Authority, Political Rhetoric and Language Actions of Local Elites in Village Development Planning Deliberations (Musrenbangdes)

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Abstract: The local elite is a figure who has higher power and social status than other communities. The local elite has the ability to direct community participation both as a subject and as an object of development. The knowledge, experience, authority and charisma inherent in him make it easier for local elites to discuss, argue and influence public opinion through their political arguments. This study aims to analyze the authority, rhetoric and types of communicative actions of local elites in the Musrenbangdes forum in Pandeglang District, Indonesia, especially in the village road infrastructure program. This research uses communicative action theory which explains the principle of deliberative democracy in the public sphere. Qualitative research methods were used in this study with the aim of digging deeper, specific and detailed information regarding the authorities and rhetoric of local elites. The results of this study illustrate that the authority of the local elite is derived from its structural role, ability, experience and activeness in development programs in the village. The authority possessed by the elite is obtained based on the support of the community and the inability of the community to express their aspirations. Apart from their network, local elites also have political affiliations to certain rulers and entrepreneurs which make it easier for them to coordinate and consolidate development programs needed by village communities. Many local elites occupy strategic positions in various community organizations with the aim of developing and empowering the community. The local elite's political rhetoric is seen when local elites are involved in dialogs in formulating the Musrenbangdes program through their arguments that try to provide logical explanations.

Keywords: dialogue, public sphere, participation and development.

1. Introduction

Historically, local elites have played a strategic role in both development, empowerment and political issues, both local and national politics. In terms of development, for example, many local elites position themselves in formal and informal structures to gain political authority and social position. In terms of politics, not a few local elites have succeeded in becoming politicians and members of the People's Representative Council (DPR) who represent the aspirations of the people. Likewise, in terms of empowerment, there are also many local elites who carry out social and community capacity strengthening as happened in the areas of Papua, Maluku and Sulawesi, where elites are an integral part of the development process and success. Local elites have become agents of change, development facilitators and many innovations needed for development progress. The phenomenon that is developing now is that not all local elites are able and successful in aspiration of the interests of the community, not even a few community interests clash with group interests and personal interests, even among elites. What happened next was a battle of interests between the elite and the community and between the elite and the elite. In this situation, what is taken into account is the rhetorical ability of the elite in shaping discourse to influence stakeholders so that what is conveyed gains legitimacy. Another thing that is decisive for the elite is its authority in influencing, making and directing policies.

Seeing the importance of authority for the elite, Irfani (2013) found that the form of local elite authority exceeds the authority of formal leaders in directing and mobilizing the community. This authority is then directed to influence development program policies to suit the aspirations of the community. Wilujeng (2012) saw that in some of the arguments presented, local elites used language and word games to gain the legitimacy of society and the government. On the other hand, local elites are good at creating fear through language and behavior designed as a commodity of power (Raditya, 2011). Sari and Tawami (2018) local elites use rhetoric, sentence structures, metaphors, parables, climaxes, and repetitions in influencing development policies. The authority and rhetoric of local elites in various dialogues and development meetings is the key to success in shaping public discourse, how
development programs are discussed, discussed, formulated and implemented together with the community.

In policy-making forums at the village level, development discourses delivered by local elites in the Village Development Planning Deliberation forum (Musrenbangdes) show the strong influence of rhetoric in influencing policy. Rhetoric The ability of local elites in discourse in the Musrenbangdes forum is not only limited to fighting ideas and arguments at the micro level, but also represents the extent of authority and authority possessed by these elites at the macro level. Furthermore, in several Musrenbangdes meetings, local elites who are hegemonized by practical interests show their authority with an agonistic nature when conveying their aspirations (Eka & Husen 2015). In a broader frame, the aspirations and practical interests of local elites are an inherent agenda in every rhetoric (Djati 2016). Regardless of anything, making policies that are pro to the needs and interests of the community is a hard effort that must be carried out by all stakeholders.

