



From Law to Practice: Decentralization, Democratic Perceptions, and the Participation Gap in Rural Indonesia

Rizki Dwi Pangestu*, Iin Ratna Sumirat

Faculty of Islamic Law, State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Article history:

Submission date: 12 June 2025

Received in revised form: August 2025

Acceptance date: 23 September 2025

Available online: 1 December 2025

Keywords:

Village Law; village governance; community participation; local democracy; good governance; decentralization

Funding:

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Competing interest:

The author(s) have declared that no competing interests exist.

How to Cite :

Muhammad Wasim Jan, Sahibzada. 2025. "A Comprehensive Analysis of Honor Killing Practices in Pakistan: Contributing Factors, Legal Frameworks, and Intervention Strategies". *Al-Daulah : Jurnal Hukum Pidana Dan Ketatanegaraan* (1):1-14. <https://doi.org/10.24252/al-daulah.v14i1.57485>.

© The authors (2025). This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY)



Abstract

Research Objective: This study examines the effects of Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Village Governance (the Village Law) on democratic perceptions and civic participation in Rahong Village, Malingping District, Lebak Regency, West Java Province. **Research Method:** Employing an empirical juridical approach within a qualitative research design, the study draws on primary data from semi-structured interviews with village officials, community leaders, and residents, supplemented by direct observation and document analysis. **Results:** The Village Law has positively reshaped citizens' perceptions of the quality of local governance and established formal institutional channels for broader community participation in planning and decision-making. **Findings and Implications:** Implementation remains constrained by limited administrative capacity, insufficient transparency in budget management, accountability deficits, and uneven civic awareness, resulting in a participation gap between the law's normative aspirations and observable democratic practice. **Conclusion:** While the Village Law has advanced grassroots democracy by devolving substantial authority to local communities, its full democratic potential remains unrealized due to persistent structural and capacity-related challenges. **Contribution:** This study provides original empirical evidence to scholarship on decentralization, democratic deepening, and the governance-participation nexus in rural Indonesia, with concrete implications for policy actions aimed at reinforcing village-level democracy. **Limitations and Suggestions:** The study is limited to a single-village context, which may limit generalizability. Future research should expand to multiple villages or districts and employ mixed-methods approaches to further validate and broaden these findings.

Introduction

Democracy has emerged as the predominant form of political organization in the contemporary world, grounded in the basic principles of popular sovereignty, equal rights before

*Corresponding Author

Email: rzk.pangestu@uin-suka.ac.id (Rizki Dwi Pangestu), iinratnasumirat@uin-suka.ac.id (Iin Ratna Sumirat)



the law, and accountable governance.¹ Its diffusion across Asia, Latin America, and Africa since the 1970s, what Huntington (1991) termed the ‘third wave of democratization, has generated extensive scholarly inquiry into the conditions under which democratic institutions take root, the mechanisms by which democratic consolidation proceeds, and the persistent difference between formal democratic design and substantive democratic practice.² In Indonesia, democratic administration is not simply an abstract constitutional ideal; it is constitutively embedded in the national development architecture, operationalized through participatory principles anchored in the 1945 Constitution and progressively elaborated through post-Reformation legislative reforms.³

The Indonesian Reformasi of 1998 inaugurated a major rupture with the centralized, authoritarian New Order state, triggering a cascading series of decentralization reforms that progressively redistributed authority downward through the administrative hierarchy. The 2001 ‘big bang’ decentralization transferred major duties to Kabupaten (regency) and kota (city) governments, but the village level remained residually dependent on higher tiers of government.⁴ The enactment of Law Number 6 of 2014 on Village Governance (hereinafter the Village Law or UU Desa) dramatically rectified this omission. The law conferred upon villages a definite legal identity, direct and substantial budgetary allocations (Dana Desa), and broad authority over local planning, implementation, and monitoring. This paradigmatic shift from a top-down administrative model to one premised on local self-determination carries deep implications for the quality of citizen governance and the depth of civic participation at the village level,

¹ Johannes Kiess, “Learning by Doing: The Impact of Experiencing Democracy in Education on Political Trust and Participation,” *Politics* 42, no. 1 (February 3, 2022): 75–94, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263395721990287>; Fathul Hamdani and Ana Fauzia, “Legal Discourse: The Spirit of Democracy and Human Rights Post Simultaneous Regional Elections 2020 in the Covid-19 Pandemic Era,” *Lex Scientia Law Review* 5, no. 1 (May 30, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.15294/lesrev.v5i1.45887>; Vasileios Adamidis, “Democracy, Populism, and the Rule of Law: A Reconsideration of Their Interconnectedness,” *Politics* 44, no. 3 (August 23, 2024): 386–99, <https://doi.org/10.1177/02633957211041444>.

² Erik Swyngedouw, “Illiberalism and the Democratic Paradox: The Infernal Dialectic of Neoliberal Emancipation,” *European Journal of Social Theory* 25, no. 1 (February 2022): 53–74, <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684310211027079>; Martyn Hammersley, “Karl Popper Versus Karl Mannheim on Sociology and Democratic Governance,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 76, no. 4 (September 5, 2025): 841–50, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.13221>; Greg Barton, Ihsan Yilmaz, and Nicholas Morieson, “Authoritarianism, Democracy, Islamic Movements and Contestations of Islamic Religious Ideas in Indonesia,” *Religions* 12, no. 8 (August 13, 2021): 641, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12080641>.

³ Ibnu Sina Chandranegara and Dwi Putri Cahyawati, “Conflict of Interest Prevention Clause in the Constitution: The Study of the Indonesian Constitution,” *Heliyon* 9, no. 3 (March 2023): e14679, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e14679>; Khudzaifah Dimiyati et al., “Indonesia as a Legal Welfare State: A Prophetic-Transcendental Basis,” *Heliyon* 7, no. 8 (August 2021): e07865, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e07865>; Hamdani and Fauzia, “Legal Discourse: The Spirit of Democracy and Human Rights Post Simultaneous Regional Elections 2020 in the Covid-19 Pandemic Era.”

⁴ Jul Indra and Khoirunurrofik Khoirunurrofik, “Understanding the Role of Village Fund and Administrative Capacity in Stunting Reduction: Empirical Evidence from Indonesia,” ed. Carlos Alberto Zúniga-González, *PLOS ONE* 17, no. 1 (January 28, 2022): e0262743, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0262743>; Mas Pungky Hendra Wijaya and Mohammad Zulfikar Ali, “Legislation Impediments in Reorganising Government Bodies in Indonesia,” *BESTUUR* 9, no. 1 (August 12, 2021): 1, <https://doi.org/10.20961/bestuur.v9i1.51633>; Syahrizal Abbas and Ramzi Murziqin, “Sharia-Based Regional Regulations in the Indonesian National Law System,” *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 9, no. 3 (September 30, 2021): 529, <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v9i3.673>.

implications that remain empirically insufficiently explored in the existing literature.⁵

Good governance, operationalized through the interrelated dimensions of transparency, accountability, participation, effectiveness, equity, and the rule of law, constitutes both a precondition for and an outcome of democratic consolidation. At the village level, where ordinary citizens most tangibly experience governance, its quality is inseparable from community members' perceptions and participatory dispositions.⁶ Perception as a cognitive and evaluative process through which individuals make sense of their social and political environment fundamentally conditions citizens' inclination to engage in governance processes. Research regularly demonstrates that positive perceptions of government responsiveness, fairness, and transparency are associated with higher and more substantive civic participation, whereas scepticism, disillusionment, or ignorance of democratic procedures tend to produce passive citizenship and, in some contexts, support for anti-democratic alternatives.⁷

Despite the theoretical significance of the Village Law, empirical evidence on its effects in specific local contexts remains fragmentary and undertheorized. Prior studies have addressed discrete aspects of the law's implementation, including administrative performance,⁸ public

⁵ Yuki Arai et al., "How Can We Mitigate Power Imbalances in Collaborative Environmental Governance? Examining the Role of the Village Facilitation Team Approach Observed in West Kalimantan, Indonesia," *Sustainability* 13, no. 7 (April 2, 2021): 3972, <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13073972>; Arai et al.; Anu Rammohan and Achmad Tohari, "Rural Poverty and Labour Force Participation: Evidence from Indonesia's Village Fund Program," ed. Kannan Navaneetham, *PLOS ONE* 18, no. 6 (June 21, 2023): e0283041, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0283041>; Ardilafiza et al., "Ancient Sites, History and Local Wisdom: Tourism Boosting Reforms to Improve the Economy and Living Standard in the Province of Bengkulu, Indonesia," *Ancient Asia* 12 (September 23, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.5334/aa.235>.

