

Deliberative Debates in Investors Penetration Area: A Case Study of Village Deliberation by Village Consultative Board (BPD) in Caturtunggal Village, Yogyakarta

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Abstract

This study focuses on deliberative democracy practices in Caturtunggal village, specifically in the sub-village (dusun) of Seturan, Karangwuni, and Ambarukmo. The study assesses the quality of deliberation in these dusun by applying the three out of five indicators of deliberative democracy theory by Fishkin (2009), namely information, substantantive balance, and equal consideration. This study deploys qualitative descriptive method and case-study approach with in-depth interview as the main data gathering technique. This deliberation has put Village Consultative Board (BPD) period of 2013-2019 as a mediator and to consider arguments and deliberative results. Based on the indicators which proposed by Fishkin, Seturan and Ambarukmo are categorized for having semi-ideal deliberation, meanwhile Karangwuni is categorized as not ideal. The study also finds elite capture practices in Seturan and Karangwuni, but they do not impact significantly.

Keywords:

Village Consultative Board (BPD); Quality of Deliberation; Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

The search of ideal democracy is still done that often triggers serious debates on what liberal, deliberative, or associative are. In the study of discourse, the idea of deliberation becomes more popular since the writing of Habermas has been spelled out the concept of public sphere (Habermas, 1964) which asserts that public sphere plays an important role in the democratic process, free from

intervention, and becomes a vehicle of social discourse to express opinions or interests by arguing substantially. Habermas believes that in the deliberation process participants have a rational thought in selecting every public argument. The definition of deliberation is not single and some scientists have their own views.

For example, according to Bessette, deliberative democracy has the following elements (Bessette, 1997): *First* the participants are not limited to political representative actors, *Second* engage collectively, *Thirs* the substance of discussion involves the public interest,

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Fourth participants use information to influence, *Fifth* mediators are neutral and committed above the public interest. The view of deliberation also comes from Fishkin who sees deliberation as an arena of argumentation that has been tested through competing opinions. Deliberation is not just about the number of people who meet on one occasion, but also there must be an indicator that is fulfilled. From several definitions of deliberation, the researcher concludes that the common thread of a deliberative democracy indicator must involve an element of inclusiveness of diversity and easy access, a qualified debate to reach an agreement, and the need for a politically fair mediator in considering all arguments for making decisions based on public interest (Fishkin, 2009).

The concept of deliberation is also conveyed by Fung who mentions that the theory of deliberative democracy is an ideal political idea that offers a fundamental shift in political decision-making. According to him (Fung, 2005), deliberation activities require a neutral facilitator, so the discussion process becomes more fluent and there is no domination. In their interesting findings (Fung and Wright, 2001), they formulated a deepening democracy that

focused on the flexibility of society's role in policy making. The seriousness of this concept is reinforced through the Empowered Participatory Governance (EGP) approach. This participatory approach to strengthen governance depends on the capacity of ordinary villagers to formulate policies rationally, actively, and cautiously.

The findings (Fung and Wright, 2001) about the EGP have three main principles. *First*, practice-oriented, process directed to be able to produce policies that can directly perceive benefits such as public facilities/services. The practice orientation encourages a cooperative atmosphere among actors. *Second*, bottom-up participation is expected to cut the length of the bureaucratic chain. *Third*, solutive deliberation, in deliberation decision making, all participants listen to the position of each party and make a choice after consideration. Participants must submit their arguments and convince others of their preference. The presence of conflicts will always color the deliberation process, therefore it is important for participants to find a collective acceptable reason, even if it does not fully give benefits.

Through the concepts above, a common thread that can be drawn is that

Table 1. Findings on deliberations in some villages

Villages	Aspiration Collection		Components of Participants		Character of Deliberation	
	Yes	No	Exclusive	Inclusive	Formality	High Quality
Lubuk Kambing Village						
Pandowoharjo Village						
Caturtunggal Village						
Bernai & Sungai Abang Village						
Bakun & Buo Village						
Villages in Selayar Regency						
Buluhcina Village						
Sindumartani Village						

Sources: Lubuk Kambing Village (Tacconi et.al, 2006, Thesis ANU), Pandowoharjo Village (Risa Septiana, 2015, Unpublished Bachelor Thesis FISIPOL UGM), Caturtunggal Village (Winda Ritonga, 2014, Unpublished Bachelor Thesis FISIPOL UGM), Bernai & Sungai Abang Village (Rosnela, 2011, Thesis), Bakun dan Buo Village (Jason, 2010, Thesis), Villages in Selayar Regency (Nurharas Taufiq, 2008, Unpublished Thesis FEB UGM), Buluhcina Village (Novanierizal, 2002, Unpublished Thesis FISIPOL UGM), Sindumartani Village (Diana, 2016, Unpublished Bachelor Thesis FISIPOL UGM).

all scientists agree if deliberative democracy should be in the public sphere, the existence of the stakeholders, and the community discussed problems. The second point is that there is a process of readiness of policy makers to accommodate and listen to public aspirations. The third point is closely related to inclusive participation, allowing everyone to be involved, and the last point focuses on the quality of the deliberation process itself. In further detail of deliberation, our society has long known this democratic model as a way of discussing at the village level. Thus, to see the concrete form of the above theories, the researcher collected some cases of deliberations in the village as a

general description before entering further into the research topic (See: Table 1).

