
The Role of *Bhejingan* in the Selection of Village Chief

LOGOS
JOURNAL

ACH APRIYANTO ROMADHAN

Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang
achapriantoromadhan@gmail.com

244

Received: May 18, 2018
Revised: May 18, 2018
Accepted: October 23, 2018

ABSTRACT

This research was conducted with the aim to find out the role of *bhejingan* in the election of the village chief in Pamekasan. Based on data from Police Resort Pamekasan, utilization of *bhejingan* also in hardness, coloring election allegedly the head of a village in Pamekasan. In addition to votes may give rise to insecurity, involvement of *bhejingan* in the election of the village chief in value can reduce democratic values. This study used a qualitative approach to the types of descriptive research. Source data obtained through interviews, participant observation and documentation. Based on the research results obtained information that role of *bhejingan's* role in the selection of village chief political strategy performing various functions to help the village chief candidate's victory, among them: developing intercultural communication fellow *bhejingan*, charting the direction of the voice of the supporters, keeping the voice directions as well as mobilizing votes (*money politic*).

Keywords: *Bhejingan; village chief elections; local democracy*

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini dilakukan untuk mengetahui peran *bhejingan* dalam pemilihan Kepala Desa di Pamekasan. Berdasarkan data dari Polres Pamekasan, *bhejingan* juga dimanfaatkan dalam kekerasan yang mewarnai pemilihan diduga adalah kepala desa di Pamekasan. Selain itu, suara dapat menimbulkan rasa tidak aman, keterlibatan *bhejingan* dalam pemilihan kepala desa dapat mengurangi nilai-nilai demokrasi. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif untuk jenis penelitian deskriptif. Sumber data diperoleh melalui wawancara, observasi partisipan dan dokumentasi. Berdasarkan hasil penelitian, diperoleh informasi bahwa peran *bhejingan* dalam pemilihan kepala desa adalah strategi politik melakukan berbagai fungsi untuk membantu kemenangan calon kepala desa, di antaranya: mengembangkan komunikasi antarbudaya sesama *bhejingan*, memetakan arah suara para pendukung, menjaga arah suara serta memobilisasi suara (uang politik).

Kata Kunci : *Bhejingan; Pemilihan Kepala Desa; Demokrasi Lokal.*

INTRODUCTION

Dynamics of *bhejingan* as a local strongman in the process of the election of the head of the village is very interesting to review. As a local strongman, gait *bhejingan* in the selection of the head of the village or the selection of the *klebun* (a term for village chief in Madura) like sugar and ants, where is the village chief elections there must be *bhejingan*. This fact can be understood that in the history of the implementation of the village chief in Pamekasan-Madura *bhejingan* are always present and take a role in the scramble of political power in the village.

[\(Bouwsma, 1989; Wiyata, 2006\)](#) have identified the involvement of *bhejingan* in the village chief elections contests, both as a supporter and as a candidate for village chief electoral participants. Next the [\(Rozaki, 2004\)](#) see figure of *bhejingan* as the elite Lords outside the socio-political role which has the kyai in the madurese. According to the Rozaki, by being or have the support of *bhejingan* in the selection of head is one of the political capital that must be owned to be a village chief.

As with any research above, the involvement of *bhejingan* in each village chief elections also allegedly participated and coloring the execution plan 2015 years Pilakdes in Pamekasan. Based on data from Bapemas, Pamekasan in 2015 there are 71 villages spread over thirteen subdistricts will carry out the selection of village heads simultaneously. Proppo is a sub with the most number of villages will implement the election of the head village, i.e., a total of 11 villages. Pasean subdistrict is a subdistrict with the fewest number of villages which will implement the Pilkades, each of the two villages.

Of the 71 who will carry out the Pilkades, based on the map's potential insecurity implementation plan the election of the village chief in the year 2015 Pamekasan in gain from Intelkam unit Polres Pamekasan, of the thirteenth district, there are five sub-districts with 21 villages identified vulnerable

to involvement of *bhejangan*. As for the Sub-prone, each Subdistrict Pamekasan as much as two villages, Proppo and five Tlanakan Sub-districts, sub-district of Pagentenan village with a village and most have the potential insecurity against *bhejangan* is a sub-district of Waru with eight villages.