Musrenbangdes is a formal meeting that is a continuation of formal meetings held by the community at the micro level. In the Musrenbangdes, development programs that are aspirations of the community are brought to be discussed together, agreed upon and proposed at a higher forum. In the Musrenbangdes forum, local elites from various hamlets meet and gather to discuss any proposed aspirations. Not a few elites represent the hamlets and their groups to fight for the aspirations that have been agreed previously. The elites then dialogue with each other, arguing in order to produce a development program that is truly in accordance with the aspirations and needs of the community. The rhetorical and political ability of local elites in Musrenbangdes will determine the acceptance of ideas and ideas by other participants.

The village road infrastructure program is a development program that has always been a priority program for the village government. In addition to road infrastructure that is very much needed by the community, this program also requires broad participation of all stakeholders. In Musrenbangdes in Pandeglang District, Indonesia, this program has always been a concern of the community. Apart from the fact that many hamlets in the village do not have connecting roads, there are also many damaged roads that hinder the movement of goods and services. The road infrastructure development program is a strategic program that is needed and desired by the community. In this program, the community and local elites are more daring to appear and openly convey their ideas and ideas both in formal and informal meetings. The need for road infrastructure encourages local elites to build a discourse in the midst of society so that people are truly aware of their need for road infrastructure. On the other hand, because this road infrastructure program is needed by the whole community while the government's budgetary capacity is limited. Discourses like this must be understood by the wider community, that development programs are prepared based on a priority scale and in stages. The purpose of this study is to analyze the authority, rhetoric and types of communicative actions of local elites in the Musrenbangdes forum, Pandeglang district, Indonesia.

2. Method

This study uses qualitative methods of data collection techniques with interviews and observations. The research was conducted for three months in Pandeglang District, Indonesia. The local elite meeting forum studied was the Musrenbangdes forum which was held in February. The observed forums amounted to 9 Musrenbangdes forums spread across Pandeglang District by taking into account the distribution of the region and geographical conditions as well as the sociological conditions of the people. Meanwhile, the local elite who became the key informants were 19 people. The object of this research is focused on the village road infrastructure program, while the local elites referred to in this study are religious leaders, community leaders, traditional leaders, women leaders and youth leaders. The data needed is related to data on authorities, local elite rhetoric in expressing opinions in the Musrenbangdes forum. The data analysis process is carried out using Nvivo 12 software with the stages (1) Testing the contrast dimensions of all domains that have been analyzed through Word cloud, tree map, matrix coding and comparison diagrams (2) Identifying organized domains by determining various cluster nodes (3) Creating images for visualize the relationships between domains. The data is disaggregated by concept units, themes, and certain categories in order to provide a sharper picture of the observations.

3. Discussion

The Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) of Pandeglang District 2016-2021, one of which is contained in the road infrastructure program. The Department of Public Works and Spatial Planning (DPUPR) programs a road infrastructure program in areas that do not yet have roads. The road infrastructure program is
intended to encourage village, community and regional economic growth. Yulianti and Hasanah (2018) infrastructure development in Pandeglang District is still poorly maintained, especially village road infrastructure. The number of roads that are not maintained and damaged has an impact on slow economic growth and social development (Sumiyati 2019).

Based on Government Regulation Number 34 of 2004 concerning roads, it is explained that road construction includes the following activities: (1) Programming and budgeting (2) Technical planning for land acquisition (3) Construction implementation. From each stage of the road infrastructure program, local elites are always involved and involved in the process. The involvement of local elites in several road infrastructure programs is intended as an effort to encourage community participation and community empowerment. The community is then given an understanding of the problems faced, including the problem of lack of budget availability. So far, the DPUPR has only been able to implement a road infrastructure development program of 30% of the total proposed Regional Development and Expenditure Budget (APBD).

