

**RELATIONSHIPS POWER OF LOCAL ELITE AND VILLAGE
HEAD CANDIDATES IN SUKALUYU VILLAGE HEAD
ELECTION CONTESTATION SUKAWENING DISTRICT GARUT
DISTRICT 2019**

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Abstract

This research focuses on the power relations of the local elite and the village head candidate, namely Asep Kurniawan, where the local elite plays a role and has a stake in the life of Sukaluyu Village, both physically and politically. This study uses elite theory and the concept of power relations which will explain the form of power relations that occur between local elites and Asep Kurniawan and explain the role of local elites in mobilizing community support for Asep Kurniawan in the 2019 Village Head Election in Sukaluyu. This study uses a descriptive method with a qualitative approach. The results of the study show that the power relations that occur between the local elite and Asep Kurniawan are used as a strategic game, domination and governance where each local elite has a political agreement during the Head Election. In addition, this study reveals that the role of local elites in mobilizing community support for Asep Kurniawan has worked well because each local elite has a strong influence with power in each area of Sukaluyu Village, making it easier for Asep Kurniawan to be elected as Head of Sukaluyu Village.

Keywords: Power Relations, Local Elites, Head Election, and Local Politics.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

The village is the lowest structure in the governance system in Indonesia. The village itself is a community group that has territorial boundaries that are authorized to administer and regulate government affairs and the interests of the community based on traditional origins and rights that are recognized in the system of government of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Village-level governance is regulated in Law No. 6 of 2014 concerning Villages. This is following Article 1 Paragraph 3 of Law No. 6 of 2014 which states that "the village government is the Village Head or what is referred to by another name assisted by village officials as an element of village administration". The Village Head himself is directly elected by the people through a general election system, namely the Village Head Election. The term of office for the Village Head and the Officials themselves is regulated in the derivative of Law No. 6 of 2014 concerning Villages, namely PP No. 43 of 2014 concerning Regulations for the Implementation of Law No. 6 of 2014 concerning Villages, namely the tenure of the Village Head is 6 years from the date of inauguration and can be re-elected only for 1 term of office. Then, village officials themselves, are appointed and dismissed based on Permendagri No. 67 of 2017 concerning Amendments to Permendagri No. 83 of 2015 concerning Appointment and Dismissal of Village Officials.

The political dynamics in the power struggles that occur during regional head elections at the village level do have interesting characteristics and characteristics because they adapt to the characteristics of the community or the villagers themselves, whose behavior varies. The dynamics of power struggles that occur in villages are indeed more varied, especially in terms of political factors involving local elites starting from the role of community leaders, religious leaders, and even investors who can be said to have strong influence because the mindset of the village community is easily influenced, believes, and always obeys. message from the character. In this context, preferences in choosing candidates in village head elections. In the social context, the dynamics of the villagers, especially the village head candidates, certainly have the strength that is formed from the background of figures, genealogy, and character. As voters, the village community will make their choice which is supported by various considerations because in general for villagers is not just a mere power struggle. However, choosing a leader becomes a social symbol, of self-respect, and honor for the villagers because if they lose the village head election, the villagers perceive it as an affirmation of a social symbol that is inherent with dignity that must be maintained, because to nominate a leader one must have personal abilities, ties kinship, and adequate wealth. Besides that, in the economic context, the dynamics in village communities will be seen to be related to accommodation. Some villagers who think rationally will think that the election of a village head will not benefit their lives, so sometimes they are more concerned with working in the fields because in fact, the village community's job is farming. This can usually influence village head candidates to offer a certain amount of "money" to voters to get people to come to the polling stations (TPS) to vote for themselves. Sometimes this becomes the politics of accommodation because it gives something for a specific purpose and purpose. The village community tends to be influenced by this "seduction" because it is considered that what the community needs is something like that.

It was this phenomenon that made the researcher want to observe and analyze the power struggle that occurred during the village head election in Sukaluyu Village,

West Java. The Village Head Election in Sukaluyu Village itself was held on November 5 2019 and in the process of organizing the Village Head Election, there were dynamics that had been mentioned by previous researchers that occurred in the Sukaluyu Village Head Election, West Java in 2019. The Village Head Election was attended by 4 candidates for Village Head Candidates, namely Nung Endang Suryani, Asep Cucu Amarullah, Asep Kurniawan, and Sudjadi. Of the 4 candidates who took part in the Sukaluyu Village Head Election, one of them was an incumbent named Sudjadi and the one who won the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election was Asep Kurniawan who is often called Akur each of the strongest candidates has an equally strong and solid base of supporters in the contest. However, in the end, the political competition was won by Asep Kurniawan (Akur), where Asep Kurniawan is a youth figure who has received sympathy and support from local elites in Sukaluyu Village, West Java. In contrast to one of his opponents, Sudjadi, who was an incumbent in the Sukaluyu Village Head Election who had to suffer defeat. Even though he is an incumbent, the village community has more trust in a young man named Asep Kurniawan, who is widely supported by local figures. In addition, local figures turned to supporting Asep Kurniawan because there was concern from the previous village government led by Sudjadi who had not been able to bring change and progress to Sukaluyu Village. Akur was elected as Head of Sukaluyu Village by winning 1,050 votes and beating his toughest rival and incumbent Sudjadi who received 888 votes.

District Name	District Area	Vote acquisition
District 1	RW 01, RW 02, RW 06, RW 07	581
District 2	RW 03, RW 10, RW 04	246
District 3	RW 09, RW 08, RW 05	223
Total		1.050

The interesting thing about the village head election in Sukaluyu Village in 2019 is the involvement of local elites to become the initial research hypothesis where there is an element of exchange of power (power relations) with financial (budgetary support) of local elites to one of the candidates, namely Asep Kurniawan. Indications of power relations where the researcher sees financial strength with the exchange of power in the election process of Asep Kurniawan is the background that the researcher examines because local elites play a role and have a stake in village life both socially and politically. The involvement of local elites is also motivated by factors of economic advantage by one of the local elites for the Village Head candidate and social factors where the community will follow directions from community leaders in choosing a candidate. The local elite themselves are figures who have been viewed and respected by the village community, so the behavior or messages from the local elite will certainly be followed by the community, including their preferences for voting in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election, West Java.