Table 1. Map the potential Insecurity due to election of the head village *Bhejangan* in Pamekasan Year 2015

No.	Name of Districts	The Name of The Village	The total number
1	PAMEKASAN	Jalmak	2
		Nyalabu Laok	
2	PROPPPO	A New Coral	5
		Mapper	
		Pangtonggal	
		Samiran	
		Pangorayan	
3	TLANAKAN	Gugul	5
		Prohibition Of Tokol	
		Ban Slampar	
		Tlesah	
		Ceguk	
4	GALIS	-	0
5	The PROHIBITION of	-	0
6	PADEMAWU	-	0
7	PEGANTENAN	Branta Bulangan	1
8	PALENGAAN	-	0
9	PAKONG	-	0
10	KADUR	-	0

11	WARU	Tampojung Guwa	8
		Middle Tampojung	
		Tampojung Tenggina	
		Source Waru	
		Bajur	
		Waru West	
		Waru East	
		Tagangser Laok	
12	BATUMARMAR	-	0
13	PASEAN	-	0
The total number of			21

Source: Polres Pamekasan, the data have been processed

Insecurity against *bhejangan* this, it means insecurity towards the possibility of intimidation and violent acts carried out by the *bhejangan* on the community during the execution of election of the head village. Refer to the characteristics of the local strongman in Sidel pointed out ([Harriss, Stokke, & Törnquist, 2005](#)), *bhejangan* as a strong man local craft made persuasive approach, threatening, intimidating, violent physical action even on the community to mobilize and to secure political support.

Based on the exposure above the role of *bhejangan* as a local strongman in the election of the head of the village is very interesting to examine. *First*, *bhejangan* is a figure of great or powerful people that come to the villagers, they have access to the source of the violence, the strength of their culturally and historically reproduced through discourses and events so having such a huge influence in the village community. *Second*, the involvement of *bhejangan* as a strong man in

practical politics (election of the head village) has been entrenched in the village community, even when the new order regime ruling in which the involvement of the local strong man in formal politics so restricted, despite the undeniable involvement *bhejangan* widely to occupy a higher political office (head of region and member of the Board) so open wide post-Reformation.

Third, bhejangan involvement in the implementation of the election of the village chief in Madura reduces the values of democracy. Election of the head village no longer be democratic event village community who wants direct elections, General, free, secret, honest and fair manner in accordance with the mandate of law number 6 Year 2014 About Village, article 34 paragraph 2, this indicate the existence of freedom of competition and participated in the fighting for the public offices and political choice based on formal legal rules. Election of the head village thus became the arena of power *bhejangan* in manipulate the process elections at the local level (village) with a source of “power” and violence. Not surprisingly in the presence of *bhejangan* (the local strong man) in local politics (Election of the head village) as it was said Sidel thus may inhibit rather than promote the democratization of the local. Based on the background of the above authors are interested in conducting a study of the role of *bhejangan* as a local strongman in the election of the village chief in Pamekasan Year 2015.

This research uses qualitative research methods with the descriptive approach. In this qualitative study the significance of the research procedures in use is not emphasized in these but can generate descriptive data in the form of the written word or spoken of people and behavior that can be observed to be able explain the phenomena research ([Moleong, 2014](#)). For that primary data collection was undertaken through in-depth interviews and participatory observation,

while secondary data obtained through the study of literature. As for the dwarf in the retrieval of the informant is done via the *purposive sampling* and *snawball* with the specific character of mastering problems, especially key informant *bhejangan* and head of the village.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The involvement of *bhejangan* in political elections the village chief in Madura could be traced from the research results Touwen-Bouwsma who noticed that often the candidate's village chief Election of the head village participants came from members of the Assembly of the Remo. Remo is a gathering that was held by *bhejangan*, usually contains the activities of gambling, drunkenness, the traditional art of Madura, and surrender the money from guests to the organizers ([Rozaki, 2009](#); [Wiyata, 2006](#)). According to him, the future head of the village comes from members of the Assembly of remo have the possibility or opportunity to win than candidates who did not come from the Assembly ([Bouwsma, 1989](#)). Similar research with Bouwsma, Wiyata saw that the victory of a candidate in the election of village heads of villages in Madura, is inseparable from the candidate's self-capacity *klebun* as a *bhejangan*. The pretext for the sake of the security of the village, by the General *klebun* thus chosen from among *bhejangan* ([Wiyata, 2006](#)).

The above research strengthened by research results other than his opinion, Rozaki administrative terms, to become *klebun* in Madura, someone should also qualify as cultural. *Klebun* candidates must have a good soul, or is a *bhejangan*, but for those who do not qualify for this cultural should at least be able to embrace the *bhejangan* to provide support ([Rozaki, 2004](#)). It is not surprising if one's victory to be *klebun* in Madura is inseparable from its capacity as a *bhejangan* as well as the support of *bhejangan*.

