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Local Strongman at the Village Level: Demolition Conflict of the First Raja Brawijaya 'Petilasan' at Sudimoro Village, Jombang

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ABSTRACT

Having been enacted since 2014, the Act No. 6/2014 has given a spirit and a huge authority to the villages in developing their potential resources. Unfortunately, those special authorities have not been followed by the leadership's capacity of the village's head. This paper attempts to analyze the rise of local actors so-called local strongman at the village level. This study uses Sidel (1999) perspective on how to seek local strongman in local area at Sudimoro Village, Megaluh District in Jombang Regency. In case, the head of Sudimoro village produces a despotic action by unloading and dredging the historical land where there was a petilasan from King of Majapahit, well-known as Raja Brawijaya 1. Then, this action eventually triggered a conflict in the middle of its society and has been solved after the hall of cultural heritage of the government of Jombang Regency has intervened. This paper concluded that the high of authority and power would potentially rise the new local strongman at the village level. Therefore, the existence of the principle of recognition and subsidiarity owned by the village is only used by a few local elites for their interests without any accountability and accessibility for the society.

Keywords : *Village, Authority, Local Strongman*

INTRODUCTION

After the fallen of The New Order, the era of decentralization began. The era of decentralization is characterized by the shift of authority from the central Government to the regions. The transfer of authority implies two things; First, a positive impact on change in which the approach is based on local needs and local potential. Secondly, the negative impact with the emergence of strong local people who take advantage from the capacity of authority in the region.

The Study about local strong men by various terms has been widely discussed such as : local strongman (Sidel, 1996), Local

Bosism (Migdal, 1988), or Shadow State (Reno, 1997), are conclude that the appearance of local strong men because of the encouragement of social capital in society that is supported by the existing rules of the law. They also usually associated with business and political relationships so that the power possessed by such powerful people exceeds formal power. The discussion of local strongman has been only at the level of countries such as the Philippines (Sidel, 2004), Thailand (Nishizaki, 2008) and Brazil (Calvalho, 1997). At the level of Region such as Banten (Agustino & Yusoff, 2010), South Sulawesi (Bunte & Ufen, 2009), Jambi

(Hutabarat, 2012) and Padang (Firdaus, 2014). Detailed studies of the construction of local strongman at village level are still very low, especially for research on the post-issued of the act No. 06/2014.

Several studies related to village and village elite had been done, which one of those researchs is from Hans Antlov (Antlöv, 2003) that discusses the existence of locality in village which then used by the state through its local elite to perfectly perform the hegemony. Unfortunately, detailed discussion on village's self-reliance and the presence of powerful people who possess autonomous powers do not appear in the case. Similarly, research from Cahyono (2005) discussed the conflict between political elites in rural areas, with village head and Village Representative Council (Badan Permusyawaratan Desa; BPD) as the main conflicting actors. The issue of reform, democracy, and decentralization also affect the mindset, perspective, and behavior of local elites. The patterns of elite conflict are mostly motivated by political economy, legal, and customary as well as traditions (Cahyono, 2005). This study clearly catagorizes elite conflict in the countryside, and the explanation and discussion only concerns the pulling of elite authority, so that it is unable to specifically expose the existence of dominant powerful people in the countryside.

In order to see how the local strongman appear, review on Migdal's is really needed to be studied: "They have succeeded in having themselves or their family members placed in critical state posts to ensure allocation of resources according to their own rules, rather than the rules propounded in the official rhetoric, policy statements, and legislation generated in the capital city or those put forth by a strong implementor" (Migdal, 1988). The main strength in the emergence of local strongman are: first, the characteristics of the society that resembles a network so as to facilitate such strongman to monopolize and control the people over economic resources. Second, the local strongman is an institutional master that has the authority to take coercive action supported by rules, regulations, and laws. In the case of the Philippines (Sidel, 2004) explains that the local bosses transformed into politicians and then devote all his strength to dominate the areas of

development. Sidel also gave critical notes to the analysis of Migdal, where local strongman do not inhibit the development of capitalism, instead of facilitating and taking advantage of existing economic activities. There also with the supply made by local strongman that does not always reflect the demand of the community.

The status of village in practice and authority is only seen after the issuance of Law on decentralization and regional autonomy, that is the Act No. 32/2004, which setting village position as part of the government of District. The position of village is increasingly clarified by the presence of the Act no. 6 Year 2014 on Village, where Village has big enough authority and budget to exercise its authority. This provision became a substantial change in the history of village, after in the previous era, village was only seen as an administrative area. Through the principle of recognition and subsidiarity, now the paradigm of building a village has been shifted into a developing village. It means that villages are required to actively formulate development independently. Great authority and budget must be accompanied by vast knowledge and great consciousness, without which, development will give damage rather than create prosperity.

