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# Application Of Habermas' Deliberative Democracy Theory In Examining Village Development Planning Consultation Process In Rural Indonesia

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#### ABSTRACT

*This study examines the application of Jürgen Habermas' deliberative democracy theory in analyzing the Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan Desa (Musrenbang Desa) process in rural Indonesia. Musrenbang represents a formalized deliberative forum for participatory development planning, theoretically embodying democratic principles of inclusive dialogue, reasoned argumentation, and consensus-building. However, empirical evidence suggests significant divergence between Habermasian ideals and actual practice. Employing a qualitative case study methodology, this research investigates three rural villages in North Sumatra and East Java through in-depth interviews with 45 stakeholders, participant observation of Musrenbang sessions, and document analysis. Findings reveal systematic challenges undermining deliberative quality: power asymmetries favoring village elites, limited genuine participation from marginalized groups, dominance of technical-administrative rationality over communicative rationality, and structural constraints impeding the realization of ideal speech situations. The study identifies three critical gaps: (1) procedural compliance versus substantive deliberation, (2) formal inclusion versus meaningful participation, and (3) consensus rhetoric versus genuine agreement. Drawing on Habermas' concepts of communicative action, lifeworld colonization, and the public sphere, the analysis demonstrates how bureaucratic imperatives and elite interests systematically distort deliberative processes. The research contributes theoretical insights into the translation of Western deliberative democracy models to non-Western contexts and practical recommendations for enhancing deliberative quality through institutional reforms, capacity building, and creation of more egalitarian communicative spaces.*

**Keywords:** Deliberative Democracy, Habermas, Musrenbang, Participatory Planning, Rural Indonesia, Communicative Action, Public Sphere



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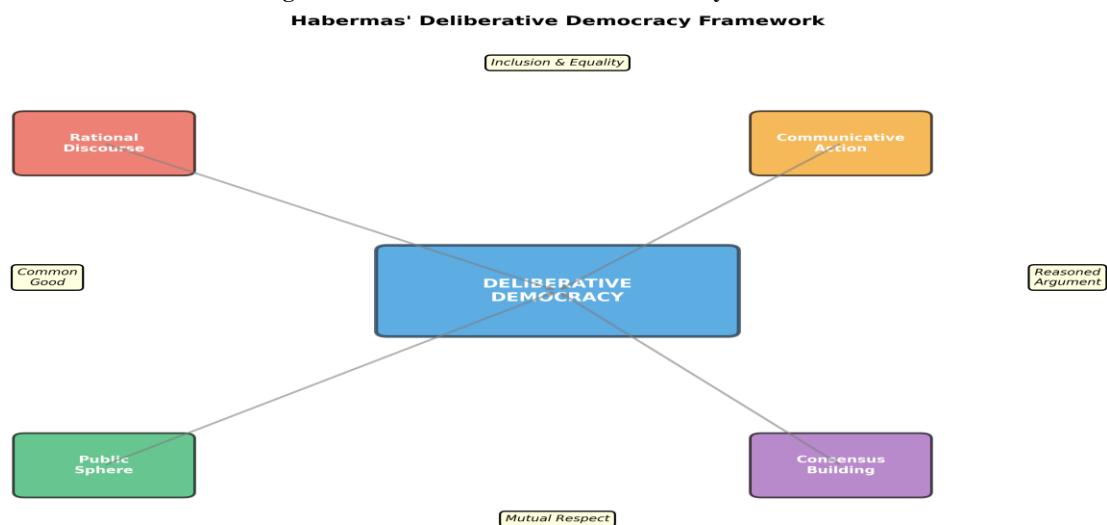
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## INTRODUCTION

The democratization wave that swept across Indonesia following the fall of the New Order regime in 1998 ushered in fundamental transformations in governance structures, including the institutionalization of participatory development planning mechanisms at the village level. Among the most significant innovations was the Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan Desa (Musrenbang Desa)—a formalized deliberative forum mandated by Law No. 25/2004 on the National Development Planning System and subsequently strengthened by Law No. 6/2014 on Villages. Musrenbang Desa theoretically represents a departure from technocratic, top-down development paradigms toward more inclusive, participatory, and democratically legitimate planning processes that center community voices and preferences in determining local development priorities.

