



Village Democratization In The New Order Era: The Shifting Value and Orientation of the Village Leaders and the Faded Motivation among the People to become a Head of Village (a Case in the Head of Village Election at Sangiang Banjar Subdistrict Majalengka Regency)

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ABSTRACT

Sangiang Village cannot be separated from the will of the state considering its position as law community unit in Indonesia. The direction of village governance and democracy should be able to conform to a centralized policy of the state and its uniformity. As a result, the village no longer has eligible to control and manage interests of village and its denizens; likewise, there have been a shift of sanctity of village chief and a lack of denizens' motivation to obtain its position. This research is aimed at gaining a deep analysis of the democratization in Desa Sangiang during the New Order era, particularly on the execution of Village Government Law Number 5/1979 (UU No.5 Tahun 1979) including its technical regulations. Qualitative approach adopted is to answer the aim of research through documentation and in-depth interview. This research seeks to show that during Village Chief election in Desa Sangiang there is an implementation of liberal tradition that leads to a formal democracy. It occurred due to the state perspective in internalising the democracy values tend to be more procedural than substantive that have formed the conformity of village to pay off its duties before the state. Subsequently, the state policy in adjusting the power of village chief has bureaucratically shaped the shift of values and characters of village chief itself. It also become one of the reason why the denizens' motivation to be a village chief in Desa Sangiang have decreased. These findings suggests it is proper that Government has to learn to what occurred in Desa Sangiang during the New Order era, in order to build a meaningful democracy in village through emphasizes the embodiment of substantive democracy than the procedural democracy.

Keywords: democratization, village, village chief

INTRODUCTION

The New Order era marked with the change in the direction of political policies and national development paradigm has brought significant consequences on the state condition, in general, and the village, in particular, especially in its governance. The expectation of the government to achieve national stability after a continuing conflict with the climax of the rebellion in

September 30, 1965 is the basic consideration for the government in power to implement centrality policy in all aspects of life. Therefore, in political-government field, security approach is chosen along with prosperity approach.

At the same time, modernization from western countries, especially the United States, has entered the country and became the basis of value for national development conducted in Indonesia. The success of the modernization initiator countries in developing their country and achieving the expected prosperity level is the attraction for the government to implement it in the economic-political development of the country. It is also driven more by the assistance from the initiator countries in the aspects of financing, technology as well as the experts.

The integration of political will and good will of the government with the modernization has resulted in a pattern of state policy that leads to national development with economy as a base. In the context of governance in the village (*desa*¹) level and other law community units in Indonesia, the government also applied the same strategy and policy by putting the village as the spearhead of the national development. Therefore, a village that previously a law community unit having the authority to control and manage the interest of the village and its people² has become a part of the state tool to achieve the objectives of the national development outlined in a policy made as the state policy guidelines known as GBHN (*Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara*)

To support the policy, the village and other law community units no longer have space and authority to use their own tradition and custom as a base in its governance. Later, the state (government) designs a village that lead to an administrative village and it hold the position as the government bureaucracy by replacing the tradition and custom with legislations that full with centrality and uniformity spirits. The legislation in questioned is Law No. 5, 1979 on Village Government along with its implementing regulations.

With the implementation of the law, the law community units in Indonesia are set to be called as *desa*. In addition, the space and movement of the village are arranged and supervised by the state. The authority of the village to control and manage its interest is faded including in the selection of its leader. The authority that has long been the characteristic and power of a *desa* has shifted to the state. The condition is experienced by almost all law community units, especially in Java where the customary law begins to be shifted by modernization values introduced since the colonial era.

Despite the uniformity of the implementation of the policy in all units, the impact on the village level is varied. It is due to the differences in the condition and ability of villages or units to face and adapt with the state policy and modernization. In some ways, there are villages that able to maintain their tradition and customs to be used as one of basis in their governance, as

¹ *Desa* (village) is a term used for a law community unit that live in Java and its surrounding area. There are many terms used for the unit that also has similar characters as *desa* in other areas (provinces and/or islands) in Indonesia, such as *nagari* in West Sumatera, *huta* or *kuta* in North Sumatera, *kampung* or *mukim* in Nangroe Aceh Darussalam, and *marga* in South Sumatera. Meanwhile, in West Java, the term of the unit is known as *kampung*. All of those terms is based on the customary law prevailed in each area (province). Ndraha (1991) quoting the opinion of R. van Dijk and Soepomo (1996) and Soemadiningrat (2002) quoting the opinion of van Vallenhoven, stated that there are 19 circles or sub-systems of customary law in Indonesia. Of the 19 sub-systems, Central Java is put together with East Java and Madura while West Java is separated. Therefore, in West Java, the unit is often called as *kampung* (Kartohadikoesoemo, 1984).