⁶ Diandian Hao et al., "Effect of Village Informal Institutions and Cadre-Mass Relationship for Farmers' Participation in Rural Residential Environment Governance in China," *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 20, no. 1 (December 20, 2022): 3, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph20010003>; Karen Bell and Mark Reed, "The Tree of Participation: A New Model for Inclusive Decision-Making," *Community Development Journal*, June 8, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsab018>; Miray Özden, "Active Participation or Legal Obligation? A Qualitative Study of the Effectiveness of Participatory Methods Designed for Local Participation," *Quality & Quantity* 58, no. 1 (February 6, 2024): 559–80, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-023-01658-z>.

⁷ Bernadette Hyland-Wood et al., "Toward Effective Government Communication Strategies in the Era of COVID-19," *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 8, no. 1 (January 27, 2021): 30, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-020-00701-w>; Suresh Malodia et al., "Future of E-Government: An Integrated Conceptual Framework," *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 173 (December 2021): 121102, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2021.121102>; Anneli Kaasa and Luca Andriani, "Determinants of Institutional Trust: The Role of Cultural Context," *Journal of Institutional Economics* 18, no. 1 (February 19, 2022): 45–65, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1744137421000199>; Da-Hee Lim and Dae-Woong Lee, "Non-Face-to-Face Public Services and Perceptions of Public Organizations," *Sustainability* 13, no. 21 (November 4, 2021): 12185, <https://doi.org/10.3390/su132112185>.

⁸ Indra and Khoirunurrofik, "Understanding the Role of Village Fund and Administrative Capacity in Stunting Reduction: Empirical Evidence from Indonesia"; Rammohan and Tohari, "Rural Poverty and Labour Force Participation: Evidence from Indonesia's Village Fund Program."



service delivery,⁹ budget transparency,¹⁰ community participation in development projects, and participatory regional legislation,¹¹ but an integrative empirical analysis linking the law's governance implications toward observable patterns of democratic perception and participation in a single, grounded village context is absent from the literature. This study addresses this lacuna by examining Rahong Village, Malingping District, Lebak Regency, West Java Province, where preliminary fieldwork revealed a complex and analytically productive interaction among nascent democratic awareness, structural governance limitations, variable civic engagement, and evolving institutional capacity.

The study pursues two interrelated research questions: first, how has the Village Law reshaped governance structures, planning mechanisms, and democratic procedures in Rahong Village; and second, what is the nature, distribution, and determinants of community perceptions and participation in governance through democracy in Rahong Village? By generating fine-grained empirical information from this single-case context, the study intends to contribute original theoretical and empirical insights to the wider scholarship on decentralization, legal pluralism, and democratic deepening in rural Indonesia. The results have concrete policy implications for strengthening village-level democratic institutions, as the Village Law's first decade of implementation calls for critical stock-taking.

Literature Review

Democratic Administration and Decentralization Theory

The theoretical relationship between decentralization and democratic deepening has been vigorously debated in comparative politics and public administration. Proponents of decentralization argue that devolving authority to sub-national units brings government closer to citizens, improves the responsiveness and accountability of public officials, reduces transaction costs of participation, and creates more opportunities for local problem-solving.¹² In the political economy tradition,¹³ Suggested that inter-jurisdictional competition for residents creates

⁹ Urvashi Pareek and Nagendra Ambedkar Sole, "Quality of Public Services in the Era of Guaranteed Public Service Delivery," *Indian Journal of Public Administration* 68, no. 2 (June 23, 2022): 160–73, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00195561211072575>; Jiangang Shi et al., "Exploring the Performances and Determinants of Public Service Provision in 35 Major Cities in China from the Perspectives of Efficiency and Effectiveness," *Socio-Economic Planning Sciences* 85 (February 2023): 101441, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.seps.2022.101441>.

¹⁰ Paolo de Renzio and Joachim Wehner, "The Impacts of Fiscal Openness: A Review of the Evidence," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2602439>; Isabel Brusca, Francesca Manes Rossi, and Natalia Aversano, "Accountability and Transparency to Fight against Corruption: An International Comparative Analysis," *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice* 20, no. 5 (October 20, 2018): 486–504, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13876988.2017.1393951>; Can Chen and Milena I. Neshkova, "The Effect of Fiscal Transparency on Corruption: A Panel Cross-country Analysis," *Public Administration* 98, no. 1 (March 13, 2020): 226–43, <https://doi.org/10.1111/padm.12620>.

¹¹ Moh. Dulkiah et al., "Community Participation Forms in Indonesian Villages to Support the Sustainable Development Goals Program," *Journal of Law and Sustainable Development* 11, no. 11 (November 13, 2023): e2061, <https://doi.org/10.55908/sdgs.v11i11.2061>; Priska Septiana Margareta and Salahudin Salahudin, "Community Participation in Regional Development Planning: A Literature Review," *TRANSFORMASI: Jurnal Manajemen Pemerintahan*, January 19, 2022, 121–32, <https://doi.org/10.33701/jtp.v13i2.1584>.

¹² James Manor, *The Political Economy of Democratic Decentralization*, First Prin (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1999). p. 73

¹³ Charles M. Tiebout, "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures" 64, no. 5 (2008): 416–24.

incentives for efficient governance, while the fiscal federalism theory¹⁴ argues that public goods provision is optimized when decisions are made at the lowest level capable of internalizing their costs and benefits. These arguments collectively constitute a powerful normative case for local democracy as an instrument of developmental governance.¹⁵

Critics, however, have cautioned against an uncritical acceptance of decentralization as a democratic remedy.¹⁶ demonstrate that decentralization can worsen local elite capture, concentrating benefits among politically connected groups at the expense of the poor.¹⁷ In their comparative study of Africa and South Asia, they found that decentralization improved governance quality only where civil society organizations were strong and central governments retained strong monitoring capacity. They identified administrative capacity as the critical variable determining whether devolution produces democratic dividends or merely transfers the locus of poor governance.¹⁸ These cautionary perspectives echo powerfully with the Indonesian experience, where the Village Law's decentralization of authority has created both new opportunities and new vulnerabilities in local democratic practice.

The Village Law as a Framework for Democratic Governance

The Village Law of 2014 represents the most ambitious attempt in Indonesia's history to constitutionalize village autonomy and create a legally grounded framework for community-based governance. Its provisions set up a comprehensive institutional architecture: the Musyawarah Desa (village deliberative forum) as the supreme participatory mechanism; the RPJMDes (Village Medium-Term Development Plan) as the six-year strategic planning instrument; the RKPDes (Village Work Plan) as the annual planning document; and the APBDDes (Village Budget) as the financial expression of community priorities. Article 68(1)(c) explicitly recognizes citizens' right to express aspirations and receive information about governance activities, while Articles 79 and 81 mandate that village development planning be conducted through community consultation and implemented with community involvement.¹⁹

Characterize the Village Law as a 'village revolution' in Indonesia's governance landscape,

¹⁴ Wallace E. Oates, "An Essay on Fiscal Federalism," *Fiscal Federalism and European Economic Integration* XXXVII, no. September (2003): 13–47, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203987254>.

