VILLAGE ELITE AND CEMENT COMPANY: POWER RELATION OF VILLAGE HEADS ASSOCIATION OF BAYAH AND CEMENT COMPANY IN LEBAK, BANTEN

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Abstract. This research started from industrial construction in rural area, which is the construction of a cement company in Bayah that give the impact on the environment and social of society, this study used a qualitative descriptive method, the data of research were obtained through interview and documentation study, with the aim to describe how the power relation took place in the village between the head of village and the cement company. To describe this power relation, this research used Gaventa's Power Cube theory, that look at the power from three dimensions of the power cube. These dimensions are the form of power, power space, and power level. The three dimensions above are seen separately, but each other has relationship like rubik cube, which if one dimension is changed, it will have the impact on the others. From this study, there are several findings, that the power relation based on three dimensions of the power cube, the power relation between the village heads and the cement company is related each other when illustrated in a rubik cube.

Keywords: rural politic; power cube; village head; power relation

I. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, industrialization has entered to the rural area, one of which is in Bayah with the presence of a cement company. There are positive and negative impacts on construction, many problems arise along with the progress of cement company production. Especially on environmental and social issues, starting from physical-chemical environmental pollution (dust), effects of dynamite to homes, crops affected residents of mining activities this cement raw materials. Those issues are getting a response from the various elements of society, one of which is the village head.

Responding to these issues in 2017, Village heads in Bayah who joined to Bayah Village Heads Association hold a meeting with cement company about social and environmental condition. Moreover, this is done to ensure and supervise the realization of Corporate Social Responsibility of company runs properly (Rapiudin [1]). In its step, Association of Village Heads prioritizes a persuasive approach such as hearings with company. However, on Tuesday, August 27 2018, the Village Head Association sent a notification letter of the demonstration that led by the village head regarding realization of Corporate Social Response (CSR). However, on Wednesday, August 28, 2018 the Village Head Association sent another letter of cancellation of the action, so an audience was held with the company which was attended by the Muspika and local public figure.

Looking at the process, first of all, the village head conducts a meeting which is only attended by the village heads so that a decision is made for a demonstration, if this is an important thing for society. However, one day before the action, some of village heads were gathered by the sub-district head to cancel the action. There were some of village heads who did not want to cancel the action, which caused riot in Association of Village Heads. Then, from the cancellation of the action, the conditions were for the interests of two village heads who had invoices for their business with the company. So, the demonstration was basically ridden by the personal interests of the village head so that the invoice with the company was paid off immediately.

In the end, the Village Head Association revealed the form of power, space, and the level of power that took place. The presence of the Village Head Association is a visible form of power, the ability of the village head to mobilize the masses related to demonstrations is also a similar form of power. Moreover, this coincides with hidden power, looking to the interests of individual village heads that have infiltrated the agenda of the Village Head Association movement and increasing power relations at the sub-district level.

Seeing the above phenomenon, the Village Head Association has power relations in three dimensions, which can be seen in the form of power, space, and level of power. Indirectly with the power that is related, this will have an impact on the performance of the village head himself. Because every power relation in these three dimensions will influence one another, which will also describe different power tensions in each dimension of power.

Power relations do not only apply to the level of central power. However, the power relation also applies at the rural level or at the pace of village governance. Amin's...
research explained and mapped about the social relation between the society and the village government. Based on that research, it was found that the implementation of government in the village was still full of manipulation by a certain elite group whose power placed the society as the object of policy. The power that is in the hands of this elite creates domination so that the society does not have sufficient access to give influence or feedback on the ongoing administration of government (Amin [2]).

The construction of a cement company in Bayah, has created a new economic space which is also balanced by the increasing rural political tension. Especially for those who have access to the power they have, in this context, it is the association of village heads. The power they have has become part of the power relations, this power relationship can be seen from the village head and the other village head, also relationship between the village head of the cement company. However, this coincided with the construction of a cement company which affected the social and environmental in the rural.

Furthermore, in research (Muhammad & Paskarina [3]) which focuses on power relations to explain conflicts in the struggle for land that are quite long. The findings of this study are that it starts from the discovery of cultural sites that gradually the land has economic value, which also coincides with the expansion of power relations due to the prolonged conflict over land. This conflict was not resolved because the government's bargaining position as an institution that held the authority was in a weak position, where the government did not have legal evidence to determine the use and management of the site's land (Muhammad & Paskarina [3]).