In short, this table uses three indicators from the discussion of deliberative democracy theories above. *First*, there is an effort to collect the aspirations as a matter of debate in deliberation. *Second*, the extent to which deliberations are inclusive, and *Third* is the quality of the debate. In this study, these villages were randomly selected to prove deliberative practices as part of the literature review, whether the deliberative democracy values become an isolated anomaly in the village. Firstly, from the aspirations collection aspect, generally it is done in all villages in RT / RW level. While the aspect of flexibility of villagers'

involvement is high enough in regard to the diversity of its villagers, this situation does not guarantee a merit of deliberation. The status of deliberation established only as the fulfillment of the village government's obligations for administrative completeness. The lack of a quality debate is certainly a serious problem and becomes interesting to study further.

In Lubuk Kambing village, aspirations collection is not done, but the debate of deliberation becomes serious. This is influenced by the urgency of the issues discussed. Although aspirations collection of villagers was not done, participants can argue. Other cases are shown by Bernai, Sugai Abang, Bakun and Buo villages. In these four villages, there is no networking by the village government because of the reluctance of the residents to attend. This situation is a disappointment for the villagers who feel their opinions are not considered to be a village program. In fact, the aspirations of the people have always been aggregated by the village government, but they are not used fully or almost completely, so the village meeting for development (Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan Desa/Musrenbangdes) is

only a formality in which people only sit and listen.

Another surprising finding is that people who come to the musrenbangdes is due to coercion, not because they feel they want to express their opinions. The invitation is perceived as one form of coercion in which villagers are obliged to attend. By reading reviews of the findings from this village, the researcher finds that villagers are almost losing their concern for village policy making activities. Attitudes taken by these villagers may undermine aspects of deliberative democracy because the seriousness factor offered by Fishkin is almost absent. Other findings state that the musrenbangdes process only as a formality is influenced by the dominance of village government. For example, the village heads of Bakun and Buo create a special team of musrenbangdes and deceive the villagers. Finally, the implementation of deliberation at the village level presents more public disappointment.

Unfortunately, the deliberation cases mentioned above do not stop there. Other findings about the presence of elites at the village level also have a significant impact in every decision-making process in the village. Dasgupta, in his research in several villages in East Java, discovered

elite capture in every process of deliberation with the accumulation of certain capital such as social, economic, cultural, and political. The findings of the four case studies discussed represent the case study of elite capture (Dasgupta, 2000). *First* findings in Kelor village, the elites are separated on social inequalities. The elite consists of the elder generation of civil servants, teachers, and retired military personnel. These elites also participated in policy making. Their elite status is based on ownership of a higher socioeconomic position than non-elite.

The *second* case is in Tirta Kencana village which is characterized by an activity of the community whose selection of members has social standards such as educational background and profession. There are two categories of elites who dominate Tirta Kencana. First, the customary elite of the elder villagers who have been actively have a leadership role. Second, a group of professional elite with educational attainment and economic status. This professional elite dominates the government. According to locals, the custom elite is honoured for honesty, performance, and reputation, while professional elites are honoured by skills and experience. The *third* finding is in Sekar Kamulyan villager, an elder elite

group from a family dominating the government there. The status of the elder elite is based on their higher socioeconomic status (land ownership), while the young elites have careers as civil servants or military officers outside the village. *Lastly*, the findings in Kisma Wasana village, the elder elite consists of experienced figures. While the young elites have the power of socio-economic status, educational attainment, and political relations outside the community. Uniquely, in this village, some poor villagers also have political power and hold leadership positions. Their power comes from the popularity and trust of other poor villagers. Gupta's conclusion on the elite capture findings in those four villages is that not all the ruling elites are corrupt. Local elites are willing to contribute their time and knowledge to facilitate village projects and governance.

From the explanation of some cases above, the deliberation process that is not serious and is colored by the presence of elite capture would still be a challenge in democracy in village level. Thus, it is important for researchers to look at other forms of deliberation in village level. As the village deliberations in Caturtunggal village into deliberative place that is seriously done by the meeting

organizers there, Village Consultative Agency (Badan Permusyawaratan Desa/BPD). This village attracts the researcher because there are only few writings that review the process of political deliberation at the village level because most of the writings end in the conclusion that the village deliberations are merely formal and ceremonial. In addition, Caturtunggal village which has an urban area, makes the penetration of investors spelled out massively that deliberation in the sub-village is often colored by the interests of investors.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Research Method

The research question proposed is how the quality of deliberation in three sub-villages mediated by the Village Consultative Board (BPD) of Caturtunggal village? In line with the statement of the problem, the researcher used a qualitative approach with case study technique. According to Creswell (2010), qualitative method is a method to explore the meaning of social problems. A qualitative approach is required to obtain specific information from key informants. Furthermore, Creswell (2010: 20) states that one of variant of qualitative strategies is a case study. The case study leads the

researcher to thoroughly investigate an event. Cases are restricted within a certain time and activity where complete information gathered based on deliberations mediated by BPD for the period 2013-2019. Case studies were selected by the researcher to explore this research in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the deliberation process at the sub-village level. One way to go is to ask the people or parties involved.