¹⁵ Wijaya and Ali, "Legislation Impediments in Reorganising Government Bodies in Indonesia"; Indra and Khoirunurrofik, "Understanding the Role of Village Fund and Administrative Capacity in Stunting Reduction: Empirical Evidence from Indonesia."

¹⁶ Pranab Bardhan and Dilip Mookherjee, "The Rise of Local Governments: An Overview," in *Decentralization and Local Governance in Developing Countries* (Cambridge, London: The MIT Press, 2006), 1–52, <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/2297.003.0002>.

¹⁷ Lukman Santoso, "Construction of Village Autonomy Regulation in Achieving People's Welfare: Critical Review Law Number 6 of 2014 on Villages," *Al-Daulah Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam* 11, no. 1 (April 3, 2021): 47–74, <https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2021.11.1.47-74>.

¹⁸ Elepi Lutpiani, *Implentasi Demokrasi Di Indonesia*, *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling*, vol. 53, 2013.

¹⁹ Debora Sanur Lindawaty, "Pembangunan Desa Pasca Undang-Undang No. 6 Tahun 2014 Tentang Desa [Village Development Post Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages]," *Jurnal Politica Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri Dan Hubungan Internasional* 14, no. 1 (August 18, 2023): 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v14i1.4120>; Santoso, "Construction of Village Autonomy Regulation in Achieving People's Welfare: Critical Review Law Number 6 of 2014 on Villages."



noting its unprecedented recognition of village legal personality and its substantial budgetary transfer mechanism (Dana Desa). Early evaluations of the law's implementation, however, reveal a complex picture.²⁰ Moreover, subsequent analysts have remarked that the quality of village governance is highly context-dependent, determined by the pre-existing social capital of communities, the competence of village officials, the strength of civil society organizations, and the degree of oversight exercised by regency governments. examines the law through an Islamic democratic lens, identifying substantive congruence between its consultative principles and the shura (deliberation) tradition in Islamic governance theory, a perspective that is particularly relevant to communities like Rahong Village, where Islamic social organizations play an important role in civic life.

Civic Perceptions, Social Capital, and Participatory Behaviour

The relationship between citizens' perceptions of governance and their participatory behaviour constitutes a basic concern of democratic theory and empirical political science.²¹ A landmark study of Italian regional governance demonstrated that social capital, comprising norms of generalized trust, civic engagement, and networks of voluntary associations, is the strongest predictor of democratic performance. Communities endowed with dense associational networks and high interpersonal trust are better able to hold the government accountable, coordinate collective action, and sustain community-based governance institutions over time.²² Subsequent applications of social capital theory to developing-country contexts have confirmed its relevance while making its more complex application: distinguishing between 'bonding' social capital (strong ties within homogeneous groups) and 'bridging' social capital (weak ties across assorted groups), arguing that the latter is more conducive to inclusive democratic participation.²³

At the individual level, perception functions as an important mediating variable between formal institutional arrangements and actual civic engagement.²⁴ The Critical Citizens' framework identifies a widespread global pattern in which growing democratic awareness and rising expectations about governance quality coexist with declining satisfaction with actual democratic

²⁰ Maribeth Erb and Priyambudi Sulistiyanto, *Reproduced From* :, ed. Maribeth Erb and Priyambudi Sulistiyanto, *Institute Of Southeast Asian Studies Publishing*, vol. 2 (Singapore: Institute of southeast asian studies, 2009).

²¹ Robert D. Putnam, Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nonetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy, Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 25 (PRINCETON, NE W JERSE Y: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1993), <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764096251009>.

²² Mahmoud Manouchehri Amoli et al., "MIPS Under Scrutiny: Exploring the Association Between Providers With Fraudulent Practices and Quality Metrics Within MACRA's Framework," *Journal of Evaluation in Clinical Practice* 31, no. 5 (August 23, 2025), <https://doi.org/10.1111/jep.70217>.

²³ Ivica Petrikova, "The Effects of Local-Level Economic Inequality on Social Capital: Evidence from Andhra Pradesh, India," *The European Journal of Development Research* 34, no. 6 (December 10, 2022): 2850–77, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41287-021-00495-w>; Jonathan Muringani, Rune D Fitjar, and Andrés Rodríguez-Pose, "Social Capital and Economic Growth in the Regions of Europe," *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 53, no. 6 (September 24, 2021): 1412–34, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X211000059>.

²⁴ Kaasa and Andriani, "Determinants of Institutional Trust: The Role of Cultural Context"; Silvia Mari et al., "Conspiracy Theories and Institutional Trust: Examining the Role of Uncertainty Avoidance and Active Social Media Use," *Political Psychology* 43, no. 2 (April 14, 2022): 277–96, <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12754>.

performance, a configuration she terms democratic deficit.²⁵ In the village context, this framework anticipates that communities exposed to the Village Law's participatory rhetoric but not its substantive implementation will develop heightened expectations that are frequently unmet, leading to cynical disengagement rather than constructive civic engagement.²⁶ This pattern is particularly salient in contexts defined by persistent patron-clientelist social relations, where citizens have historically been accustomed to receiving benefits from government in exchange for political loyalty rather than engaging as rights-bearing democratic participants.²⁷

In Indonesia's specific context, found that village youth hold ambivalent perceptions of democracy, acknowledging its normative desirability while expressing scepticism about its practical realization.²⁸ Openness and accountability are key factors influencing community satisfaction with local government performance. Although Indonesian democracy has progressed since the colonial era, entrenched local power structures, particularly village heads who control administrative authority, economic resources, and social status, continue to hinder genuine public participation.²⁹ This data forms the analytical foundation for the empirical research in this study.

Methods

Research Design and Epistemological Approach

This study adopts an empirical juridical approach, treating law not as a self-contained normative system but as social behaviour observable in practice, 'law in action' as distinct from 'law in books'.³⁰ This epistemological choice recognizes that the reformative potential of the Village

²⁵ Jorge Díaz-Lanchas, Aleksandra Sojka, and Filippo Di Pietro, "Of Losers and Laggards: The Interplay of Material Conditions and Individual Perceptions in the Shaping of EU Discontent," *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 14, no. 3 (October 11, 2021): 395–415, <https://doi.org/10.1093/cjres/rsab022>; Michael Kenny and Davide Luca, "The Urban-Rural Polarisation of Political Disenchantment: An Investigation of Social and Political Attitudes in 30 European Countries," *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 14, no. 3 (October 11, 2021): 565–82, <https://doi.org/10.1093/cjres/rsab012>.

²⁶ Xueyan Bai and Lin Yang, "Digital Literacy's Impact on Digital Village Participation in Rural Left-behind Women through Serial Mediation of Political Trust and Self-Efficacy," *Scientific Reports* 15, no. 1 (October 1, 2025): 34226, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-16093-3>; Özden, "Active Participation or Legal Obligation? A Qualitative Study of the Effectiveness of Participatory Methods Designed for Local Participation."

²⁷ Miquel Pellicer et al., "Poor People's Beliefs and the Dynamics of Clientelism," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 33, no. 3 (July 13, 2021): 300–332, <https://doi.org/10.1177/09516298211003661>; Martijn Koster and Flávio Eiró, "Clientelism in Northeast Brazil: Brokerage within and Outside Electoral Times," *Contemporary Social Science* 17, no. 3 (May 27, 2022): 222–34, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2021.1876244>.

