From Political Clientelism to Participatory Democracy: A Study of Visionary Leadership Innovations in Panggungharjo Village and Sayan Village

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Abstract: The Act of Village has given many opportunities for villages in Indonesia to generate innovation in the local contexts. The governance for village development creates a new way to develop the rural area through visionary leadership innovation. This study showcases two villages that can encourage modernism in innovative leadership, namely Panggungharjo Village and Sayan Village. These villages have been able to promote local democratization from political clientelism to good governance. This study presented social change by the Most Significant Change (MOS) approach that involves two headmen in the site of engagement community. The critical finding of this study is directed into three notions. First, a contestation of village election is free from clientelistic and money politics. Second, the program is oriented toward citizenship. Third, the governing authority in the local village is given by the resources in the form of village funds allocated in a targeted and legal manner to support community empowerment. In this community service, community organizing to realize good governance practices through innovative leadership is a central issue in the sustainable development of the village.

Keywords: Political Clientelism, Good Governance, Visionary Leadership Innovation, Panggungharjo Village, Sayan Village

Introduction

Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages has given tremendous optimism to many countrysides in Indonesia. Substantively, the Law presents a new shade in the orientation of changes related to the relationship between the state and the village—from cooperative-co-optative to cognitive-democratic—to make changes in position, authority, institutions, and leadership. The village has become an autonomous role in building social change in terms of function. In terms of power, the village has the authority regarding planning and budgeting—something that the village had never before. The villages can develop innovations that have implications for social

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participation through deliberation processes at the local level. The village also can establish good governance based on the people's involvement at the local level.\(^2\) Hence, the villages create visionary leadership innovations that are the key to the success of a development and empowerment program. The four changes are interrelated so that the main factor in the success of village development lies in the character of leadership.\(^3\) Before the enactment of the Village Law, clientelistic leadership patterns such as kinship and patron-client patterns were more deeply rooted. It has implications for the various strategies adopted to limit community participation so that policies that serve all the interests of villagers will always be hampered by a regime pattern that only cares about themselves, their relatives, and their supporting groups.\(^4\)

With the enactment of the Village Law, a shift began slowly with the emergence of participatory democratic practices and innovative leadership at the village level.\(^5\)

Visionary leadership has been given a response from many scholars; it is a new trend. To date, researchers can map such cases from three objective views. First, the leadership pattern raises an insight into the failure of village development due to political clientelism factors.\(^6\) Second, political clientelism has been presented as a challenge to visionary leadership innovation that caused not optimal public services in the local context, the village asset development, and the establishment of infrastructure countryside.\(^7\) Third, the presence of social change is not developed very well due to a mechanism of funding management that focuses only on building infrastructure, it less on assets and potential development caused by budget allocation, which is not right on target.\(^8\) From three tendency of issues, the author does not find raised an issue in visionary leadership oriented to public services to be a developing village for pushing dynamic residents. It referred to the level from the Ministry of Villages. For this reason, this study seeks to present a new pattern based on community assistance in contributing to the distribution of the number of independent villages that refers to the Law of Villages, with 2.894


in 2018, reaching 5,559 villages. In contrast, underdeveloped villages declined from 19,750 to 13,232 villages.\(^9\)

Despite the main problems in the failure of village development caused by clientelistic politics, two villages can develop innovative leadership through democratic institutions at the local level, namely Panggungharjo Village in Bantul Regency, Yogyakarta and Sayan Village in Gianyar Regency, Bali—can overcome this issue. These two villages have become models of visionary leadership, leading to participatory democracy. Various village innovations run optimally, such as public services, asset development, and village development ideas. To be left behind and develop faster to become an independent village, it is necessary to explore the various characters, contexts, and practices of visionary leadership in the village, which has been very fast in carrying out innovation and social change. Studying and replicating this kind of creative leadership practice in Indonesia is essential to be evenly distributed for village progress. In this context, this paper answers a fundamental question. First, in the context of the socio-political dynamics, what is the emergence of visionary leadership that gives birth to innovation in the village? Second, what forms of innovation are developing in rural communities? Third, how does the researcher build systems and institutions to sustain innovation? Therefore, the researcher chose case studies in two villages—Panggungharjo Village, Bantul, Yogyakarta and Sayan Village, Gianyar, Bali—to explore visionary leadership that opens up space for participatory democracy.