In several interviews with DPUPR officials, the government acknowledged that road infrastructure development is very urgent for regional economic growth and community productivity. The government also recognizes the limitations and capacity of the budget in realizing the road infrastructure program, which is still far from being needed. Obstacles to the road infrastructure program that are still faced by the Pandeglang District government’s development program and hinder the achievement of development targets include: damage to road infrastructure that exceeds 10% of the new DPUPR is able to handle less than 10% of the total damage to existing roads. Second, for the level of damage above 20% which is spread over several roads, the maintenance costs exceed the available budget capacity. These problems of road infrastructure development at the regional level also have an impact on the issue of road infrastructure development in the village. The village government must adjust the regional budget, provide a scale of priorities and the development pattern that is applied must also be gradual. Furthermore, the dynamics of problems at the village level then have implications for social interaction between the community and the elite and vice versa.

Referring to the results of the Nvivo 12 data processing on the road infrastructure program, several problems have emerged in the community. Various findings reveal the strategic role of local elites in shaping discourse, arguing, influencing public opinion in the Musrenbangdes forum. The resulting word cloud displays the words that appear frequently in Nvivo analytics. These words are like roads, infrastructure, projects, activities, corporations, local elites, ideas, ideas, villages, politicians, parties as listed below.

**Figure 1 Word cloud road infrastructure program**

The visualization of the word cloud above still leaves various data that cannot be described, therefore Nvivo’s analysis is then redefined with a theme construction matrix that aims to complete the data and to map the factual conditions in the field related to the concept of rhetoric and local elite authority.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>VILLAGE FIGURE</th>
<th>RELIGIOUS LEADERS</th>
<th>PUBLIC FIGURE</th>
<th>YOUTH FIGURE</th>
<th>WOMEN LEADERS</th>
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<td>Logical with a procedural approach</td>
<td>Logical with social and religious approach</td>
<td>Logical with a socio-cultural approach</td>
<td>Logical approach to innovation and creativity</td>
<td>Logical with social interaction approach</td>
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<tr>
<th>Argument</th>
<th>VILLAGE FIGURE</th>
<th>RELIGIOUS LEADERS</th>
<th>PUBLIC FIGURE</th>
<th>YOUTH FIGURE</th>
<th>WOMEN LEADERS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>Referring to regulations and law enforcement</td>
<td>Refers to patrimonial relationships</td>
<td>Refers to patrimonial relationships and clientism</td>
<td>Refers to patrimonial and collegial relationships</td>
<td>Refers to patrimonial relationships and clientism</td>
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The message construction matrix above maps local village elites consisting of (1) village figures, namely the village head and village officials (2) religious figures, namely local elites who act as teachers of the Koran both in madrasas and in taklim councils (3) figures the community are local traditional leaders (4) Youth leaders are youth activists who are members of the Karang Taruna organization, KNPI etc. (5) Women leaders are the PKK, Posyandu and Dharma Wanita. Authority in this study is intended as an inherent authority in elite figures both formally and informally, rhetoric is meant as the art of local elites in conveying ideas and ideas, arguments are logical reasons conveyed by elites while language actions are intended as a way for elites to convey and aspiration of ideas and ideas into a policy.

### 3.1. Otoritas, Retorika dan Argumentasi

Authority in this study is intended as an inherent authority in elite figures both formally and informally, rhetoric is meant as the art of local elites in conveying ideas and ideas, arguments are logical reasons conveyed by elites while language actions are intended as a way for elites to convey and aspiration of ideas and ideas into a policy. Village leaders have formal legal authority related to their structural positions in village government. The village elite in question is the village head, village secretary or hamlet head who has the authority because of the inherent position. Religious leaders are informal leaders who act as religious teachers both in madrasas and in taklim assemblies. The arguments presented during dialogue in the Musrenbangdes forum always use a socio-religious approach. The goal is that what is conveyed is more easily accepted and has an impact. Community leaders as informal leaders put forward a socio-cultural approach to make it easier to provide understanding to the community. Unlike the youth leaders, although they also act as informal leaders, the approach used is creativity and innovation so that the community is motivated to create changes for village progress. Meanwhile, female figures in the Musrenbangdes forum emphasize personal interactions with the community in order to create conducive relationships in the implementation of development programs.