This paper will try to analyse how local strongman in the level of village appears and have great authority in the act. The study was conducted at Sudimoro village, subdistrict Megaluh, District Jombang. The site selection was influenced by the phenomenon of historical sites' demolition which are motivated by the desire of the chief to develop the village. The development was conducted in the absence of participatory planning, and greatly influenced by economic motives from the village head.

The village head, which is held by Makmum Efendi, was trying to demolish Damarwulan historical sites under the pretext of village authority. The land area of approximately 500m² in the area of village treasury lands, but the existence of a historical site which is the surrounding community's pride should be maintained and continue to be preserved. Village head and apparatus bring in heavy equipment to dig up the soil at the site. The excavation is intended to create a fishing pond and a swimming pool

as an asset as the village's asset for the village's revenue.

On May 2016, they began the process of construction by dismantling some buildings of the sites and knocking down some old trees which have become a complement to the beauty of the site. Approximately one month, the dredging activities generated ponds of approximately 40x8 meters with a depth of 3-4 meters. During the planning period and the unloading process, there was no direct rejection or resistance efforts from the villagers. The villagers can only grunt and deplore the site of their pride that had been dismantled. Likewise with Village Representative Council (Badan Permusyawaratan Desa; BPD) as the control agencies in the village, it also did not provide a response or action on the actions taken by the village head. BPD was never been involved in the development plan by the village head.

Public awareness began to emerge when in the process of demolition and dredging soil, in the site once found many buried ancient objects. The objects include: ancient coins, jars, pottery, bricks, statues, and ceramics. Almost all of it is already in the condition of rupture when being surfaced. The findings of ancient objects during the dredging process seriously convinced the villagers that the site must be protected and saved from arbitrary actions committed by the village head.

Protest movements were carried out by the community in several ways. Media began was busy to discuss the existence of Damarwulan site, and the government of District Jombang also immediately visit the demolition site. Cultural Heritage Preservation Bureau (Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya ; BPCB) as the body charged in protecting and preserving the cultural heritage also immediately sent a team to conduct preliminary research. The team was led by the chief of East Java BPCB Drs. Andi Muhammad Said, M. Hum. BPCB preliminary findings from initial referral will be made to the process of further research. The process of development at the site location was dismissed for a while until there is a decision from District Jombang government for the establishment of experts team.

This paper will elaborate how is the authority possessed by village post the issued

of Village Law and how do local strongman emerge in Sudimoro village, Subdistrict Megaluh, District Jombang, and what are the implications of strong people in village?

THE NEW AGE OF VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

The issued Act no. 6 Year 2014 is the history village's autonomy. In addition to historic, the Act no. 6 Year 2014 also means a lot to village. Village is not only recognized as an autonomous entity to manage its household affairs independently, but also given a significant portion of budget for the village to undertake development.

The recognition of village's autonomy along with significant authority and budget turns village into two different views. On the one hand, there are some parties who support village's autonomy to welcome the presence of village's autonomy. The hope for the after the issued Act of a village that independent, prosperous, and able to become the main support of national development becomes the expectation that will be achieved. Village that had always been seen as an underdeveloped, deficient, and unproductive, now is allowed to be transformed into advanced, prosperous, and able to create high productivity for rural and state communities.

At the opposite level, there are parties who tend to be very careful in welcoming village's autonomy. There is a lack of confidence in village's ability to manage the large powers and funds that enter the village. The vision of village-level corruption and the over-capacity of prisons by village authorities who are incapable of managing village finances are a constantly widespread and shared fear.

Village's autonomy is an arena of constellation between the supporters of village's autonomy and the pessimistic group of village's autonomy. The interesting one about the contestation between the two groups is that actually there is an ongoing power contest between village and the state (S. Ningsih & Asri, 2016). Contestation of power with the state can be seen from the tendency of the central government which after the enactment of Village Act Year 2014 diligently passed the regulations below it

which regulate village. Instead of building village capacity to be able to run village's autonomy on the principle of subsidiarity, central government is busy preparing derivative arrangements on the published law on village.

State arrangements on villages are made by financial reporting and accounting models, development priority setting, and up to the structuring of village government structures. Almost all lines that can be cited as the authority of village have been regulated by central government.

At village level, the arrangements made by the state begin to create significant disturbances. The arrangement of village secretary's office to be part of the state's bureaucratic structure has created unharmonious pattern of relationships in some villages. The creation of Head of Section position, as a new structure implemented in line with the implementation of village's autonomy, creates its own complexity at village level when the new structure is a foreign structure and is not yet needed by village.

Nowdays, the way we look towards village, that village is, merely as development object. Village has always been associated with small entities which are always marginalized. As illustrated by (Antlöv, 2003) that village always be the target of co-option as well as a top-down policy objectives from the government above it.