This research belongs to a descriptive category because it poses 'how' questions and presents a specific breakdown of an event. The special features of this category are that the researcher focuses on understanding the process of the deliberative discourse in the hamlet. In qualitative research (Creswell, 2010), the researcher pays attention to four aspects that Creswell offered; the first is setting; the location of the study focused on Seturan, Karangwuni, and Ambarukmo sub-villages in Caturtunggal village. The selection of these three villages is based on two reasons, firstly, because it is classified as a strategic area for business, so the construction of the apartment is very massive and forcing the investors there to be able to discuss their business with the villagers. The second reason, in

these three sub-villages, the deliberation process is full of debates. The researcher needs to emphasize that the selection of the three sub-villages is not intended to generalize that the degree of deliberation in Caturtunggal village, but only to compare the degree of deliberation among the three sub-villages.

The second aspect is the actor or the people involved in the village deliberations. BPD period 2013-2019, in this study, is considered as the mediator who seeks the process of deliberation in accordance with the mandate of government regulation by following the political function attached to BPD. The third aspect is the event where the deliberation process with specific issues becomes the highlighted topic when the sub-village meeting takes place. This specific issue is related to the investors business, the impact of building construction that resulted environmental damages, and protests conveyed by women villagers. The stages of obtaining information (Creswell, 2010) are; first literature review of deliberations, scientific reports and articles on case studies of several villages in Indonesia on

musrenbangdes, and some government regulations as references. Secondly, through interviews, the researcher makes some interviews to members of BPD, Chairman of RT / RW and Dukuh chief, also people who have been involved as key informants. Third, observations were made by researchers on several occasions of village meetings in May, and small talk.

This research uses data analysis technique model of Miles and Huberman (Sugiyono, 2008) which consists of three stages; data reduction, data display, and conclusion. Data reduction is the activity of sorting data. When the data obtained, it is very diverse and broad that the researcher must collect the relevant primary data. Data display is the stage of data analysis in presentation of data that has been obtained and through the sorting stage. After that, the researcher makes conclusions of data series. In this study, three of the five indicators offered by Fishkin became the main foothold so the researcher would have clear parameters in determining the quality of deliberation in three sub-villages. They are;

Table 2. Deliberation Quality Assessment in Three Sub-villages

Case	Assessment Indicator									Deliberation Quality		
	Information			Substance			Consideration			Ideal	Semi ideal	Not ideal
	i.a	i.r	i.p	d.k	b.p	p.s	a.s	d.r	d.p			
Seturan												
Karangwuni												
Ambarukmo												

Source: processed using three Fishkin indicators; information, contentious substance, and fair consideration. Note: ████████ Incator is fulfilled.

- 1) Information, whether it is accessible information (i.a), relevant information (i.r), and information of choice (i.p) become consideration. deliberation is said to be ideal if it meets all three indicators, but if it meets only two of the three indicators, the researchers categorize it as semi-ideal. If the deliberation process does not meet the three indicators or just meet one indicator, then deliberation in the sub-village is considered as not ideal. For that, the assessment mechanism is presented by researchers in the table 2.
- 2) Substantive balance of deliberation, whether the data used is comprehensive data (d.k), based on experience (b.p), and bring together diverse and balanced perspectives (p.s) into a debate in the hamlet.
- 3) Fair consideration by BPD can be confirmed by argumentation that is equal (a.s) by BPD without marginalization, the reasons chosen and considered rationally (d.r), and capable of generating decisions received by all parties (d.p) or consensus.

Deliberation Quality Parameter

Each sub-village will be analyzed using three Fishkin indicators, so the researcher can find the process of deliberation in which sub-village is ideal, semi ideal or not ideal. A process of

Fishkin, through his writing 'When the People Speak' (2009), defines that deliberative democracy as a question of shared political interests, about what to do, and the process by which individuals seriously consider the benefits of arguments in joint discussions. Deliberation is needed to prepare policies that could benefit all parties. Participants involved there argue in different ways, intonations, and interpretations. Fishkin offers five aspects to measure whether a

deliberation process is qualified or not (Fishkin, 2009);

- a. Information; the extent to which participants have access to accurate and relevant information to the issues discussed,
- b. Substantive balance; the extent to which offered arguments by a party or with a perspective are answered with the considerations offered by the other parties with other perspectives,
- c. Diversity; the extent to which the main positions in society can be represented by deliberations,
- d. Awareness (caution); the extent to which participants consider the benefits of the arguments presented,
- e. Fair consideration; the extent to which arguments presented by all participants are deemed to have the same value or benefit, regardless of who is delivering.