² Due to its authority to organize and manage their own interest, the position of *desa* leads to its form as *self-governing community*.

occurred in *Neglasari* Village in Salawu Subdistrict, Tasikmalaya Regency³. However, there are also some villages and other law community units that experiencing a transformation as a whole or able to adapt and produce new values, which is the integration of modern and local values. The point is that the entry of modernization into the villages will positively or negatively impact the village, including Sangiang village.

As one of villages at Banjar Subdistrict Majalengka Regency, Sangiang cannot break away from the bond of state policy and modernization. As a consequence, the change is unavoidable in the village and the people in terms of social, political-government, as well as democracy. As a sample, the election of the village leader is no longer attracted the elite and the people in general to run for the head of village.

Based on the data obtained, it is known that during the New Order era (1968-1999) the election of the head of village at Sangiang village was conducted four times. However, referring to the implementation of Law No. 5/1979 on Village Government, up to 1999, there was only one election occurred, which was in 1985 while the three other elections were conducted in 1968, 1972, and 1976. Between 1982 – 1985 and 1993 – 1999, Sangiang was led by an ad interim officer. Of the four elections, only in 1968 where there were more than one candidates while there was only one candidate or single candidate for the three other elections, including those in 1985.

The research will not discuss all changes that occur and the implantation process of democratic values by the state in Sangiang Village, instead it will focus only on:
how the democracy is built in Sangiang Village Banjar Subdistrict Majalengka Regency during the New Order era

what are the social-political impacts of democracy conducted by the state on the village viewed from the election of the head of Sangiang Village Banjar Subdistrict Majalengka Regency during the New Order era

Therefore, the general purpose of the research is to analyze the village democracy to be built by the state during the new order era and the resulted impacts in Sangiang Village Banjar Subdistrict Majalengka Regency. The specific purposes of the research are:

1. describe and analyze the village democratization viewed from the election of the head of village in Sangiang Village Banjar Subdistrict Majalengka Regency during the New Order era
2. identify and analyze the social-political impacts of democratization conducted by the state especially in the election of head of village in Sangiang Village Banjar Subdistrict Majalengka Regency during the New Order era

LITERATURE REVIEW

The state, government, and society are the three important entities in the government and will always be the focus of discussion and center of attention. The link between the three entities is inseparable due to the strong relation built among them so that the absence of one entity will influence the other two. One thing for sure is that the government and society (citizen) along

³ An explanation on this village can be seen in an article "*The Impossible Power of Local Democracy in Neglasari*" in *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences*, June. 2015. Vol. 5, No.4

with the territory and sovereignty are the main elements that should be present so that a group of organized societies can be categorized as a state.⁴

Based on the power ownership, the state is more powerful than the government and the society although in reality, the state is formed by the will of the society. Social contract built by the society and those who are going to run the state power (government) is the basic of the amount of power owned by the state. In the general political evolution pattern, the state power is great and even centralized since it maintains and continues the evolution process of power centralization from the simple form of bands to a state and form a monopoly of power to be used to support the use of the authority.⁵ It is in line with the explanation of Mac Iver (1988) that authority owned by a state is a tool to force the uprightness of social order and the mandate for it is in the hand of the government that basing their action on the products of law. In other words, the law is positioned as guidance for the government to do various actions, deeds, or activities.

In political-governmental field, the guidance for the government acts is known as a policy⁶. Carl Friedrich and Anderson, as quoted by Wahab (1990), gave limitation of the policy by linking it to the goals to be achieved by the state, which is as an action intentionally taken by the government to overcome various obstacles or problems in order to achieve the determined goals and objectives. Finally, it can be stated that the determination of the state policy is aimed to support the state interest.

Regarding the social change, the state policy is one of factors influencing or becoming the independent variable for the change in the societies in a country due to the coercion in the implementation of the policy, like it or not. Therefore, regardless of the positive or negative impacts that might occur⁷, policy and social change have strong relation. The power of the state policy is increasing when the state policy, consisting of the state will and strategies, is influenced by certain school of thought, such as modernization. With modernization values as the main content in the state policy, the change occurred and to be experienced by all types and condition of society⁸ in various aspects of their life is a certainty. In this case, modernization is another factor that plays important role in the changes occur not only in the society in various life aspects but also in the state on how it views the society based on the substances of the policy it made.