²⁸ Sri Lestari Wahyuningroem et al., "Youth Political Participation and Digital Movement in Indonesia: The Case of #ReformasiDikorupsi and #TolakOmnibusLaw," *F1000Research* 12 (April 25, 2024): 543, <https://doi.org/10.12688/f1000research.122669.3>; Dimiyati et al., "Indonesia as a Legal Welfare State: A Prophetic-Transcendental Basis."

²⁹ Erlan Wijatmoko, Armaidly Armawi, and Teuku Faisal Fathani, "Legal Effectiveness in Promoting Development Policies: A Case Study of North Aceh Indonesia," *Heliyon* 9, no. 11 (November 2023): e21280, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e21280>; Wuwei Wang et al., "Satisfaction with and Factors Influencing Rural Residents' Government Responses to COVID-19 in the Post-Pandemic Era," *BMC Public Health* 25, no. 1 (March 28, 2025): 1174, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-025-22373-4>.

³⁰ Soehartono Soehartono et al., "The Establishing Paradigm of Dominus Litis Principle in Indonesian Administrative Justice," *Sriwijaya Law Review*, January 28, 2021, 42–55, <https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.Vol5.Iss1.877.pp42-55>.



Law cannot be assessed through examining its textual provisions in isolation; it requires investigating how those provisions are received, interpreted, implemented, contested, and adapted in specific social contexts.³¹ The study is qualitative in design, prioritizing depth, contextual sensitivity, and interpretive richness over generalizable statistical inference. Qualitative methodology is especially well-suited to the study's aim of understanding the meanings that community members attach to governance processes and democratic participation, which are not amenable to capture with survey instruments.³²

Research Site and Participant Recruitment

Rahong Village, situated in the Malingping District of Lebak Regency in Banten Province, was chosen as the research site through purposive sampling based on three specific criteria: accessibility for field research, theoretical relevance to the rural governance challenges in West Java, and the presence of discernible governance tensions that would enrich the analysis of the study's research questions. The village displays socioeconomic and administrative characteristics typical of many rural communities in Indonesia, featuring a predominantly agricultural population with varied educational backgrounds, limited physical infrastructure, modest financial resources, and governance institutions at different stages of post-reform development.

Seven key informants were selected to represent multiple actor positions across the governance-citizenry interface. Village government representatives included the village head (Kepala Desa), the village secretary (Sekretaris Desa), and the head of the economic development and welfare section (Kasi Ekbang dan Kesra). Oversight and representative institutions were represented by the chairman of the Village Consultative Body (Ketua Badan Permusyawaratan Desa/BPD). Civil society was represented by the chairman of the village youth organization (Ketua Karang Taruna). Ordinary citizens were represented by two community members with different socioeconomic profiles. This multi-actor design enables triangulation of perspectives across the governance-citizenry interface, including both the supply-side perspective of village officials and the demand-side perspective of community members.³³

Data Collection

Primary data were collected using three complementary techniques in January 2024. In-depth semi-structured interviews were the primary data source. Each interview lasted between 45 and 90 minutes and was conducted at a location chosen by the informant, primarily their home or workplace, to maximize comfort and candour. Interview guides were organized around four thematic clusters: governance mechanisms and planning processes; clarity and answerability in budget management; forms and determinants of community participation; and perceptions of democracy and democratic institutions. Follow-up probing questions were used to explore emergent themes and to challenge initial responses.

Direct field observation,³⁴ The second data collection technique was conducted over five days in Rahong Village. Observations focused on the physical environment of governance (the village hall, public information boards, and infrastructure projects) and on social interactions between village officials and community members in informal settings. Observational notes were

³¹ Soehartono et al.

³² John W. Creswell., *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 3rd ed. (Singapore: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.math.2010.09.003>.

³³ Barbara Oomen et al., "Strategies of Divergence: Local Authorities, Law, and Discretionary Spaces in Migration Governance," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 34, no. 4 (February 10, 2022): 3608–28, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feab062>.

³⁴ Isobel Johnston et al., "Conducting Qualitative Research on Acute Mental Health Inpatient Wards: Lessons from the Field," ed. Dongmei Li, *PLOS ONE* 20, no. 3 (March 27, 2025): e0319609, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0319609>.



recorded systematically using a structured observation guide. Document analysis, the third technique, examined village regulations (peraturan desa), the current RPJMDes, meeting minutes from recent Musdes sessions, the published APBDes, and official correspondence between the village government and the regency administration. These documentary sources provided an essential basis for triangulating informants' accounts against the official record.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using a combination of content analysis and descriptive-prescriptive analysis consistent with the empirical juridical framework. The analytical procedure followed the interactive model, comprising three iterative stages: data condensation, which involved the systematic selection, focusing, and transformation of raw data into analytically relevant units; data display, which organized condensed data into thematically narrative matrices enabling pattern identification; and conclusion drawing and verification, which formulated findings grounded in both the empirical data and the conceptual framework, subjecting initial conclusions to scrutiny through negative case analysis and member checking with selected informants.³⁵ Trustworthiness was enhanced through source triangulation across interview data, observational notes, and documentary evidence, as well as through researcher reflexivity practices, including maintenance of an audit trail.³⁶

Result and Discussions

Institutional Transformation Under the Village Law: Structures, Mechanisms, and Tensions

The Village Law has fundamentally restructured Rahong Village's governance architecture, creating a formally elaborated participatory planning cycle where previously none existed. Under the pre-2014 framework, village development planning was largely a top-down exercise in which regency government priorities were transmitted downward with minimal community input. The Village Law inverted this logic, mandating that planning begin from grassroots consultation and proceed upward through a hierarchy of deliberative forums.³⁷

In Rahong Village, this planning cycle is operationalized as follows. The cycle begins with neighbourhood-level consultations (Musyawarah Dusun/MODUS), during which RT-level representatives identify development priorities in their respective areas and submit them to the village government. These local priorities are then consolidated and deliberated in the formal Village Deliberative Forum (Musdes), convened in the village hall with participation from the Village Consultative Body (BPD), village government apparatus, and community representatives, as mandated by Article 54 of the Village Law. Following the Musdes, a Project Management Team (Tim Pengelola Kegiatan/TPK) is constituted to assess submitted priorities against criteria of community benefit, urgency, and available budgetary resources, producing a ranked list of approved development activities.

³⁵ Sarah Balcom, Shelley Doucet, and Anik Dubé, "Observation and Institutional Ethnography: Helping Us to See Better," *Qualitative Health Research* 31, no. 8 (July 7, 2021): 1534–41, <https://doi.org/10.1177/10497323211015966>; Paolo Franco and Ye (Nicole) Yang, "Exiting Fieldwork 'with Grace': Reflections on the Unintended Consequences of Participant Observation and Researcher-Participant Relationships," *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal* 24, no. 3 (August 3, 2021): 358–74, <https://doi.org/10.1108/QMR-07-2020-0094>.

³⁶ Creswell., *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*.

³⁷ Ardilafiza et al., "Ancient Sites, History and Local Wisdom: Tourism Boosting Reforms to Improve the Economy and Living Standard in the Province of Bengkulu, Indonesia"; M. Feisal Rahman et al., "Locally Led Adaptation: Promise, Pitfalls, and Possibilities," *Ambio* 52, no. 10 (October 7, 2023): 1543–57, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13280-023-01884-7>; Indra and Khoirunurrofik, "Understanding the Role of Village Fund and Administrative Capacity in Stunting Reduction: Empirical Evidence from Indonesia."