In this study, researchers focus on only three indicators, they are aspects of information, substantive balance, and aspects of consideration. These three aspects will be used as benchmarks to see the quality of deliberation in each hamlet; Seturan, Karangwuni and Ambarukmo. *First*, the information aspect,

each participant must have access to information in accordance with the topic of deliberation. Information can be used as a consideration in assessing or giving opinions in debating the proposal of the other party. To be able to see whether an information has its usefulness, it must be ensured that the proposals offered are recommended points. Operations of this aspect can be seen with; first, access to information, BPD as an institution in charge of organizing meeting must distribute information to its citizens about what will be discussed and things that need to be prepared. Second, the relevance of information sources obtained by villagers, whether sourced from 'first person' or 'second person', gossip, idea, real data (from citizen observation), loss/gain, from other media, and science. Third, whether or not the information could be a consideration of villagers to propose an idea and support or reject other the proposals.

The *second* aspect is substantive balance, the focus of this aspect is the relevant debate that lives the argumentative rivalry. This aspect is important because to see the essence of policies whether the proposals agreed or rejected are accompanied by careful considerations. Logically, if a villager A is

concerned about the adverse impacts of a development on the settlement, then villager B must answer it with an indicator of environmental sustainability, a socioeconomic condition that can be detrimental or beneficial, and not to answer with things beyond that aspect. Operations from this aspect can be seen from the quality of arguments among villagers, whether based on data, experience (reflection of similar cases), expertise, or logic built to solve the problems between the parties. To that end, the success of this aspect requires a number of perspectives among participants to live up a quality debate. The *third* aspect is a fair consideration in which every proposal voiced by villagers should be equal. A fair judgment in the broad sense that the researcher means is that the BPD as a mediator that has the authority should not discriminate the opinions among citizens, whether it is community leaders, academics, or poor villagers. All opinions proposed must be selected by the BPD rationally to produce a final agreement. It is hoped at the end of deliberation that BPD is able to produce decisions that can be accepted by all parties without marginalizing anyone.

CONTEXT: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Uncovering BPD: Between regulation and practice

Badan Permusyawaratan Desa is a real form of democratic spirit in village level. The BPD Institution, as described in the book entitled "Potret Politik & Ekonomi Lokal di Indonesia" (Heru et.al., 2017), experienced significant changes in dynamics, from Lembaga Masyarakat Desa (LMD) to BPD. The changes that color BPD regulations are caused by political conflict at the grassroots level. Therefore, before reviewing the BPD further, it is important to look at current BPD regulations (See: Table 3).

This table explains that firstly, the election process turns out to be democratic only in the Village Law, but differs in the Implementing Ordinance which provides a choice between representative deliberation or direct election. The villagers' representatives in regulatory membership focuses on the representatives of regions and populations, although women have been encouraged, but it is more important to notice the absence representatives of poor people as members of BPD. This thing is only explained during the process of collecting aspirations in the Regulation Substituting a Law (Peraturan

Table 3. Regulation and Finding Comparison in BPD of Caturtunggal Village

BPD		Electoral and Representatives	Tupoksi (Main Tasks of Institution)	Aspirations Collection
Regulation	Law No. 6 of 2014 on Village	Democratically elected by considering components of the region, women, and the village population.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legislative functions, discussing and agreeing the RAPBDes with the Village chief (partner). Political function, to accommodate and channel villagers' aspirations, and oversee the performance of the Village chief. 	Decision-making is done through deliberations attended by village government apparatus and villagers.
	Government PP No. 43 of 2014 on rules implementation	Direct election or representative deliberation.	Prepare disciplinary procedures and technics of deliberations	The emphasis of all elements of society to be involved especially the poor and minorities.
Practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> BPD members are elected through exclusive village deliberation by tim (team) 7 (7 figures). Most of BPD members are entrepreneurs, civil servants, politicians, and men. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Village Government Partner Musdes (village meeting) organizers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focused on deliberations in each sub-village Problems on investments are often discussed

Source: Law No. 6 of 2014, PP No. 43 of 2014, and interviews.

Pemerintah/PP). The ambiguity in the regulation regarding the selection of BPD members has implications for the implementation process. The process of election deliberation BPD of Caturtunggal can be said to be quite exclusive, because in some sub-villages, the election of BPD members is not known by its villagers;

"The sub-village chief informs each RW/RT to nominate villagers' representatives to be BPD. But, suddenly the Dukuh (sub-village chief) said that the member of BPD period

2013-2019 has been determined to proceed to the next period, and this is not democratic according to us, if it is democratic then there should be an election. I do not know what the election process is like. We give names, rejected, and how election like we do not know, moreover other villagers. For me, the important thing is I have received the names and it should be transparent, but in fact, we do not know the process, the chief of sub-village said that the board of BPD has the same members in the end." - Pak Sudjono, the chief of RT who was in

charge for different periods of BPD, so he knows exactly the election is just a mere empty discourse.