The long journey in the history of village development in Indonesia has become a very valuable lesson to keep in mind. Village that occupied the lowest hierarchy in the system of government in Indonesia, have long been regarded as an impediment to development. For long time, village has been unfairly treated by the gap in development between rural and urban. Pockets of poverty have always been in rural areas, development strategies that are placed for the village always make village as the object of development. Whereas natural resources and welfare of this country are mostly located in the countryside, but the village has not been able to enjoy the fruits of his wealth

Village's position that had been considered weak because of some things such as the limitations of the region, land use, possessed resource, etc (Maschab, 2013) more or less limits village's chance in doing

development that can improve people's welfare. Village government then tries pinning their hopes to other parties, whether the central government and local governments, non-governmental organizations, foreign donors, or any third party. It unwittingly also make rebuilding is technocratic, even in a small level such as in the scale of village.

The implementation of the Act 6/2014 concern on village has entered its fourth year. Various experiments were conducted by many parties as the form of celebrating the independence of village. Through the principles of recognition and subsidiarity, the role of village is shifted from an object into a subject of development. This authority is based on the right of origin and local authority in the scale of village, village is expected to become the active party in development with attention and appreciate to the uniqueness and needs in each sphere. With these efforts, village is expected to be able to overcome all of its problems and challenges.

Village is no longer a sub-division of the district government, village now is a public administration (self-governing community). If the past, the principle was decentralization and residually, now apply the principles of recognition and subsidiarity. Both of these principles provide mandate as well as limited and strategic authority to village to organize and take care of its affairs by itself.

The amount of authority given to village, should also be balanced with the increase of capability and human resources from village officials and villagers. When authority is so great and unmatched by adequate capacity, catastrophic authority will emerge in the village. This authority disasters arise from unfamiliarity about the lofty ideals behind the issued the Act 6/2014 on Villages, that is the welfare of the community. Four Villages authorities from the Act are: governance, rural development, community development, and community empowerment, become the spirit of village to compete with the urban.

Possessed great authority after the issued Act 6/2014 become a dilemma and a big question mark for many observers and activists of village. The big question is who is the most competent for all authority possessed by the village? Perhaps born answers ranging from the chief of the village,

BPD, or even the community. The village head as an executive at the village level will have a major role in running the authority. BPD as supervisory authorities also organize Village Meetings which is the highest forum in the village level. Community is a natural control agent which is owned by the village. Then, when the chief of the village breached the limits of its authority and BPD is in the control of village head, as well as the public becomes apathetic and unwilling to care about the conditions that existed, then what will happen? It is very prevalent in many villages, especially villages with low human resources.

The existence of BPD that in its rules are not elected directly by people but appointed by consensus based on the division of the territory, making BPD has a weak position. The establishment of BPD often involves dominance and conspiracy, so that, the appointed BPD are trusted parties of the chief, or someone who could be affected by the village head. BPD's function in this case is already lost and only become an institution with the absence of power.

A study which was conducted by Antlov post the decentralization of village in 2011 produced four things related to the changes in village: first, releasing village from the authority of higher levels government. Second, providing space for cultural diversity and responsiveness to local aspirations. Third, the separation of powers through an elected village council. Fourth, the accountability of village head to the BPD. Together, Antlov claimed, these constituted "nothing less than a quiet revolution in the countryside (Antlöv et al., 2016)

In some ways, a village head, both individually and as well as in the Alliance of Village Heads (Aliansi Kepala Desa ; AKD), is able to create fantastic buzzes and could also strengthen the position of village head. Here is a critical record of movements performed by the AKD from the reformation years until the advent of Village Act. The Movements sometimes produce positive things, and other movements sometimes are not purely for the welfare of society, but more towards for the perpetuation of economy and the power of village head. The first movement is when AKD protested against the presence of BPD which are considered to inhibit the leadership of village head. BPD through the

Act No. 22 Year 1999 mandates was elected directly by the people with the aim of BPD to be the representation of village representatives. AKD's protest was successful with the reversal of BPD condition in Act No. 32 Year 2004 which mandates BPD represents a consensus of each region. Second, issued Act 6/2014 on Villages which not only gives great authority to the village, but also give strength to the chief of village, where the village head may lead in a term of 6 years, and could have as many as three consecutive terms. It turns the chief of village into a local king in the village because he could lead for 18 years. Third, the protest by AKD on the issues of village's treasury lands. Village's treasury lands which originally has been the rights of village head and village apparatus to use for his tenure period, according to the Law, must be restored into the village's asset and the income from the land goes into the village's treasury as Village's Revenue. The last demand was coming from East Java AKD, that demanding a right for village head to join into a structural position in political party. Because after becoming a village head, they are expecting an instant path to switch directly into people's representative council to continue their reign. It is certainly not in accordance with the ideals the struggle for the village, because village head just thinking about the perpetuation of power and socio-economic sustainability for individual.