In a study of local elites, Migdal (2001) said that every group in society must have a leader, where the leader is relatively autonomous and the community has the social capacity with the rules of the game that they apply according to their own standards without state intervention. It can be said, that when the capacity of the state as a controller is weakened (weak state) then the local strongmen (local elite) will take their power at the local level, namely the village. Based on Migdal's opinion, the presence of local elites is a reflection of the strength of society. In the election for the village head in Sukaluyu

itself, the local elite played an important role in winning one of the village head candidates. It can even be said that local elites were able to succeed in their area because of their influence and not the official rules that were made. The previously mentioned economic, social, cultural, and religious factors benefited the local elite because they were seen and respected by the people of Sukaluyu Village, Garut, West Java. Elites can be said to be informal agents in the democratic process in a village area and are supported by the capabilities possessed by political elites such as economic capital and social capital. The practice of local elite power relations with one of these candidates encouraged researchers to examine social and political phenomena in Sukaluyu Village, bearing in mind that the characteristics of the Sukaluyu village community are that they are still relatively easily influenced by "money politics" so that in the process of campaigning money politics cannot be avoided and Asep Kurniawan gains support. campaign funds from one of the local elites in Sukaluyu Village, Garut Regency, West Java.

1.2. Research Question

Based on the formulation of the problem above, these problems can be detailed through questions, as follows:

1. What is the form of power relations between local elites and the Village Head candidate that occurred in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election, Garut, West Java?
2. What are the power relations that occur between local elite candidates for Village Heads in mobilizing community support for Asep Kurniawan in the Election of Heads of Sukaluyu Village, Garut, West Java?

2. Literature Review

2.1. Elite

If elites are placed in power, then there are two types of elites, namely elites who rule formally structurally and elites who rule informally based on structure. As Pareto said, he divided the elite class into two classes, namely first, the government elite consists of individuals who directly or indirectly play a major role in governing. Second, the non-governmental elite. It can be said that there are two social layers in society, namely the lower layer and the upper layer which are divided into two, namely the ruling elite and the non-governmental elite. Mosca and Pareto (1982) classify elites into categories, namely the ruling elite, non-governmental elite, and general masses (non-elite). Structurally, there are two elites in question, namely the functional elite and the political elite and both have fundamental differences, namely the functional elite are good leaders from the past to the present because they are devoted to continuing the functions of the state and modern society. Meanwhile, political elites are people who are involved in political activities with various goals but are usually only bound by political interests. According to Suzanne Keller (1995), political elites are individuals or groups who have influence in the political decision-making process, and when associated with local elites are individuals who play an important role in political decisions at the local level. Local elites have the power to influence policies made by government leaders at the local level even though they do not have strategic political positions in government. Examples of local elites such as religious leaders, community leaders, community organizations, and

so on. This is also in accordance with what was said by Robert Dahl who believes that the "iron law of oligarchy" cannot be avoided.

Characteristics of the elite certainly have expertise in leading and exercising political control. According to Mosca (1982), elites are divided into two types local political elites are individuals who occupy political positions in the executive and legislative bodies who are elected through general elections and are elected in a democratic political process at the local level. Usually, they occupy high positions at the local level in making and implementing policies and local non-political elites are individuals who have strategic positions and have influence to regulate society. These non-political elites include religious leaders, community leaders, community organizations, and so on. This research itself focuses on local elites, where according to Halim (2014) local elites in the regions have roles, duties, and responsibilities which are crucial issues. There is a classification of local elite types that are in the community layer, including:

a. Economic Elite

Economic elites in the regions, especially at the village level, play a strategic role in local politics. Economic elites at the local level usually prefer to be behind the scenes or not directly involved in the political process, but economic elites who are outside the political structure play an important role, namely as controllers of power through their capital and business networks. In other words, the economic elite, also known as the wealth elite, is a person or figure who has wealth or an economy above the rest of society. This elite group can include anyone as long as they have wealth or economic level (financiers) above other people in the area.

b. Religious Elite

The religious elite in question are local figures who are very influential in local political activities. Local elites actually have social and symbolic capital such as tarekat, religious knowledge, and charisma which make them leaders who are obeyed by the local community. Often in a Pilkada, candidates usually visit a number of religious leaders to ask for blessings and political support. The political sowan conducted by the candidate indicates that the influence of the religious elite on society is very large. Usually, there is reciprocity between religion in the region and political policies at the local level, but political policies can also influence religious activities at the local level. According to Suzzane Keller (1995), he included the religious elite into the traditional elite group because they succeeded in becoming leaders based on old traditions or culture where the elite could not be static and did not conflict with the times, elite power was based on religion, tradition, and family. In other words, the traditional elite is defined as religious leaders, high-ranking customary groups, landlords, and people who are given privileges. With elite status obtained from heredity and reputation in a society both religiously and customarily.

c. Social Elite

Social elites are figures who are highly respected and respected by the people in their area. Social elite includes many types such as community leaders, traditional leaders, religious leaders, arts and cultural communities, and other organizational figures. These social elites are those who are outside the power structure and do not have the capital or religion to influence government policy. The community leaders referred to do not have religious capital such as religious elites and economic capital such as economic elites, nor power capital such as political elites. On the other hand,

the capital owned by these community leaders is social capital and the interests of the community at the grassroots.