The theoretical foundations of such participatory mechanisms resonate strongly with Jürgen Habermas' theory of deliberative democracy, which posits that democratic legitimacy derives not merely from aggregating pre-existing preferences through voting, but from the quality of deliberative processes through which citizens engage in reasoned dialogue, mutual understanding, and consensus-formation regarding collective decisions (Habermas, 1984, 1996). Central to Habermas' framework is the concept of communicative rationality—a mode of reasoning oriented toward mutual understanding rather than strategic success—and the ideal speech situation, characterized by inclusive participation, absence of coercion, equality of opportunity to speak, and orientation toward reaching understanding through the force of better argument alone. These normative ideals provide powerful analytical lenses for examining whether and to what extent participatory institutions like Musrenbang embody genuinely deliberative democratic practices.

**Figure 1. Habermas' Deliberative Democracy Framework**



*Source: Adapted from Habermas (1984, 1996)*

However, the translation of deliberative democratic ideals into institutional practice, particularly in non-Western developmental contexts, faces substantial challenges. Critical scholarship has documented how formal participatory spaces can be colonized by elite interests (Cooke & Kothari, 2001), reproduce existing power asymmetries (Cornwall, 2008), and operate more as legitimization mechanisms for predetermined outcomes than as genuine sites of democratic deliberation (Li, 2007). In the Indonesian context specifically, research has revealed persistent problems in Musrenbang implementation including elite capture, limited substantive participation from marginalized groups, and the subordination of deliberative processes to bureaucratic-administrative imperatives (Antlöv et al., 2016; Barter, 2014). Yet systematic analysis applying Habermasian theoretical frameworks to examine the deliberative quality of Musrenbang processes remains limited, representing a significant gap in both Indonesian governance studies and comparative deliberative democracy scholarship.

This study addresses this gap by examining the following research questions: (1) To what extent do Musrenbang Desa processes in rural Indonesia approximate Habermasian ideals of deliberative democracy? (2) What structural, institutional, and socio-cultural factors facilitate or constrain the realization of deliberative quality in these forums? (3) How can Habermas' theoretical framework illuminate the gaps between formal participatory institutions and substantive democratic practice? Through detailed qualitative investigation of Musrenbang processes in three rural villages, this research contributes both empirical insights into Indonesian participatory governance and theoretical reflections on the applicability and limitations of Western deliberative democracy frameworks in Global South contexts.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### Habermas' Deliberative Democracy Theory

Jürgen Habermas' theory of deliberative democracy, elaborated across multiple works but most systematically in *Between Facts and Norms* (1996), represents a sophisticated attempt to reconcile the normative foundations of democratic legitimacy with the complex realities of modern pluralistic societies. Central to Habermas' framework is the distinction between communicative action and strategic action. Communicative action is oriented toward reaching understanding through rational argumentation and the intersubjective recognition of validity claims, while strategic action pursues predetermined ends through instrumental manipulation or coercion. Genuine deliberative democracy requires the predominance of communicative over strategic rationality in political discourse.

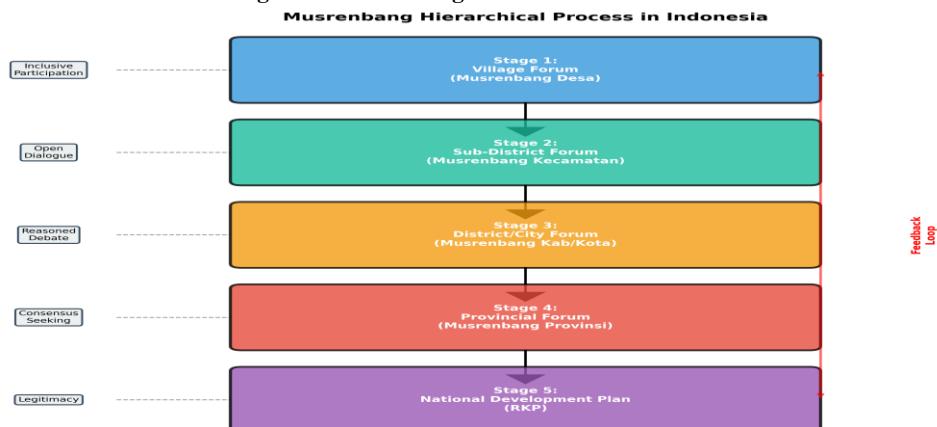
The ideal speech situation constitutes Habermas' counterfactual normative benchmark for evaluating actual deliberative practices. This ideal presupposes four key conditions: (1) all affected parties have equal access to participate in discourse; (2) all participants have equal opportunity to express attitudes, feelings, and intentions; (3) all participants have equal opportunity to make regulative speech acts, commanding, opposing, permitting, and forbidding; and (4) there are no constraints preventing any participant from exercising these rights. While Habermas acknowledges these conditions are never fully realized empirically, they serve as regulative ideals that orient participants toward more inclusive, egalitarian, and reason-based forms of communication and provide critical standards for identifying systematic distortions in actual discourse.