PETILASAN DAMARWULAN SITE AND THE CONFLICT

The research location is situated in Sudimoro village, Subdistrict Megaluh, District Jombang. Located in the southern part of Brantas River, Sudimoro village is a village in Jombang that the majority of its people work as farmers. Sudimoro Village is one of food buffers in Jombang with a fairly productive farmland,

Aside from being a fairly productive agricultural area characterized by people who still uphold the tradition and culture of the countryside, Sudimoro Village was well known with one of the sites believed to be the relics of Majapahit Kingdom, that is Petilasan Damarwulan (Raja Brawijaya I) (petilasan means ancient site). Petilasan Damarwulan in

Sudimoro village is one of the archaeological and cultural sites which are very respected by the villagers of Sudimoro since the time of their forefathers to the present. Petilasan Damarwulan is believed by local people as the birthplace of Damarwulan or Prabu Brawijaya I, and where Damarwulan spent his childhood before becoming one of the rulers of Majapahit. In addition, based on interviews with Elder Yan as the caretaker of Petilasan Damarwulan, for the people of Sudimoro Village, the site was used as punden (spiritual center). Village charity activities and shadow puppet show is always held in this ancient site.

The legend of Damarwulan was flourished in Majapahit Empire Era. Based on the story that grew in the community, in the days of Majapahit reign, Damarwulan was one of courtiers in Majapahit Kingdom who managed to defeat a powerful yet greedy duke from Blambangan area named Minakjingga. The duke intended to marry Queen Kencana Wungu, but the queen of Majapahit was unwilling to be married by duke Minakjingga. So Damarwulan was ordered by Queen Kencana Wungu to kill Menakjingga. After being able to defeat the greedy duke, Damarwulan finally got the gift and was crowned as the husband of Queen Kencana Wungu who then inherit her throne to Damarwulan. From that time beyond, Damarwulan was then crowned as the king of Majapahit Kingdom who holds title 1st Prabu Brawijaya.

Looking at the centrality of Damarwulan's figure as one of the leaders in the great history of Majapahit Kingdom, it is not surprising that traces of history and power are found in various regions. One trace of the history of Prabu Brawijaya 1 can be seen clearly in the complex of Petilasan Damarwulan that located in Paluombo Orchard, Sudimoro Village, Subdistrict Megaluh. In the complex of this site of petilasan, there is a pool (bath) from the past, two petilasan, that is Petilasan Damarwulan and Petilasan Maharesi Mau Doro, punden (relic), and some historical objects such as stone blocks with length of 47 cm, 29 cm in wide, and 14 cm thick (BPCB East Java, 2016).

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Picture 1.
The Condition of Petilasan Damarwulan Site Post



Source: BPCB Division East Java, 2016

Shortly after the process of demolition, it emerged various waves of resistance from the community in Sudimoro Village and various elements of cultural observers and historical sites. No wonder if such resistance arises, because the historic sites that are believed and upheld by the community for decades are damaged only because of economic interests by the village government. The resistance shown by the community varies from the movement in social media such as facebook and blog, up to the movements supported by mass media. Interestingly from the movements, based on interviews with one of the speakers, said that the resistance movements were mobilized by one of the village's former rival of the village head who lost in the election of village head in 2013. It seems that the resistance is quite interesting, Not only stem from the concerns of the people seeing the process of changing the function of Damarwulan site which ignores the historical and cultural elements, but also political motives at the village level behind the resistance movements. Moreover the Village Government neglects participatory processes in decision making. This is evident from the decision-making process related to the diversion of the petilasan site without the involvement of village's stakeholders such as the Village Representative Council (BPD), the Chiefs of Orchard, Community Leaders, District Government through the relevant task force unit in the region, and also Cultural Heritage Preservation Bureau for Area of East Java Province as the leading Sector of cultural heritage management.

The wave of resistance in the community was unbearable, that the actions taken by communities of elements in Sudimoro village which also acquired response from the regional government of District Jombang. The local government of District Jombang then gave a warning to the government of Sudimoro Village to temporarily stop the process of constructing a fishing pond in the site of Petilasan Damarwulan area until there is further research from the authorities, in this case is Cultural Heritage Preservation Bureau for Area of East Java Province. The local Government together with the Village Government then coordinate with Cultural

Heritage Conservation Bureau for Area of East Java Province to excavate and conduct further research on Petilasan Damarwulan site with the purpose of cultural heritage can be registered and well protected, and the polemic in the community can be solved well. Fortunately, the village government also cooperate by stopping all fishing pond construction activities in Petilasan Damarwulan site and restore the site to its original condition even though some parts have been damaged by the construction process.