Mastery over local politics village shows that *bhejangan* has roots in social and networking as well as a strong influence among the villagers. Specifically mentions in Sumenep Regency Rozaki most of the village chief or *klebun* has a culture of *bhejangan* ([Rozaki, 2009](#)). The strong influence of the *bhejangan* village chief elections in politics are so wide open, despite being in the shadow of the State's implementation of authoritarian domination as in the era of new order regime, where *"the implications of the Organization State power this kind of possibility for the emergence of strong local people within the structure of Government is extremely limited"* ([Harriss et al., 2005](#)). In contrast to the implications, at the time of the new order *bhejangan* thus being able to adapt and build a symbiotic relationship with the center of power.

Rozaki identified during the new order regime role *bhejangan* to engaged in formal political scene is so restricted, but to occupy positions as *klebun* so open ([Rozaki, 2009](#)). By becoming a *klebun*, *bhejangan* used to keep government power (the new order), especially when the eve of the election, during the new order regime wanted to renew the legitimacy of his rule. Evident when elections in 1992, Golkar won absolute votes (100%) in the village of Panaongan, Bangkalan Regency, Madura ([Wiyata, 2006](#)).

Although some research above talking about the involvement of *bhejangan* in the election of village heads, however the above research does not explain in a comprehensive and eksplisit how role *bhejangan* in the politics of election village chief indeed. This paper sought to complement previous research in emptiness above with comprehensively explaining how the real role played *bhejangan* in the election of a village chief.

THE STUDY OF THEORY

1. The local strong man and Bosisme

Early references of the study of the local strongman can be traced in the writings of Migdal. Migdal give the definition about Kuta local's people as an informal leader outside the country like the landlord, boss, and moneylenders which builds its social organization in the form of networking in order to exercise social control over society to control the overall population that inhabits certain areas. In political history in Indonesia, the existence of the local strongman can be traced through various historical and socio culture conditions of local people. In each region has a diverse term to name what is the local strong man. In Banten for example local strongman portrayed through the nickname Jawara (Champion), while at Madura local strongman known as *bhejangan*.

Local people melayoke of various activities such as providing security protection and extortion. They also apply gifts, punishments and symbols as a form of social control over the masses. The local Kuta people operate in the weak third world countries melayoke ofan social control over the community, especially in the local level. Result of strong local people's success and weak limiting the capacity of the state apparatus so weak ([Migdal, 2004](#)).

In contrast to the Pursuits mentioned that the local strong man is actor informants outside the country, sidel explained that the local strong man is the boss of a local/ bosisme in the form of a formal State actors who join and network rooted to the lowest level of regional as well as trying to memonopli their powers at the local level ([Harriss et al., 2005](#)). To maintain the power and control of economic resources of their sub ordinate power resting with being a political power broker on it through the use of violence, the buying of votes and

cheating in the elections with rely on institutions and State power. Finally, in the context of its construction, strong local presence no longer impedes and limit the capacity of a country as claimed by Migdal, thus local boss with globalization and international capital flows are able to adapt and become stewards of economic growth. Project development in third world countries are seen as opportunities to enrich themselves and keep their networks with mastering any kind of economic resources that are widely disbursed by the State.

2. *Bhejangan*

The concept of *bhejangan* here is based on the notion that had been said by Rozaki ([Rozaki, 2004:56-66](#)). Based on Rozaki in socio-ecological, historical occurrences of *bhejangan* is very related to the ecological structure of the land on the island that are not productive, this is compounded with the structure of the State has (and colonial) pay attention to the quality and improvement of people's lives. This situation causes the community do the resistance as a form of social protest to the authorities. They do activities of theft and robbery to simply survive. By being *bhejangan*, at that time was as a way out (black) to escape the squalor and poverty. But for now, this is a very rare phenomenon of emergence of *bhejangan* can be seen as a form of social protest against the regime or ruler. Thus, not rarely their presence motivated social crime that accompanied the motive of greed to enrich yourself and family seen from a historical perspective, the strong influence of the *bhejangan* of the structure and history of the State power in the past (the colonial empire, and new order) that accommodate the entity *bhejangan*. At the time of the Kingdom, the power always basing on the charisma of the King as a figure of great (super good) or through maintenance of the jago to shore up power of the King.

In colonial times, the country's covert relationship with the *bhejangan*. The country legalized colonial violence

perpetrated the *bhejangan* to keep the stability and security of countries for the sake of profit economic colonialist- capitalist. At the time of the new order, as well as on the colonial era *bhejangan* used to keep the power especially when ahead of the elections. In short, the *bhejangan* is used as one of the tools to enforce the authority of the rulers, by the way do the intimidation and violence to the community action. The merging of the socio cultural realities with the State power structures that accommodate the power *bhejangan* this is solidifying and strengthening the position of the *bhejangan*, either culturally or structural. Their relationship opportunistic Coalition for the sake of profit, both economically as well as politically.