2.2. Power Relations Concept

By definition, power relations are relations between one group and another based on certain ideologies or interests. Power itself is defined as a complex and abstract concept, which can significantly affect people's lives. Based on Foucault's perspective (a structuralist philosopher), the concept of power is a space of relations, where they are related to each other because where there are relations, there is power. Power according to Foucault himself is the influence possessed by a person or group to impose his will on other parties. Power must be understood as something that expedites power relations and it will form a chain or system of these relations so that power arises to influence society. Foucault in Martono (2014) distinguishes power relations into three parts, namely:

1. Power relations as a strategic game between independent parties. Power in this case only involves parties who have freedom so that there is no domination in this power relation, and only plays a role as a strategy. In this context, power will determine the relationship in an action.
2. Power relations as domination. Domination is the practice of power influencing a situation in which the subject's choice of a domain of action is limited. The domination in question is a symmetrical power relationship in which there are people who have room for movement because freedom of action is very limited because of power.
3. Power relations as a form of government, where Foucault explains that the concept of governance is primarily related to the concept of leading, in the sense of directing and controlling action. This concept refers to the exercise of power over other parties, starting from the administration of government which truly dominates and can create beneficial reciprocity.

Based on the explanation regarding power relations, it can be said that a position can give power to a person or group because the person concerned occupies a strategic position in government. The higher the position, the greater the power in the hands of the person occupying the position. In providing an explanation of power relations, it is necessary to look at how power is present in society, Coleman (2011) explains that in society there is power in the form of surrendering individuals to groups and power arrangements based on consensus, while control of power comes from the family itself. In this case, social action is not just transactions between individuals in the context of competition or markets, individuals can also act on the basis of other individuals. The condition of the exchange of power in society will lead to a power relationship between the government and society. At the same time, power relations will definitely involve community structures such as local political elites who have an interest in occupying strategic positions in government and local elites who can influence local government in making policies. This is where the process of power relations occurs between local elites and local government.

According to Vedi Hadiz (2005), power relations can create oligarchy because in the process there is an exchange or sharing of power which can cause policies made by the government to be influenced by individuals or groups of people. In the context of this study, the election of a village head in Sukaluyu can create the potential for oligarchy originating from local elites because these elites support financially in the

election of Akur as Village Head so that power exchanges can occur and it is undeniable that policies made by the village government are influenced by local elites. who supported him during the selection process. Power relations are very influential on village government because the author sees one of the figures who helped in winning the Head Village Election occupying a strategic position in the village apparatus structure. In addition, other local elites who support Asep Kurniawan from economic or even social capital are also very influential in determining existing policies in Sukaluyu Village. Then, this power relationship became Asep Kurniawan's modality in winning the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election.

3. Research Methods

This study uses a qualitative approach in accordance with the specified procedure. In qualitative research using analytical thinking related to the dynamics of the phenomena being observed, and always using a scientific framework as a basis. The qualitative approach emphasizes data obtained from various sources using data collection techniques that are carried out continuously until the data is fulfilled. This approach places more emphasis on the depth of the researcher's way of thinking in answering the problems faced because the principle in qualitative research is the researcher who determines it. According to Soegiyono (2019), qualitative research is research that is used to examine the state of natural objects where the researcher is the key instrument. In addition, Bogdan and Taylor in Moelong's book (2005) explain that the qualitative method is research that produces descriptive data such as sentences or spoken words from people and observed behavior.

The material for this research is in the form of data and information sourced from interviews that researchers conducted with informants directly. Then, researchers also utilize online and internet mass media for this research as reference material to analyze the phenomenon under study. The data collection stage of this research requires an instrument where the instrument used aims to assist the work of collecting data so that it can facilitate researchers.

4. Results and Discussions

4.1. General Description

4.1.1. Description of Research Area

Sukaluyu is a village located in Sukawening District, Garut Regency, West Java Province. Sukaluyu Village, if it is addressed to Sukawening District, is about 20 KM from the city center of Garut Regency to the northeast via Karangpawitan, the government center for Sukaluyu village is in Tagog Village. Based on history, Sukaluyu Village is a village resulting from the division of Sukasono Village and Sukahaji Village which later established Sukaluyu Village in 1981. Sukaluyu Village itself has 3 hamlets which are divided into Hamlet 1, Hamlet 2, and Hamlet 3 there are Neighborhood Association and Citizens Association for the number of RTs in Sukaluyu Village around 27 RTs and the number RWs totaling around 11 RWs which are divided each hamlet area. Each hamlet in each region has different characteristics Dusun 1 which consists of RW 02, RW 06, RW 01, and RW 07 based on the observations of researchers has a religious character because the area is inhabited by religious leaders and many places of worship such as Mosques and prayer rooms are in the area. Then, Dusun 2 which consists of RW 03, RW 10, and RW 04 has a strong and tough character because at the time the Village

Head Election took place in this Dusun there were many conflicts both within the family environment and conflicts with each RW in the area. Meanwhile, Dusun 3 which consists of RW 09, RW 08, and RW 05 has a moderate character in the sense that the residents of Dusun 3 do not think too much about the problems that occur in Sukaluyu Village and tend to be apathetic, especially those related to the Village Head Election. However, not all residents of Hamlet 3 are apathetic about politics, some residents are still enthusiastic about the Sukaluyu Village Head Election performance. The elected Village Head himself came from Kampung Tagog which is in Hamlet 1 to be precise in RW 01.

Sukaluyu Village is known as a strategic area in terms of geography, forestry, economy, and agriculture the natural resources in Sukaluyu Village are very qualified because this area is an area of rice fields and forests so it stores a lot of natural resources products such as bamboo, stone works, vegetables, rice and crops produced by farmers which can be an economic source for the people of Sukaluyu Village or processed for consumption.

