

Contesting the Independence of Village Head Election Organizers with E-voting

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Abstract: This article describes the intervention of the Sleman local government in village administration, especially in implementing the e-voting village head election. The Sleman local government argued that the e-voting device for the village head (*lurah*) election was smart, fast and accurate. However, the author rejected this argument because 59 state civil servants were involved as the main technical team. The involvement of ASNs (civil servants) in the election indicated that the organizers' independence had violated Law No. 16/2014, article 32. This research method used an exploratory qualitative approach combined with governmentality. Primary data collection was done through interviews and observations. Secondary data was collected through mapping journals and books. After data collection, validation checks were carried out with the triangulation principle. Data analysis combined combining theory and field data. The results indicated that non-independent ASNs could create a pseudo-legitimacy for the results of the *lurah* election.

Keyword: *Independence, Village Head Election, E-Voting, Legitimacy.*

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INTRODUCTION

Sleman Regent, Sri Purnomo, has always wanted to make Sleman a smart regency. Therefore, the head village (*lurah*) election implemented e-voting. However, implementing e-voting for the election raised independence issues. The fundamental problem in the e-voting *lurah* election in 49 Sleman Villages which was held on December 20, 2020, was the involvement of 59 state civil servants (ASN) who became the Main Technical Team (TTU). Main Technical Team had the main tasks of document archiving, reporting and installing e-voting equipment. The direct involvement of ASN in the *Lurah* Election (*Pilur*) made the organizers (government) dependent. In the democratic process, e-voting is supposed to be independent so that the public can trust the legitimacy of the results.

For this reason, the e-voting was rejected by the *lurah* because the organizers were not independent - they had the e-voting device password and could interfere with the election results. Therefore, the author argued that *pilur*, through e-voting and involving ASN, eliminates community

involvement as the owner of sovereignty. The purpose of this study is to criticize the 'forced' *pilur* through e-voting due to the lack of public understanding of the tool.

This study is urgent and important because of the democratic values eliminated in the Sleman village head election (Lauer & Lauer, 2016). The village head candidates rejected the e-voting results.

The critical question in this article is why the civil servants of Sleman were actively involved in operating the *pilur* e-voting device? To critically examine this article, the author used the perspective of governmentality popularized by Foucault. The critical question should be asked: why did the government come up with the idea of e-voting in the village head election as a smart, fast, and accurate way compared to the manual election?

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A previous study on e-voting in the village head election (*Pilur* e-voting) was conducted by Darmawan & Nurhandjati (2016) in Musi Rawas with a sample of three villages, Wonokerto, Pelawe, and BTS Ulu. They mapped that the e-voting in the village head election had been carried out until 2015, including Jembarana (Bali), Boyolali (Central Java), Musi Rawas (South Sumatera), Empat Lawang (South Sumatera), Boalemo (Gorontalo), Bantaeng (South Sulawesi), and Pekalongan (Central Java). The village head elections through e-voting in several areas went smoothly and efficiently. Darmawan and Nurhandjati's findings showed that the motivation of the Musi Rawas Regional Government to adopt e-voting in the village head election was efficient, with quick recapitulation results, accuracy, and no double voters or wasted voter votes.

Hapsara et al. (2017) examined the motives of the Boyolali Regency Government in implementing e-voting for the village head election. Hapsara (2019) found an efficient budget for village head elections to be paperless. However, she found a problem with the technology adoption being transformed in rural communities. The villagers used to vote for the village head using ballot papers, but they had to touch the image on the monitor. Hapsara's dissertation received many critiques due to the respondents interviewed by members of the General Election Commission, while it was the village head election and not the general election. Since the purpose was to investigate the motives of the Regional Government to adopt e-voting in the village head election, she was stuck with the word efficiency and accuracy of voter data without criticizing how the e-voting process in the village head election and the missing democratic values factors were.