From a social point of view, according to the Rozaki nor Wiyata, *bhejangan* can appear from any social groups and strata in the madurese. Predicate *bhejangan* someone not obtained for genealogical, even the fact are endowments. Events of *carok* is proof someone if that person has a soul of it or not. Based on the above explanation, the dynamics of the culture of violence that is attached on the character *bhejangan* in the madurese have power in a society. *Bhejangan* with legitimacy as the controller and nonhegemonic were violence means Manager community. Moreover, the pattern of their cooperation relations with the security apparatus makes increasingly helpless position. The existence of the *bhejangan* as if protected by State power, they are exchanging services for strengthening their respective powers.

RESEARCH RESULTS

The election of the head of the village of Angsoah in the follow by two participants, namely Haji Hamdan and Bapak Mashuri. The *bhejangan* involvement in the selection of village chief Angsokah, it's not apart from the request of Mr. Mashuri to support and help him to win the election in the village chief Angsokah contest. Based on the results of

research in field *bhejangan* 's role in the election of village heads can be explained as follows:

1. Establishing Communication With Your Fellow

Bhejangan

Mr. Misnawi is an *bhejangan* requested by a father Mashuri as one of the potential participants in the Angsokah village chief elections. After receiving the offer to support Mr. Mashuri, as a *bhejangan* Mr. Misnawi in tomatis will won to become Chairman of the successful teams winning the election of the head of the village. In addition, Mr. Misnawi will also be the Coordinator to establish communications through the network of friendship between fellow *bhejangan*.

“If I’ve asked for help to assist in the election of a village chief, I immediately encountered figures *bhejangan* from outside the village I knew only by *remo*, I went to see my friends, I ask you please to friends of *remo* if invited the enemy to do not want to, by I was given an envelope (money), after receiving the money which they may want to give up to shame (accepted the offer of the enemy)” (interview with Mr. Misnawi, October 3, 2015, location: the residence of Mr. Misnawi, village of Angsokah)

Furthermore, the friendship networks in place to become a spy the movement of enemy parties namely Haji Hamdan as a political rival of Hajj in the selection of village chief Mashuri Angsokah. Their far-distant day intentionally placed on the opposing side to become a Digger resources political strategy and political maneuvering that will be done by the opposing side.

“I put a spy, if I did not put a spy, I do not know the position (voice), so if anything happens, my family goes to the enemy can be in the know, because my spy participate in the meeting to succeed candidates on the opposite side, they are always there, so I know what strategy will be done by the enemy, I so know which right to vote that cannot be expected to side with me, otherwise put my spy is not Tahy, but the opponent does not know if I put a spy, every

meeting they come, and the results are reported to me
“(interview with Mr. Misnawi, 3 October 2015, 15:22,
location: residence of Mr. Misnawi, Angsokah Village)

In addition, Mr. Mashuri also enlisted the help of fellow friends *bhejingan* its skill to accompany an already successful team is formed by the village head and himself. The team is composed of people of the village head who had been previously agreed by *bhejingan*.

“Any teachers, every village there are his team, team 1 every village exists, the team 1 down there is a sequence, not one team that’s enough, no, there is a small team to the bottom team, medium size until the people themselves down so the team (interview with Mr. Mashuri, klebun village Angsokah, September 5, 2015)

It is expressed by Mr. Misnawi.

”Did you make the team, as I am the Chairman of the team, I made under my team (team 2), the composition of his team that, ... later outsider village (*bhejing*) which stood in the village people which became the voting rights and became a successful team head of the village, they can act as security, voice or checks to buy a community voice (suffrage) “. (interview with Mr. Misnawi, October 10, 2015, location: the residence of Mr. Misnawi, village of Angsokah)

Teams selected by Mr. Misnawi as leader of the winning team are the ones that are judged to have the commitment to winning candidate village head.

“Yes, if now it, like I hire you (as a member of the team), you’ve got your commitment, you are still drawn (requested) by me (to be a member of the team) “(interview with Mr. Misnawi, October 10, 2015, location: residence of Mr. Misnawi, Angsokah Village)

These teams would later have its own tasks and roles to make the pemengan village chief candidate. the selection of these teams is very tight, they selected in the team are the people trust the village chief and *bhejingan* and rated has a commitment to faithful support.