A few months later, the Cultural Heritage Preservation Bureau for Area of East Java Province released the results of further research which confirms that petilasan Damarwulan site in Sudimoro village is a relic of the Majapahit Kingdom which is an inhabited area by a group of humans settled. It is based on the findings of pottery fragments, porcelain fragments, fragments of stoneware that showing the shape of household items that are often found in an ancient settlement site. If seen from the fragments of pottery and ceramics found at petilasan Damarwulan site has a resemblance to those found in Trowulan, Mojokerto. The porcelain and stoneware found were not only porcelain from the Yuan period, but also kind of Vietnam and Thailand. Other than that, also found terracotta container that shows the decorative motives and raw material for production which is very common at the Majapahit sites. Data from several studies that is conducted by Cultural Heritage Preservation Bureau said that the site is thought to originate from the Majapahit period around the 13th to the 14th century (BPCB East Java, 2016).

After the Cultural Heritage Preservation Bureau released the results of research related to the site and the termination of the development process by the village Government is, also shut down the resistance by the community. Sudimoro community together with some elements of historical and cultural observers were then worked together to restore the site which has been damaged. In addition to physical improvement, they also made improvements to the supervision of site management in a participatory procedure. Not long after that,

the community initiated a community organization that is committed in monitoring and preservation of Petilasan Damarwulan site in Sudimoro village. They are members of Damarwulan Historical Conservation Society Forum. The forum was certainly born out of the concern for the negligence and ignorance of village government and local government related to the preservation of a cultural heritage site. The forum was initiated by the Sudimoro village community, some elements from the society, cultural observer and pulled some of them politicians and legislators from the PDIP Party in it.

Looking at the various contributions which are some related parties in the process of resolving this conflict, it appears that the local government has no significant role in maintaining and monitoring the existence of historic sites in the region. Yet, based on interviews with the Head of Cultural Heritage Preservation Bureau for Area of East Java Province, stated that in addition to BPCB, local government is very important role in maintaining and preserving cultural heritage sites in the area. Although in reality, there are still many heads of region who lack sensitivity and commitment to cultural vision. On the other hand, the role of Cultural Heritage Preservation Bureau as one of the state's tool to protect and preserve cultural heritage sites is still minimal. There are still many historical and cultural heritage sites that are still not well registered, so the Cultural Heritage Preservation Bureau is unable to do the proper action in handling various destructive actions against cultural heritage sites, although the mandate of the Act No. 10 of 2010 is very clear.

Reflecting on the two stakeholder roles mentioned above, there is an interesting point in this issue, whereas the legislative branch of District Jombang that takes a strategic role in this stage of reconstruction of Damarwulan site. As a representation of the interests of the community, the Parliament of District Jombang through several legislators together with the people of Sudimoro Village and the caring community of history initiated the formation of a community forum for the preservation of Damarwulan history. Apart from the various indications of political interest that emerged behind the birth of the community forum, the existence of this community forum is

considered as an ideal formulation of community participatory efforts in maintaining and preserving cultural heritage sites. During this time, the emergence of various problems of cultural heritage site destruction as well as various cases of theft of cultural heritage objects is assessed due to lack of public participation in efforts to maintain and preserve historical sites. Stakeholders are considered to be less than the maximum in carrying out efforts on the preservation of cultural sites considering the big number of cultural heritage sites that have not been registered by the state and its location is in the neighborhood of citizens.

The findings on the apathy of the government apparatus are in accordance with the findings of Mietzner who interpret the bureaucrats and the post-New Order bureaucracy in accordance with the spirit of democracy, where the bureaucracy is able to work accountably and effectively in implementing the policies taken by the leaders. In practice, however, bureaucrats have their own logic because they have institutional independence. The institution's independence is used by bureaucrats to raise tactical funds and accumulate them throughout its long bureaucratic career. With tactical funds, bureaucrats are able to establish mutual cooperation with politicians. Politicians get funds while bureaucrats get protection and promotion.

THE AUTHORITY OF CULTURAL HERITAGE PRESERVATION BUREAU IN THE MECHANISM OF LAW ON CULTURAL HERITAGE SITE

As one location that has been believed and respected by the community for many years and keeps a lot of historical relics, Petilasan Damarwulan in Sudimoro Village is appropriately included in the category of Cultural Property. Cultural heritage is an important cultural wealth for the sake of fostering awareness of national identity and enhances the dignity of the nation, as well as strengthen the bonds of unity sense for the realization of the ideals of the nation in the future. Therefore, the management and conservation of cultural heritage in Indonesia as a concerted efforts to protect, develop, and use it as arranged in various regulations. Those regulation are the Act No.11 Year 2010

on Heritage, Regulation of The Ministry of Education and Culture Number 52 Year 2012 on the Organization and Work Procedure of BPCB, and Regulation of The Ministry of Education and Culture Number 28 Year 2013 concerning BPCB's Task details. Hence, as mandated by statutes as well as ministry's regulation that applies, the duty and function of Cultural Heritage management and conservation in Indonesia are under the control of Cultural Heritage Preservation Bureau (Badan Pelestarian Cagar Budaya; BPCB).