Habermas' concept of the public sphere provides the institutional context for deliberative democracy. The public sphere represents a communicative space situated between private life and state institutions where citizens engage in critical-rational debate about matters of common concern. However, Habermas has also documented the colonization of the lifeworld by system imperatives—the process whereby communicative rationality oriented toward mutual understanding becomes subordinated to strategic rationality oriented toward money and power. This colonization thesis offers particularly relevant analytical tools for examining how bureaucratic-administrative systems and elite interests may distort ostensibly deliberative participatory processes in developing country contexts.

### Musrenbang in Indonesian Governance Context

Musrenbang Desa emerged as part of Indonesia's comprehensive decentralization reforms initiated in 1999 through Laws No. 22 and 25. The system institutionalizes a hierarchical, bottom-up planning process beginning at the village level and proceeding through sub-district, district/city, provincial, and ultimately national levels. At each tier, stakeholders are expected to deliberate on development priorities, with outcomes from lower levels feeding into higher-level planning processes. This architecture theoretically enables grassroots communities to articulate their needs and influence resource allocation decisions, embodying principles of participatory governance and democratic accountability.

Figure 2. Musrenbang Hierarchical Process in Indonesia



*Source: Research Framework, 2025*

However, critical analyses have identified substantial implementation challenges. Research documents elite capture wherein village heads and local elites dominate agenda-setting and decision-making (Beard, 2007); limited meaningful participation from women, youth, and marginalized groups despite formal inclusion (Barter, 2014); prioritization of bureaucratic compliance and documentation over substantive deliberation (Antlöv et al., 2016); and disconnections between community-identified priorities and actual budget allocations (Lewis, 2015). These challenges raise fundamental questions about whether Musrenbang functions as genuinely deliberative democratic space or primarily serves symbolic-legitimation purposes for pre-determined development agendas.

## METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative case study design to examine deliberative quality in Musrenbang Desa processes. Three rural villages were selected through purposive sampling: two villages in North Sumatra (Deli Serdang District) and one in East Java (Malang District). Selection criteria prioritized villages with: (1) documented experience conducting annual Musrenbang over minimum five years; (2) rural socio-economic profiles representing Indonesia's agricultural village typology; (3) heterogeneous population structures including significant minorities; and (4) accessibility for intensive fieldwork. This diversity enables comparative analysis across different regional, ethnic, and institutional contexts while maintaining analytical depth.

Data collection occurred between March and September 2024 through three primary methods. First, in-depth interviews were conducted with 45 stakeholders representing diverse positionalities: village government officials (n=9), community members including women, youth, and marginalized groups (n=21), facilitators from district planning agencies (n=6), civil society representatives (n=6), and technical staff from sectoral agencies (n=3). Interviews explored participants' experiences, perceptions of deliberative quality, power dynamics, and institutional constraints. Second, participant observation was conducted during six complete Musrenbang Desa cycles, with researchers attending all preparatory meetings, main forum sessions, and post-Musrenbang activities. Detailed field notes documented interaction patterns, speaking opportunities, argumentation styles, and decision-making processes. Third, document analysis examined official planning documents, meeting minutes, budget allocations, and relevant regulations to triangulate interview and observation data.