2. Charting the direction of Sound

After being asked by the village chief to help win him as a candidate for village chief. After forming the team, conducted by *bhejingan* next is charting the direction of sound support community (voting rights). This will reveal the results of the interview below:

“Sometimes for the previous village security *bhejingan* it already knows, they investigated what kind of village conditions, what kind of village situation, the character of people (right to vote like what), every right to vote, meaning that like this like with money, like this likes to change, ... *bhejing* can judge society (voting rights) after checking, later submitted to *klebun*. (Results of interview with Mr. Mashuri, *klebun* Angsokah village, 5 September 2015)

It is also expressed by Mr. Misnawi.

”The Affairs of the village chief elections less two months already carried out checks that sound, if not as it was, the person’s (the enemy) the same collect (suffrage). (interview with Mr. Misnawi, October 3, 2015, location: the residence of Mr. Misnawi, village of Angsokah)

The process of checking the vote this was not done by Mr. Misnawi as well as residents living in the village . Mr. Misnawi asked for help to his fellow *bhejingan* from outside the village to check the direction of the voice of the community. This checking is not done it myself because it was feared the public wouldn’t be an honest answer because the relationship that emerged between himself (*bhejingan*) with the villagers.

“Sound check it later, for example I want to run for *klebun*, I was later to invite people from outside the village, instead of inviting the suffrage (celebrated by the village itself), invite people outside the village were told to check, the unknown person village are concerned. (interview with Mr. Misnawi, October 10, 2015, location: the residence of Mr. Misnawi, village of Angsokah)

This checking process is performed up to three times, checking done to the village community (voting rights), however the same is done by different people. Check repeatedly was carried out to ensure the direction of community support to the prospective head of the village.

“Yes it’s just living come to residents house, then check this voice is so, for example in the first checking the other person, continue to send someone else again, one person checked by two different people, ... if the same answer the person with the result of the second check, not the same person checking, the different person checking, if the first person checks, the second check on the check of a different person, at the third check, is checked by a different person, if the answer is the same means supporting the candidate. if the results of the first check, the second and third answers are different, this means it is not known to support or not “(interview with Mr. Misnawi, October 10, 2015, location: residence of Mr. Misnawi, Angsokah Village)

Based on the observations in field 11 October 2015, when researchers follow one person in charge of checking the sound, according to the confession of the person this checking is done for the second time. They check out their sound with houses directly goto:

“Assalamualaikum, sorry I instead want to change your selection (candidates klebun), you remain at your option, I am here only looking for income, like to play gambling, if you delighted in I want to know who you would choose? (quoted from the results of the talks the clerk checks the voice, October 11, 2015)

After the sound check is complete, the results are good that checks voice first, second and third, the task of *bhejingan* (in the village) is the next map out anyone supporting a candidate village head, who was supporting the enemies of society, and anyone who still has not determine his political options.

3. Keep The Voice Directions Supporters (Voter)

After the process of mapping the support voters was completed, Mr. Misnawi map the base sound, be it a barn belonging to candidates who supported or from the enemy and the community that have yet to specify options, this voice potential mapping results then reported to potential *klebum*. After determining which community favoring anyone to any enemies or political opponents, then the next task team to another to keep them from the opposing side who try to influence the direction of sound support them. Based on observations in the field tending was conducted approximately one month up to one and a half months. The level of security was tightened ahead of the one week before the execution of the election of the head village begins.

Places that are kept are areas prone to damaging the enemy infiltrated by such houses which have been identified as supporters of enemies or political opponents. In addition to the houses (supporting), other places guarded is the path of transitions between the connecting path between the village, the village, the forests of the village. These places are maintained because the votes are a vulnerable path passed by the enemy to buy votes supporting a candidate village head.

Figure 4.4. The atmosphere of the care of the Suffrage by Tim Father Mashuri



Source: documentation of researchers, on November 10, 2015

The village is politically split into two parts, namely the North (courtesy Mashuri) and the southern part belongs to Haji Hamdan. Geographically, the community is actually not completely fragmented into two parts, they consist of individual supporters who have emotional attachment toward candidate village head, whether it's because of the ties of kinship or friendship. Location-the location of their lives which was given security, they could have come from villagers who live in various hamlets (and accompanied by *bhejingan*).

Each location Babysitting is composed of four to eight people. Their vigil of prayer after the 'Isha' until dawn. But one week ahead of the election day extended care 24 hours a day and stayed up in turn. Every night during the care of this, around ten o'clock in the evening, each of the respective locations of this Babysitting got some meals and cigarettes along with mineral water. They are tasked with delivering this consumption is usually a member of the family of Mr. Mashuri.