Heavy duty is in the charge of Cultural Heritage Preservation Bureau (BPCB) in managing the national cultural heritage that need attention as objects of cultural heritage. Objects of cultural heritage is a cultural treasure that is important to the understanding and development of history, science and culture, so it needs to be protected and preserved to manure awareness of national identity and national interests. Legal protection is important in the effort to protect and preserve the integrity of cultural heritage objects from extinction and damage. Legal protection is the protection that is based on rules or norms of law, especially those listed in the legislation. One of the efforts to maintain and care for historical or archaeological objects is to place it in the museum, both managed by the government or private parties.

Legal protection relating to cultural heritage objects is contained in the provisions of Article 95 paragraph (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 Year 2010 on Heritage (State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia Number 130 Year 2010) that states: "The Central Government or Regional Government has the task to provide protection, Development and Utilization of cultural Property." In this regard, the regional government who has the duty and interest in the field of archeology should also be known about cultural heritage protection, so that the preservation of archaeological resources is always lighten and can be passed on to the future generations. Vision on the preservation of cultural heritage at this time should be useful in aspects of the protection, development, and utilization, and able to empower the community to support the strengthening of national identity and character.

The pattern of management of cultural heritage not only based on these regulations, but regional governments with its authority in carrying out governmental tasks are eligible to create a special regulation as a rule in the management of cultural heritage. Then, in the implementation of government's affairs, especially regarding the management of cultural heritage funding or budget would be very crucial. So that the management of cultural heritage involves two aspects, including regulation and budget. In addition to the management of cultural heritage, they are also carried out conservation. For the preservation of the cultural heritage, hence it needs protection for the cultural heritage. According to the Act No.11 Year 2010 on Heritage, protection consists of rescue, security, zoning, maintenance, and restoration.

BPCB as the leading sector in the management and preservation of cultural heritage has some authority to carry out the study of protection, development, and utilization of cultural heritage; implement protection, development, and utilization of cultural heritage; implement zoning of cultural heritage; carry out maintenance and restoration of cultural heritage; carry out rescue and protection of cultural heritage and to implement adaptation and revitalization of cultural heritage development.

With a clear legal framework BPCB also has the authority to proceed with a lawsuit for anyone who did destructive acts or transfunctioning the cultural heritage sites. However, in the case of Petilasan Damarwulan in Sudimoro village which had been damaged and converted for the village's economic interests, lawsuit can not be applied by BPCB because at the time, the existing site has not been registered by BPCB. This condition increasingly makes clear that there are still many historic relics that should be protected by law, have not been registered, evenmore well monitored by the state. Therefore, we need the cooperation of various parties including local communities, regional government, and BPCB in order of cultural heritage sites can be properly managed and protected.

A similar case also occurs after the case of Sudimoro village, that is the discovery of relics of Majapahit Kingdom in Kunitir Village, Subdistrict Jatirejo, District

Mojokerto in April 2017. The site found allegedly is an ancient building of Majapahit era because of the brick structure that similar to the bath of Segaran (Kompas). The old bricks were then looted by residents living around the site. As a result of historical sites, BPCB East Java and Police Resort Mojokerto performed fast action to stop the looting activities, and threatened to imprison residents who still dare to loot the site.

The swift action taken by BPCB and Police seems to be selective. The site in Kunitir village that have not verified the

truth, get a special treatment. Whereas in terms of site value, only found large bricks, and the surrounding community also never regarded the location as one of the sacred place for the citizens. This is different from Damarwulan site in Sudimoro Village where the site has been very visible and its existence has been preserved by the community. Unfortunately the actions taken by BPCB are so slow in handling the destruction of Damarwulan site. And no efforts from the Police of District Jombang to prevent site demolition.

Picture 2.
The Discovery of Archaeological Site in Gunitir Village, District Mojokerto



Source : Beritametro.news

POLITICAL ECONOMIC INTEREST BEHIND VILLAGE'S ASSET

Behind a development certainly there is a course of hidden motive that always about economic interest. This economic motive arises because there is a great potential and assets on the existence of Damarwulan site in Sudimoro Village. The existence of the site is certainly village's asset in addition to the existence of village's asset lands in the area. For this article, it is also deemed necessary to discuss what village's asset is and how village's asset become commodities that are so interesting to fight for.

According to Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, assets are something that has an exchange rate, capital, or wealth. In this case,

the notion of assets is equally meaningful to the concept of wealth. Village's assets are equally meaningful as village's wealth as mentioned in various government regulations governing Village, though not limited to physical property.