The relationship between social change and modernization is stated by Peter Berger as quoted by Usman (2004). According to him, modernization disturbs the solidarity bond and has changed the traditional life previously framed by the power beyond human control to those characterized by individualization process. In addition, it opens the established values and norms reconstruction and changes future orientation and time awareness. Therefore, modernization is also the driving factor for social change. Social change occurred in the society is not only in the outer form. Pranaji, as quoted by Munthe (2007), explained that, essentially, the change is also occurred in the basic form, function, structure, or characteristics of an economic activity of the society. Munthe itself stated that the change is occurred not only in the structure (culture and institution) but also in the process pattern.

⁴ Explanation on the elements of the state or the forming of a state (formal elements of the state) and one of them can be seen in the book of Muchtar Affandi

⁵ See Stepen K. Sanderson in his book of Macro Sociology: an Approach to Social Reality (1993) related to political evolution

⁶ United Nation, 1975

⁷ Castle (2001) explained that social change has two consequences, positive and negative, for the community and the state

⁸ Castle (2001) op.cit ...social change influences all types of society in developed as well as remoted areas

One of the community unit that change along with the entrance of modernization flow supported by the state policy is *desa* (village), which is one of the law community unit⁹ in Indonesia. In Indonesia, a law community unit has many expressions depending on the law circle¹⁰ where the unit is existed. In Java, the unit is known as *desa* while in Priangan (West Java) it is called *kampung*. However, generally, in various literatures, the term of *desa* is used more. Boeke (1971) and Kartohadikoesoemo (1984) gave limitation on *desa* as an alliance or the residential law unit of a community having the authority to conduct their own government. Based on the explanation, it can be stated that *desa* or a law community unit has authority for itself including in democracy, especially in the election of their leader.

As a concept in political-government, refers to the statement of Abraham Lincoln, democracy is a government of, by and for the people. Regarding the statement, Wayne (2004) stated that a government of the people should encourage a public dialogue accessible and response by everyone. The decision taken is aimed for the people interest and able to articulate and express the public interest into a policy wanted and considered legal by the impacted societies. The statement is the core of democracy as explained by Larsen (2005) that the core of democracy is the authority of the people, which is the citizen of a government having similar rights to participate. The above explanation is the limit of democracy in the liberal tradition since it characterized by the acknowledgement of individual rights and freedom¹¹ that can be seen in the election and decision making in parliament through direct voting¹² and the voting is considered as the highest success of democracy as the manifestation of the people responsibility.¹³ Another characteristic is the ability to articulate and express the public interest into a policy as stated by Grugel (2002) that liberal democracy becomes the aggregation of individual preferences.

Democracy worked in the village is different to the democracy originated from outside the village and to be developed by the state. The differences are, especially, related to the source, spirit, principles, platform, method, and result.¹⁴ The traditional and customary sources become the basis for spirit, foundation, platform, method, and result. Based on the type of democracy, in the context of head of village election, the selected leader is not only a formal leader (in political meaning) but also informal leader (social). Regarding the authority, the position as informal leader is more “meaningful” than the formal leader due to the existence of relationship between the leader and the people that spiritually bond without any coercion. Due to the nature of the election process and the position, the leader becomes a *primus* with authority to make final decision in the decision making process. Therefore, it can be said that, to be a village leader is an “honor” since it will not only bring power but also trust and loyalty from the people due to the charisma and authority.

The relationship between the state, policy, and modernization and village democracy is profound if it related to the opinion of Suwarno (2000) that explained about the internal and external factors to be considered in the village democracy. The internal factors involving two

⁹The term of law community unit (*Kesatuan Masyarakat Hukum/KMH*) is given by a Dutch customary law expert, van Vollenhoven

¹⁰Ndraha (1991) quoting the opinion of R. van Dijk and Soepomo (1996) and Soemadiningrat (2002) quoting the opinion of van Vollenhoven

¹¹According to Hatta (2009) appreciation to individual rights (individualism) is the main character of a democracy in liberal tradition.