4.1.2. Local Elite Profile of Desa Sukaluyu

The following is a profile of the local elite who were involved in supporting and winning Asep Kurniawan during the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election, namely:

a. Economic Elite

The economic elite in question is Mr. H. Heri Hayatul Barkah, S.Kep., a Nurse or often called Haji Heri is a doctor who has the largest medical clinic in Sukaluyu Village. He is known by the villagers as a doctor who often provides free health assistance to the people of Sukaluyu Village, so he may be one of the most respected figures for the people of Sukaluyu Village. During the 2019 Sukaluyu Head Election, H. Heri became one of the figures involved in winning one of the Village Head candidates, namely Asep Kurniawan, where the two of them had an emotional kinship relationship.

b. Social elite/community leaders

The social elite in question is Dedi Djunaidi often called Kang Djabo by local residents. He is a community figure engaged in the field of cultural arts and is a figure respected by the residents of Sukaluyu Village because of his ability to become an artist. He is also a youth art teacher in Sukaluyu Village and he voluntarily fosters youth in Sukaluyu Village to be more sensitive to protecting Sundanese traditions and traditional arts. He also has expertise in making Sundanese musical instruments such as harps, drums, and flutes, all of which are assets of Garut Regency, West Java.

c. Religious elite

K.H Muhammad Mubarak is a prominent scholar who also has a position as Chairman of the Mosque where he is also the founder and owner of the Ta'lim Assembly named the Al-Furqon Ta'Lim Council. The people of Sukaluyu Village, who incidentally are his congregation, often come to Kyai Ahmad Mubarak's place to attend regular recitations or religious events. He is also part of the religious leaders of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI). In terms of religion, his knowledge is indeed the one most admired and respected by the residents of Sukaluyu Village and he is still considered the same family as the late Mr. Aka Zakaria who we know is the father of Asep Kurniawan who is also the most respected religiously. K.H Muhammad Mubarak is one of Asep Kurniawan's Koran teachers, so it is not uncommon for Asep Kurniawan to attend routine recitations or religious events held at the Al-Furqon Ta'lim Assembly.

4.2. Forms of Power Relations in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election

Basically, power relations are a form of dependence on social, cultural, political, and economic status that can create power gains for one party to another in the context of a relationship or connection. The thing that can be used as an example is the occurrence of power relations with local parties which is a strategy to achieve this goal. Similar to what happened in Sukaluyu Village, one of the causes of the occurrence of power relations among local elites in the political sphere in Sukaluyu Village and the term patron client which can be interpreted as a political strategy to gain power by using important figures or local elites in order to facilitate steps to gain power.

The practice of power relations is a political fact that cannot be avoided in every village head election phenomenon. Several factors for the occurrence of power relations are due to family relations or ties, local elites, and campaign teams that help win candidates in village head elections. In this context, regarding the village head election in Sukaluyu Village, the authors found facts that occurred where the village head Asep Kurniawan, after winning the village head election, accommodated the wishes of all parties who helped win him during the village head election campaign process. According to Michel Foucault (2020), power relations explain that power relations occur because of the relationship between one group and another based on ideology or certain interests. Not without reason, Asep Kurniawan was successfully elected as Head of Sukaluyu Village considering the efforts made by his successful team were no joke and the successful team even introduced Asep Kurniawan to the grassroots of the community.

Based on this statement, friendly relations by holding face-to-face meetings with residents is a strategy to win Asep Kurniawan in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election. Each successful team and the local elite have a central role in introducing Asep Kurniawan to the Sukaluyu Village community as a whole. As explained in the background of this research, there were three local elites who played a role in winning Asep Kurniawan as Head of Sukaluyu Village, the author himself divided the local elite into three categories, namely economic elite, religious elite, and social elite where each figure had a very influential role in Asep Kurniawan's victory in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election.

4.2.1. Power Relations between the Village Head Asep Kurniawan and the Economic Elite

The economic elite is a person or figure who has wealth or an economy above other people. This elite group can include anyone as long as they have wealth or economic level (financiers) above other people in the area. In this context, the author defines the economic elite as a facilitator in Asep Kurniawan's victory as Head of Sukaluyu Village. The facilitator who became Asep Kurniawan's financier during the Village Head Election was Mr. H. Heri Hayatul Barkah, S.Kep., Ners. He is a doctor who owns the largest medical clinic in Sukaluyu Village. He is known by the villagers as a doctor who often provides free health assistance to the people of Sukaluyu Village, so it is not impossible that he is one of the most respected figures for the people of Sukaluyu Village.

1) The relationship between Asep Kurniawan and H. Heri is based on family

H. Heri's relationship with Asep Kurniawan can be said to be close in terms of family ties and professional work where H. Heri's wife is Asep Kurniawan's cousin. Then, H. Heri has a medical clinic called the Hayatul Barkah Clinic and Pharmacy. In addition, Asep Kurniawan had worked with H. Heri at his clinic so an emotional closeness had been formed because Asep Kurniawan was a former employee at the Hayatul Barkah Clinic. This family bond was one of the reasons H. Heri supported

Asep Kurniawan both materially and in service during the village head election campaign process. This is in accordance with what Suzanne Keller said that elite power is based on tradition and family that is netted into social groups so that emotional trust will be built naturally.

Another factor Mr. H. Heri ultimately supported Asep Kurniawan was that the previous Village Government had not been optimal in carrying out its duties and he complained about the condition of the Village Office which according to him at the time the previous Government was not suitable to be used as an Office and there were no changes, so he believed that Asep Kurniawan could bring change and has the capacity to lead Sukaluyu Village because Asep Kurniawan is a young figure who has an open mind and is modern compared to the previous Village Head, H. Heri's concern over the leadership of the previous government, why did H. Heri pay attention to one of the conditions of the village office because according to him a good office condition would improve the work quality of village employees so that service to the community would be maximized.

2) The Relationship Pattern of Economic Elite Power as a Form of Domination in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election

During the election campaign process for the village head, H. Heri had an important role, especially in supporting materially where he contributed in the form of campaign funds and facilitated Asep Kurniawan's success team in holding meetings or gatherings to discuss Asep Kurniawan's winning strategy. The funding and facilitation provided by H. Heri was his pattern in supporting Asep Kurniawan during the village head election campaign process.

a) H. Heri's as Financial Support for Asep Kurniawan

Financial support is a way for the economic elite to help win the village head candidate. Financial support means sponsoring one of the village head candidates competing for power. In this context, H. Heri explained how he supported Asep Kurniawan from a material perspective, namely campaign funds. Based on the interview results above, illustrates that budget support for Asep Kurniawan was carried out by H. Heri because he believed that Asep Kurniawan would bring change to the village. Apart from that, basically, the campaign budget came from Mr. H's personal funds. This day was used to capitalize on the success team that took to the field to campaign for Asep Kurniawan to the people of Sukaluyu Village.