**Methods**

Action planning in this community engagement was carried out by mapping the actors of the social planner in the two villages that were the research locations. Specifically, this research involves ten stakeholders in each village where it is located. First, the researcher contacted Panggungharjo Village officials to get stories of their first experiences in building independence with five relevant stakeholders. The researcher first went to the village head to discuss views on social change through innovative and visionary leadership. Second, the researcher also went to the head of Sayan Village to get a story about their first experience in building a village with five relevant stakeholders. Therefore, these two villages became the subject of dedication to mapping strategic directions and planning community organizing actions in visionary leadership innovation.\(^10\)

This study uses the Most Significant Change (MOS) approach by referring to the thoughts of Davies & Dart.\(^11\) This approach accommodates social change based on the stories or experiences of the actors involved in village development. Telling stories is essential to conducting a qualitative study, which is a step to facilitating the interpretation of the meaning

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that makes it easier for people to tell stories naturally. They can solve complex problems and cross-check to produce reports known for their accuracy and truth. This MOS approach is now widely developed to measure and evaluate the impact of a program on significant changes in rural communities.\textsuperscript{12}

In this context, the MOS approach regards data collection in the field observation, collecting documents, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), and the interviews through in-depth telling stories from the actors of change-makers and others stakeholders. The changing history that raises from the change-makers related to cross-checking to increase accuracy and the actual story—is confirmed by the vision of leadership practice headman village from Panggungharjo Village and Sayan Village. Field data collection is carried out starting from October to November 2021.

Figure 1. MOS approach

Result

The Dynamics of the Community Engagement Process

There are conducted by considering the political contestation in the process of headman election in the two villages. I have reached out to the headman village to build trust with the local government. It seeks that political contestation is an earlier sign of a leadership
characteristic. When a candidature headman has been chosen as a winner offering public services program, applying innovation leadership is a huge opportunity to be a headman. In contrast, when the headman candidate proposes the money politic and political identity to the mobilization of voters, the leadership that promises a good life quality for social transformation will be more problematic to realize.

In this context, Wahyudi Anggoro Hadi (Panggungharjo Village, Bantul, Yogyakarta) and I Made Andika (Sayan Village, Ubud, Gianyar, Bali) are a headman who represents from youth local. They are a headman through the local election, offering many programs, especially the strategy electoral to influence society. Social mobilisation is also carried out, particularly affecting local youth as a social movement. The reformulation of local government has been offered by them able to create collective negotiation for residents and destroyed of money politic that dominated the electoral voters in the arena of the local election process from many places in local Indonesia.13

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which is increasingly becoming urban, creates changes that marginalize the artistic potential of the community. Village social institutions are increasingly moving without paying attention to cultural potential and vulnerabilities in various other fields.\(^{14}\)

The same thing happened with Sayan village, Ubud sub-district, Gianyar regency, Bali, when I Made Andika was elected as a headman, with the capital of ideas and public trust; he was able to defeat the political sentiment of money, thus giving him a broad path in making social changes. I Made Andika is a young man from the village of Sayan who was elected to be the headman or Perbekel as he is called in Bali when he was 32 years old. When he was sworn in in October 2018 as a headman, he became the youngest leader of Sayan village, Ubud District, Gianyar Regency, Bali. Like most villages in Bali, the lives of its residents rely heavily on sources of income from the tourism industry. The natural potential, the friendliness of its citizens, as well as the cultural customs of the community, which in many ways create artistic expressions and cultural exoticism, have made admiration and attraction for many parties to come and enjoy it as tourists or tourists. The presence of local, national and foreign tourists to enjoy the beauty of the villages in Bali seems to be timeless. This kind of condition also creates conditions for racing against each other to bring unique, distinctive comfort so that tourists come and stay in the village for a long time. Likewise, with Sayan Village, the natural potential of the village and the cultural and artistic potential is also required to continue to grow and face the competition of cultural tourism icons with villages or other places in Bali. In short, if you are not creative, your guests will go elsewhere. In this context, as in the focus group discussion (FGD) meeting, on October 18, 2021, at the Sayan Village Office, village leadership is critical in advancing Sayan village as a tourist village that can later be a tourist world-certified.