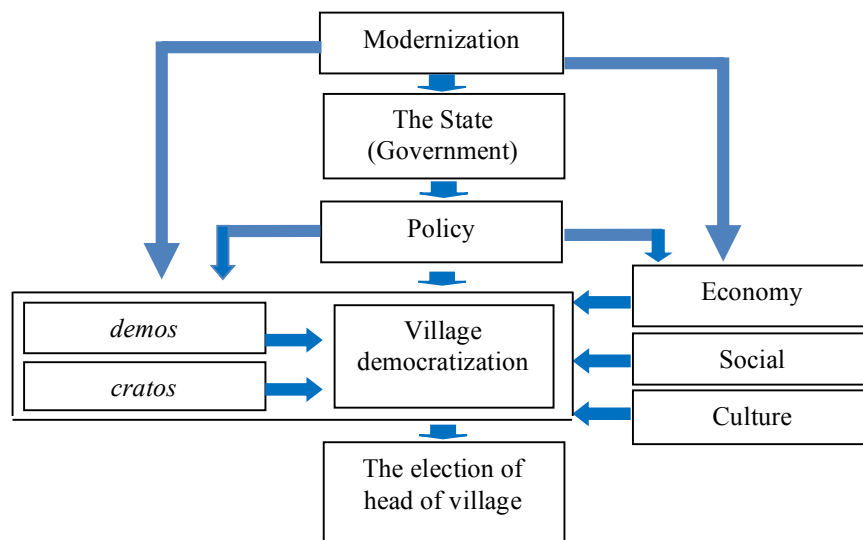
¹²See Pieterse J Nederveen (2001). Participatory Democratization Reconcepted. *Futures* 33 p. 407-422.

¹³Shari R Veil (2008). Civic Responsibility and Risk Democracy. *Public Relation Review* p. 387-391

¹⁴See Saefulrahman (2016) in *Jurnal Mimbar* Vol. 32, No. 2, 2016

things: *demos* (people) consisted of the people who occupy a settlement due to blood relations and/or because they leave in the same place and have good relationship to form a community; and *kratos* (institution) is related to mutual assistance (*gotong royong*) manifested in *primus inter pares*. In this case, the involvement of people in decision making is existed but the final decision is in the hand of the elders who are considered as the *primus*. The external factors are the upper level government (*supra desa*), and social, economic, and cultural factors. Referring to the opinion, it can be said that policy and modernization are part of the external factors. The role of the state can be seen in the existence of *supra desa* government plays role in achieving democracy building at the village through a series of village government policies. Moreover, along with the modernization, the state and its policy made can be seen in the aspect of social, economy, and culture.

Referring to the position of the state having the authority with great force it is reasonable to state that external factors have significant influence in the village democracy compare to the internal factors. In other words, the state can be the key determinant in building the direction and tradition of democracy to be applied by the village (village democratization). For example, regulation set for uniform election based on liberal tradition in the election of head of village as stated in Law No. 5/1979 on village government. Regardless the positive and negative impacts, the significant influence of the state can also be seen in the economic motive and prestige of the villagers when they become the leader. The condition, once again, could contribute to the village democracy. Due to the motive, the villagers will have or even have no willingness to directly participate in the democracy, to select or to be selected. Following is the simple illustration of the relationship between the state, policy and village democracy.



The Relationship between Village Democracy and Modernization and State Policy

Based on the above explanation, it can be stated that when applying the intended values of democracy (democratization), the state (government) should consider the likely occurring impacts of the policy. It is due to the many possibilities of the positive and negative impacts that might occur, such as the shifting values and orientation of the village leaders and the loss of motivation among the villagers to run for the head of village. Therefore, it is likely that the change expected by the government is different to those of the people although both of them expected the change. If negative impacts are occurred, the state (government) with its policy does not reflect or cannot be categorized as democratic government. Instead of democratizing the village, the state becomes undemocratic.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research aimed to describe and analyze the implementation of the values of democracy that is expected by the state to replace the value of democracy prevailed in the village and the impact on the life of rural community during the new order era in Sangiang Village Banjar Subdistrict Majalengka Regency. The appropriate approach for the research was a qualitative research. It is based on Nasution (2003), Sugiono (2005), and Irawan (2007) who observed the appropriateness of qualitative research for a research that focusing more on the disclosure of meanings behind to be seen facts. For example, the implementation of democratic value expected by the state through Law No. 5, 1979 on Village government in the election of head of village that likely to give meaning behind the visible facts gained by the researcher, such as when there was only one candidate in the election and the appointment of ad interim officer to be the head of village during the new order era.