Second is rhetoric. Rhetoric here is intended as a way and art of local elites in conveying ideas and ideas in the Musrenbangdes forum. In practice, the rhetoric related to the communication competence of the local elite is also related to the role that is inherent in him. Second is rhetoric. Rhetoric here is intended as a way and art of local elites in conveying ideas and ideas in the Musrenbangdes forum. In practice, the rhetoric related to the communication competence of the local elite is also related to the role that is inherent in him. The inherent authority of local elites has implications for their strong self-confidence and firmness in directing policies. Village leaders, for example, use a procedural approach so that the policies decided in the Musrenbangdes forum refer to the rules set by the local government. For example, the rhetoric conveyed by community leaders and religious leaders led to public opinion about the importance of road infrastructure development in supporting socio-religious activities. It is different with female figures whose rhetoric leads to the discourse that road infrastructure development will strengthen community interactions and social relations. For example, the rhetoric conveyed by community leaders and religious leaders led to public opinion about the importance of road infrastructure development...
development in supporting socio-religious activities. What is most different is the rhetoric from youth leaders, these local elites always prioritize creativity and innovation in responding to development problems. The road infrastructure program is directed at developing youth creativity in exploring local works and culture.

The three arguments. The arguments in the findings of this study lead to ways of proving, refuting ideas and ideas conveyed logically. The most prominent arguments in the Musrenbangdes are those presented by village and community leaders. Village leaders who are always guided by the rules and policies are judged by community leaders as something rigid to the point that it is difficult to accept the aspirations of the community. For community leaders, village leaders must be able to bridge the aspirations of the community with the interests of the government regarding rules and procedures. For example, the development of road infrastructure that is carried out with a priority system is considered by the community as a form of neglecting the problem of road infrastructure as a whole. The community considers that all road infrastructure programs are a priority, because if the village road infrastructure is good, safe and comfortable, the movement of goods and services will be smooth and have an impact on village economic growth. For community leaders, isolated roads will hamper productivity and village economic growth will be sluggish.

Authority, rhetoric and argumentation in the Musrenbangdes forum in Pandeglang District are three concepts that are inherent in the figure of the local elite during dialogue. Local elite authorities represent the authority and responsibility in initiating development programs and strengthening community participation. In an effort to realize development, it turns out that authority alone is not enough, rhetoric and arguments are needed to convince all parties. The rhetoric and arguments in the Musrenbangdes in Pandeglang District are intended as an effort to lead public opinion so that development is truly in accordance with the aspirations of the community and is a shared responsibility.

3.2. Language Action Type

There are four types of actions in the language of local elites at the Musrenbangdes forum when discussing road infrastructure programs. First, the teleological action of the local elite is meant by discussions and arguments that lead to the implementation of the previously agreed agreement. The agreement that it was necessary to carry out an inter-village road repair program in the RPJMD was then discussed in the Musrenbangdes forum without exception. The local elite conveys every aspiration that has been stated in the policies and regulations made by the government. The agreement that it was necessary to carry out an inter-village road repair program in the RPJMD was then discussed in the Musrenbangdes forum without exception. The local elite conveys every aspiration that has been stated in the policies and regulations made by the government. Due to their extensive relationship, this group is often used as an agent of change, mediator and development innovator. The road widening, road repair and road opening programs are government policies that are left to be implemented by the village government and the community and local elites to help discuss them. In this type of action, there is no dialogue or argumentation to criticize the policies that have been decided by the government, there is only socialization of the program so that it can be fully supported and implemented.