lives to be more dynamic, creative and full of meaning. This kind of social context makes the young man who graduated from the University of Bina Nusantara (BINUS) Jakarta, I Made Andika, very closely to represent the hopes of the Sayan village stakeholders. I Made Andika, who, after graduating from Bina Nusantara University (BINUS), was actively involved in the Bali Spirit Festival organization, was very active in organizing various yoga, dance, and music events with international standards. The various performances of the Bali Spirit Festival are awe-inspiring and well known by the Balinese public, especially young men and tourism business people. The longing and hope of the young people of Sayan village to have a tourism event that is proud, known and in demand by the public is increasingly compounded and attached to I Made Andika. Likewise, hotel tourism actors, the presence of creative events that can lure tourists to come and stay through village leaders who understand the ins and outs of the tourism world is undoubtedly beautiful; the figure of I Made Andika represents the symbol and spirit of this. Also, traditional leaders who want progress in their village need a genuinely committed leader to encourage improvement in Sayan village.

A New Orientation of Village Leadership

As a headman of Panggungharjo Village, Wahyudi conducted bureaucratic reform through an integrative service system during the first period. He employed the strengthening of apparatus with given intensive and distensive, significantly increasing wage and allowance. On the long side, the Panggungharjo Village directed market activities through Owned-Entreprises Village to grow income. In social service, Wahyudi succeeded in running social protection by establishing the Social Safety Net Implementing Agency (Badan Pelaksana Jaring Pengaman Sosial)—this institution has got a budget of around IDR 350,000,000 resolve education and health issues. The benefactors will accept a Smart Card (Kartu Pintar) to continue their school activities. Meanwhile, poor people will receive a Health Card (Kartu Sehat) to get access to healthy. Pregnant mothers and low-income families can also access a free service from the hospital and clinic that cooperate with the Panggungharjo Village. Such programs are beneficial to citizens so that for the second term of the local election process, has easy to Wahyudi to be a headman in 2018. The village political contestation is not as tight as when the headman was first elected. Various levels of a society increasingly feel his visionary and innovative leadership so that people have very high trust in him.
The Panggungharjo Village has also had vulnerable groups that should be protected by the protection system, such as mental illness (Orang Dengan Gangguan Jiwa/ODGJ) and the street children. They were invited to work as the collectors of waste through Owned-Entreprises Village, one of the business units to waste management. Some people with mental disorders got tranquilizers to guarantee their mental. Some of them are homeless, and the Panggungharjo Village facilitated their need in the shelter program. This social protection program presented leadership as a part of village assets, which pushes for inclusive public services.

In a different story, I Made Andika has voted as a headman and presented a new value of leadership based on the spirit of social transformation in the local context. In contrast, the democratic transition is not the value of kinship and clan patrons conservatively, which is attached to having flexibility and responsibility in moving of transform aspiration. Various local social groups have chosen him caused of his intellectuality, skill, and personal character so that the social capital is used to transform sustainable livelihoods.

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15 Wahyudi Anggoro Hadi, Interview, 2 October 2021
I Made Andika also conducted an innovation by developing Public Digital Information Services (Sistem Informasi Digital Melayani/SIDILAN). This system is high advantages in the Pandemic era, which should be the people doing quarantine with limited mobilities. The SIDILAN has encouraged the various administrative public services with an only click from the Smartphone. He invited investors from the BISNET Telecommunication Corporation to support the SIDILAN system through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). This CSR gave free internet access to local people in the learning process for students during the Pandemic. On the other hand, this program also has facilitated each virtual event during COVID-19, which supports developing rural tourists more actively. Slowly, this program is a provision of yoga therapy (Heal Your Mind with SAYANsaion Virtual Tour). Thus, it has helped people who released stress and can be a model of healing therapy.17