In order to answer the purposes of the research, strategy used was a case study since it gives space to deepening the research problems; in this case, to study more about village democratization and its impact, especially in the election of head of village. Detail in disclosing specific matters could also be gained using the strategy, particularly those matters related to the cause of the shifting values and orientation of the head of village as the people leader and the loss of motivation among the people to nominate and to be nominated as the head of village in the New Order era.

Data collection technique used was unstructured interview and documentation. The interview was conducted with the village leaders, former heads of village, and current head of village and the village. The snow ball technique was used as the technique for determination of informant. It started with the current head of village (Mr. Maman Badjuraman/age 54) and Ujang Sumarjo (Village secretary/age 46). Then it followed by the village leaders: Mr. Enjon (age 74) as a former member of the Committee of Head of Village Election in New Order Era; Jubaedi (age 78) as a former village secretary in 1963—1993 and former village in 1982—1985; and Entis Sutisna (age 54) as the head of hamlet /*lurah* in Blok Legok since 1997—present.

Data processing and analysis used stages referred to Miles and Huberman as quoted by Sugiyono (2005) which is data reduction process focusing on selection, simplification, abstraction and transformation of raw data from the result of field record (data reduction); data display process started from organizing information into statement that allow for conclusion drawing (data display); and conclusion drawing process based on data reduction and display that conducted gradually from general conclusion in data reduction stage to specific conclusion in data display stage and to more specific conclusion in conclusion drawing stage/verification.

OBJECT, RESEARCH RESULT, AND DISCUSSION

Sangiang is one of villages in the area of Banjar Subdistrict Majalengka Regency. The village is a hilly area and located at the foot of Ciremai Mountain with area of 554.075 H. The village area is divided into 6 hamlets called *Blok* (block), which are: Sangiang Lama, Sangiang Rahayu, Pasirbitung, Legok, Pendetan, and Maranggi. The head of the hamlet (*Kepala dusun* or *Lurah Blok*) is also acted as the head of RW (community group). Each block is further divided into 7 (seven) RT (neighborhood group) so that there are 42 RTs. Based on the population in 2014, the population was 2.405 consisted of 1,185 male and 1,221 female. Legok Block is a hamlet with the biggest population of 642 (26.69%).

Currently, Sangiang is led by Mr. Maman Badrujaman who is selected as the head of village in the 2012 election. In its governance, he is assisted by one secretary, two head of affairs and six head of hamlets. In addition, Sangiang has Village Consultative Body with 9 members and Community Empowerment Institution with 9 members. Based on the education aspect, the majority of the villagers are graduated from junior high school of 12 people (41.38%) and senior high school of 10 people (34.48%). However, there are 5 people (17.24%) who have bachelor's degree that generally in education major; whereas, elementary school graduates are 2 people (6.89%) holding a position as head of hamlet. The current head of the village is graduated from junior high school.

Democratization in Sangiang: the Dynamic of Head of Village Election during New Order Era in 1968-1998

Centrality and uniformity paradigm carried by the government brought consequences to the election of head of village in Sangiang where it should be conducted based on the state policy, in this case Law No. 5/1979 along with its implementing and technical regulations. The law is loaded with modern values due to the modernization flow occurred at that time thus the government adopt it and made it as a paradigm in the state development. In the political-government field, especially in the election of the head of village, the government maintains the liberal democracy tradition that in line with modern values. However, as in the case in some villages, the law cannot be directly used as the legal basis in the election of head of village in Sangiang since they already had the elected head of village from the 1976 election, Mr. Ohim¹⁵. The period for the head of village was not strictly determined; it was only based on his incapability in leading the village. Based on the research result, it was found that Mr. Ohim led Sangiang Village until 1982 or for six years. The election, however, was conducted in 1985 since in 1982-1985 Sangiang was led by an ad interim officer, Mr. Jubaedi, who was the village secretary.

In this New Order era, the election in Sangiang should be held according to the stages determined in the state policy. It started with the submitting of the head of village candidacy by the prospective candidate in written to the regent/mayor of district head level II through the Committee of Candidacy and Election. The committee will check the submission and forward it to the Supervisory Committee. The supervisory committee will check it and send the result to the head of the Committee of Researcher and Examiners. If the prospective candidates pass the selection, they will be set as the candidates of head of village election by the regent/mayor of district head level II. The elected head of village will lead the village for 8 (eight) years in one period and he/she can be re-elected for one more period¹⁶.