The Act no. 6/2014 on Village defines Village's Asset as village's property derived from the original wealth of the Village, purchased or obtained at the expense of Village Revenue and Expenditure Budget, or other legitimate rights of acquisition. This understanding is the recognition from the central government that village has assets that can be utilized as a source of original income for the village. Village's assets are not only for the benefit of raising village's original income, but also for broader interests such as the construction of

educational facilities, reading parks, village markets, and other facilities for public services and improving the village's economy.

This paper does not define assets with a narrow meaning that is limited to village's wealth as village in a broader sense that means an entity of legal community. Thus the asset of the village is the asset of the village's community. Assets in this case are closer to the "potential" idiom used by society entirely. According KBBI, Potential is the ability, strength, capability, or power that has the possibility to be developed.

Sutaryono et al (2014) categorizes assets into the following seven sections:

1. Human Resource Assets: Human resource assets are skills owned by villagers, for example, the ability of villagers to make carvings, build houses, or any other skills related to thinking, such as a teacher who can teach villagers a certain science. This human resource asset is basically the property of individuals, but the village government can use that skill. For example the village government established a school, and the teachers were involved for teaching at the school.
2. Natural Resources: Natural resources are sources related to the natural environment of air, land, and water that provide livelihood for the people. Natural resources become an asset/wealth for the village when the village controls or owns the asset and the village administration together with the community is involved in its management. The management's mastery and involvement is intended for the welfare of the villagers.
3. Social Assets: Social assets are generally linked to collectivism and togetherness that allows political influence, so often referred to as social and political assets.
4. Financial Assets: Financial assets are everything that can be sold, or can be used to run a small business. Financial assets can also include financial resources such as savings, credit, transfer of fund in form of remittances, and pensions, which provide alternatives to livelihoods differently. More specifically, village's financial

assets are all forms of Village's finance, both sourced from State Budget (VG) allocations, community's self-financing, Village Original Income, and Village Fund Allocation.

5. Physical Assets (Infrastructures): Physical asset is usually referred to as basic infrastructure in the form of production equipment and tools that can encourage people to acquire the opportunity to earn a living, including office buildings, shops/stalls, and multipurpose buildings.
6. Institutional Assets: Institutional assets take the form of government agencies or other institutions that have community relationships.
7. Spiritual/Cultural Assets: This asset is about important values in life such as the value of faith, the willingness to share, and pray for one another.

To help mapping some of the major actors involved in the seizure of assets, this research seeks to see the "claiming" of an event, where there are claims from claiming actors and there are the claim-receiver actors. By looking at the actions of the claiming actors, the interests of each other, and combined with both institutional and non institutional channels, there will be a classification and relationship between the actor and the other actors.

Once discovering the relational connection between each actors, then continued by identifying the identity-related identification where the identity began to form or deliberately be formed in a group, to conjure a vision and a view in the conduct of collective action. The establishment of the identity, it can be known who the identity is formed, who deliberately formed the identity, and who seeks to exploit the existence of the identity for his interests. It takes a chore in sorting out the various interests that exist, because not all claims are purely claims of identity. Existing claims are sometimes a deliberate construct to send an opinion, and sometimes the claimant also does not know deep down on the proposed claims.

As the explanation on the definition of conflict by Kriesberg, "A Social Conflict arises when they have incompatible objectives" (Kriesberg: 1998). The definition explains

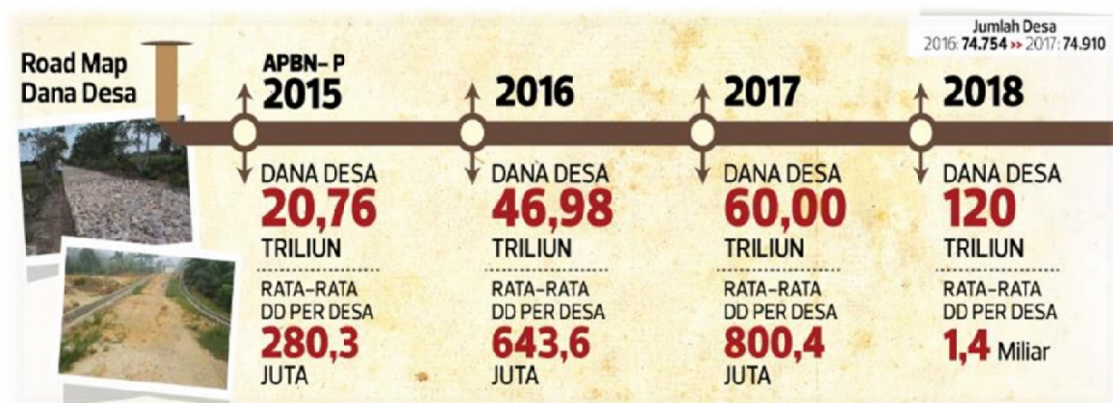
clearly that the conflict that occurs in cases of conflict of authority, that conflict happens to exist in a rational dimension in society. Although logic and claims are often used to establish identity, using issues outside of rational logic (W. Ningsih, Anggreta, & Fitlayeni, 2013). Conflict involving the community with the village government is very different from the religious, ethnic, and community conflict. Community conflict with the government of Sudimoro village is a political economic conflict that promotes the interests and seizures and controls of existing economic resources. While other conflicts, such as on religion and race will try to nullify one another. And public conflicts with the state will seek to overthrow the existing regime.