Abdul Halim (2014) says that economic elites at the local level usually prefer to be behind the scenes or not directly involved in the political process. Unlike the economic elite described by Halim, H. Heri was directly involved in winning Asep Kurniawan where apart from supporting funding during the campaign process, he also joined Asep Kurniawan's success team by introducing Asep Kurniawan to his patients. However, if there is tension between each camp, Mr. H. Heri becomes a shield for Asep Kurniawan, but in this case, H. Heri chooses to stay behind the scenes and sends his confidants to solve the problem.

b) Facilities Provided by H. Heri in Supporting Asep Kurniawan

H. Heri apart from helping campaign funds for Asep Kurniawan's success team, also became Asep Kurniawan's facilitator during the village head election campaign process where he had a house that was large enough to serve as a meeting

place for the success team to discuss strategies to win Asep Kurniawan in the village head election.

The proactive action taken by Mr. H. Heri was a voluntary action to participate in community activities. In this context, the kinship network in Sukaluyu Village is based on self-awareness to do something for the Village community. Supporting the budget and becoming a facilitator Asep Kurniawan became social capital and economic capital during the village head elections. Departing from this role, we will know the form of power relations that occur. Indeed, during the interview process, Mr. H. Heri often gave input to Asep Kurniawan when he was elected as Head of Sukaluyu Village because Asep Kurniawan often visited H. Heri's house to consult about the village, where Mr. H. Heri often gave input related to village policies in the health sector and village development. In addition, if there are residents who complain about the policies made by Mr. Asep, usually the residents will convey their aspirations to Mr. H. Heri, and then Mr. H. Heri directly contacts the Village Head to convey the aspirations of his residents. The interesting thing is that when Mr. H. Heri calls the village head, Mr. Asep immediately comes to Mr. H. Heri's house. As explained by Foucault in Martono (2014) who divides power relations into three parts, namely power relations as a strategic game, power relations as domination, and power relations as a form of government. Based on this, the author sees that power relations as domination occur because Mr. H. Heri indirectly uses his influence to provide input regarding village policies in the health and development sector. and asked Asep Kurniawan to improve the health sector in Sukaluyu Village. Power relations as domination occur because what H.Heri does is a form of domination of power practices that affect situations where the domain of the subject's choice of action is limited, in this context influencing village heads in making policy.

4.2.2. Power Relations between the Asep Kurniawan Village Head and Society Figures (Social Elite)

Society leaders are described as social elites, social elites are figures who are highly respected and respected by the people in their area. These social elites are those who are outside the power structure and do not have religious capital to influence government policy. The community leaders referred to do not have religious capital such as religious elites and economic capital such as economic elites, nor power capital such as political elites. On the other hand, the capital owned by these community leaders is social capital and community interests at the grassroots.

Here the society figure referred to is Dedi Djunaidi often called Kang Djabo by local residents. He is a figure engaged in the field of cultural arts and is a figure respected by the residents of Sukaluyu Village because of his ability to become an artist. He is also a youth art teacher in Sukaluyu Village and he voluntarily fosters youth in Sukaluyu Village to be more sensitive to protecting Sundanese traditions and traditional arts. He also has expertise in making Sundanese musical instruments such as harps, drums, and flutes, all of which are assets of Garut Regency, West Java. As previously explained, community leaders usually do not have economic capital, such as the economic elite, nor power capital, such as the political elite. On the other hand, the capital owned by these community leaders is social capital and the interests of the community at the grassroots. In this context, Kang Djabo economically has an affluent life but he has a strong influence among the lower middle class so the social control of the residents of Sukaluyu Village is under his influence.

Kang Djabo during the Sukaluyu village head election took place had a vital role in winning Asep Kurniawan, because as an artistic figure he used art as a political tool in the sense that he was directly involved in practical politics to become Asep Kurniawan's successful team. He was also one of the drafters for Asep Kurniawan's winning team, it was from here that his ideas about art and culture were utilized for political purposes. When the author asked the reason why Kang Djabo supported and helped win Asep Kurniawan in the Sukaluyu Village Head Election, there was social capital and a track record in which the reciprocity and trust factors made Kang Djabo supported Asep Kurniawan. The reason he supports Asep Kurniawan is also due to Mr. Asep's capacity as a young and religious figure, so he believes that Mr. Asep will be trustworthy in carrying out his duties as village head. As stated by Hasbullah in Devitayanti (2016) which explains that social capital cannot be independent but there are other factors that will shape it, namely reciprocity and trust factors. This factor can be found in the context of kinship politics in Sukaluyu Village, namely reciprocity and trust. Reciprocity explains this factor is a reciprocal relationship for mutual exchange of kindness between individuals in groups and between groups with the goal of community welfare. A reciprocity relationship is a way to gain one's interests by developing and maintaining social capital. This is what will form a social relationship where Kang Djabo has a special interest in Asep Kurniawan. According to Portes in Devi Siswandani (2020), there are two sources of social capital, namely consummatory patterns and instrumental patterns. The consumer pattern itself is a source of social capital that emphasizes solidarity based on the struggle to achieve common goals. Then, the instrumental pattern where this pattern is based on social exchange. A distinctive feature of village community life is that it promotes bonded solidarity in a consumptive pattern where solidarity is based on the bonds that are built between members who have strong beliefs and the same social background.

Then, trust, basically trust is a form of feeling sure that other people will do something as desired in a pattern of mutually supporting actions or not harming themselves and their group. In a social context, trust is an attitude of mutual trust in one another so that society can contribute to increasing social capital. The stronger the trust in the relationship, the stronger the role of social capital will be. Trust is an important factor in creating social relations, especially to achieve common interests. Social relations can occur through good communication between one party and another, especially if within the village circle good relations will create trust both in terms of community, culture, religion, and socio-economic background. The author sees these two factors influencing Kang Djabo to support Asep Kurniawan where Asep Kurniawan and Kang Djabo have a very solid relationship of trust so that there is a reciprocal relationship after Kang Djabo became part of Asep Kurniawan's winning team. In addition, Kang Djabo's confidence in Asep Kurniawan saw the figure of Asep Kurniawan's father, who in Sukaluyu Village was seen as a respected religious figure.