4. Mobilize Votes

Once the process is complete, the sound mapping *Misnawi* alongside the team success more likely, calculate the yield of their sound. To make sure things are not in want as well as to avoid defeat, Misnawi seeks to mobilize the votes that are still *ngambeng* (float) or communities that do not yet have a political choice, their vote will be on a buy based on the price that has been shared. To ensure that they will choose candidates in their name, Mashuri want be noted and later on when elections take place they would be asked for proof that they actually support the candidate in want, usually through the image letters the sound is taken through a camera *phone* when voting rights cast in flashback. For those who already purchased the invitation card but did not cede the invitation cards to select or choose another candidate will get hard sanctions, such as the smitten:

“Yes, if the money is already taken hold not deposited. Yes, when beaten it, there’s nothing the cards were not given the origin of the money is never taken, but the reply has already received the money paid in for sure (invitation card), it has been understood” (interview with Misnadin October 15, 2015)

In addition to buying votes with money floating community, Mashuri also tried to buy the votes of the community who they have mainstream political options to prospective opponents. Buying votes here are not done using such money made on communities that do not have a political choice, Mashuri do:

“If I get in, go to the enemy, his supporters are equally in contact all voting rights, it cannot stay silent remain in contact, although supporters of the enemy in the first contact someone, her name effort, but that in respect of the person, yeah like anyone from one of the people that that in respect, told affected, so if the same high school in said in respect both in went right like that). (interview with Mr. Misnawi, October 3, 2015, location: the residence of Mr. Misnawi, village of Angsokah)

The above interview explaining that to influence the choice of political supporters of Haji Hamdan, then *bhejangan* for help to the old one to ask the family members of his family in favor of candidates that he espouses. A senior person in the family is later expected to affect change option.

In addition to the above Mianawi way through trying to also make an effort “*ngotangih bherengngnah society*” (borrow money or valuables society)

“Yes, someone consider my experience playing gambling please massif before, I was humbled in the community, the community does not consider to be violence, for help, so if like me, although not want to play in the selection of village chief gambling to society I say want to play gambling, I’d like to borrow money or other precious treasures create capital gamble, even in fact though these goods are not used to gamble, just as mere society to support

“(interview with Mr. Misnawi, 3 October 2015, location: the residence of Mr. Misnawi, village of Angsokah)

The above used the strategy of Mr. Misnawi to get community support when in the process of checking the vote didn't go as supporters of candidate Mr. Mashuri. These loans are usually done to people who never ask for help when he was getting into trouble. With the community by Misnawi borrowed valuable goods are expected to give concerns (goods not returned) to the community so they will change the direction of support to candidates supported by Misnawi

Figure 4.5. The village head Election invitation card Angsoka successful in the collect



Source: documentation of the researcher, November 15, 2015

This is the team that will be on the influence to hand over the invitation card is collected. They doesn't care the price requested by the person in charge of collecting the supporting card this enemy, must be paid. The objective is clear, to reduce the voice of the candidate of the opposing side.

“Yes and then it (*bhejingan*), take the invitation cards to select the property of the Community (voting rights) are collected, later if his character interested with money, if it could be bought, though ... ask for high prices remain at purchased, if the cards are indeed belonged to the supporters of the enemy, it remains on the buy, if his character could have no commitment, if the man is in charge of collecting the card does not have a definite

commitment to good-value purchased at any price.
(interview with Mr. Misnawi, October 10, 2015, at 12:45,
the village of Angsokah)

This invitation card later will still be assessed which included supporters of the opposing party (Haji Hamdan), and which ones can still influence again to vote in Haji Mashuri based on the results of checks the voice they have. For those who are judged truly is a supporter of Haji Hamdan invitation cards will be burned, it aims to reduce the voice of Haji Hamdan. They can no longer use his voice in the election of a village chief, because based on some mutually agreed rules between the Committee and a candidate for village chief, a society that is already included in the list of Voters Stay (DPT) and received an invitation to choose, they can't use it when comes to the polling station (TPS), if they don't bring invitation card.

After the entire invitation cards in bulk and handed over entirely at home Mashuri, on the day of voting, i.e. next day, this card will be in the share again to the proponents of the first has been collected in one place. The purpose of this invitation card shared to some place to avoid seizure or purchase a card by the enemy. Supporters of seven Mashuri located in this village was picked up by using some motor vehicle such as a car, the type of Avanza, colt, truck, pick-up and motor. They invited into their homes each, to ensure that these supporters were not wrong getting into a car, the car was marked with a number and candidate photos striker sort. In addition, these cars are also accompanied by *bhejangan* and the local village community advocate Mashuri. They were picked up in their homes be tempt living, and gathered at the home of one of the relatives of the village Angsokah. the reason he has chosen this place because in addition to having extensive home page is also close to the main road to the polls, thus assessed more profitable.