Not only that, *tim 7* (7 figures) is also recognized by members of BPD has its own 'way of play' in each sub-village;

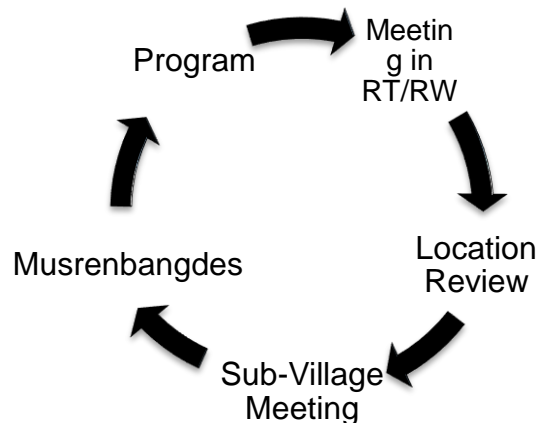
"Tim 7 (7 figures) is a village formation consisting of village leaders, chieives of sub-villages, and representatives of the government working group. So, every member of tim 7 chose 2 people. So, tim 7 already has their own views, already has own information about the candidates to be selected and already know the board and each character. Each sub-village also has its own "way of play". – Yunarto, Bamus Member.

This unlimited selection process can disrupt the stability of BPD during deliberations. Furthermore, these data indicate that the flexibility of selecting BPD has the potential to be politicized. This is a clear evident in the election process of BPD Caturtunggal where the reasons for election can not be justified entirely as an excuse for adjusting the administrative regulation in the upper government, but the confession of some villagers becomes the answer that reinforces the researchers' justification that the BPD from the beginning is a

political space for a group people interested in having legislative seats in the village. *First*, The implication of this unresolved regulation makes BPD in Caturtunggal village is dominated by men with limited professions to civil servants, entrepreneurs, and politicians.

Second is the BPD's *tupoksi* (main tasks), in the village law, it is emphasized as a 'partner' of village government that has the political function of conducting deliberation and overseeing the performance of village government. While in the PP, the responsibilities in the implementation of deliberations are arranged in more detail. *Third*, aspiration selection, village law is limited to the main conditions of deliberation. However, inclusive deliberation expectations begin to be opened through PP with emphasis on poor villagers' involvement. In other findings, there is an interesting point which clearly indicates that the deliberation process in this village is focused in sub-villages especially on specific issues such as the issue of apartment investment being the main concern of BPD. It is reasonable if we see a strategic village area for tourism and business (See: Scheme 1).

Scheme 1. Stages of Village Deliberation Process



Source: Cycle of village deliberation as drawn by a member of BPD

The scheme of deliberation in this village starts from the first stage; the BPD members join the meeting at the RT / RW level to listen directly to the important things to be proposed. This RT / RW meeting agenda is usually only attended by local RT officials and BPD is rarely seen at this stage. Second, the location review is conducted by BPD members based on their political awareness. This process is done so that they have their own data about the issue of building program during the process of aspirations collection. These two stages are only forms of formalities because the stage of deliberation is on the third stage so called sub-village meeting.

"The cycle is conducting a meeting in each RT/RW with its villagers, then pre-musrenbangdus (community leaders Rukun Tetangga, Rukun Warga,

Kelompok Kerja Lembaga Pembedayaan Masyarakat Desa /KKLMD). At this stage, BPD members usually conduct location review and should prioritize equity, so if there are RT or RW that was already allocated, the location will be moved." - Warmidi and Sumarno

In another hand, the BPD member state,

"The deliberation in village level is the agenda of BPD discussed together in each sub-village, both physical and non-physical development, after it is done, it will be included in the deliberation in village level, so there must be a priority scale and some may be postponed. Each sub-village has different needs. If a problem at the sub-village level is not completely solved, it will be discussed again at

the village level. So, the problem is usually completed only at the sub-village level of deliberation, not to be brought to village-level deliberation. Those who involved, in this case, are leaders who always monitor the elected BPD members. The needs of each sub-village will determine the decision, for example physical construction like road construction, non-physical construction like gotong royong event. – BPD Members"

Village deliberation is the stage where BPD resolves and decides all specific cases such as the business of investors. To facilitate and clarify the community needs, BPD creates a proposal mechanism by limiting the proposal of each sub-village to musrenbangdes. The proposed physical development program is limited to one point and for the program is limited to three points and there must be a priority scale. BPD acknowledges that all problems of business in sub-village must be solved.

"Village level deliberation is led by sub-village chief by inviting the chief of RT / RW (usually invited by coordination meeting of RT / RW in the sub-village), community leaders, and BPD. The

villagers' problems only end in a coordination meeting in the sub-village, if any personal business is only a gossip it will surrenderly follow to the majority vote. – BPD Members"

BPD's act in taking the majority vote is for the BPD to be "safe", especially if the case is the investors' business. After that, there will be a process of village deliberation that only becomes a ceremonial budgeting session. The purpose of the deliberation at village level is to clarify the results of sub-village meeting and will be adjusted to budget needs. In this agendum, there may be certain sub-villages requests that are necessary to be merged or even not be granted with consideration of all sub-villages needs.

Deadlock in Seturan

The apartment construction in Seturan sub-village undergoes a prolonged negotiation process and is colored by some serious debates between villagers and investors. The villagers' seriousness in deliberation is because the construction of this mega project is the first case, so the villagers are in fear of similar cases in other areas will occur in around the village. With the ease of

information, villagers have a strategy to influence several sub-village leaders to access information about matters that need to be debated.