In line with (Simangunsong & Rasak, 2016), who conducted a study in Bantaeng Regency, the readiness factor of human resources in operationalization greatly determined the process of e-voting in the village head election. The incompetence of human resources in operationalizing e-voting caused technical problems. Technical problems could be equipment failure or the vote-counting system not working according to the procedure. These technical problems could lead to distrust of the process of organizing the e-voting in the village head election.

Problems with human resources and e-voting equipment in the village head election were also found by (Fatmawati and Nurlita Fitri, 2020) in Pemalang. They explained that there were problems with verifying the error voting tool, making it difficult for the organizers. Likewise, there was also a problem with verifying an error in the e-KTP fingerprint, thus opening the opportunity for one person to double vote because the fingerprint had not been verified by the e-voting tool. Therefore, Fatmawati and Saputro suggested that additional tools were needed to verify voter data and optimal socialization to the entire community.

According to Hidayat (2020), the problem behind the community rejecting the e-voting in the village head election was due to technical obstacles that thwarted the winning of candidates and damaged the cultural values in a society accustomed to voting for candidates images manually. Moreover, the socialization factor in the community was not yet optimal, causing them not to be ready to accept changes in the way of voting, from manual voting to touching the computer monitor screen.

However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, where the health protocols are strictly implemented, there is an opportunity to implement e-voting in the village head election. A study by (Taniady et al., 2020) found an opportunity for e-voting in the village head election because the implementation of village head election during the pandemic prohibited mass crowds and enforced strict health protocols. According to Taniady et al. (2020), the election with the e-voting system in Australia and Brazil was effective because the people were technology literate and had optimal socialization. On the other hand, the e-voting system in Indonesia is considered ineffective because the Indonesian people are heterogeneous, and not all of them are technologically literate. Furthermore, geographical factors, where people are scattered in rural, urban and remote areas, make it difficult to access e-voting in the village head election.

A critical evaluation of the practice of e-voting in the village head election was also carried out by Widyana et al. (2014) in Gresik Regency. According to Widyana, head election through e-voting was considered wasteful because it required a large amount of funding. For example, some residents may have passed away or moved, still enabling them to be registered voters. The involvement of *Disdukcapil* in the e-voting process was vulnerable to the organizers' independence.

The e-voting in Paju'kukang Village, Bantaeng Regency, South Sulawesi, was studied by (Nara & Sukma Dewi, 2017). Their study supported the findings of Simangunsong's research. They found it effective because the election system was fast and socialization in the community was optimal. Human resource was an obstacle to e-voting.

According to (Madise & Martens, 2006), e-voting was first implemented in Estonian General Elections. The election went smoothly, but the e-voting election did not increase public participation. Furthermore, members of parliament also questioned the legal basis. The legal basis for e-voting for parliament is crucial because e-voting without a clear legal basis can cause illegal election results.

A study by Osho et al. (2016) on 306 voters in Nigeria who were millennial generation (aged 18-24 years) found that the education factor was correlated with technology literacy. Educated voters (students) were familiar with the e-voting system because they have used their gadgets (internet) daily. However, those unfamiliar with gadgets (internet) experienced doubts or worries. According to Osho et al., public confidence was influenced by educational background and demographic factors. The public education factor correlates with their acceptance of the e-voting system, where a machine algorithm determines the election results. While the demographic factors of the people are remote, it is difficult to access information.

Supporting Esho's findings, Waller (2020) conducted a study on 600 youths in Jamaica. Waller's research indicated that young people familiar with the internet felt comfortable with the e-voting system. They did not doubt the election results with the e-voting system because they believed in it. Waller's findings implied that young people would come to vote. They did not have a problem with the technical system, although demographic conditions and unstable signals may prevent them from voting (Muhammad et al., 2020).