Furthermore, in research (Royandi, Satria, & Saharudin [4]) trying to explain actors and power relations in this phenomenon. Whatever the result of his research is all the actors involved, build power through rights-based access mechanisms and structure-based access mechanisms and social relations with the power base of capital, markets, technology, knowledge, social identity, authority, and client patrons. For example, local fishermen groups, fishermen from outside (Banten) and Javanese ethnic migrant fishermen try to maintain access, while Bugis ethnic fishermen groups try to control access to marine resources (Royandi, Satria, & Saharudin [4]). It can be seen that the different positions between fishermen groups have shown different styles of power relations.

Then, looking at the power relations that occur within the Village Head Association, it is important to see what kind of relationship is going on between the Village Head Association and the cement company in Bayah. Basically, this power relation becomes the basis of how strong the Village Head Association is in front of the company. It could then be that, with the many individual interests included in the agenda of the movement of the Village Head Association, it becomes one of the weaknesses in creating power relations with cement companies, or also this power relations in the power cube affects each other between its dimensions, so that power describes the influence of one dimension to another.

Furthermore, the novelty in this research is to try to explain the power relation that is built between the Village Head Association and the cement company, using the Power Cube approach. With the Power Cube it is possible to explain power relations in three dimensions, namely form, space and power level, where the three are related to one another.

Studies of power relations in rural context, generally look at the relationships that are patronage, for example between landlords and small farmers [5]. However, in this study, power relation will be seen through a power cube approach, namely explaining power relations based on form, space, and level of power. In a rural context, this will facilitate the series of research carried out.

Furthermore, the Power Cube has been used more than ten years ago by John Gaventa where it is used to understand the relationship of power to bring about social enterprise. And in 2006 the Power Cube first appeared in the Institute Development Studies (IDS) Bulletin, Exploring Power for Change. John Gaventa’s first article (Finding Room for Change: Power Analysis) which introduced the Power Cube has been cited 508 times [6].

Gaventa sees power like a Rubik's cube, changes in one side or the dimensions of the Power Cube can cause other dimensions to change. This reminds us that analyzing one aspect of power without paying attention to how it affects other dimensions of power is risky. Applying the Power Cube in practice, Gaventa sees several dimensions one by one, not fully understanding at the same time because it will experience difficulties in practice. For this reason, by understanding one by one, a relationship will be found with one another [7].

Thus, the operation of the Power Cube Gaventa does not conclude power relations that end in domination or transactional. Because Gaventa sees power as something that operates and it is not owned by a person as a whole. Therefore, in the Power Cube it is possible to visually map the Rubik's cube itself and the situation, including other actors, relationships and forces, and then see the possibilities for movement, mobilization and change. Thus, it allows people to plan advocacy and find entry points for action [7].

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses qualitative methods with a descriptive approach, because this study aims to explain how the power relation of the Village Head Association and the cement company. By describing the power relations built between the Village Head Association and the cement company, it is possible to obtain an overview and analyze the power relations in three dimensions of the Power Cube (form, space, and level).

The focus of this research is to explain how the power relay between village heads and cement companies uses Gaventa's Power Cube theory which divides it into three elements (form of power, power space, and level of power).
To elaborate it, the researcher took and identified several problems between the association of village heads and the cement company. Data collection techniques in this study used in-depth interviews and documentation study. This research technique was chosen based on the data needs in the research topic. Furthermore, in analyzing the data, the study used several stages in analyzing the collected data. According to Creswell as quoted (Emzri [8]) in the process of data collection and analysis, researchers need to ensure that the findings and interpretations are accurate. Validation of findings means that the researcher determines the accuracy or credibility of the findings through strategies such as checking or triangulation.

In qualitative research, the accuracy and credibility of the data are very important to support the results of the research. Because of that, this study determines the accuracy and credibility of the data. So, the method used is triangulation. According to (Emzri [8]), Triangulation is a process of strengthening evidence from different individuals. This ensures that the study will be accurate because the information comes from multiple sources, individuals or processes. The data analysis technique refers to the model created by Miles and Huberman, as quoted (Emzri [8]) the stages of data analysis are 1). Data Collection, 2). Data Reduction, 3). Presentation of data, 4). Conclusion.