"Ordinary villagers would know, but it depends on closeness to the village board, because information can be obtained from the village boards. – Chief of RT in Seturan"

In addition, villagers have high spirits in collecting all information about construction activities and licensing procedures of the apartments as told by interviewee.

"In the socialization forums, BPD does not have enough influence because people already have an agreement before. The construction socialization of about 7-8 floors apartments is done not only once, but two to five times. Investors have never announced or read AMDAL at all, never even put an AMDAL information, they just confirm that AMDAL has been given. Villagers never complain because so far there is no water problem. Because villagers are fear of water shortage due to the construction of apartment, we debate the investors. There are many people who do not like the apartments construction because they think their

village will be crowded. - Suheriyanto, Chief of RT 05 RW 02 Kampung Purwodadi, Seturan."

Situation that make villagers insist on maintaining their proposals is due to the large availability of information that has been accommodated systematically, and of course provides a challenge for investors themselves to dismiss all the information they have. Moreover, the experiences and stories of villages that had experienced environmental losses become the villagers' main argument. The administration process that villagers perceive as not being transparent and seems to be deceitful, is also made into some points to clarify. Political issues indicate that the availability of information is not limited to access, but there are stages to be constructed in preparing the data source, data credibility, and villagers' political awareness to unite their voice.

The strategy in strengthening arguments position and provoking other villagers in certain ways is their own efforts who intentionally invite certain people as the spearhead or their speakers. These actors are at the forefront to strengthen the villagers' position in arguing with the investors. They are

people who are used to debate and understand similar issues.

"You can imagine the current case, we as BPD are surprised by villagers who are smart in debate. Each group has a tough stance. - Sumarno, BPD."

This longing debate that requires five meetings is one of the success stories of these speakers until the negotiation process ends with some non-adverse deal.

"We were invited and gathered by RT chief to unite in one voice with the villagers and we could ask for something. In the end, we asked 100 million for the hall building and broken road renovation because people do not have a big building. After that, we met the apartment investors and they immediately asked the citizen's request (when the investor lobbied the villagers)
- Suheriyanto, chief of RT. 05 / RW. 02, Kampung Purwodadi, Seturan."

The political aspect in permission gets the biggest attention of the villagers since all procedures are not transparent and unaccountable. Environmental damage caused by the construction activities (such as village roads past by

heavy equipments) and a drought crisis do not get full attention. Even the sociocultural aspects become one of the aspects that villagers questioned to the investors, but the investors only stated the extent of benefits that can be given to the villagers and the fulfillment of development procedures. Although investors are debated with the arguments, consensus for some things can be achieved such as responsible transparency, environmentally friendly construction, and procurement of public hall as well as infrastructure reparation (giving a number of money). Mediation efforts almost failed because the consideration taken by BPD was too wary in making decisions.

"I, as a member of BPD, can only mediate each party, especially investors who want to be accompanied if they have business with the villagers. I can only be a liaison and mediator. - Sumarno, BPD member"

The considerations taken by BPD in the deliberation generally came from the demands of each party. BPD was in charge of mediating and assisting the negotiation process. All opinions were heard carefully without diminishing any

aspect. If we refer to the concept carried by Fishkin about fair consideration, BPD on this occasion, is fair because the results were agreed by two parties that compete. Sadly, this fair consideration did not come from the process of considering rational arguments or judgments between the arguments of each party. This consideration was taken based on the big number of the political risks and fear of dissatisfaction from one of the parties in the future.

Construction Consequences in Karangwuni

The implications of construction in Karangwuni sub-village caused environmental damage in Manggung sub-village near Karangwuni. This environmental damage was a blockage of drainage flow that often caused a flood and the slow absorption of water in Manggung. The reports from villagers to the BPD from Manggung with unclear information, made BPD initiate a meeting with both parties to find solutions.

"This case needs to be discussed by the two parties because BPD feels need to listen to both parties to make the problem clear. So, we talk to the representatives both parties. My sub-

village is Manggung, next to Karangwuni. Talking about this problem, the drainage in Karangwuni does not work properly and it affected Manggung. Finally, (based on gossip) this problem was caused by the developers/investors who do not inform the villagers in Manggung." - Yunarto, BPD member.

Unclear information was spreading to Manggung hamlet. Suspicions on the construction activities in Karangwuni which broke the law indicates that it does not involve the Manggung villagers in discussion about environmental impacts. So, the process of deliberation at that time was colored by the debate that blame each other.

"We want the drainage in Manggung work properly, but the Karangwuni makes the problem. We did not get water and the drainage did not work anymore to give villagers water in the lower area. If they do not fix it, we will dismantle the building. That's also because the investor who owns the building near the drainage flow." - Manggung villager.

Then a villager of Karangwuni responded;

"Talking about the drainage problem, as far as we concern, it is the responsibility of the developers/investors who have business there. If the Manggung people want the drainage work properly, we think the villagers just need to fix the broken pipe or find another water source. We also think that Karangwuni villagers do not mean anything and we just know that there is a problem in Manggung."