Research on elections in several countries that used e-voting tools indicated piracy vulnerability, and the results were less reliable (Antoniou et al., 2007). In addition, the e-voting tool has substantially replaced the democratization party conducted by the community (Garnett & James, 2020; Kassen, 2020; Pereira, 2021). The public cannot transparently watch the organizers' recapitulation because of machine algorithm replacement (Burnell, 2018; Cserny & Nemeslaki, 2018; Waller, 2020). The public only accepts the election results without witnessing the calculations. Without the organizers' closure of the results recapitulation process, fraud in transferring votes to candidates can occur. Therefore, the independence and integrity of the general election organizers are the keys to the trust and legitimacy of the election results (Daniller & Mutz, 2019; Ottoboni & Stark, 2019; Pereira, 2021)

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Village head/lurah election/Kalurahan embodies democracy at the community level. Based on Law Number 6 of 2014, Article 31 concerning the Election of the Village Head of the Village stated that the election of the Village Head was carried out simultaneously. Furthermore, Law No. 6/2014, article 32 of the Village Consultative Body, notifies the Lurah 6 months before retirement. After that, the Village Consultative Body formed a Village Head Election Committee, which was independent and did not side with the candidates. Being independent is the main requirement for becoming a Village Head Election Committee so that the *pilur* results have legitimacy (Garnett & James, 2020; Gibson et al., 2016; Lauer & Lauer, 2016; Taş & Tanriöver, 2021).

Governmentality and Power Relations

The village head election (*Pilur*) is a manifestation of the struggle for power in the realm of the village. The Sleman Regional Government has issued Regional Government Regulation Number 18 of 2019 on using the e-voting system in the village head election. In this case, the government has set regulations, forcing the community as the owner of the highest sovereignty to obey. However, the process of making Regional Regulation Number 18 of 2019 seems to be loaded with various interests of the political elite and the local government. To investigate the regulation set in the Regional Regulation Number 18 of 2019, the researcher employed Foucault's theory (Behrent, 2013) regarding governmentality. Governmentality is an arrangement or strategy carried out by the government to prosper the community without realizing it. Through discourse and policies that are realized through regulations and to benefit the people, governmentality is used as a tactic to grow the image of a government that favors the people. Furthermore, (Foucault, 2001) explains governmentality as follows.

"The art of government, as becomes apparent in this literature, is essentially concerned with answering the question of how to introduce economy— that is to say, the correct way of managing individuals, goods, and wealth within the family (which a good father is expected to do with his wife, children, and servants) and of making the family fortunes prosper— how to introduce this meticulous attention of the father toward his family into the management of the state."

Power is the art of governing in social welfare, where the adequacy of the basic needs of society is the main goal. In this case, governmentality is supposed to bring benefits to many people. This support a study by (Li, n.d.) which distinguished governmentality from the goal for the benefit of the people and absolute power. In Foucault's perspective, power is spread everywhere. Therefore, on a micro-level, power is described as a father who provides for the welfare of his family. On the other hand, the absolute power in question is the power of a king, which covers the entire territory, wealth, and orders that the whole community must obey.

According to (Foucault, 2001), power is not negative, violent, and hegemony as perceived by Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Gramsci. Marx conceived that power is not based on economic domination or ideological manipulation. Nor is power based on charisma, as Weber perceived. Besides, according to Foucault, power is not structured or institutional like the state but rather a strategic situation in society - in which various relationships and networks spread and have a strategic scope. Power dominates against the powerless and spreads everywhere (omnipresent). Foucault said that the state does not own power, but every society has power. The omnipresent nature of power indicates that power is 'all-present everywhere'. Power is produced positively in strategic situations by anyone and at any time. In short, power is not contested, but power 'liberates' in the General Election or village head election, but that power is 'produced' in a strategic situation that is spread everywhere (omnipresent).

The Political Technology of Individual

In Foucault's perception of power, unlike Marx's or Weber's theory, power is different from state institutions or a person's charisma. Foucault defined power in a 'spiritual' way - that power spreads and exists within everyone (omnipresent). Power is not synonymous with political positions or the influence of people who have a large capital. In Foucault's writings on the politics of individual technology (Foucault, 2001), he described: "The general framework of what I call the "technologies of the self" is a question that appeared at the end of the eighteenth century." Foucault did not distinguish between technical and technology, although etymologically, the two words have different meanings. Technical means being or about something, while technology is a scientific method to achieve a goal (Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language, 2008).