Figure 4.6. Pick Up Supporters Mashuri



Source: documentation of researchers, 16 November 2015

Figure 4.7. Advocates collect at home relatives Mashuri



Source: documentation of researchers, 16 November 2015

With respect to the gatherings of supporters (voting rights) which will select these communities Mashuri instructed or commanded to enter the ballot according to their village of origin residing, for which came from the hamlet of Nak Binek and Hillbilly Cellep Insert the ballot into *peteh* (voice box) number three, while for the community that comes from another village enter the voice mail number box to sort one or three. Each ballot box is already numbered by the village Election Committee.

After receiving a referral from the Misnawi (Chairman times Mashuri), the community then given food and drinks as well as “*sangoh*” or pocket money, the magnitude of the

allowance they receive varies between 50 thousand to one hundred thousand dollars. They are then delivered to the place of the election by either using a car. Place the selection of village chief put on Hamlet Nak Dara, the distance is about 300 meters from home Mashuri. This place is to take the consists of two layers of ply door entrance, the first consisting of one, and the second tier consists of seven entrances that represent each of the village, and one exit. On each door of the second tier consists of four tables, two tables are provided for the Committee and served for to veriflicated voting rights whether they are signed in accordance with the origin of their village, while the two-next table allocated to each of the witnesses (Mashuri and Hamdan) which is in charge of ensuring that voting rights is actually derived from the hanlet and the village.

After passing through the door of the second tier, voting rights will get a ballot that already get a stamp from the clerk of the Committee. Only then can they cast in *kombong* (sound booth) provided by committee (number of walk-in votes there are six pieces). After selecting them will insert the ballot into *peteh* (voice box) number three fruit and each ballot box in give number sort of one, two and three.

Mashuri suffrage when it was up on site or TPS, are picked up by *bhejingan* that already exist there, they next gather in under that terop (like a camp) already built on the night before the election. Terop is reserved for supporting suffrage Mashui order to avoid scorching of pansa, because although that time was time of the rainy season but the air in Pamekasan very hot it feels on the skin. In addition to functioning to avoid overheating caused the weather, destinations Mashuri supporters gathered under the same terop for easy *bhejingan* oversees the security of the voting rights, as at this polling location invitation card selector cartilage was taken by the enemy. Next up are in a group

they will be headed towards the main door of the place to elective. On the right of suffrage is guarded by some *bhejangan* it is also done to avoid so that no invitation card was taken by the enemy.

Figure 4.8. Voter Security atmosphere (Supporters) by *Bhejangan*



Source: documentation of researchers, 16 November 2015

The process of elections ballots opened from seven A.M. and finish at one o'clock P.M. In addition to maintaining the voting rights of coming cast, *bhejangan* other supporting Mashuri vigil around the election. They are on guard to watch over the community who is not a voting rights (the community outside the village) were cast. Proved there is a society that is allegedly not a village Angsokah but are the main entrance of the polling station directly at the A.M. by supporters-supporter Mashuri. This state of affairs soon on by *bhejangan*, both from Parties as well as Haji Hamdan Mashuri along with police.

After the voting is complete, the Committee immediately do the counting of the ballots. It is agreed by each candidate to minimize cheating-cheating may happen that can harm both sides. The calculation process is witnessed by the security apparatus, the Chairman of the Committee and one witness from each candidate. Based on the report of the Committee and agreed by the witness from each candidate, out of a total

of 2,992 votes are registered as Permanent voters ‘ list and has received an invitation card to use the right election, a total of 2,631 votes using voting rights, while 361 other suffrage did not use sound. On the process of calculation and gambling supporters began gathering to check the results of the vote tally.

The vote count at the start of the voice box number sort one, based on the ballots in the box number sort one Haji Hamdan gained 475 votes and Bapak Mashuri gained 408 votes, in counting the ballot box number two, Haji Hamdan gaining 330 votes and Bapak Mashuri gained 268 votes. The total difference in the acquisition of a sound based on the voice box number one and two reached 130 votes.