The dialogue process in teleological action is centralized, various problems and community needs are formulated from and by outsiders without involving the community. The community is placed as the recipient of the development program, and can be assumed as a top-down development model. The agreement was made by building a majority opinion in the Musrenbangdes forum which was attended by stakeholders. The local-government-community elite have the same opportunities and opportunities to convey their aspirations and interests through the ability to argue and use rhetoric. In the Musrenbangdes forums in Purwajreja Village and Kananga Village, for example, local elites thought hard to find solutions to the condition of infrastructure that was badly damaged, needed repairs and lacked a budget for road infrastructure. After a long dialogue, it was finally agreed that several points of the area were vulnerable, infrastructure improvements were initiated independently.
by the community while waiting for the budget to come down.

In various meetings, normative actions always emerge from social and development problems that require immediate solutions. Solutions are made based on the aspirations of all stakeholders, consensus is reached based on rational arguments that prioritize the interests of the community. The involvement of all stakeholders is the key to success in normative actions and community participation occupies a central space. The concept of participatory development in the context of this problem is able to place all parties as equal participants so that there is not much dominance from one party to the other. This type of normative action can be approached with a bottom-up development model that tries to involve the community in every stage of development and is carried out from within.

The three dramaturgical acts. This action is intended as an action that leads to the image and popularity. Messages and information conveyed by local elites in the Musrenbangdes forum express self-image to build a positive impression by revealing their subjective side. In dramaturgical action, local elite's arguments and rhetoric tend to manipulate and be distorted by interests. The message conveyed is not to build a deal, but for image and popularity. On several occasions, the rhetoric of local elites was directed at strengthening opinions in gathering public support for certain interests. Road infrastructure programs are often used as a means to represent the elite's concern to gain community support. The implication of a situation like this is the blurring of critical discussion and argumentation and the loss of rationality, which puts forward pragmatic politics. Dramaturgy acts show social interaction as a theatrical performance with the aim of making the audience believe the arguments presented. If popularity is the priority, then mobilizing the community in development programs is intended only for political interests, and not to build capacity and to respond to the need for change.

Fourth communicative action. This action involves at least two subjects who are able to speak and act in forming interpersonal relationships (both in the verbal and non-verbal sense). In communicative action, language is positioned as a medium of communication that is not limited by speakers and listeners, leading to the objective world, the social world and the subjective world. Especially when formulating development programs, the space for rationality is deliberately raised by local elites, the goal is that consensus is reached and every participant has the same opportunity in conveying ideas and ideas. Communicative actions are more visible in informal meetings than in formal forums such as Musrenbangdes where there is an attitude of equality, respect and opportunity. For example, religious leaders and community leaders invite all stakeholders to immediately implement road infrastructure programs that are felt to disturb the order and safety of road users. Agreement in communicative action was reached because there was an element of understanding and critical awareness that was built by local elites previously. The urgent problem of road infrastructure to be addressed encourages the creation of a discourse that emphasizes argumentation and rhetoric. In this type of communicative action, the community is then positioned as a subject of development, not as an object of development.

4. Conclusions

From the findings above, this study concludes that the local elite's authority and rhetoric in the Musrenbangdes is the basic capital in shaping and directing public opinion regarding development issues. Rhetoric is closely related to the ability to reason or communication competence possessed by local elites and of course based on knowledge and ability to think logically. The arguments made by the local elite are related to their roles, functions and authorities in the community. Local elites who act as village leaders argue that their arguments are based on their knowledge of government procedures and regulations, local elites who act as religious figures emphasize more on a socio-religious approach, in contrast to community leaders who use a socio-cultural approach. Untuk tokoh pemuda argumentasi yang disampaikan berorientasi pada pengembangan kreatifitas dan inovasi, sedangkan untuk tokoh perempuan lebih menitik beratkan pada pendekatan interaksi personal. In practice, the increasingly strategic role of local elites has implications for their flexibility, courage and firmness in discourse. There are four types of local elite language actions in the Musrenbangdes forum (1) teleological type (2) normative type (3) dramaturgical type (4) communicative type of action.

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