A. Transactional Politics as a Strategic Game in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election

When Kang Djabo decided to support and assist Asep Kurniawan in the contest for the 2019 Sukaluyu Head Election. Of course, it was not solely because of the reciprocity and trust factors that the author had previously explained, but there were other factors that Kang Djabo as a community figure decided to support Asep Kurniawan as Head of Sukaluyu Village. The trust relationship that has been built

between Asep Kurniawan and Kang Djabo creates political bargaining so that it becomes a normal political process in the local political realm where position transactions occur after Asep Kurniawan succeeds in becoming Head of Sukaluyu Village. Negotiations regarding this position have been an offer from Asep Kurniawan to Kang Djabo that Akur guarantees certainty for Kang Djabo's position if he wins the 2019 Village Head Election.

Transactional politics forms a power relationship where Asep Kurniawan accepts requests from Kang Djabo because he has helped himself to be elected as Head of Sukaluyu Village, the approach taken by Kang Djabo to Asep Kurniawan succeeded in influencing Asep Kurniawan to give strategic positions to trusted people Kang Djabo. Apart from that, Kang Djabo preferred to be outside the government structure or behind the scenes in assisting the government of Sukaluyu Village under Asep Kurniawan. If related to the concept of power relations, according to Foucault, power is a space of relations, where they are related to each other because where there is a relationship, there is power. Power according to Foucault (2020) is the influence that a person or group has to impose their will on other parties. This situation occurred in the 2019 election for the head of Sukaluyu village, to be precise the political negotiations between Asep Kurniawan and Kang Djabo, who made it easier for Asep Kurniawan to be elected as head of Sukaluyu village.

This power exchange is a form of reward or take and give from Asep Kurniawan to Kang Djabo for helping him with a very large contribution. For the writer, this kind of thing is a natural thing in the political process in Indonesia, especially in the local sphere because naturally humans usually will not help other humans if it doesn't have any impact on them. The reciprocal relationship or take and give is mutually beneficial for both of them, Kang Djabo played an important role in creating Asep Kurniawan's branding during the campaign for grassroots residents. He used his art to influence the community to vote for Asep Kurniawan during the voting stage for Village Head Candidates. On the other hand, Asep Kurniawan also received positive results because he had been elected as Village Head. From this, a reciprocal relationship is seen and each gets what he wants or achieves goals for the common good according to the reciprocal factors described earlier.

B. Transactional Politics as a Power Relations Form of Government in Program Realization in Sukaluyu Village

In addition to the exchange of power, in the political process in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election there has been a power relationship in the form of program realization in the government where this program was entrusted by Kang Djabo who has helped Asep Kurniawan to be elected as Village Head. In accordance with the concept of power relations as a form of government according to Michel Foucault (2014) where Foucault explains that the concept of government is primarily related to the concept of leading, in the sense of directing and controlling action. This concept refers to the exercise of power over other parties, starting from the administration of government which truly dominates and can create beneficial reciprocity.

There was one program conceptualized by Kang Djabo to be offered to Mr. Asep where the program was successfully realized and accommodated by Asep Kurniawan as the village head. This was because of his promise to Kang Djabo before he was elected as Village Head, Kang Djabo used his influence to influence Asep

Kurniawan to carry out the program he was offering. In the concept of power relations, such a thing is called the form of government power relations. This explains that the concept of governance is mainly related to the concept of leading, in the sense of directing and controlling the actions of the Village Head influenced by Kang Djabo, this concept refers to the exercise of power over the influence of other parties. The program recommended by Kang Djabo is indeed related to his background, namely Sundanese arts and culture, so it is not impossible that the policies made by Mr. Asep also have a focus on Sundanese artistic culture, especially the arts of Sukaluyu Village.

4.3. The Role of Local Elites in Mobilizing Society Support for Asep Kurniawan in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election

Local elites have the power to influence policies made by government leaders at the local level even though they do not have strategic political positions in government. Examples of local elites such as religious leaders, community leaders, community organizations, and so on. Local elites are individuals who have strategic positions and have influence to regulate society outside the government structure. In the context of local politics, local elites have their respective roles in influencing their communities, as well as during the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election where the involvement of local elites in supporting one of the candidates greatly impacted Asep Kurniawan's victory.

Asep Kurniawan's victory in several hamlet areas won 1,050 votes. This made it clear that Asep Kurniawan was far superior in terms of vote acquisition to other candidates who only obtained hundreds and dozens of votes. The involvement of the local elite is motivated by the economic and social advantages of the local elite towards Asep Kurniawan, social factors where the community will follow directions from community leaders in choosing Asep Kurniawan. The local elite themselves are figures who have been viewed and respected by the village community, so the behavior or message from the local elite will certainly be followed by the community, including their preference for voting in the Sukaluyu Village Head Election. The presence of local elites as potential figures in mobilizing the community, conveying ideas, and accommodating complaints and requests from community members.

According to Mr. Asep Kurniawan, the role of community leaders is very important, where their role is more towards the political development of volunteers, especially to avoid black campaigns and uphold good values for candidates, not badmouth one another. So the existence of community leaders also helps with the support of residents in choosing me during the voting. Characteristically, the Sukaluyu village community is easily influenced, especially by figures including community leaders and religious leaders. As stated by Mr. Asep Kurniawan regarding the characteristics of its residents, he explained:

"In terms of character, usually the residents of Sukaluyu Village when it comes to voting in Village Head Election don't look at the Cakades' ideas or vision and mission but rather listen to advice from community leaders and religious leaders based on belief...Incidentally, figures in Sukaluyu Village supported me to become Head Sukaluyu Village so that the majority of Sukaluyu people also supported me to become Village Head..."