This research is located in Bayah, Lebak - Banten. The subject of this research is the Village Head Association, while the object of the research is a series of actions that have occurred, which have been done by the Village Head Association, especially in the realization of CSR. This is to see the reality of the power relations that occur between the village head association and the cement company in Bayah.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, the author will discuss the results of the research that has been done. It discusses the results of research using the Power Cube theory which describes the power relations of the Village Heads Association with Cement Companies based on the Form of Power, Space of Power, and Level of Power. According to Gaventa, the visible form of power is the contestation of interests that seen in the public sphere or formal decision-making. Often this refers to political council, such as legislative, local government, local assemblies, or consultative forums. However, they can also apply to arenas of organizational decision making and even social movements or other spaces of collective action.

Furthermore, hidden power is used by private interests to defend their power and privileges by creating barriers to participation, by excluding major issues from the public arena, or by controlling politics backstage. They may occur not only in the political process, but also in the context of other organizations and groups, such as the workplace, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or society-based organizations. Meanwhile, invisible power involves ways in which awareness of one's rights and interests is hidden through the adoption of ideologies, values, and forms of behavior that dominate by the relatively powerless group itself [7].

The power cube space dimension in the Power Cube refers to the potential arenas for participation and action, including what we call closed space, invited and claimed spaces. The space discussed by Gaventa emphasizes more on society participation to participate in decision making [7]. Power relation in the form of space, the village head open access for the society to dialogue, and this is an effort of democratization in the rural. Dialogue is the soul of deliberative democracy which is used to reach agreement as a strategy in filling representation in modern democratic societies (Jonanovski & Sarlamanov [9]). Open space in the Power Cube approach, from the data found in the field that in resolving problems complained by the society to the village head, the village head only comes up to convey these aspirations to the company. Whether it responded or not, its back to the company. Open space, the village head also has a closed room that can only be reached by members of the village head association, namely the village head himself. In planning the action in 2018, this closed space was very visible when the village head planned the action without any involvement from the village society or those affected themselves. Whereas the mass of the action, if the demonstration occurs, it is the villagers who are not involved in planning the action [10].

Regarding the open and closed spaces that created by the village head without maximizing the struggle for the aspirations of the society, then this is the reason for the emergence of spaces created by the society in conveying their own aspirations. The space created is the capital of the society to convey their own aspirations. The researcher assessed that if the power entrusted to the village head to take care of the livelihoods of the village people is out of the way of struggle for the affected society, then the society will make their own space in conveying their aspirations.

According to Gaventa, nowadays, power is increasingly seen as multi-layered and multipolar, which is found at various levels and among state and non-state actors. While once power may have been understood in relation to a particular place or region, it is unable to move across local, national and supranational levels. The presence of the village head association in the Power Cube approach has increased the level of power from the village to the sub-district level. For this reason, according to researcher, the association has a bargaining position which allows for a relationship with a cement company in Bayah, given the strengths of several villages united in one container. Talking about the level of power at the sub-district level, of course, it cannot be separated from discussing the sub-district head (camat) as an actor who has a political structure within the scope of the district. Therefore, the issues raised by the association of village heads regarding social and environmental issues will intersect with the camat as the authority in the district.

The role of the sub-district head that occurred was in planning demonstration actions that did by the association of
village heads in 2018. The action that started with the village head, in the decision to cancel the action from data found in the field that the decision was born after several elements the village head had a meeting with the sub-district head. The power relation of the village head association based on the level of power at the sub-district level was influenced by the sub-district head who structurally powerful if compared with the village head that only have it at the village level. Thus, the relationship pattern that occurs at the sub-district level affects power relations at the village level.

Gaventa sees power Like a Rubik's cube, changes in one side or the dimensions of the Power Cube can cause other dimensions to change. This reminds us that analyzing one aspect of power without paying attention to how it affects other dimensions of power is risky [7]. The applying of Power Cube in practice, Gaventa sees several dimensions one by one, not fully understanding at the same time because it will difficult in practice. For this reason, by understanding one by one, a relationship will be found with one another [7]. It means that in this case, the researcher have not describe yet about the power relations which are described based on their respective dimensions. Furthermore, in this section, the power is seen or visualized like a Rubik's cube to see the power relations between dimensions in the Power Cube. According to the Gaventa, Power Cube is a framework for analyzing the level, space, and form of power, and their relationship. This is provided for work exploring various aspects of power and how they belong to each other [7]. Thus the operation of the Power Cube, Gaventa does not conclude power relations that end in domination or transactional. Because Gaventa basically see power as something that operates and it is not owned by a person as a whole.