Based on the research result it was found that the election process of head of village in Sangiang was not in accordance with the state regulation. In 1985, there was only one candidate for the election or single candidate, which was Mr. Harun. Referring to the Regulation of Minister of Home Affairs No. 6/1981 on Election procedures, the regulation, implicitly, allows single candidate, however, in practice it is not allow since it is considered undemocratic based on liberal tradition. A regulation that clearly gave possibility of head of

¹⁵ Actually, in 1968 an Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs No. 1/1968 on the Election, Approval, Appointment, Dismissal, and Termination of the head of village in Java and Madura was issued. It means that there are possibilities that the election of head of village in Sangiang will be based on the instruction of the minister of home affairs although it was possible to be based on the tradition that has been working in Sangiang

¹⁶ Regarding the candidacy and election procedures, the law set that it will be arranged by regional regulation (*Perda*). Therefore, the Province of Regional Level I of West Java issued *Perda* No. 22/1981 on Regulation on Election, Approval, Appointment, Dismissal, and Termination of head of village. The *Perda* is based on the Regulation of Minister of Home Affairs No. 6/1981 that also regulate on the Election, Approval, Appointment, Dismissal, and Termination of head of village.

village election with single candidate was set in 1988¹⁷. Related to Sangiang case, however, the regulation did not prevail since the election continued although with one candidate. During the existence of Sangiang Village, there were only two elections of head of village with two candidates: in 1963 with Mr. Emik and Mr. Ohim as the candidates and in 1968 with Mr. Adrai and Mr. Engko as the candidate. It should be noticed, however, those elections were occurred before the Law No. 5/1979 and its implementation regulation was applied. Other than those dates, including before 1963, the elections of head of village in Sangiang were conducted with single candidate and it was the agreement between village leaders to avoid chaos between the supporters of the candidates. The determination of the single candidate was maintained until 2012 when Mr. Badrujaman was elected as the head of village for period of 2012-2018.

In addition, the appointment of Mr. Harun as the candidate of head of village was not conducted by the committee of election in the village level, which was the Committee of Candidacy and Election. It is a tradition in the village that the authority for the appointment of head of village candidates is in the hand of village leaders through a deliberation (*musyawarah*). The result of deliberation is submitted to the committee in the village level for further processed up to the *Pantiuji* (the Committee of Research and Testing), which is a committee in Majalengka Regency level. Thus, the election committee at the village level does not conduct any selection for candidates since it has been conducted by the village leaders. It means that the authority of the committee is only for the candidacy approval.

An interesting finding was that during the new order era, the candidate of head of village resulted from deliberation among village leaders (between 1968-1993) refused the candidacy; therefore, in 1982-1985 Sangiang village was led by an official (Mr. Jubaedi) and in 1993-1999 was led by Mr. Amin. Although there were villagers who were selected to be the candidates and got elected, such as in 1968, 1972, 1976, and 1985 elections, most of them were of necessity. The village leaders forced them to come to the registration site. This forcefulness is known as *ditungtun* (to bring the candidates by “dragging” them to the registration site). Actually, the village leaders could nominate themselves for the election but they have opinion that the head of village should be held by younger generation. The consideration is based on the desire to have regeneration of village leaders since in the future, the head of village will be a part of the village leaders. Moreover, based on age and physical support, it was unlikely that the village leader to have the responsibility as a head of village especially with the position as stated in Law No. 5/1979 where head of village is not only the village tool but also the tool of the regional and central governments.

The process of head of village election during the new order era at the village was similar to other villages in West java. The use of *biting*¹⁸ and *bumbung*¹⁹ was no longer prevailed since the process used election procedures in 1982, which is using a ballot. The difference to other villages was in the symbol used by the candidate where in Sangiang they usually use fruits. Mr. Harun, as the only candidate during that election, chose orange as his symbol and another picture in the ballot. In the process, through direct election by the villagers, Mr. Harun was

¹⁷ The Instruction of Minister of Home Affairs No. 17 /1988 in Section II No. 6 stated that single candidacy in the election of head of village is possible as long as the condition is not intentional or dragged to a single candidacy. It means that the candidate is really single candidate since there are no other villagers who register after several times of the registration.

¹⁸ A palm leaf (± 10 cm) is used as a sign of support in the election of head of village in Neglasari before it is replaced with a ballot

¹⁹ Ballot box made from big bamboo stem is used to collect vote of those who does not want to select candidate for head of village in a single candidate election

elected as the head of village for period of 1985-1993. Based on the Law No. 5/1979, the period for head of village is 8 (eight) years and can be reelected for the next period.