The debate between two sub-villages is generally based on gossip or subjective assumption about an agreement between Karangwuni and the developers. The absence of the developers makes the complexity of each accusation, so Karangwuni villagers keep the debate rhythm while still building arguments based on the real situation. The biased information made by one of the parties to debate, certainly broke the aspect of substantial balance where the argument of one party should be responded with relevant argumentations. Things happen in this debate are clarifications on irrelevant allegations, so it was quite difficult to make agreements.

The presence of some people who make political gossips becomes a consequence that BPD and other

deliberation participants cannot void. The next step to do by BPD is how to suppress the negativities coming from the accusations in order to make villagers are not provoked. Therefore, BPD presents people to be mediators and can be heard by all parties;

"We must present the public figures. In every RW there are former officials, professors, or those who still go to work. If they attend the deliberations in the villagers' meetings, their opinions would absolutely be heard. For example, the board member who often gives suggestions is a retired civil servant who had good careers. If someone expresses an opinion, it must be someone who has good basic." - Yunarto, BPD member.

Considering the importance of giving technical solutions, BPD presents a civil engineering expert to solve the drainage problem. In addition, BPD also invites the head of development from village government in order BPD to have more rational considerations for both parties, as said by BPD member;

"The problem in Karangwuni is not entirely the third party's fault who is not serious in taking attention to the

environmental impact to Manggung sub-village. Actually, Manggung villagers can build a new water flow but they have to change the water source in Karangwuni. - Yunarto, BPD member.

The considerations offered by BPD do not put a side of one of the two arguing parties, but seek the middle consideration by involving a civil engineering expert. Thus, the ability of BPD to consider resolving arguments is low, because the discussion requires technical expertise. The lack of BPD capacity on technical construction matters is another issue. BPD's authority as a mediator seems not well-managed. This is seen because to mediate the conflict, BPD must present public figures.

Women's Voice in Ambarukmo

The lack of feedback from BPD has implications on how BPD sees the needs of villagers in Ambarukmo. This sub-village is one of the sub-villages that is very advanced because of the availability of many shopping centers there. The face of a very urban village tends to be identified with the life of its prosperous villagers, even above the average. This point of view is used by BPD in collecting aspirations at the sub-

village level and is affecting the priority of building needs than the needs of its villagers. The face sub-village which is used to the urban business areas such as malls and hotels, builds their perspective. Aa region becomes very advanced because of becoming a business center, then the lives of its villagers/citizens automatically become prosperous. This perspective can not be justified since the researcher met villagers who lived under poverty. A villager told the researcher so.

"In the village meeting, the villagers want the renovation of public hall, but village government see the general need, the specific needs are not fulfilled. The specific needs should be prioritized because it is directly related to life problems of villagers. - Head of RT in Ambarukmo area, the name of the interviewee is not mentioned because it is not allowed".

The statement from the RT chief indicates how strong the hegemony of BPD in solving problems in the sub-village. The hopes and needs of villagers that are not fulfilled make the information owned by villagers to be very vital as debate matters in deliberation. This information which is owned by the RT

Table 4. Factors Affecting Three Indicators of Deliberation Quality

Case	Information Relevance	Debate Substance	BPD's Consideration
Seturan	Data's credibility and political awareness of villagers.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflections on apartment construction and transparency of permit procedures. • The obligation of investors to give compensation. 	Political risks fear.
Karangwuni	Political gossips	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Debate arguments are between truth and subjectivity. • The clarification is considered as negative. 	Civil engineering expert's perspectives.
Ambarukmo	BPD's hegemony is focused on physical construction or building.	BPD's preference is to renovate public hall is not relevant to the proposals dealing with villagers' poverty from women.	Protests and data's inappropriateness.

Source: Construct Interview by using three indicators by Fishkin.

chief is got from women villagers about their lives.

"There must be different views on the renovation of public hall, while the needs of the villagers are more important. Some of them do not get cheap rice (raskin), their children had difficulties to get education. Theories with practices are not same. I mean, if we have one program we run the one that people really need. If there is one program, then do not divert to another program. - One of the RT Chiefs in Ambarukmo".

BPD was surprised to hear all the complaints and opinions from some villagers at that time which was dominated by women. Protests from women are also inevitable. The agenda of

deliberation that initially would discuss the construction public hall was debated with real database that changed the preference of deliberation at the time. Remarkable information and debate about things that should be prioritized, encouraged BPD to make priority changes, deepen and agree the proposed programs needed by villagers. BPD's considerations ultimately prioritized villagers' demands that based on data and majority voices demanding the same things.

Is the deliberation in three sub-villages ideal?

In short, first, Seturan sub-village is interesting because there are economic resources that are believed to be utilized by investors. The financial topic becomes

Table 5. Quality Comparison Result of Deliberation among three sub-villages

Case	Assessment Indicator									Deliberation Quality		
	Information			Substance			Consideration			Ideal	Semi ideal	Not ideal
	i.a	i.r	i.p	d.k	b.p	p.s	a.s	d.r	d.p			
Seturan												
Karangwuni												
Ambarukmo												

Source: interview primary data converted to analysis table (following analysis method).

the focus because the negotiation process collided in the debate to ask the investors to give a number of money and became the main demand. This larger amount of money will be used for infrastructure development and villagers' welfare. This large amount of money has an impact on the length of time investors lobbied several village administrators to agree their proposed amount. Different activities are also seen in the Karangwuni sub-village, political gossip that triggered the jealousy of a party and became the main trigger of the conflict. If the researcher sees the meaning of the allegations posted, it can be seen that the one making the issue wants to enjoy the results. This thing became a valid information because the construction of drainage that should involve all parties. In contrast to Ambarukmo, a protest was delivered to BPD and succeeded in altering BPD's perspective in looking at villagers' problems (See: Table 4).