Therefore, in the Power Cube it is possible to visually map the Rubik's cube itself and the situation, including other actors, relationships and power, and then see the possibilities for movement, mobilization and change. Thus, it allows people to plan advocacy and find entry points for action [7].

![Diagram of Power Cube](image.png)

Figure 1. The Power cube: the levels, space and forms of power

In the power Cube, Gaventa said form of power refers to the way in which power manifests itself, including its visible, hidden and invisible forms. Power space refers to potential arena for participation and action, including closed space, invited and claimed spaces. Meanwhile, the level of power refers to the various layers of decision-making and authority held at a vertical scale, including local, national and global [7].

The result of the analysis shows that the power relation based on the form of power is related to the power space and the level of power. When the association of village heads uses visible power, this will also create open space in the power cube. Because both of them are visible. Furthermore, from the results of the analysis, the village head use hidden power for personal interests. This will create closed spaces that can only be reached by the village head himself, without the involvement of many people. From this hidden space, it also affects the level of sub-district power due to the involvement of the camat in the process.

The village head provides an open space for society to complain about the impact of the cement company. This has created a level of power at the village level, because this problem extends only to the village where the village head is the main actor in the village level of power. Then, the level of power at the village level provides an illustration of the dominant power at that level. On the issue of manpower, the village head is more dominant than the association of village heads as an institution. For this reason, the researcher considers that the power relation at the village level is closely related to the village head, especially in labor recruitment.

Therefore, the association of village heads uses visible and hidden forms of power to create open and closed spaces. Then it makes the created space as an answer to the various forms and spaces created by the village head himself. With this form and space of power, it also provides an illustration of actors who play roles at various levels. Start from involvement of camat at sub-district level and village head as a main actor at village level about labor.

Thus, the findings in the field say that analysis power in Power Cube approach are related to one another. If the power relation is seen in the form dimension, this will affect the spatial dimension and level. If power is seen from the spatial dimension, it will affect the shape and level of power. Likewise, if power is seen starting from the level, then this will affect the form and space of power.

However, the three dimensions are also divided into three parts. From what was found in the field, the researcher did not find an invisible form of power and the level of power at the district level that was related to the research topic. Moreover, this explains that the dimensions in the Power Cube prove that the dimensions of power are related to one another.

The Power Cube approach, as previously described, suggests that when strategy and power analysis can work across or align in each dimension of the cube, then real transformation of power relations is more likely to occur [7]. For this reason, the image above is a visualization of the work of the Power Cube in this study. Where every single dimension have relationship each other.
IV. CONCLUSION

The power relations between the village heads and the cement company in the Power Cube approach are divided into three parts to see the power relations from the form of power, power space, and power level. Of the three divisions, the findings in the field provide results of related pattern relation power.

First, the village head association as an institution is a visible form of power, and this is something to do with the opened space of the village head association which provides space for villagers who affected by cement construction. Apart from the visible form of power, in practice a hidden form of power was found from the village head who use the visible form of power. And this hidden power has created closed spaces that can’t be reached by society. Apart from affecting the power space, power relations based on the form also affect the level dimension. Where this form of power takes place at the village level, where the village head has the power to open participation at the village level for societies’ complain.

Second, that is the dimension of power space. From a hidden form of power this has created a closed space where only the village head can attend. In addition to the closed space, the village head association opens an opened space for the society to complain about the impact of this cement company. This open space was deliberately created by the village head, as a form of power by accommodating the aspirations from society. Regarding closed space, with the involvement of camat in the decision to cancel the action, the spatial dimension also affects the level of power. This means that this closed space affects actors at a certain level.

Third, that is level of power. This dimension is intended to see the power that takes place in the layer of power. The level of village power, which has big impact, that’s the village head, not the association of the village head as an institution, so the relationship that takes place with the company is not an institution, but the village head as the actor itself. In addition, the village head association also increases the level of power from village to sub-district level. This means that this institution has unified village heads in one sub-district into one forum, namely the association of village heads. Then, with a closed space between the village head and the camat, this also shows that the camat's role at the sub-district level has an influence on the village head association. Thus, that the three dimensions of the power cube are related to one another. And basically, the power relation in the Power Cube approach explains how to see power from three dimensions, so that researcher found relationship with one another.

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