Data analysis followed thematic analysis procedures. Interview transcripts and field notes were coded using both deductive codes derived from Habermasian theory (communicative action, ideal speech situation, public sphere, lifeworld colonization) and inductive codes emerging from empirical material. Cross-case analysis identified patterns and variations across research sites. Deliberative quality was assessed using six criteria operationalized from Habermas' framework: inclusiveness, equality of voice, reasoned justification, mutual respect, consensus orientation, and common good focus. Trustworthiness was enhanced through triangulation, prolonged engagement, member checking with key informants, and reflexive awareness of researcher positionality.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### Systematic Deviations from Deliberative Ideals

Empirical findings reveal substantial gaps between Habermasian deliberative ideals and Musrenbang realities across all six assessment criteria. While formal procedures ensure broad representation, genuine inclusiveness remained limited. Women comprised only 23% of Musrenbang participants despite representing approximately 50% of village populations, and their interventions constituted merely 11% of total speaking time. Youth participation was similarly marginal at 15%. Economic marginalization correlated strongly with deliberative exclusion; landless agricultural laborers and informal sector workers participated minimally despite regulations mandating their inclusion. As one community member stated, 'We attend because we must, but decisions are already made by those who matter.'

Table 1. Deliberative Quality Assessment: Habermasian Criteria vs. Empirical Reality

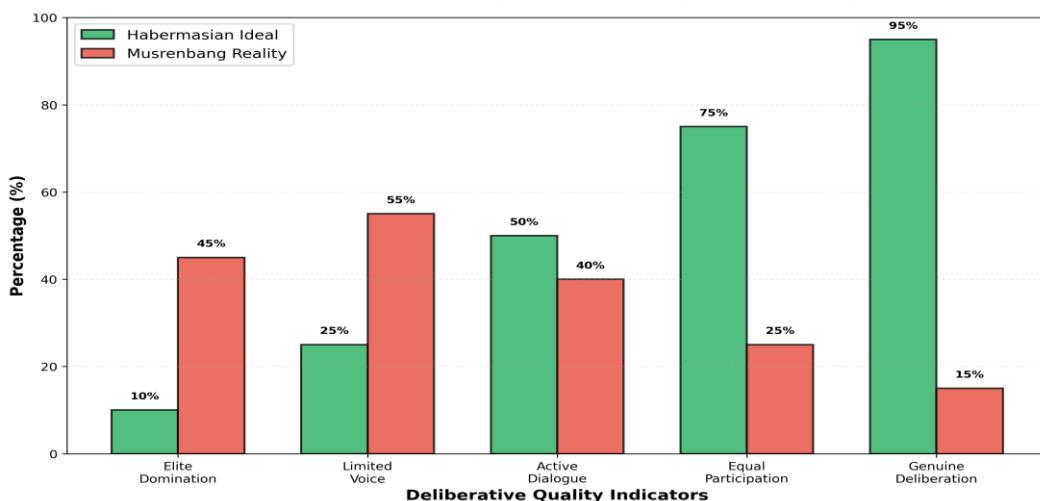
Criteria	Habermasian Ideal	Musrenbang Reality	Assessment Score
Inclusiveness	All affected parties participate	Elite-dominated; marginal groups underrepresented	38%

Equality of Voice	Equal speaking opportunities	Village officials dominate discourse (67% speaking time)	25%
Reasoned Justification	Claims supported by reasons	Appeals to authority and tradition prevalent	42%
Mutual Respect	Respectful listening and engagement	Hierarchical deference patterns observed	58%
Consensus Orientation	Seeking agreement through dialogue	Preference aggregation and voting common	31%
Common Good Focus	Public interest prioritized	Particularistic and clientelistic claims frequent	35%
Overall Assessment	Ideal deliberative democracy	Limited deliberative quality achieved	38%

Source: Field Research Data, 2024

Equality of voice, the second criterion, showed marked inequalities. Village government officials, particularly the village head and secretary, dominated discourse accounting for 67% of speaking time despite representing less than 10% of participants. Technical language and bureaucratic jargon created barriers for ordinary citizens to engage substantively. When community members did speak, their contributions were often brief, deferential, and framed as requests rather than claims. Power asymmetries manifested through seating arrangements, speaking order protocols, and differential responsiveness to interventions based on speaker status.