However, what Foucault meant by technology is a production of knowledge related to power. Therefore, Foucault often refers to the term "technology of the self". At first, Foucault defined technology as producing knowledge for 'power' (technology of power). However, along with the development of the era, in 1974, Foucault defined technology as the center of natural power. One of the famous adages is *cogito ergo sum* - "I think, therefore I exist" (Descartes, 1685). This conception of *cogito ergo sum* influences Foucault's way of thinking about technology - technology is a natural power in line with Descartes's thoughts on the *cogito ergo sum*. In other words, Foucault emphasized that mastery over the human mind is a technology that produces power. Foucault believed that power is produced through discourse or knowledge-that knowledge produces omnipresent power (present everywhere) and cannot be prevented by anyone. However, in other writings, Foucault emphasized that individual technology will bring up the antithesis in society as a 'tool' to produce knowledge, or power will produce anti-power.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is qualitative, employing a case study method. The case study was chosen as the study method because it had profound advantages in explaining a topic or phenomenon. Moreover, the case study method also has advantages because the disclosure or exposure is carried out comprehensively to produce relevant knowledge (theory). To sum up, the research using the case study method seeks to uncover the complexity of the problem to build a framework of thought (knowledge) by using interview data collection techniques, in-depth discussion groups, and observations (Crowther & Lauesen, 2017).

The reason for choosing the location of this research was in Purwomartani Village Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta Special Region, because the number of voters was relatively large, 26,204 people, consisting of 12,805 male voters and 13,399 female voters. In addition, the reasons for taking the Purwomartani location are two groups: (1) traditional communities and (2) immigrant/modern communities. Comparison between traditional and modern communities is important in data collection and analysis. Purwomartani Village, Sleman Regency, was chosen to be studied for its theoretically and practically. The study lasted for three months, from March 2020 to May 2020. The data obtained were primary data and secondary data. The researcher conducted interviews, did field observations, analyzed journals and books, used data triangulation, and analyzed primary and secondary data.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Since its launching, the Election of Village Heads (*Pilur*) e-voting plan has responded to the rejection by 86 village heads in Sleman. The village heads, who are members of the Manikwoyo community, delivered a demonstration speech in front of the Regional House of Representatives of the Sleman Regency office. They demanded a review of the E-voting Electoral District Regulation draft that was not yet ready to be implemented in Sleman. They said it was due to the community's lack of socialization and unpreparedness to use e-voting tools. Furthermore, Lekta said as follows:

"It is not a matter of agreeing or disagreeing. The Village Head Association has the right to voice the aspirations of the village heads..... but it is not sure about the neutrality of field officers." (Interview with Lekta Manuri September 21, 2020)

Based on the interview with Lekta Manuri, the Chairman of the Manikwoyo Community, the village heads demanded the operator's neutrality. The 1200 field operators were appointed by the Head of the Community and Village Empowerment Service. The field team was in charge of escorting the equipment to the polling station and had a password to open the e-voting equipment. Most operators are civil servants (PNS), so the village heads doubt they will be neutral.

Village Head Election E-voting: Smart, Fast, and Accurate

By promoting the motto of being smart, fast, and accurate, the village head e-voting election was simultaneously held in Sleman. To realize the plan, the Regional Government issued regulations, for one of the authorities of the local government is to regulate and prosper the community. The Regional Government has issued Sleman Regency Regulation No. 18 of 2019 concerning the Second Amendment to Regional Regulation 5 of 2015 concerning Procedures for Election and Dismissal of Village Heads. Regional Regulation Number 18 of 2019 regulates electronic devices in the Election of Village Heads, article 5 A, as follows.

"The simultaneous holding of the Village Head Election as referred to in Article 3 letter a is carried out using an electronic Village Head Election."