Democratic Leadership to Promote Empowered Communities

Wahyudi Anggoro Hadi has tried to be a village as a more vital source in building independence and prosperity through the democratic leadership live in together with “Pojok Budaya” communities. He tackled the local government through the participatory democratic process and used political electoral with his groups. In local democracy, he has been involved political contestation in promoting his vision as a candidate for headman. Of course, the

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planning strategies have shaped the success of the local election, including making a campaign team for the political plan. He began by building an internal team—from a common cadre to the main section—it functions as a penetration system to cut other contestants. The positioning of another candidate also begins mapped very well, mainly focused on penetration of money politic practice. Besides, his political campaign team employed stigmatization of money politics by other candidates of a headman. As a headman candidate, Wahyudi and the political team can be a design the persuasive campaign that influences the voter with the slogan “Your vote is more precious than prostitute in the Pasar Kembang (a location for slut in Malioboro, Yogyakarta)” (“Suaramu lebih berharga dari pelacur di Pasar Kembang (Sebuah distrik lampu merah di Malioboro, Yogyakarta)”). This word invites a provocative campaign so that it has been affected in psychological voters, which closely created collective social awareness to prevent the voting of candidate headman due to money politic motivation. With this political campaign, Wahyudi was finally elected for the first time as a headman collecting around 5,308 voters (44.52%) compared to another candidate Agung Setiawan (2,569 voters or 23.54%), Putra Setyarta (2,459 voters or 20.62%), and Yulianta (1,588 voters or 13.32%).

In another different context, I Made Andika is a figure who is closely known as a young man in Sayan Village. He becomes a mentor and inspiratory for local youth, who are considered successful in developing tourism business and social activism, particularly Bali Spirit Festival events. He is also a businessman who has a good vision for developing tourism, generally from tourist actors in hotels and villas enterprises. He is also a friendly man, has excellent social relations, and is adaptable to information technology. He has been a formidable candidate compared to other contestants for a headman with his personality. Finally, personal branding has make him a headman aged young man—around thirty years old in an inauguration. He has been engaging as a headman because of his intellectuality, visioner, and personal skill.

Such three personality becomes a leadership style that can raise citizens’ trust. Of course, this position makes it easy to implement many programs supported by many people. Local people's trust undoubtedly opens to run policy in ranging the masterplan of village development to promote prosperity. It is evident from many successful programs conducted by I Made Andika—from raising of tourism village icon to the trickle-down effect of action—for example, Gowes for Love event. This event combines artistic culture and music performances that are attached to visitors, which is also an attractive artist on a showing of live music. The program has involved the young people joined by local youth organizations (Taruna Bina Warga/STBW) as a steering committee in this event since 2019, before the Pandemic COVID-19. On the other hand, this activity has devoted many sponsors so that its event can promote local assets to the international visitor to Bali. Unfortunately, this event must be stopped due to the Pandemic in 2020. It impacted the tourism industry, undergoing decreased income. Thus, after the government central slowly opened from the quarantine, they are very interested in December 2021 to start with planning and promoting programs.

18 Wahyudi Anggoro, Interview, 13 October 2021.
Discussion

Theoretically, the social transformation driven by innovation leadership in the village has been implicated in political structure opportunity through collective action from a various strengthening of civil society.\(^{20}\) One of them pushed parliament significantly change the new dynamic post-reformation period. Back to the new order regime, the village regulation cannot empower residents that reaches a new formulation of planning rural development to strengthen local Indonesian people through involving the villages that prosperity and independently. The social movement from civil society has been affected by the implementation of the new formula of the Village Law, No. 6, 2014.\(^{21}\)

Such the regulation has created a new philosophy and spirit, such as village-driven development locally. It became the village as the political subject of governance, growth, and community development. Unlike the totalitarian regime, the Village in the post-reformation era had the right to develop its asset, as referred to in articles 18 and 19 of the Village Law. In line with Rozaki, who mentions the local democratic, opened the Village Conference (Musyawarah Desa/MUSDES) as a forum for citizenship's political decision process (see article 54 of the Village Law).\(^{22}\) Sidik explains that the village leadership visionary is more at ease implementing innovative programs due to the integration of the planning budget that gives the village the flexibility to realise the bottom-up program.\(^{23}\) The Village Law also denotes that the fund would benefit local people in prosperity—whereas the budget standard has increased by around one billion rupiahs every year. Meanwhile, to improve the budget, the village also has had managerial in developing the local economy based on Owned-Enterprises Village referred to articles 88.