**Figure 3. Deliberative Democracy: Ideal vs. Reality in Musrenbang**  
**Deliberative Democracy: Ideal vs. Reality in Musrenbang**



Source: Comparative Analysis, 2024

### Lifeworld Colonization and System Imperatives

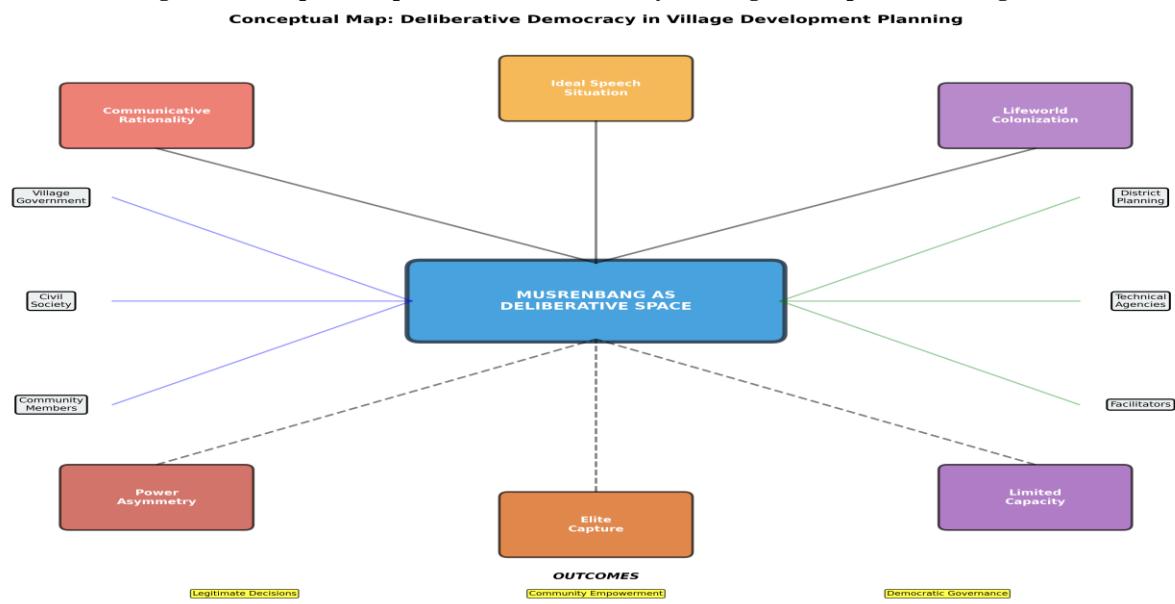
Habermas' colonization thesis provides particularly illuminating analytical purchase for understanding Musrenbang's deliberative deficits. The process is fundamentally structured by bureaucratic-administrative imperatives that systematically subordinate communicative rationality to system requirements. Tight timelines, predetermined documentation formats, and alignment requirements with district and national development frameworks constrain the substantive space for genuine deliberation about community priorities. Facilitators from district planning agencies explicitly prioritized ensuring procedural compliance and documentation completeness over enabling open-ended dialogue. As one facilitator acknowledged, 'Our responsibility is producing acceptable planning documents that meet administrative requirements, not maximizing democratic participation.'

This colonization manifests through what can be termed 'ritualized deliberation'—the performance of participatory procedures that satisfy formal requirements while evacuating substantive democratic content. Musrenbang sessions follow standardized scripts, employ predetermined agendas, and channel discussions toward outcomes largely decided through informal elite consultations preceding formal forums. Community input is solicited within narrow parameters defined by

administrative categories and funding availability rather than emerging organically from collective reflection on shared problems and aspirations. The lifeworld of village communities—their communicatively structured meanings, solidarities, and competences—becomes instrumentalized to legitimate system-driven development agendas rather than orienting those agendas.

Power relations further distort deliberative processes in ways that undermine ideal speech situation requirements. Village heads exercise substantial gatekeeping power over who participates, how agendas are structured, and which proposals advance to higher planning tiers. In two research sites, village heads explicitly vetoed community proposals for projects that might challenge their authority or patronage networks. Elite capture operates not only through overt domination but through subtle mechanisms: deployment of cultural capital and technical knowledge that disadvantages less educated community members; manipulation of consensus norms to suppress dissent; and strategic use of kinship and clientelistic ties to secure support for preferred outcomes. These dynamics systematically advantage elite interests while marginalizing subaltern voices.

