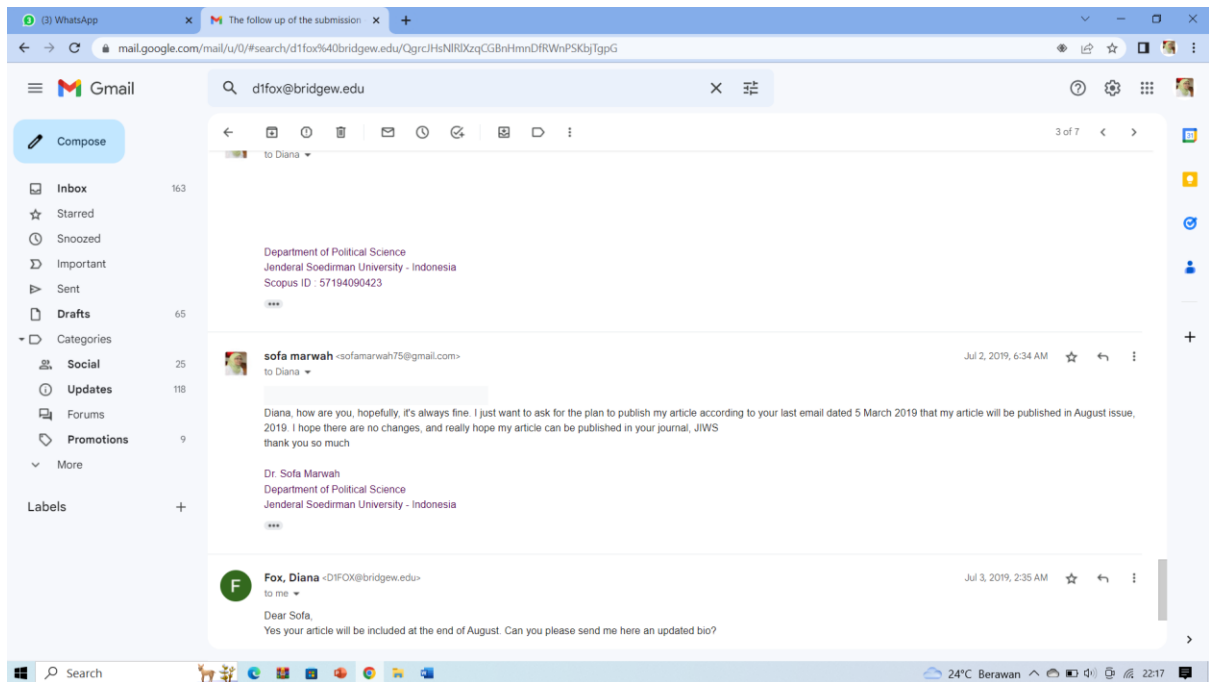
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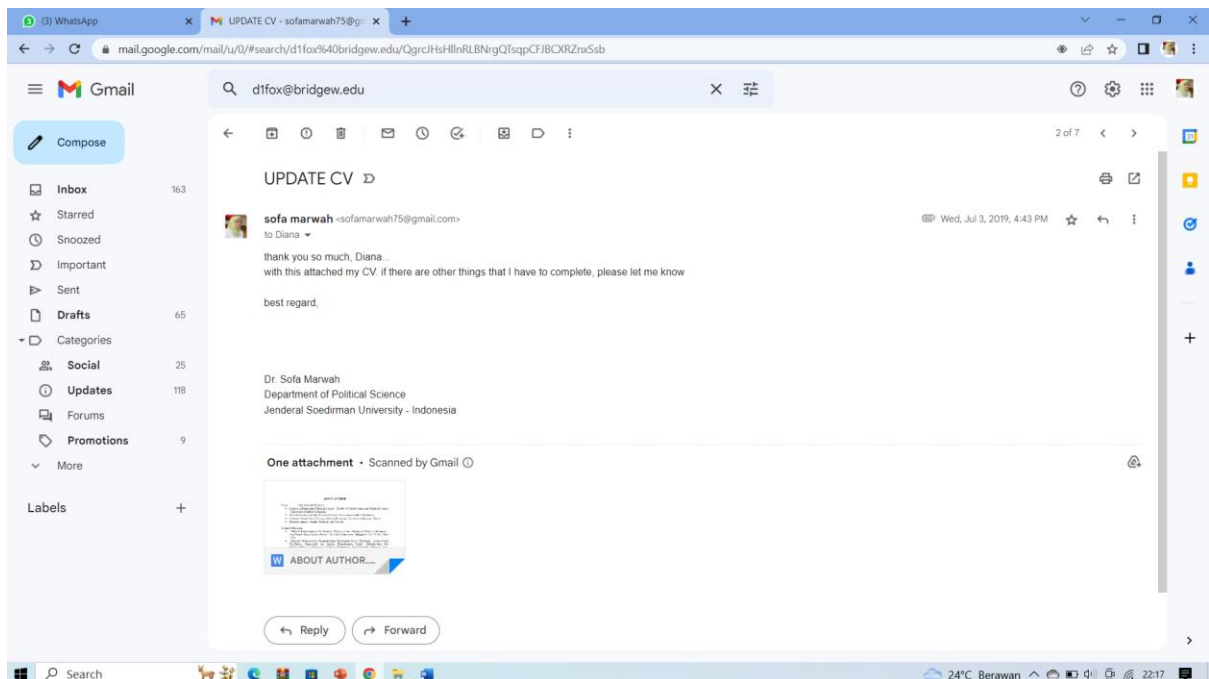
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Journal Publication

- “Political Representation for Javanese Women in the Affirmation Policy in Indonesia”, *Asia Pasific Social Science Review*, Dela Salle University, Philippines Vol. 16 No. 2 Dec 2016.
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3) WhatsApp x Thank you so much - sofamarwah x +

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
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sincerely,

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Best,
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