The transition from conventional (manual) voting to e-voting marks a novelty. Of course, these changes require funds and socialization in the community. The funds needed for purchasing computer equipment and renting e-voting applications are approximately IDR 50 billion. To realize the village head election through e-voting, the Sleman Regency Government cooperated with the Assessment and Application of Technology Agency (BPPT). To answer this question, Sri Purnomo, as the Regent, said:

"Pilkades (Village Heads Election) using e-voting should be more straightforward and guaranteed so everyone can do it. We tried it in Sleman; e-voting was possible." Purnomo's statement indicated the readiness of the Sleman Regional Government apparatus to carry out the e-voting Village Head Election. In addition, Purnomo also anticipated several obstacles that would arise. Furthermore, Purnomo said: "The Pilkades (Village Heads Election) using e-voting will be followed by 35 villages / sub-districts in Sleman Regency in 1 day. We have anticipated the possibility of problems in the implementation. Hopefully, the implementation of the e-voting can go well,"

In addition to its simplicity and accuracy – the recapitulation is practical and efficient as a discourse circulated to the mass media. E-voting is more effective than paper. The system detects all votes and evidence of a voter's receipt as indicated by Commission A of the Regional House of Representatives of Sleman Regency members.

"In e-voting, no votes are lost. It is simpler. After the Village Head election, we can immediately get the results." Budi Sanyata, S.Pd. (Commission A DPRD Sleman Regency)

Sanyata's statement indicated that the members of the Council approved the change from conventional voting to e-voting because no votes were wasted (*golput*). All voters' votes are recorded on a computer, and there is evidence of voter receipts who have cast their ballots. In addition, voter lists that do not have identity cards will be detected. The voters who have changed their domicile or died will be detected on the computer. Using e-voting is more effective than conventional voting

because the final result is immediately known; no more waiting for the recapitulation and invalid ballots.

Efforts to ward off the Village Heads' refusal were emphasized by the Regional Regulation Number 18 of 2019. Regulations made by local governments have the power to compel the village heads and the community to obey them. The rejection of the government's policy resulted in being unable to run again.

"Financially, the Village Head election burdens the regional budget. E-voting for the Village Head Election was forced; why wasn't it done in the Regional Head Election (?). The majority of Sleman people are agricultural and not yet technologically literate." said Tomon Haryo Wirosobo

Tomon explained that efforts to build relationships with communities in the hamlets would change with e-voting. In the conventional voting system, voters know the candidates and are bribed with money. However, in the e-voting – the elderly are likely not to come to the polls because they are not tech-savvy, and there is no one to direct them. The argument presented by Tomon is that there is a linear relationship between the governor and the village heads. If the governor is appointed, the village heads should ideally be appointed because they consider themselves loyal courtiers to the governor (Sultan).

However, the village head election refers to Article 31 of Law Number 6 of 2014, stating that the election should be held simultaneously. The village head (*lurah*) is directly elected by the community. The election must be free, confidential, honest, and fair with certain mechanisms.

"The motto of the village head election e-voting is smart, fast, and accurate. We do not have to wait long for the results by using e-voting. The e-voting security tool is guaranteed because the system is offline. It is environmentally friendly because it does not use paper and is a form of accountability. There are separate duties between Voting Organizing Group (KPPS) officers and the Technical Team." said Budiharjo, the Head of the Village Community Empowerment Service.

Budiharjo dismissed the suspicion of the Technical Team and KPPS officers that they had different main tasks. Technical Team officers are not allowed to divulge voter data. Likewise, KPPS officers cannot direct voters to choose specific candidates. E-voting must be professional, transparent, and independent.