Movie sound earnings results, Haji Hamdan just acquire as many as 213 votes while Mashuri acquire as much as 905 votes. Based on the total votes obtained by each candidate are as follows:

Table 4.5. The Results Of The Electoral Vote Tally Village Chief Angsokah

Name of Candidate	Ballot box 1	Voice box 2	Voice box 3	The total number of
Haji Hamdan	475	330	213	1,018
Mashuri	408	268	905	1,581
The total number of				2,599

Source: Election Committee Chief of the village of Angsokah, though the data back

Description:

The number of Permanent voters ‘ list: 2,992 persons

Turnout was present: 2,631 people

Number of Voters who did not attend: 361 people Valid votes: 2,599 people

Invalid votes: 32 votes

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

For the village chief, the head of the village is a family honor to be in the preserve. Because as an honor then each candidate trying to get honorary symbol, they are trying to monopolize the post of village chief to members of their families. To reach the power as the head of the village, one of the businesses that traveled by way of conducting cooperation with *bhejingan* as acknowledged by Rozaki. Their capacity as the strong man of the village, the extent of the network of friendship between fellow *bhejingan* (*remo*) and a major commitment to help them in their cause was believed to be carrying a candidate for village chief be winner in election of the head village contest.

But the other side is different to the previous search, *bhejingan* involvement in the selection of village chief indeed because of two things, the first election of a head of the village is the arena to get economic resources and the second the election of the head of the village is the strengthening of the status of the power *bhejingan* as a local strongman.

As the scramble for resources economy arena, the election for village chief *bhejingan* is one arena where gambling, such as note *bhejingan* as a local strongman was known to have a gambling habit. They used to engage in some activities such as gambling, *nyabung ajem* (Cockfight), *kerraben sape* (karapan sapi) and *gludduk*, this type of gambling is gambling kind of guessing the number dice, his instrument is to consisted of two dice, in the form of used cans of milk. The dice are inserted into the cans are then shuffled and placed in a closed state to the container (can be plates or other flat surface medium). Bookmakers were then told to guess the numbers that come out are odd or even. But there is also a type of puzzle which must be predictable in addition choose odd or even numbers, they were told to guess the

number of figures that out. And the last involved in gambling (*taroan*) village chief elections.

Bhejingan involvement in the selection of village chief in Pamekasan does not make the election of the head of the village as a suggestion of educational democracy. The post of village chief as the main objective to get the power. The orientation as it gives the implication that the involvement of *bhejingan* can reduce the value of democracy. Their capacity as a local strongman can make election of the head village not conducive situation, they can change the direction of community support by performing a threat to society to select the candidates who are supported by *bhejingan*. For a village chief candidate wants to compete when it ran in the election of village heads also felt the need to involve *bhejingan*, was carried out in addition to protecting supporters of candidate village head, they also judged to have the ability or how in order to win in the election of village heads.

Involved *bhejingan* by candidate village head to make personal ambitions (winner), also admit by one of the *bhejingan* which the author interviewed. Based on the results of the above research exposure can be understood that the involved *bhejingan* by candidate village head in the election of the head of the village, in addition to securing the supporters (voting rights), *bhejingan* is also believed to have the ability or how to win the election in a village chief candidate village head. They are required to be a successful team candidate village head in the election of village heads. Although the candidate *klebun* have already known each other with *bhejingan* (the network of friendship/*remo* or via third parties), but village chief candidate must pay an amount of money or do Economic and political agreement as a contract agreement in cooperation with *bhejingan*.

CONCLUSION

In the election of a village chief *bhejangan* do various political strategy to help the village chief candidate's victory, among them: build communication between fellow *bhejangan*, charting the direction of the voice of the supporters (of the community), keep the voice directions as well as mobilizing votes (*money politic*). The role of *bhejangan* in the election of village heads thus reduces the values of democracy. The election of a village chief should be held democratically, that is direct, secret, public, free, honest and fair and etcetera by transactional politics in doing community mobilization of voters conducted by *bhejangan* far from the values of democracy.

REFERENCES

- Bouwsmas, W. J. (1989). *John Calvin: a sixteenth-century portrait*: Oxford University Press.
- Harriss, J., Stokke, K., & Törnquist, O. (2005). Introduction: The new local politics of democratisation *Politicising democracy* (pp. 1-28): Springer.
- Migdal, J. S. (2004). *Boundaries and belonging: States and societies in the struggle to shape identities and local practices*: Cambridge University Press.
- Moleong, J. L. (2014). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*, Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Rozaki, A. (2004). *Memperkuat kapasitas desa dalam membangun otonomi: naskah akademik dan legal drafting*: IRE Press.
- Rozaki, A. (2009). The Social Origins and Political Power of Blaters (Thugs) in Madura". *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*, 12.
- Wiyata, A. L. (2006). Model Rekonsiliasi Orang Madura.