The village secretary provided a detailed account of this process, emphasizing its multi-actor character and its function as a mechanism for managing competing community demands:

After the village head's inauguration, we formulate the RPJMDes covering the six-year term. We cannot plan in isolation; the BPD is constitutionally integral to this process. Representatives from each RT submit priority proposals; these are consolidated into an RKPDes, which is then deliberated and ratified jointly with the BPD. Once ratified, the APBDes is publicly disclosed in the Musdes to guarantee transparency and to pre-empt questions about the allocation of village funds to specific activities.³⁸

This formal architecture is consistent with the Village Law's governance vision as expressed in Articles 26(1), 54(1), 79(1), and 81(2), which jointly mandate participatory planning, transparent budgeting, and community participation in implementation and monitoring. The presence of this framework constitutes a major structural advance over the pre-2014 model, and its operation in Rahong Village provides tangible evidence that the law's institutional provisions have been at least partially implemented.

However, the empirical record reveals that official institutional compliance coexists with substantial implementation challenges. Three bottlenecks emerged consistently across interview and field data. First, leadership decisiveness: the village's kasi ekbang identified a pattern whereby the village head defers decisions back to the originating party rather than exercising the directive authority required to resolve competing claims and move governance processes forward. Such hesitancy, whether attributable to conflict aversion, limited administrative self-confidence, or deference to informal social norms of consensus, produces governance paralysis in contexts that require timely executive action. Second, staff capacity: village apparatus members lack the technical and digital competencies needed for efficient administration, and basic computer operations remain challenging. This is not simply a training deficit but indicates a wider structural problem. The Village Law's ambitions were not matched by commensurate investment in developing local administrative capacity. Third, funding limitations: the allocation to Dana Desa, although substantial relative to previous village budgets, remains insufficient to fund all the priorities identified through the participatory planning process, generating community disappointment and perceptions of unkept promises.

These outcomes resonate with the wider decentralization literature's identification of the implementation capacity gap as the critical mediating variable between formal institutional design and actual governance outcomes.³⁹ They also echo the observation of incomplete administrative records in West Sumatran villages and documentation of human resource deficits in the Bengkulu village administration.⁴⁰ The consistency of these outcomes across geographically diverse contexts suggests that the capacity gap is a systemic feature of Indonesian village governance rather than an idiosyncratic local failure.

Democratic Perceptions in Rahong Village: Typology and Determinants

Community perceptions of democracy in Rahong Village exhibit a complex, internally differentiated structure that defies simple characterization. The study's empirical data highlight

³⁸ Interview with Mr. Tono as the Head of Ekbang and Welfare of Rahong Village. Saturday, January 20, 2024. At 14.00 WIB.

³⁹ Paul Smoke, "Decentralisation in Africa: Goals, Dimensions, Myths and Challenges," *Public Administration and Development* 23, no. 1 (February 4, 2003): 7–16, <https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.255>; Richard C. Crook and James Manor, *Democracy and Decentralisation in South Asia and West Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), <https://doi.org/10.1017/9780511607899>.

⁴⁰ Indra and Khoirunurrofik, "Understanding the Role of Village Fund and Administrative Capacity in Stunting Reduction: Empirical Evidence from Indonesia."

three distinct perceptual orientations associated with varying social positions, educational backgrounds, and prior political experiences. The first orientation, termed "democratic affirmation," is commonly observed among community leaders, members of youth organizations, and individuals with secondary or tertiary education.⁴¹ This group views democracy as a legitimate framework for ensuring justice and fair decision-making within their communities. They perceive the Village Law as a significant advancement, offering formal avenues for community expression and enhancing the legal status of village governance compared to its previous role under state control.

The village head notes that informal democratic activities take place during biweekly religious gatherings and during local leadership elections.⁴² This suggests that a democratic culture is emerging through everyday social practices, rather than exclusively through formal political avenues.⁴³ The second perspective is one of democratic ambivalence, distinguished by both support for democracy and uncertainty about its effectiveness. As residents gain a greater understanding of democratic doctrines, their expectations for good governance rise. When the actual governance falls short of these expectations, feelings of disillusionment can arise.⁴⁴ Many residents believe that decisions are largely made by the village head and a small circle of influential individuals, making community meetings feel more like mere rubber-stamping than authentic dialogue. Whether or not this perception is accurate, it tends to discourage participation; individuals who feel their opinions are not valued are less likely to involve themselves.⁴⁵ The third perspective is democratic passivity, often observed among residents with lower levels of education, limited political exposure, and pressing economic concerns. For this group, engaging in democratic processes appears to be something designated for others, specifically the educated, well-connected, and politically ambitious, rather than a personal right or duty. The prevalence of vote-buying in village head elections deepens the view that democracy primarily functions as a context for material exchange, rather than as a vehicle for joint decision-making. This corresponds with the assertion that in situations of economic hardship, the quest for immediate, concrete benefits frequently takes precedence over abstract political principles.⁴⁶

Two cross-cutting organizational factors shape all three perceptual orientations. Educational attainment exerts a consistent positive effect on democratic awareness and the capacity to interact productively with participative governance institutions, a finding consistent

⁴¹ Beiming Hu, Furong He, and Lingshan Hu, "Community Empowerment Under Powerful Government: A Sustainable Tourism Development Path for Cultural Heritage Sites," *Frontiers in Psychology* 13 (February 22, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.752051>; Puneet Pathak et al., "Realizing Human Rights in Rural Punjab of India: A Study of Enforcement of Selected Human Rights," *Frontiers in Sociology* 10 (September 16, 2025), <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2025.1619603>.

⁴² Interview with Mr. Ube Jubaidi, Village Head. Monday 1 January 2024. At 13.00 WIB

⁴³ Curtis W. McCord and Christoph Becker, "Beyond Transactional Democracy: A Study of Civic Tech in Canada," *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 7, no. CSCW1 (April 14, 2023): 1–37, <https://doi.org/10.1145/3579462>; Zichen Ke, "Values and Challenges of Participatory Art in Urban and Community Development: A 10-Year Systematic Review," *Frontiers in Sociology* 10 (September 5, 2025), <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2025.1571383>; Laurence Bherer, Pascale Dufour, and Françoise Montambeault, "What Is Informal Participation?," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 36, no. 1 (March 10, 2023): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-022-09440-z>.

⁴⁴ Swyngedouw, "Illiberalism and the Democratic Paradox: The Infernal Dialectic of Neoliberal Emancipation"; Kenny and Luca, "The Urban-Rural Polarisation of Political Disenchantment: An Investigation of Social and Political Attitudes in 30 European Countries."

⁴⁵ Interview with Mr. Opik as a Rahong Village Resident. Saturday, January 20, 2024. At 13.00 WIB

⁴⁶ Kenny and Luca, "The Urban-Rural Polarisation of Political Disenchantment: An Investigation of Social and Political Attitudes in 30 European Countries"; Sennan D. Mattar et al., "Climate Justice: Priorities for Equitable Recovery from the Pandemic," *Climate Policy* 21, no. 10 (November 26, 2021): 1307–17, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2021.1976095>.



with decades of comparative research on the education-participation nexus.⁴⁷ Religious community organizations, particularly the biweekly pengajian gatherings mentioned by the village head, function as informal sites of political socialization, civic norm-building, and information sharing, partially compensating for deficits in formal democratic education. This finding stresses the importance of recognizing informal associational life as a constitutive element of village democratic culture, a facet often underweighted in governance reform programmes that focus exclusively on formal institutional mechanisms.⁴⁸

Community Participation: Channels, Patterns, and the Structural Participation Gap

Participatory engagement in Rahong Village's governance processes is structurally available but unevenly distributed in practice. The formal mechanisms created by the Village Law, the Musdes, the RPJMDes formulation, the RKPDes preparation, and the APBDes deliberation constitute an inclusive participatory architecture that, in principle, enables all community members to contribute to governance decisions. In practice, however, participation is concentrated among a minority of civically active residents, leaving the majority in a position of passive reception rather than active engagement.⁴⁹