"E-voting calculations are faster than the recapitulation of conventional voting. In addition, computers and e-voting are more efficient because they can be used in the next village head election. However, the concern was the behavior of urban people – who questioned the change from conventional voting to touching the monitor screen. E-voting is simple. The voters only need to touch the screen twice: (1) the candidates' image and (2) the Yes mark. It is done." said Aziz, a BPPT (Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology) expert

Unraveling the E-voting Village Head Election Reason

At first, e-voting was rejected by the village heads because it could make them lose democratic values, and its organizers were dependent. The village heads are worried that if the organizers are not independent, it will impact the lack of community participation (Cserny & Nemeslaki, 2018). According to Foucault's conception of omnipresent power, each individual 'has power.' However, the government often uses its power to influence people to obey them. Explain the reasoning behind the arguments is described as follows.

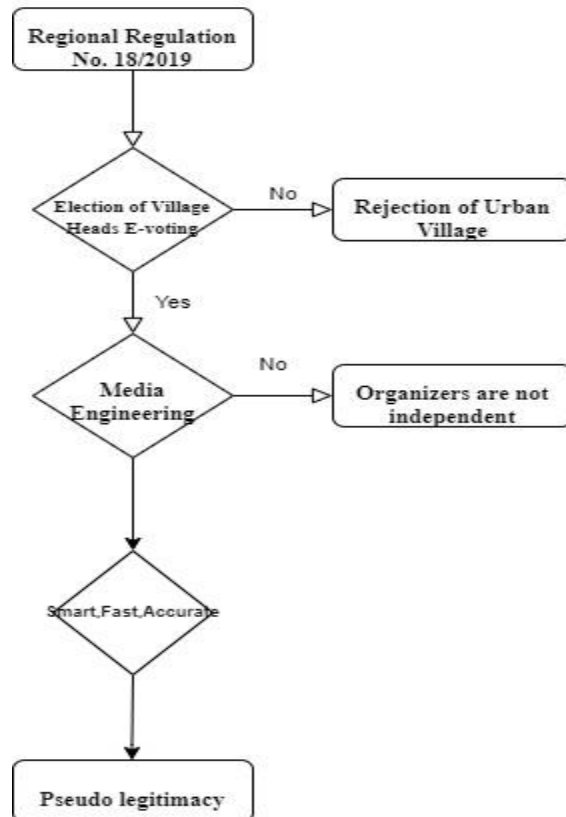


Figure 1. The Village Head Election is not Independent

Figure 1. above explains the elite's manipulative reasoning in e-voting: first, the elite stipulates Regional Regulation No. 18/2019. The political elite manipulated the need for efficient, fast, and accurate e-voting for the village head election. The election using the ballot system is considered inaccurate because manual calculations are prone to errors. In addition, conventional voting has a long process of recapitulating the votes.

Second is the refusal of the candidates. The village head candidates rejected changing the voting method from conventional voting to e-voting because they were deemed to have removed democratic values. The village heads of the Manikwoyo community were worried that the election changes would seem 'forced' and lack socialization. In addition, most elderly were not familiar with the technology.

The third is media manipulation. Political elites manipulate the media to influence people's understanding and perspective that e-voting is effective and efficient (Öner, 2007). The elites manipulated social media, printed media, and electronic media with the issue that e-voting was effective because the public would immediately know the results of the e-voting. In addition, e-voting minimizes lost votes because all voters are registered and can be monitored via computer (By & Burchell, 2009). The use of e-voting is considered environmentally friendly because it does not use a lot of paper and does not require enormous costs.

Fourth is smart, fast, and accurate. The elite used smart words to influence people. Therefore, they would put their faith in e-voting (Kusumasari et al., 2018). The word smart indicates that e-voting is better than the conventional voting system. In addition, the e-voting system is faster in results recapitulation because each vote is directly recorded by the computer so that once the election is finished, the committee can display the accumulation of the results on the computer screen.

Fifth is pseudo-legitimacy. E-voting election logic that denies the role of the community in recapitulating results, non-transparency, and involvement of civil servants can impact pseudo-legitimacy (Knight et al., 2012). Democracy has been replaced with technology. E-voting has replaced the position of people's aspirations with an algorithmic machine (Warkentin et al., 2012). Legitimacy is essential in government because the winning village head is trusted to govern. On the other hand, the results of e-voting can produce pseudo legitimacy causing the community to reject the elected village head.