Anwar also explained that the village is a development foundation from the grassroots; moreover, it should be strengthened by rebuilding the community's structure, so the village must be an arena for the visionary leadership that drives the birth of many innovative programs to benefit citizens.\(^{24}\) In implementing the Village Law, each village that has become a case study for this research has involved the local people regardless of public services for citizens. It created an initiative for local government and social communities to strengthen local institutions to develop sustainable programs on the village scale. These included the village regulator, governance, development, social activities, and community development.\(^{25}\)


\(^{22}\) Rozaki, Islam, Oligarki Politik, Dan Perlawanan Sosial.


Furthermore, the Village Law has created the visionary leadership on encouraging social transformation to be institutionalised with these laws presented.

The village law has driven many opportunities to build the cadre of visionary leadership characters. Generally, the leadership style has given new insight into fundamental social activities. This leadership style developed the network pattern between friends, family, ethnicity, and boundaries countryside in each village. Such leadership referred to the sentimental of programmatic relations, such as the community development program, quality insurance of public access to involvement in planning, implementation, and monitoring of local development. Saskhin mentions that the visionary leadership gave a new notion and capability to the social education in pushing social transformation proactively.26

This leadership style will always be oriented toward a character leader as an old product, like clientelism based on family kindship. The leadership model has long been practised until the modern political era in each village. It is due to limited sources who are adaptable to a new period of political trend. On the other hand, the leadership model continuously has blood relations, kinship, and money politics in local elections, especially policy and development programs. However, there was a change to a new leadership style model attached to the people’s curiosity. Today, the rural political control has constantly been a kindship model, such as the political dynastic that works on clientelism practical—there are still the prominent patrons to the local strongman in environmental of family and parent.

This study presents a new orientation of the social transformation process in the local context as a lesson learns. A further purpose has existed in many villages, which there are changing policy through innovation leadership until creating new public services, such as social protection system, developing assets, and good governance oriented to welfare provision. In line with Mutiono’s27 and Roziqin & Syarafina’s28 research, the village can sustain a sustainable livelihood when conducting curve orientation, from the participatory democratic process to the village innovation raised. For this reason, this study denotes a unique finding that rejected concern of clientelism politics avoid if there are have a local strongman who has a dream being social transformation through the innovation of visionary leadership.

Conclusion

Visionary leadership gave birth to many innovations in driving the development and empowerment of rural communities. Visionary leadership breeds innovation from harmonious political contestation, free from money politics, and prioritizing public trust through innovative program approaches. The realization of innovative programs felt by the community increasingly creates a very high mutual trust. It strengthens the legitimacy and other support for the existence of the leadership of the village head.

However, the capacity of visionary leadership to run innovative programs is more secure and standardized for its sustainability because it is supported by the structure and institutions of the Village Law. The Village Law, which strengthens the position and authority of the village and the existence of village funds, allocation of village funds, and other village businesses becomes extraordinary ammunition for visionary village heads in developing their innovations in various fields, be it government development community. And other rural economies. Gradually, the face of the village will experience dynamic and bright changes in the future if visionary, innovative leadership continues to be born under the umbrella of the Village Law whose mission is to create a prosperous Indonesian empowered village.

Acknowledgements

This article is a research result with the topic "Perubahan sosial di pedesaan: studi kepemimpinan dan inovasi pelaksanaan UU Desa" supported by the Institute of Research and Community Engagement, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, funded 2021. I would like to express my thank full for a headman of Panggungharjo Village, Bapak Wahyudi Anggoro Hadi, the apparatus local, and the managerial of the Village Own-Entreprises Panggunng Lestari. I also had given gratefully at the moment to a headman of Sayan Village and other stakeholders.

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