Apart from this, the involvement of village leaders in the election of head of village through deliberation indicated that two democratic traditions worked in Sangiang. The working process was similar to those in Neglasari but the basic of democratic tradition is differed²⁰. In Neglasari, the democratic tradition is based on Islamic precept and *Naga* custom, while in Sangiang it is based on tradition or habits in the village. The research indicates that there was no customary people live in Sangiang as *Kampung Naga* in Neglasari. It can be concluded that the work of the two democratic traditions in Sangiang was due to the leadership of the local elites who maintained the habits in the middle of "coercion" from the state to apply liberal democratic tradition.

One more thing to be noted that the presence of single candidacy during the new order era before 1988 was a proof that the authority and leadership of Sangiang village leaders and its people had succeeded in "forcing" the state to compromise with the interest and habits in the village as well as to appoint an ad interim officer for the head of village since after the end period of Mr. Harun in 1993 there was no Sangiang villagers who were willing to be the head of village. For six years, Sangiang village was led by the officer (Mr. Amin) until 1999 when reformation era was started.

In the end, it can be said that in the election of head of village, Sangiang did not apply the state regulation as stated in the policy (Law No. 5/1979 and other legislations). The determination of prospective candidate done by the village leaders was a proof that Sangiang also applied part of its tradition in democracy. It means that, tradition in the village during the new order era was still working although only during the stage of determination of prospective candidate. However, it was better since the state, formally, is no longer admitted it. The work of the tradition, indirectly, indicates that Sangiang, as a law community unit, had some authority, especially those related to the election of head of village, such as when there was only one candidate and when in certain periods it was led by an official within a period of time exceeding the provision. Therefore, referring to the state policies, the democratization in Sangiang village was not as expected by the state.

The Shifting Values and Orientation of Head of Village and the Impact on the Faded Motivation of the People

Referring to the village policy stated in Law No. 5/1979 on Village Government and its implementing regulation, *desa* is constructed with geographical (territorial) approach as it is defined as an area occupied by some people as a community unit and it includes the law community unit that has the lowest government organization under the head of subdistrict and has the right to organizing its in-house affairs within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Based on the limitation, *desa* is defined as an administrative area and positioned under the development and supervision of a subdistrict; therefore, village government (especially head of village) as if the hand extension of the subdistrict government (head of subdistrict), which is the representative of central government in the region. It can be said that the current head of village is not a leader but he/she is more as the implementer or the staff of the *supra* government. It means, as the leader of the people in the village, head of village is no longer has the authority on him/herself as well as the people. The attitude, behaviors and acts should follow the direction of his/her superior who appoint and inaugurate him/her.

²⁰ Saefulrahman (2016) op.cit

Due to the position, the role and function of the head of village has shifted. He/she is no longer the leader of the people who is responsible and has orientation to the people needs and no longer able to play role as a “father” of the villagers since the main duty is to bring success for every state policies in the village. In addition, formal authority owned by the head of village is no longer from the recognition of the people but it feels like it is “given” by the state. It is related to their position as the state and region tool instead of the village tool. In the end, the relationship between the people leader (head of village) and the villagers that was previously built based on moral and social and it was needed by the people has shifted to be based on economy and politics as well as the state needs.

The impact of the implementation of village policy as stated in Law No. 5/1979 was one of reason for the difficulty to have a leader in Sangiang village. As explained above, during the period of 1968-1999, in two periods, Sangiang was led by an ad interim officer for a relatively long period, 3 – 6 years. The condition is unusual since an officer is generally only filled an empty position before the election of head of village. Permendagri No. 6/1981, regulating the election rules, stated that the period of an officer to hold a position as head of village is 1 (one) year. The head of Sangiang village was finally elected after an election with one candidate who was forced to become the candidate by the village leaders.

The condition was related to the shifting values and orientation of the position of a head of village. The pride and honor from the position has faded along with the shift in authority center from the head of village to the upper level government. Statements from informants related to the “meaningless position of head of village or head of village with no authority” were the base of the conclusion. In addition, during the period of previous head of village, he tended to sacrifice more to bring success to the state interest²¹.