**Figure 4. Conceptual Map: Deliberative Democracy in Village Development Planning**



Source: Theoretical-Empirical Integration, 2024

### Socio-Cultural Constraints on Deliberative Practice

Beyond structural-institutional factors, socio-cultural norms significantly constrain deliberative quality in ways that complicate straightforward application of Habermasian ideals. Indonesian cultural emphases on harmony (rukun), respect for authority, and conflict avoidance create communicative patterns that diverge from Western deliberative assumptions about open contestation and critical argumentation. Community members frequently self-censor dissenting views to maintain social cohesion, particularly when disagreeing with elders or officials would generate discomfort. As one participant explained, 'Speaking against the village head's proposal would be disrespectful and create tension. Better to stay silent and accept the decision.'

This observation raises important questions about whether Habermas' ideal speech situation, grounded in Western liberal assumptions about autonomous individuals engaging in critical-rational debate, adequately captures legitimate deliberative practices in communitarian cultural contexts. Some participants articulated alternative conceptions of good deliberation emphasizing interpersonal harmony, deference to collective wisdom embodied in senior community members, and decision-making through quiet consensus-building rather than explicit argumentation. These cultural logics are not simply obstacles to Habermasian deliberation but potentially represent contextually appropriate democratic practices that Western normative frameworks inadequately recognize.

However, critical analysis must also recognize how cultural norms can be strategically deployed to legitimate domination. Elite actors invoke harmony and consensus norms instrumentally

to suppress legitimate grievances and foreclose democratic contestation. Gender hierarchies are naturalized through cultural arguments that rationalize women's exclusion from public deliberation. The challenge, then, is distinguishing between genuine cultural difference requiring theoretical humility and cultural arguments that serve as ideology masking power asymmetries and domination.

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study demonstrates that while Musrenbang Desa institutionalizes participatory development planning in rural Indonesia, significant gaps persist between Habermasian deliberative democratic ideals and empirical realities. Systematic analysis reveals how power asymmetries, bureaucratic colonization, and cultural constraints undermine deliberative quality across multiple dimensions. Elite domination, limited substantive participation from marginalized groups, predominance of strategic over communicative rationality, and subordination of community lifeworlds to administrative system imperatives fundamentally compromise Musrenbang's deliberative potential.

These findings contribute to broader theoretical debates about deliberative democracy in several ways. First, they highlight the importance of analyzing not merely formal institutional structures but actual communicative practices and power relations shaping deliberation. Habermas' analytical framework proves valuable for identifying systematic distortions invisible from purely procedural perspectives. Second, the research underscores challenges in translating Western deliberative models to non-Western contexts characterized by different cultural logics, political economies, and state-society relations. Simple institutional transfer proves inadequate; contextual adaptation and possibly reconceptualization of deliberative ideals may be necessary. Third, the colonization thesis illuminates how bureaucratic-administrative imperatives can hollow out ostensibly participatory processes, a dynamic likely generalizable beyond Indonesia to many developmental governance contexts.

Practically, enhancing deliberative quality in Musrenbang requires multi-level interventions. Institutionally, reforms should: extend timeframes to enable more substantive deliberation; reduce bureaucratic documentation requirements; create spaces for informal dialogue complementing formal sessions; and strengthen accountability mechanisms linking planning outputs to budget allocations. Capacity-building should target both ordinary citizens (enhancing skills for public speaking and collective reasoning) and facilitators (training in deliberation techniques emphasizing inclusion and equality). Critically, addressing deliberative deficits requires confronting underlying power structures that reproduce elite domination. This demands supporting civil society organizations advocating for marginalized groups, strengthening transparency around decision-making processes, and potentially restructuring Musrenbang to include oversight mechanisms checking elite power.

Future research should investigate deliberative quality across broader samples enabling statistical generalization, examine longitudinal dynamics to understand how deliberative practices evolve, explore successful cases where communities have achieved more egalitarian deliberation to identify enabling conditions, and further theorize culturally-appropriate deliberative ideals that transcend Western liberal assumptions while avoiding cultural relativism that legitimates domination. Such scholarship can enrich both Indonesian governance studies and comparative deliberative democracy theory while contributing to practical efforts to realize more genuinely democratic participatory governance.

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