The village consultative body (BPD) chairman's account of participation patterns is particularly illuminating. He observed that a significant portion of the community fails to attend Musdes sessions or provide inputs to BPD deliberations, even when specifically invited to do so. The primary explanatory mechanism he identified was a perception of political futility: residents feel that their inputs will not significantly influence decisions, a self-fulfilling belief, as it produces exactly the low-participation outcome it predicts. This observation suggests that the participation gap in Rahong Village is not simply a product of apathy or ignorance but is structurally reproduced by the interaction between governance methods and community expectations.⁵⁰

The village secretary's account of participation dynamics adds a temporal dimension to this analysis. He noted that community members generally engage with governance processes at the proposal stage, identifying desired development activities for submission to the Musdes, but disengage during the implementation and monitoring phases. This asymmetric participation pattern has significant governance implications: it means that the accountability function of community oversight, which the Village Law explicitly envisions (Article 68(1)(c)), is effectively unexercised in Rahong Village. Monitoring gaps are particularly consequential in infrastructure projects, where community oversight can prevent quality deficiencies and verify that contracted work conforms to approved specifications.⁵¹

Four key mechanisms influence the participation gap in Rahong Village. First, information asymmetry exists, as community members lack knowledge about governance processes, budget

⁴⁷ Henry E Brady, Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman, "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation," *American Political Science Review* 89, no. 2 (1995): 271–94, <https://doi.org/DOI:10.2307/2082425>.

⁴⁸ Isabel Saz-Gil, Ignacio Bretos, and Millán Díaz-Foncela, "Cooperatives and Social Capital: A Narrative Literature Review and Directions for Future Research," *Sustainability* 13, no. 2 (January 8, 2021): 534, <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13020534>; Muhamad Rosyid Jazuli, Maimanah Mohammed Idris, and Penlope Yaguma, "The Importance of Institutional Quality: Reviewing the Relevance of Indonesia's Omnibus Law on National Competitiveness," *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 9, no. 1 (September 24, 2022): 334, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-022-01343-w>.

⁴⁹ Interview with Mr. Tono as the Head of Ekbang and Welfare of Rahong Village. Saturday, January 20, 2024. At 14.00 WIB.

⁵⁰ Interview with Mr. Ukaryadi, Chairman of BPD Rahong Village. Saturday, February 10, 2024. At 13.00 WIB

⁵¹ Interview with Mr. Epi Secretary of Rahong Village. Monday, January 1, 2024. At 14.00 WIB



allocations, and their legal rights under the Village Law. This is not due to intentional suppression but reflects inadequate communication from the village government. Second, citizens experience and efficacy deficit, believing their participation will not lead to meaningful policy changes, shaped by past governance experiences and a culture that promotes deference to authority. Third, socioeconomic constraints impose significant time demands, particularly on women who manage both work and household responsibilities, making participation challenging. Lastly, cultural norms like *hormat* (respect for authority) discourage questioning village leaders, stifling critical civic engagement essential for accountability. Against this challenging backdrop, the Karang Taruna chairman's announcement of plans to conduct broader democratic education and outreach activities constitutes a promising signal of emerging civil society agency. Youth organizations have historically been vehicles for civic engagement and norm change in Indonesian society, and their mobilization in support of democratic participation could serve as an important complement to the formal participatory mechanisms established by the Village Law.⁵²

Transparency, Accountability, and the Quality of Democratic Administration

Transparency and answerability, the twin pillars of popular governance, emerged as the dimensions of governance quality most consistently identified by informants as falling short of community expectations and legal requirements.⁵³ These data are analytically significant because they represent the point of most direct articulation between the Village Law's normative aspirations and the experienced experience of governance in Rahong Village.

On transparency, the formal requirements are clear: the Village Law mandates public disclosure of the APBDes, and governance norms require that village government activities be reported to the community through the annual accountability report (LPPD). In practice, the village government in Rahong discloses budget information through the *Musdes* process, and an information board at the village hall displays key governance data.⁵⁴ However, as multiple community informants noted, the mere availability of information does not guarantee its attainability or comprehensibility. Budget documents are technical in character, and community members without relevant financial or administrative literacy are unable to interpret or interrogate them. This 'transparency gap' between formal disclosure and meaningful citizen knowledge is a recurring feature of decentralized governance in developing countries⁵⁵ and points to the need for active information intermediation by civil society organizations, local media, or trained community facilitators to translate governance information into forms that ordinary citizens can engage with critically.

On accountability, the deficits are more structural and more consequential. The BPD, which is formally responsible for overseeing village government performance, is constrained by limited institutional capacity, insufficient independence from the executive, and a culture of conflict avoidance that discourages the exercise of its supervisory function. Community members, for their part, are inhibited from raising concerns or lodging complaints by the cultural norms of deference discussed above, as well as by the absence of accessible, formalized grievance

⁵² Interview with Mr. Deni Chairman of the Youth Organization. Saturday, February 10, 2024. At 14.00 WIB

⁵³ Øyvind Ihlen et al., "Transparency beyond Information Disclosure: Strategies of the Scandinavian Public Health Authorities during the COVID-19 Pandemic," *Journal of Risk Research* 25, no. 10 (October 3, 2022): 1176–89, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13669877.2022.2077416>; Abdulsalam Ahmed Sawmar and Mustafa Omar Mohammed, "Enhancing Zakat Compliance through Good Governance: A Conceptual Framework," *ISRA International Journal of Islamic Finance* 13, no. 1 (July 6, 2021): 136–54, <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJIF-10-2018-0116>.

⁵⁴ Interview with Mr. Epi Secretary of Rahong Village. Monday, January 1, 2024. At 14.00 WIB

⁵⁵ John Gaventa and Rosemary McGee, "The Impact of Transparency and Accountability Initiatives," *Development Policy Review* 31, no. S1 (2013), <https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12017>.



mechanisms that would protect complainants from social sanctions. The result is an accountability regime in which formal oversight structures exist on paper but are insufficiently operationalized in practice, a pattern consistent with the broader literature on principal-agent problems in decentralized governance.⁵⁶

The erosion of gotong royong (communal cooperation) norms, identified by community member Ibu Nur as an important governance challenge, adds a cultural dimension to the accountability analysis.⁵⁷ Gotong royong has traditionally served as an informal accountability mechanism in Indonesian villages: communal work practices create shared knowledge of who contributes and who free-rides, enabling informal social sanctioning of non-compliant behaviour by government and community members alike. Its erosion under the combined pressures of economic individualization and demographic change reduces the community's collective capacity to hold government accountable through social rather than formal institutional means. Strengthening civic awareness, therefore, requires not simply legal provision or formal institutional reform but sustained investment in the social foundations of democratic culture, including the revitalization of communal cooperation practices that build civic trust and collective efficacy.

Conclusion

The empirical data from the study reveal three distinct perceptual orientations linked to varying social positions, educational backgrounds, and prior political experiences. The first orientation, referred to as "democratic affirmation," is predominantly found among community leaders, members of youth organizations, and individuals with secondary or tertiary education. This group perceives democracy as a legitimate framework for promoting justice and fair decision-making within their communities. They regard the Village Law as a significant advancement, providing formal avenues for community expression and elevating the legal status of village governance compared to its previous oversight by the state.

Additionally, the village head indicates that informal democratic socialization takes place through biweekly religious gatherings and neighborhood leadership elections. This illustrates the development of a democratic culture in which participatory norms are fostered through social practices rather than solely through formal political mechanisms.

Furthermore, this study contributes to the growing body of literature on informal institutions within democratic governance by underscoring the role of religious associations, communal cooperation practices, and social norms of deference as crucial co-determinants of participatory outcomes, alongside formal legal and institutional factors.

