Intisari

Tata kelola demokrasi khususnya pemilu berkembang pesat pasca-Reformasi. Salah satu yang terpenting adalah penggunaan teknologi *Electronic voting* (*E-voting*) dan dalam penerapannya telah mengemuka persoalan kecurangan dan pengawasan sepihak. Bertolak dari pengalaman baik dan buruk dari penerapan E-Voting, tesis ini melakukan kajian penerapan teknologi tersebut dalam pemilihan kepala keluraha-desa di tiga desa target penelitian di wilayah Sleman, Yogyakarta. Dengan menggunakan fenomonologi sosial dan pendekatan demokrasi substantif, dihasilkan temuan faktual dan analisis data yang menunjukkan bahwa penerapan E-Voting menormalisasi wacana elit dalam tata kelola elektoral dan dengan itu berlangsung kontrol atas instrumen demokrasi dalam eksperimentasinya di tingkat desa. Secara metodologis, Purposive Sampling digunakan untuk mendapatkan informasi mendalam terkait pendapat dan pengalaman para pihak yang terlibat dan terdampak terkait penerapan teknologi elektoral ini. Konsekuensi bagi kualitas demokrasi sangat serius yaitu bahwa alih-alih membuat prosedur pemilihan menjadi efisien dan efektif, praktek elektoral semakin tersandera kehendak dan kepentingan elit 'pemerintah' yang bekerja melalui keputusan penggunaan dan penerapan yang bersifat anti-demokrasi. Di sisi lain, gugatan dan sikap kritis yang ditunjukkan warga desa sebagai warga negara aktif menunjukkan aktivasi hak politik warga yang berusaha mengembalikan tata kelola pemilu sebagai urusan publik dan tidak semata urusan elit pemerintah atas nama teknokrasi. Studi dalam tesis ini membawa signifikansi penting mengenai dilema antara teknokrasi politik atau instrumentalisasi tata kelola elektoral dan demokrasi substansi dalam praktek berdemokrasi di Indonesia pasca-Reformasi.

Kata kunci: demokrasi Substantif, Kewarganegaraan, Kalurahan, *e-voting*, Teknorasi, Instrumentalisasi

Abstract

The fall of the New Order regime is an important note for the sustainability of democracy in Indonesia. Much has been achieved for the freedom of the people to determine the direction of the country in the future. Immediately, the legacy of the New Order's political style was replaced with the spirit of democracy. However, in general elections, there are still difficulties that require a lot of improvement. In this context, the implementation of *Electronic voting* (*E-voting*) is the answer to many problems in elections. *E-voting* is a tool to help support the electoral process. It has an advantage in terms of speed of time. This thesis tries to examine the phenomenon of *e-voting* in the election of village heads. By using qualitative methods, this study seeks to understand how *e-voting* practices in democracy at the Kalurahan level. The researcher used purposive sampling to give depth to the data.

From the research conducted, *e-voting* is a machine that has a role in the election process. However, there is a tendency that *e-voting* to be only an instrument in democracy. The assumption that *e-voting* becomes the instrumentalization of democracy is relevant here. The implementation of *e-voting* itself is not born out of a democratic situation where one actively participates in agreeing or not. *E-voting* is an absolute decision initiated by the government. The excuse that we live in the age of technology has the power to be without the object of *e-voting*. The problem is that the *e-voting* discourse itself has worked strongly in rural democracy. The three villages studied, namely Caturtunggal, Tirtoadi, and Wukirharjo, showed relatively the same symptoms. *E-voting* is considered an urgent discourse and requires citizen involvement. The *e-voting* discourse leaves no room for a more substantive discourse. Not a few people criticize this situation. They see that the problems they face do not become a matrix in electoral politics. This study seeks to contribute ideas to the running of democracy. Through *e-voting*, discourse on substantive democracy and instrumentalization of democracy becomes important, especially for villages.

Keywords: Substantive democracy, Citizenship, Village, *e-voting*, Technocracy, Instrumentalization