Based on the statement of Mr. Asep Kurniawan, it is clear that the residents of Sukaluyu Village still have very little political education because they do not see Cakades based on their track record, but rather follow the political preferences of figures in Sukaluyu Village. Of course, in the local realm, this is commonplace because the lack

of political education causes ignorance in the community in selecting leaders who are in accordance with a proven track record and qualified vision and mission. In the research that the researchers conducted, the three elites who played a role in this study had their respective roles and influences, especially in mobilizing community support to elect Asep Kurniawan during the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election. The role of the elite aside from trying to influence the public to vote for Asep Kurniawan. Several community leaders also played a role in influencing Asep Kurniawan to take part in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election, in the sense that Asep Kurniawan's advancement as a Candidate for Village Head during the Village Head Election was inseparable from pressure and encouragement from figures in Sukaluyu Village. This is in accordance with Halim's theory (2014) regarding local elites where according to local elites in the regions have roles, duties, and responsibilities which are crucial issues. This shows that the trust of the Sukaluyu Village Head Asep Kurniawan is based on family ties where the figures and residents of Sukaluyu Village see the figure of the late Mr. the village knows who Mr. Aka Zakaria is. Community leaders saw that Asep Kurniawan could become the successor to his father who was indeed trustworthy in carrying out his trust and responsibilities, especially in carrying out his duties as Head of Sukaluyu Village.

4.3.1. The Role of the Economic Elite in Mobilizing Society Support for Asep Kurniawan in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election

Usually, elites who have economic influence do not participate directly in political contestation because these elites usually play their role behind the scenes. However, in this study, it was different where Mr. H. Heri apart from being a financier or source of budget for Asep Kurniawan during the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election, also played a role in mobilizing the support of the village community to elect Asep Kurniawan and went directly to the community. He took advantage of his profession and clinic location to campaign for Asep Kurniawan to residents of Sukaluyu village. According to Mr. H. Heri, he finally intervened directly because there was an added value so that people who initially did not vote for Asep Kurniawan in the end chose Asep Kurniawan, even though there was already a winning team or Akur volunteers but if the volunteers were unable to do so Mr. H. Heri who will immediately persuade him and the public will follow the direction of Mr. H. Heri. Mr. H. Heri apart from being a source of budget and facilitator for Asep Kurniawan's winning team, was also involved in making the concept of winning Asep Kurniawan in the Village Head Election at that time where he devised a strategy to introduce Asep Kurniawan to the residents of Sukaluyu Village. There is a pattern that was carried out by Mr. H. Heri in influencing the community, as medicine as Political Media Campaigning Asep Kurniawan, Mr. H. Heri has a fairly large medical clinic in Sukaluyu Village. He took advantage of his profession and wealth to become a media campaign in winning Asep Kurniawan in the Sukaluyu Village Head Election.

Then, communication liaison between Community Leaders, Residents, and Village Heads. After the election for the Head of Sukaluyu Village, the role of Mr. H. Heri did not end there. He became a bridge of communication between figures and residents of Sukaluyu Village to Asep Kurniawan. This is due to maintaining friendly relations or maintaining relations between figures and residents after the Sukaluyu Village Head Election is over. In a sense, Mr. H. Heri Asep Kurniawan is trying to maintain his support base after the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election is over. The purpose of the communication liaison here is that if there are complaints about Asep Kurniawan's performance, the residents of Sukaluyu Village often express it to Mr. H.

Heri, as well as community leaders who often visit his house to discuss village policies that have been made by the Village Head. As a bridge of communication, Mr. H. Heri immediately conveyed the aspirations of the residents to Mr. Asep, the residents chose Mr. H. Heri to be the place for the hearing because the residents believed that Asep Kurniawan had strong family ties with Mr. H. Heri plus he had an emotional connection so whatever orders or input from Mr. H. Heri, Asep Kurniawan as the village head immediately complied. A communication link between residents and the Village Head was carried out to treat residents' sympathizers with Mr. Asep Kurniawan. Mr. H. Heri did that because, after all, he was one of the people who pushed Mr. Asep to become Head of Sukaluyu Village, Mr. Asep was also part of his family so it was indeed Mr. H. Heri's obligation to oversee the running of the Sukaluyu Village government during Asep Kurniawan's time. Mr. H. Heri and other community leaders also often stay in touch at Mr. H. Heri's house to discuss Sukaluyu Village. This kind of thing is a relationship based on togetherness and kinship in maintaining power. In this context, maintaining the good image of Asep Kurniawan as the Village Head of his choice.

4.3.2. The Role of Religious Elites in Mobilizing Society Support for Asep Kurniawan in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election

Religious elites are very influential figures in local political activities. The religious elite actually have social and symbolic capital such as tarekat, religious knowledge, and charisma which make them leaders who are obeyed by the local community. Often in a Pilkada, candidates usually visit a number of religious leaders to ask for blessings and political support. According to Suzanne Keller (1995), religious leaders belong to the traditional elite where they succeed in becoming leaders based on customs, culture, and understanding of religious knowledge which usually get special privileges in social life. Religious leaders themselves are figures who have the ability to influence society by instilling religious values. In the context of the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election, religious leaders played a significant role in winning one of the Village Head candidates, namely Asep Kurniawan, especially in gathering community support to elect Asep Kurniawan. the religious figure involved in winning Asep Kurniawan was K.H Muhammad Mubarak, he is a religious figure who also has a position as Chair of the Mosque where he is also the founder and owner of the Ta'lim Assembly called the Al-Furqon Ta'Lim Council. The people of Sukaluyu Village, who incidentally are his congregation, often come to Kyai Ahmad Mubarak's place to attend regular recitations or religious events. He is also part of the religious leaders of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).

In terms of religion, his knowledge is indeed the one most admired and respected by the residents of Sukaluyu Village and he is still considered the same family as the late Mr. Aka Zakaria who we know is the father of Asep Kurniawan who is also the most respected religiously. In social life, religious figures are people who are often followed both in their words and deeds because they are considered to be doing it in accordance with the teachings of their religion, as well as the residents of Sukaluyu Village who view K.H Muhammad Mubarak as a respected figure. Mr. Asep Kurniawan was considered a figure close to religion because he had been one of the students reciting K.H Muhammad Mubarak so Mr. Kyai was the one to help and support Asep Kurniawan in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head election. K.H Muhammad Mubarak was arguably very helpful in getting votes from Asep Kurniawan, he used his religious knowledge to provide a good understanding to the residents of Sukaluyu Village so that residents tend to follow his political preferences.