However, it is vital to acknowledge several limitations of this study. Although the single-case design facilitates in-depth exploration and contextual specificity, it limits the generalizability of the findings to other village contexts. Moreover, the study's reliance on self-reported interview data may introduce social desirability bias, particularly in responses from village officials. Future research should aim to address these limitations by using comparative multi-village designs that incorporate survey instruments alongside qualitative inquiries, thereby enabling the generation of statistically representative estimates of participation rates, perceptual distributions, and their determinants. Conducting longitudinal studies that monitor changes in governance quality and participation throughout the implementation of the Village Law would also yield valuable insights into the dynamics of institutional change and the deepening of democracy at the village level.

⁵⁶ Gaventa and Mcgee.

⁵⁷ Interview with Mrs. Nur as a community member of Rahong Village. Saturday, January 20, 2024. At 16.00 WIB.

CRediT Authorship Contribution Statement

Rizki Dwi Pangestu: Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing -original Draft. **Iin Ratna Sumirat:** Supervision, Writing - review & editing.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no competing financial interests or personal relationships that could influence the work reported in this paper.

Data Availability

Data will be made available on request.

References

- Abbas, Syahrizal, and Ramzi Murziqin. "Sharia-Based Regional Regulations in the Indonesian National Law System." *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 9, no. 3 (September 30, 2021): 529. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v9i3.673>.
- Adamidis, Vasileios. "Democracy, Populism, and the Rule of Law: A Reconsideration of Their Interconnectedness." *Politics* 44, no. 3 (August 23, 2024): 386–99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02633957211041444>.
- Arai, Yuki, Maswadi Maswadi, Shenny Oktoriana, Anita Suharyani, Didik Didik, and Makoto Inoue. "How Can We Mitigate Power Imbalances in Collaborative Environmental Governance? Examining the Role of the Village Facilitation Team Approach Observed in West Kalimantan, Indonesia." *Sustainability* 13, no. 7 (April 2, 2021): 3972. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13073972>.
- Ardilafiza, Kurnia Warman, Beni Kurnia Illahi, and Hilaire Tegan. "Ancient Sites, History and Local Wisdom: Tourism Boosting Reforms to Improve the Economy and Living Standard in the Province of Bengkulu, Indonesia." *Ancient Asia* 12 (September 23, 2021). <https://doi.org/10.5334/aa.235>.
- Bai, Xueyan, and Lin Yang. "Digital Literacy's Impact on Digital Village Participation in Rural Left-behind Women through Serial Mediation of Political Trust and Self-Efficacy." *Scientific Reports* 15, no. 1 (October 1, 2025): 34226. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-16093-3>.
- Balcom, Sarah, Shelley Doucet, and Anik Dubé. "Observation and Institutional Ethnography: Helping Us to See Better." *Qualitative Health Research* 31, no. 8 (July 7, 2021): 1534–41. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10497323211015966>.
- Bardhan, Pranab, and Dilip Mookherjee. "The Rise of Local Governments: An Overview." In *Decentralization and Local Governance in Developing Countries*, 1–52. Cambridge, London: The MIT Press, 2006. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/2297.003.0002>.
- Barton, Greg, Ihsan Yilmaz, and Nicholas Morieson. "Authoritarianism, Democracy, Islamic Movements and Contestations of Islamic Religious Ideas in Indonesia." *Religions* 12, no. 8 (August 13, 2021): 641. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12080641>.
- Bell, Karen, and Mark Reed. "The Tree of Participation: A New Model for Inclusive Decision-Making." *Community Development Journal*, June 8, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsab018>.
- Brusca, Isabel, Francesca Manes Rossi, and Natalia Aversano. "Accountability and Transparency to Fight against Corruption: An International Comparative Analysis." *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice* 20, no. 5 (October 20, 2018): 486–504. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13876988.2017.1393951>.



- Chandranegara, Ibnu Sina, and Dwi Putri Cahyawati. "Conflict of Interest Prevention Clause in the Constitution: The Study of the Indonesian Constitution." *Heliyon* 9, no. 3 (March 2023): e14679. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e14679>.
- Chen, Can, and Milena I. Neshkova. "The Effect of Fiscal Transparency on Corruption: A Panel Cross-country Analysis." *Public Administration* 98, no. 1 (March 13, 2020): 226–43. <https://doi.org/10.1111/padm.12620>.
- Creswell, John W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 3rd ed. Singapore: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2009. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.math.2010.09.003>.
- Díaz-Lanchas, Jorge, Aleksandra Sojka, and Filippo Di Pietro. "Of Losers and Laggards: The Interplay of Material Conditions and Individual Perceptions in the Shaping of EU Discontent." *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 14, no. 3 (October 11, 2021): 395–415. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cjres/rsab022>.
- Dimiyati, Khudzaifah, Haedar Nashir, Elviandri Elviandri, Absori Absori, Kelik Wardiono, and Arief Budiono. "Indonesia as a Legal Welfare State: A Prophetic-Transcendental Basis." *Heliyon* 7, no. 8 (August 2021): e07865. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e07865>.
- Dulkiah, Moh., John Christianto Simon, Heru Widoyo, Widodo Brontowiyono, Faria Ruhana, and Rian Sacipto. "Community Participation Forms in Indonesian Villages to Support the Sustainable Development Goals Program." *Journal of Law and Sustainable Development* 11, no. 11 (November 13, 2023): e2061. <https://doi.org/10.55908/sdgs.v11i11.2061>.
- Elepi Lutpiani. *Implentasi Demokrasi Di Indonesia*. *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling*. Vol. 53, 2013.
- Erb, Maribeth, and Priyambudi Sulistiyanto. *Reproduced From* : Edited by Maribeth Erb and Priyambudi Sulistiyanto. *Institute Of Southeast Asian Studies Publishing*. Vol. 2. Singapore: Institute of southeast asian studies, 2009.
- Franco, Paolo, and Ye (Nicole) Yang. "Exiting Fieldwork 'with Grace': Reflections on the Unintended Consequences of Participant Observation and Researcher-Participant Relationships." *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal* 24, no. 3 (August 3, 2021): 358–74. <https://doi.org/10.1108/QMR-07-2020-0094>.
- Hamdani, Fathul, and Ana Fauzia. "Legal Discourse: The Spirit of Democracy and Human Rights Post Simultaneous Regional Elections 2020 in the Covid-19 Pandemic Era." *Lex Scientia Law Review* 5, no. 1 (May 30, 2021). <https://doi.org/10.15294/lesrev.v5i1.45887>.
- Hammersley, Martyn. "Karl Popper Versus Karl Mannheim on Sociology and Democratic Governance." *The British Journal of Sociology* 76, no. 4 (September 5, 2025): 841–50. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.13221>.
- Hao, Diandian, Ziyi Yan, Yanan Wang, and Bowen Wang. "Effect of Village Informal Institutions and Cadre-Mass Relationship for Farmers' Participation in Rural Residential Environment Governance in China." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 20, no. 1 (December 20, 2022): 3. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph20010003>.
- Hyland-Wood, Bernadette, John Gardner, Julie Leask, and Ullrich K. H. Ecker. "Toward Effective Government Communication Strategies in the Era of COVID-19." *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 8, no. 1 (January 27, 2021): 30. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-020-00701-w>.