Moreover, the election of head of village will need fund that sometimes most of the funding was imposed to the candidate. Actually, there is no statement regarding this matter in the regulation since based on Permendagri No. 6/1981 and Instruction of Minister of Home Affairs No. 17/1989 the cost of various activities in the election is the responsible of regency/city (APBD/regional budget) and the village (APPKD). In the practice, APPKD fund is taken from the non-governmental (society) funding including the candidate of head of village. The issue was that the cost incurred as well as the energy and mind that is more for the state interest is incomparable to the “income” gained by the head of village. It is another reason for the unwillingness of Sangiang villagers to nominate or to be nominated as the head of village. Based on economic aspect, the salary of the head of village in Sangiang was not sufficient to cover the family needs since *tanah bengkok* (land for use of village employees in place of salary) owned by the village was small (only 15,357 m²). The condition was directly proportional with the fact that there was none of Sangiang head of village who held the position for more than one period.

The shifting values and orientation of head of village was occurred after the determination of state policy of Law No. 5/1979 along with other legislations. The shift contributed to the faded motivation of Sangiang villagers to nominate or to be nominated as head of village. In other words, the policy brought change in the *kratos* aspect and in turn to the *demos* aspect and the building of village democracy as a whole. It means that, directly or indirectly, the policy was one of the external factors that gave impact on *demos*. It also impacted the economic aspect

²¹ Such as paying the PBB (property tax), succeeding the election, to realize village development which is the government program, etc.

with the change in *demos* aspect as well as the building of village democracy as a whole. Small income gained from the position as head of village was the reason for the faded motivation of villagers to nominate or to be nominated as head of village. Further examination indicated that the demand on the need of more income to fulfill the family needs with the position of head of village cannot be separated from the change in social and cultural aspects due to the entry of modern values (along with liberal values) that tend to contain materialist values. With the tendency, the demand for the maximum fulfillment of "human needs" was unavoidable. It means, the shift in values is not only in the position of head of village but also in the self-individual of the villagers. Up till now, the basic value held by the villagers in living their life is more toward moral. But it has shifted to economy along with the development era and the demand of need.

Factors influencing democracy (internal and external) in Sangiang case was not linear. It means that the influence of both factors was not only directly to the direction of village democracy but it was initiated with the influence of external factor on the internal factors that in turn impacted the village democracy, especially in the election of head of village. Within both factors, there are factors that influence each other and the impact has influenced the village democracy in general and especially in the election of head of village. Due to the influence of external factors on internal factors, it is natural that the economic factors has more significant influence on the faded motivation of the villagers than the shift in values and orientation of head of village position.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Conclusion

Village democracy built in Sangiang village, especially in the election of head of village, was not based on one regulation set by the state as stated in the policy of village democratization contained in Law No. 5/1979 along with other regulations. The deliberation of village leaders as a tradition in the village for decision making was still an important part in building democracy at the village. In this case, the election was depended on "the willingness and ability" of the village leaders to present the candidate. In other words, democracy at the village was built based on two traditions, liberal tradition cultivated by the government through village democratization and local tradition that had been the basic for democracy at the village originated from the village tradition.

Village democratization that currently conducted by the state gave significant impact on the election of head of Sangiang village. It was due to the change in the village construction that brought impact to the shifting values and orientation of head of village as the people leader and the imbalance between the duties to be conducted and the income gained from the position as head of village. These conditions had caused the faded motivation among the villagers to nominate and to be nominated as the head of village. Moreover, if there was an election, there was only one candidate who was presented due to the "willingness and ability" of the village leaders.

Suggestion

In the real democracy, there is nothing wrong with single candidate in the election of head of village. The problem is when there is no one who is willing to nominate him/herself or to be nominated in the election since it indicates the low degree or quality of democracy. Therefore, the important thing in village democratization is that for the government, with all the authority, to not impose its will to change the village construction and everything in it based on its wishes. The state should pay attention to the village tradition and consider it in the policy made when building the village democracy since it is the main basic of the village formation.

Therefore, sense of belonging will occur among the villagers and they will have the sense of responsibility in the village development and the democracy by nominating themselves or willing to be nominated as head of village.

Another step is by considering the prosperity of the village government (head of village and the villages). Incentive from profit sharing between *desa* and *supra desa* can be a temporary solution for the prosperity issue. However, to institutionalized high motivation among the villagers to become head of village, returning the authority of the village related to the values and orientation of head of village and avoiding giving overload duties and administrative duties to the village could be a wiser choice to be taken by the state if it is really wanted to build democracy from the lower level.

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