The Loss of Democratic Values

An election, conventionally or through e-voting, requires trust and independence from the organizers. If the organizers are not credible and not trusted by the community, the village head election will not be legitimized (Burnell, 2018). In the section considering points a and b, the main argument is that an e-voting system realizes good village governance and leads to effective, efficient, and community welfare services.

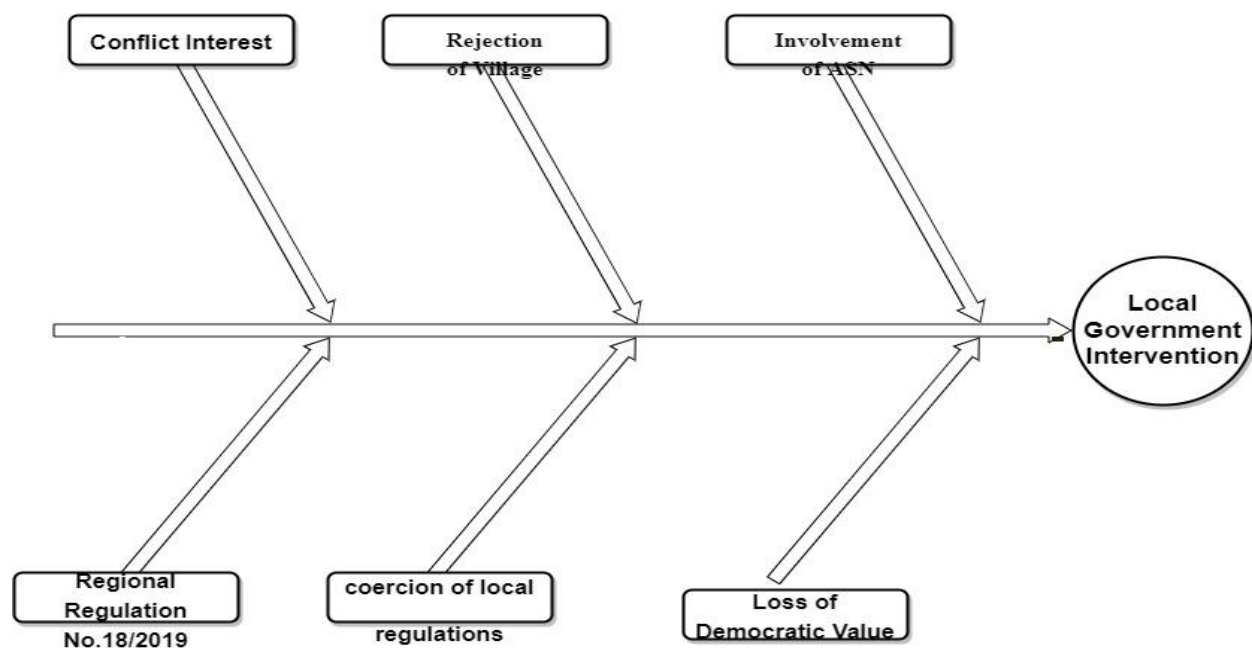


Figure 2. Reasons for Rejection of Village Heads Against E-Voting

Figure 2. below describes the reason for the rejection of village heads against e-voting: first is the conflict of interest. The process of making Regional Regulation No18/2019 is prone to conflicts of interest because the political elite has an interest in ruling. Regional Regulation No.18/2019 is the basis for implementing e-voting village head elections. Meanwhile, the political elite is interested in controlling the village heads as the basis for mobilizing supporters in the General Election/Local Leaders Election. *Second is the refusal of the village heads.* At first, the village heads rejected the e-voting Election due to local government intervention and the non-transparency of the process. In addition, the time for socializing with the changes in the community is relatively short. Regional Regulation No. 18/2019 seems coercive; therefore, the village heads must accept the e-voting election and cannot criticize it. If the village heads do not accept the election using the e-voting system, they are welcome to resign or not run for it. The process of making this elitist Regional Regulation No.18/2019 further strengthens the existence of a particular political agenda.