This method was carried out by Mr. Kyai which according to him was effectively conveyed to the residents of Sukaluyu Village because according to him it needed to be done for the progress and goodness of Sukaluyu Village in the future. If Asep Kurniawan is elected he believes Sukaluyu Village will be more modern, religious, and progressive. In the political context at the local level, this method is commonly used because sociologically, the characteristics of the village community are to obey the directions of their teachers (religious leaders). This method was quite effective, especially in mobilizing community support during the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election.

4.3.3. The Role of Social Elites in Mobilizing Society Support for Asep Kurniawan in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election

In general, in a village, there must be strong or influential people in social life who have the ability and power in certain fields. Social elites are figures who are highly respected and respected by the people in their area. Social elite includes many types such as community leaders, traditional leaders, religious leaders, arts and cultural communities, and other organizational figures. These social elites are those who are outside the power structure and do not have the capital or religion to influence government policy. In principle, a village head candidate in the village head election may not need support from various elements or layers in society, especially local elites who have influence in mobilizing the community. The role of the social elite in this research is that of an artist figure who played his role in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election by using Sundanese art and culture as a political medium in influencing the public to vote for Asep Kurniawan in the Sukaluyu Village Head Election. His name is Dedi Djunaidi often called Kang/Mang Djabo.

There are two approaches used by Kang Djabo in conveying Asep Kurniawan's message or political promises to residents, namely the sociological approach to dialectical materialism method a sociological approach is an approach by conducting dialogue with villagers about their wishes or aspirations after the candidate offers wins, which method invites the community to discuss and brainstorm. In playing his role, Kang Djabo just kept quiet at home because it was customary for the residents of Sukaluyu Village to come to his house to discuss it before the election of the village head. He did not expend too much effort and material because what the residents needed were thoughts and directions from Kang Djabo. Not only did the middle and lower class come to Kang Djabo, but village intellectuals often visited his house for discussions in the morning, afternoon, evening, and night.

At the time before the Village Head Election, the people of Sukaluyu Village certainly asked Kang Djabo for directions and often asked who Kang Djabo supported during the Village Head Election because residents or village leaders who came to him would have followed Kang Djabo's political choices in determining leaders. The method used by Kang Djabo through dialogue, chatting, drinking coffee together, and hospitality at his house is one of the dominant methods used because it is often done to gain sympathy and trust from the people of Sukaluyu Village because it is considered to be able to represent and accommodate the aspirations of the people of Sukaluyu Village to be conveyed to the community. The village head, this pattern is often called the dialectical materialism method. Then, the arts and culture approach explained that Kang Djabo is an artist figure who always guides the youth of Sukaluyu Village to preserve Sundanese culture because he thinks that culture determines the character of an area, so it is his duty to instill cultural values in Sukaluyu Village residents.

In the context of village head elections, Kang Djabo played his role by fostering young talent in the arts where he provided voluntary music lessons to youth in Sukaluyu Village. This is what affected the village community with Kang Djabo's directions because usually after music lessons were over, Kang Djabo spoke with the parents of his students or even his own students who were adults and could choose to remind them to do their duty as good citizens to choose leaders. According to Kang Djabo, using art as a political medium is a natural thing because the leader he will support later will be serious about paying attention to art, especially Sundanese. For him, art is important because it can influence the culture and character of a village. In fact, the approach taken by Kang Djabo is also an effective way as he tries to preserve the arts, but he also promotes the candidate for Village Head he supports to the people of Sukaluyu Village. This ability for his expertise in arts and culture is an added value and attractiveness for Kang Djabo in helping to win Asep Kurniawan as Village Head in the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election.

5. Conclusions

Based on the description of local politics that occurred in Sukaluyu Village in the process of implementing the 2019 Sukaluyu Village Head Election, this research itself aims to be able to find out the form of power relations that occur between local elites and Village Heads in the Sukaluyu Village Head Election and to find out the role of local elites in relation to power relations in the mobilization of community support as a modality for Asep Kurniawan's victory in the election of the Head of Sukaluyu Village, Garut, West Java. Local elites in Sukaluyu Village play a role and have a stake in village life both socially and politically. This study shows that local elites play an important role in the village head election contestation in Sukaluyu Village, in accordance with the theory of Mosca, Pareto, and Keller which explains the role of local elites in the realm of local democracy.

The results of this study found that; first, the power relations that occur between the local elite and Asep Kurniawan are one of reciprocity because they have supported and assisted Asep Kurniawan in winning the Village Head Election. It can be said, that the power relation between Mr. H. Heri as the financier and Asep Kurniawan as the candidate if it is related to the concept of power relations is a power relation as a form of domination, because Mr. H. Heri with his power succeeded in influencing the policies made by the Village Head and Asep Kurniawan saw Mr. H. Heri as a character who often gave him input so that Asep Kurniawan when Mr. H. Heri called him to come to his house, Akur immediately came to him.

Second, the power relation between Kang Djabo and Asep Kurniawan is associated with the concept of power relations according to Michel Foucault, there are two concepts namely power relations as a form of strategic play and power relations as a form of government, where power relations as a strategic game can be seen from the political agreement between the two where the occurrence of transactional politics that resulted in position transactions occurred after Asep Kurniawan succeeded in becoming the Head of Sukaluyu Village. Kang Djabo's approach succeeded in influencing Akur to ensure certainty of a position or strategic position in the village administration to a confidant of Kang Djabo. Third, power relations as a form of government can be seen from the realization of the program where Kang Djabo entrusted a cultural arts program to Asep Kurniawan to carry it out. It can be said that the strong influence of the local elite

who supported Asep Kurniawan succeeded in influencing the people of Sukaluyu Village so that this became the modality for Asep Kurniawan's victory to be elected as Head of Sukaluyu Village. Fourth, the three local elites involved support one of the candidates and have a strong influence in Sukaluyu Village.

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