- Indra, Jul, and Khoirunurrofik Khoirunurrofik. "Understanding the Role of Village Fund and Administrative Capacity in Stunting Reduction: Empirical Evidence from Indonesia." Edited by Carlos Alberto Zúniga-González. *PLOS ONE* 17, no. 1 (January 28, 2022): e0262743. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0262743>.
- Johnston, Isobel, Helen Morley, Gill Gilworth, Jessica Raphael, Paul Wilson, Dawn Edge, and Katherine Berry. "Conducting Qualitative Research on Acute Mental Health Inpatient Wards: Lessons from the Field." Edited by Dongmei Li. *PLOS ONE* 20, no. 3 (March 27, 2025): e0319609. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0319609>.
- Kaasa, Anneli, and Luca Andriani. "Determinants of Institutional Trust: The Role of Cultural Context." *Journal of Institutional Economics* 18, no. 1 (February 19, 2022): 45–65. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1744137421000199>.
- Kenny, Michael, and Davide Luca. "The Urban-Rural Polarisation of Political Disenchantment: An Investigation of Social and Political Attitudes in 30 European Countries." *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 14, no. 3 (October 11, 2021): 565–82. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cjres/rsab012>.
- Kiess, Johannes. "Learning by Doing: The Impact of Experiencing Democracy in Education on Political Trust and Participation." *Politics* 42, no. 1 (February 3, 2022): 75–94. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263395721990287>.
- Koster, Martijn, and Flávio Eiró. "Clientelism in Northeast Brazil: Brokerage within and Outside Electoral Times." *Contemporary Social Science* 17, no. 3 (May 27, 2022): 222–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2021.1876244>.
- Lim, Da-Hee, and Dae-Woong Lee. "Non-Face-to-Face Public Services and Perceptions of Public Organizations." *Sustainability* 13, no. 21 (November 4, 2021): 12185. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su132112185>.
- Lindawaty, Debora Sanur. "Pembangunan Desa Pasca Undang-Undang No. 6 Tahun 2014 Tentang Desa [Village Development Post Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages]." *Jurnal Politica Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri Dan Hubungan Internasional* 14, no. 1 (August 18, 2023): 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v14i1.4120>.
- Malodia, Suresh, Amandeep Dhir, Mahima Mishra, and Zeeshan Ahmed Bhatti. "Future of E-Government: An Integrated Conceptual Framework." *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 173 (December 2021): 121102. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2021.121102>.
- Manor, James. *The Political Economy of Democratic Decentralization*. First Prin. Washinton, D.C.: The World Bank, 1999.
- Manouchehri Amoli, Mahmoud, Peter J. Cunningham, Brian Cassel, Nathan W. Carroll, and Bassam Dahman. "MIPS Under Scrutiny: Exploring the Association Between Providers With Fraudulent Practices and Quality Metrics Within MACRA's Framework." *Journal of Evaluation in Clinical Practice* 31, no. 5 (August 23, 2025). <https://doi.org/10.1111/jep.70217>.
- Margareta, Priska Septiana, and Salahudin Salahudin. "Community Participation in Regional Development Planning: A Literature Review." *TRANSFORMASI: Jurnal Manajemen Pemerintahan*, January 19, 2022, 121–32. <https://doi.org/10.33701/jtp.v13i2.1584>.
- Mari, Silvia, Homero Gil de Zúñiga, Ahmet Suerdem, Katja Hanke, Gary Brown, Roosevelt Vilar, Diana Boer, and Michal Bilewicz. "Conspiracy Theories and Institutional Trust:



- Examining the Role of Uncertainty Avoidance and Active Social Media Use." *Political Psychology* 43, no. 2 (April 14, 2022): 277–96. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12754>.
- Muringani, Jonathan, Rune D Fitjar, and Andrés Rodríguez-Pose. "Social Capital and Economic Growth in the Regions of Europe." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 53, no. 6 (September 24, 2021): 1412–34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X211000059>.
- Oates, Wallace E. "An Essay on Fiscal Federalism." *Fiscal Federalism and European Economic Integration* XXXVII, no. September (2003): 13–47. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203987254>.
- Oomen, Barbara, Moritz Baumgärtel, Sara Miellet, Elif Durmus, and Tihomir Sabchev. "Strategies of Divergence: Local Authorities, Law, and Discretionary Spaces in Migration Governance." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 34, no. 4 (February 10, 2022): 3608–28. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feab062>.
- Özden, Miray. "Active Participation or Legal Obligation? A Qualitative Study of the Effectiveness of Participatory Methods Designed for Local Participation." *Quality & Quantity* 58, no. 1 (February 6, 2024): 559–80. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-023-01658-z>.
- Pareek, Urvashi, and Nagendra Ambedkar Sole. "Quality of Public Services in the Era of Guaranteed Public Service Delivery." *Indian Journal of Public Administration* 68, no. 2 (June 23, 2022): 160–73. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00195561211072575>.
- Pellicer, Miquel, Eva Wegner, Lindsay J. Benstead, and Ellen Lust. "Poor People's Beliefs and the Dynamics of Clientelism." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 33, no. 3 (July 13, 2021): 300–332. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09516298211003661>.
- Petrikova, Ivica. "The Effects of Local-Level Economic Inequality on Social Capital: Evidence from Andhra Pradesh, India." *The European Journal of Development Research* 34, no. 6 (December 10, 2022): 2850–77. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41287-021-00495-w>.
- Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nonetti. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. Vol. 25. PRINCETON, NE W JERSE Y: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1993. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764096251009>.
- Rammohan, Anu, and Achmad Tohari. "Rural Poverty and Labour Force Participation: Evidence from Indonesia's Village Fund Program." Edited by Kannan Navaneetham. *PLOS ONE* 18, no. 6 (June 21, 2023): e0283041. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0283041>.
- Renzio, Paolo de, and Joachim Wehner. "The Impacts of Fiscal Openness: A Review of the Evidence." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2602439>.
- Santoso, Lukman. "Construction of Village Autonomy Regulation in Achieving People's Welfare: Critical Review Law Number 6 of 2014 on Villages." *Al-Daulah Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam* 11, no. 1 (April 3, 2021): 47–74. <https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2021.11.1.47-74>.
- Shi, Jiangang, Xingying Dai, Kaifeng Duan, and Jiajia Li. "Exploring the Performances and Determinants of Public Service Provision in 35 Major Cities in China from the Perspectives of Efficiency and Effectiveness." *Socio-Economic Planning Sciences* 85 (February 2023): 101441. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.seps.2022.101441>.
- Soehartono, Soehartono, Kukuh Tejomurti, Arsyad Aldyan, and Rachma Indriyani. "The

- Establishing Paradigm of Dominus Litis Principle in Indonesian Administrative Justice." *Sriwijaya Law Review*, January 28, 2021, 42–55. <https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.Vol5.Iss1.877.pp42-55>.
- Swyngedouw, Erik. "Illiberalism and the Democratic Paradox: The Infernal Dialectic of Neoliberal Emancipation." *European Journal of Social Theory* 25, no. 1 (February 2022): 53–74. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684310211027079>.
- Tiebout, Charles M. "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures" 64, no. 5 (2008): 416–24.
- Wahyuningroem, Sri Lestari, Rheinhard Sirait, Uljanatunnisa Uljanatunnisa, and Dudy Heryadi. "Youth Political Participation and Digital Movement in Indonesia: The Case of #ReformasiDikorupsi and #TolakOmnibusLaw." *F1000Research* 12 (April 25, 2024): 543. <https://doi.org/10.12688/f1000research.122669.3>.
- Wang, Wuwei, Xiaokang Li, Liming Zhang, Hao Li, and Dacai Deng. "Satisfaction with and Factors Influencing Rural Residents' Government Responses to COVID-19 in the Post-Pandemic Era." *BMC Public Health* 25, no. 1 (March 28, 2025): 1174. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-025-22373-4>.
- Wijatmoko, Erlan, Armaidly Armawi, and Teuku Faisal Fathani. "Legal Effectiveness in Promoting Development Policies: A Case Study of North Aceh Indonesia." *Heliyon* 9, no. 11 (November 2023): e21280. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e21280>.
- Wijaya, Mas Pungky Hendra, and Mohammad Zulfikar Ali. "Legislation Impediments in Reorganising Government Bodies in Indonesia." *BESTUUR* 9, no. 1 (August 12, 2021): 1. <https://doi.org/10.20961/bestuur.v9i1.51633>.