The third is the involvement of civil servants (ASN). The conventional village head election (Pilur) embodies democracy in the village (kelurahan). In the perspective of governance science, the village head election is a process of community negotiation with candidates to form an independent kelurahan (village) governance. The election reflects the people's party, where the people give the candidates a mandate (sovereignty) to carry out the prospering and educating order.

However, the involvement of the Main Technical Team involving 59 civil servants and 1200 field teams in the e-voting village head election could 'injure' democratic values. The Main Technical Team is assigned to provide counseling to field operators. In summary, the primary technical and field teams are people recruited by the government, not from an independent Institution. It is reinforced by the statement of the Head of the Community and Village Empowerment Service.

"On the election day, only the field technical team at the respective polling stations had the e-voting password. This password is for opening the e-voting system used," said Budiharjo

Budiharjo's statement confirmed Manuri's assumption that the Main Technical Team and the Field Team could find out each voter's data on the computer because they have a password and can open the e-voting device. Theoretically, according to Foucault, power is everywhere – everyone owns that power. In the e-voting village head election, power is interpreted as 'owned' by the government, manifested by mastering passwords and data in the e-voting device.

Unlike the conventional election using a ballot with no primary technical team, all voters' data and the counting process are carried out by officers under the supervision of witnesses and the community. In the village head election through e-voting, the government intervenes and stifles people's rights by controlling passwords and voter data. Foucault argued that taking control of the field by the technical team means taking the people's power because the voter's vote represents the people's voice. In this case, the government has eliminated the people's sovereign rights. The people's sovereignty realized through the election of the village head disappeared and was replaced by a set of procedural village elections. The democratic essence of secrecy is lost and replaced by machine algorithms. It is in line with Manuri's argument that doubts the principle of confidentiality.

"The e-voting village head election eliminates the confidentiality. The voters' confidentiality will be disclosed and known by the operator. The operator is doubtful because they are people coming from the Regional Government. The operator will know the voter's secret and can monitor it from the ballot receipt. The principle of secrecy in democracy is lost."

Manuri's statement was reasonable because the local government intervened by forming a technical and field team with a 'password' to open voters' data. "The democratization party will disappear because the public does not witness the counting process," Manuri said. It is prone to cheating on the results of the village head election, where the technical team officers become the political elite's apparatus to 'change' or eliminate voters' data. Furthermore, Manuri emphasized that there were not enough witnesses to the process of recapitulating the results of the e-voting.

"During the recapitulation, the committee did not open the ballot boxes. The recapitulation is based on the results of the electronic recapitulation. Aggrieved candidates cannot dispute the results of the electronic recapitulation. Disclaimers are allowed in the district court by opening the ballot box," he said.

Since the public did not witness the election results, it could raise suspicions. The community can doubt the election results because the organizers are not independent. Community groups that support the losing candidate will undermine the authority of the elected village head. On the other hand, the village head supporting group will maintain a strategic position and control natural

resources beneficial to many people. The disunity of society can occur in the absence of secrecy and independence of the organizers of the village head election (Tarasov & Tewari, 2017).

CONCLUSION

Initially, the e-voting village head election with smart, fast, and accurate jargon aimed to support the Sleman Smart Regency Regional Government program. However, e-voting seemed to eliminate the democratic values. The refusal by the village heads was met with repression through Regional Regulation no. 18/2019. Discourse engineering was conducted through printed and electronic media to answer the ASN non-independent organizer and less than optimal socialization. The e-voting village head also reduced the people's sovereignty. The loss of democratic values means seizing the sovereignty of the people, which is replaced by technology. People's sovereignty, the primary source of democracy, is replaced by an e-voting machine. The e-voting machine has replaced public participation and the absence of transparency in recapitulating the village head election results. The implication of the loss of democratic values in the e-voting village head election raises pseudo legitimacy.

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