The power of village elite, especially with regard to the dominance of knowledge and the extent of authority, can be used to dominate the existing assets. The channels of community participation that can be obtained through the assets of development and infrastructure are dominated by village head and village apparatus. One of village's mighty strengths in addition to the factor of authority is the amount of funds from state budget that was disbursed for the village, so

the village can freely do various things including physical development. Frequently, what is done by the village does not go through a participatory planning process and ignores the historical factors as happened in Sudimoro village.

Claims that deliberately raised by the village head is about the welfare of development, which by doing the construction of recreational facilities such as fishing pond or swimming pool will generate income both for the village and for the surrounding community. With these claims, the village head is at least trying to use 5 of the seven village assets described above, namely human assets, natural resource assets, financial assets, physical assets, and institutional assets. Unfortunately the five assets did not go well because they clashed with two other assets, they are social assets and spiritual assets. Social assets are not mastered because the village head does not participate in planning in a participative manner and makes unilateral decisions. While spiritual assets can not be mastered because the development is done by dismantling a site that have been glorified by the community.

Picture 3.
Road Map of Village's Budget



Source: Direktorat General of PPMD Kemendes

As in the mandate of Village Law, Village funds are aimed at improving the welfare and equity of village development through four things: (1) improving public services in the village, (2) promoting the village economy, (3) addressing the gap in inter-village

development, and (4) empowering the village community as the subject of development. By 2017, village has received averagely 800 million from Village Grant (VG) allocation, plus Village Fund Allocation, Village Original Income, and other sources. Therefore, in

average, a village will receive a minimum of 1 billion by 2017. And by 2018, with the direction of president Jokowi to target village fund of 120-130 trillion, village will obtain almost twice as much or nearly 2 billion per village by 2018.

During the implementation of village funds in 2015 and 2016, the PPMD director general noted that from the 4 authorities held by village, 88.77% from the spent of village funds was used for village development, 6.25% was used for the administration, 4.47% was used for community empowerment, And 3.51% was used for community development. Village development paradigm is still interpreted by the village head or village apparatus as a development in the sense of building physical facilities. Indeed, there has been a debate about development priorities whether physical construction or community empowerment and development that should be prioritized. It is due to fact that coaching and empowerment also will not be successful when infrastructure facilities in the village are unable to support. Ideal conditions are expected to be the balance between physical development and community empowerment, and this is not seen in two years of implementation of Village Law with the utilization of village funds that less than 10% for community empowerment and development.

The focus of village development that prioritizes physical development on the one hand is meaningfully positive if the indicator used is about infrastructure access, which one example to this is the construction of village roads in Indonesia to be reaching 29,050 KM in 2 years. Yet, if we look at the number of conflicts that arise and resulting cases from the existence of village funds, the government should be more alert and more responsive to the guidance of village officials so that village governments have the same understanding to guard the mandate of Village Law.

The difference with Sidel is that Sudimoro village head does not have a parton of politician at regional level as well as at national level. He does not become a broker for top-level politician, nor is he affiliated with any of the political parties, and does not engage in illegal economic activities such as gambling, or does not commit acts of violence

such as murder or intimidation. The village head has a new style of strong local predator, where he harnesses the larger organizational power to protect him, even though he is not involved in the organization.

CONCLUSION

The Act no. 6/2014 on Village has given a new spirit to promote village and foster community participation to build its independence. Village development paradigm should be based on community's initiatives. Rural issues such as unemployment, poverty, and poor infrastructure are not completely eliminated or ignored. The problem is not a priority, because the priority is a positive thought in managing and developing the village's assets and potentials. Unfortunately, the potential of village, and coupled with supporting regulations, have been reduced by greed and distrust from the village head. The village head becomes a figure who does not care about the existence of social and cultural assets in the form of Damarwulan site. The desire for wealth by initiating development that is not participatory and destructive had flickered a conflict in the community. Fortunately the aroused conflict did not grow into a negative conflict. The conflict is actually capable of transforming into movement that rescue Damarwulan site. Institutional institutions were established, harmony was maintained, and the sustainability of Damarwulan sites will continue to be preserved to date. The formed institutions are able to resist the authoritarian forces conducted by the village head with all of its authority.

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