If we take a look at the focused aspects of the information's substance

and relevance, Seturan is successful in creating a serious deliberation process. This is because the intensity and substantial balance is maintained as well as the information aspect becomes a changer variable. However, the BPD's consideration base is largely influenced by fears of political risks in the future. In Karangwuni, the information used is assumptive and the debate becomes irrelevant because political gossips were rolled out to argue against the other side so that substantial balance was not met. While the considerations used by BPD are not made on the basis of judgment by focusing on the rationality of the arguments but relying on the explanation of the civil experts. Although it is solutive and fair, the final decisions were not entirely from BPD. Another case in Ambarukmo that experienced data disconnection, irrelevant information on villagers' problem invited other villagers' interest to break the deliberation preference. Finally, BPD prioritized the

final conclusion to agree the demands of women villagers' protests (See: Table 5).

By using this this assessment table, the researcher categorized the sub-villages capable of fulfilling the criteria as ideal, semi ideal, or not ideal deliberation. *First*, Seturan sub-village is considered as semi-ideal because it can the fulfill two or more indicators. The information and substance aspects of the debate that led the deliberations to five meetings were, in fact, were incapable to fulfill the indicators of deliberation. The fair consideration indicator is not achieved because of the strength of political risks in BPD based on carefulness and risks fear which is dominant.

The *second* is the Karangwuni sub-village that is categorized as not ideal. Although the consideration of BPD is able to reduce the irrelevant debate and produce consensus, the aspect of consideration comes entirely from civil engineering experts. The non-fulfillment of information relevance aspect and debate in a linear context is generally rooted in negative assumptions that became the main basis of one party's argumentation. It results in an inadequacy of the debate that the other side cannot balance. The conclusions that can be drawn from the assessment of Karangwuni are; the

information that becomes the main entrance, in fact, can turn into a domino effect on the next assessment indicator.

Third is Ambarukmo, the process of loading the information gap between BPD and its villagers does not make residents stay silent despite the existence of gaps. Therefore, the information and substance aspects of the debate can still be achieved. This case can be seen when villagers respond to BPD information with real data that accumulates the demands of women villagers. This reaction is present because BPD tend to prioritize the program of physical construction, so that the villagers' life seems to be marginalized. Although passing a complex way, this sub-village has a semi-ideal deliberation quality.

The task of BPD needs to be emphasized that take acts as a deliberation committee. Although the data shows that the villagers' participation in the deliberation is high, it does not dilute BPD's responsiveness that is blocked by some external political risk factors in managing investment conflicts. In short, the basic premise of the Village Law (UU Desa) mandates that people can take care of their own villages. In addition, villages require the existence of BPD's active, fast,

accountable and impartial participation (Antlöv, 2016).

In other findings, political shocks in several debate sessions of deliberations in both Seturan and Karangwuni indicate the emergence of elite capture phenomena. Although this phenomenon does not give a significant effect on the quality of deliberation in the three sub-villages, it is one of the supporting elements of a serious debate atmosphere. It is interesting because the elites capture here are those who join the villagers' business. The presence of the speakers of the villagers was recognized by BPD. In description, the elite capture's capital, in this case, is based on experience and figurement in the society. The researcher acknowledge that this phenomenon becomes a limitation because in its journey, the speaker is only a trigger at the beginning and does not damage the rhythm of discussion or limit the villagers' movement.

CONCLUSION

The indicator offered by Fishkin about the information aspect, the substance of the debate, and the considerations on which the researcher is based, is easy to be contextualized in its operations as a parameter to assess the

deliberation quality. However, there are some things that need to underline by the researcher on three indicators of deliberative democracy. The most important thing is the awareness that the deliberation process is not always able to meet the deliberative democracy indicator since each case has different political constraints. Determining a deliberative democracy will be very utopian. So, the five indicators offered Fishkin, there will certainly be some indicators that will not be met or fulfilled.

The indicators by Fishkin shown by some crucial issues. *First*, the information determines whether deliberation will run smoothly to the end or create irrelevant debates that end in dominoes. *Second*, in relation to the substantial balance of debate, the researcher sees that the issues give a lot of influence. The supporting variables for the development of substantial balance are not merely the corresponding process of mutual response, but the type of issues discussed. Villagers who are experts in arguing are very influential supporting variables. These factors are certainly neglects for Fishkin. Fishkin focuses so much on the intensity of the debate, while the content of the debate and the ability to argue are the key points for serious

deliberations. *Third*, fair consideration depends on the capacity of the mediator of deliberation. A fair consideration indicator may be interpreted as narrower by the mediator considering that BPD has a standard that a fair village meeting will be achieved if the decisions follow the majority voice and has been agreed together.

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