

THE IMPACT OF VILLAGE HEAD TERM EXTENSION ON VILLAGE PROGRESS: A VIEW FROM MASS MEDIA AND A VILLAGE IN SLEMAN, YOGYAKARTA

Rahma Kintara Saniya Dafin¹, Jasmine Hasna Nafila Rahman², Rafi Manggala Putra³, Muhammad Aqil Ersan⁴, Devy Dhian Cahyati⁵

¹Politics and Government, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, E-mail: rahma.kintara2902@mail.ugm.ac.id

²Politics and Government, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, E-mail: jasmine.hasna@mail.ugm.ac.id

³Legal Studies, Faculty of Law, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, E-mail: rafi.manggala.putra@mail.ugm.ac.id ⁴Public Policy Management, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, E-mail: <u>muhammad.aqil.ersan@mail.ugm.ac.id</u>

⁵Politics and Government, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, E-mail: devy.d.c@ugm.ac.id

Article	Abstract
Keywords:	The discourse on extending the village head's term of office has trig-
Term of Office Exten- sion, Good Governance, Village Head, Discourse Network Analysis, Com- munity Perception.	gered debates, especially following the revision of the Village Law in 2023, which now allows a 9-year term for two periods. However, ac- cording to constitutional norms, Indonesia is a State of Law (Rechtsstaat), which means limiting power by the law. This study aims to map the discourse surrounding this extension in online media and analyze the perceptions of Girikerto Village residents on the relation- action between the extension and willage progress, viewed through the
DOI: 10.28946/scls.v2i2.4063	ship between the extension and village progress, viewed through the lens of good governance. The research employs big data discourse net- work analysis and case studies to track dominant arguments and ac- tors involved. The study reveals that political elites dominate the pro- extension discourse, arguing it stabilizes village politics, while com- munity opposition highlights the risk of corruption and governance inefficiencies. Drawing on Bachrach and Baratz's elite theory, this re- search examines how elite groups influence decision-making pro- cesses. Additionally, it explores local perceptions, showing that resi- dents reject the extension due to concerns over inclusiveness, fairness, and the effectiveness of governance. This study contributes to the de- bate by offering a nuanced analysis of village head term extensions'

This is an Open Access Research distributed under the term of the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original works are appropriately cited.

A. INTRODUCTION

This study aims to map the structure of the ongoing discourse surrounding the extension of the village head's term of office and analyze the residents' perceptions of Girikerto Village regarding the relationship between the village head's tenure and village development, framed through the lens of good governance. The extension of the village head's term has sparked significant debate across various sectors of society, particularly after the passage of new legislation in June 2023, revising the Village Law. This revision has shifted the focus of villages from being passive development objects to becoming strategic drivers of development. The debate over the extension of village head terms intensified in early 2023 when numerous voices emerged both in support and opposition. Despite this, there has been a lack of academic research exploring whether the policy of extending the village head's term of office is aligned with village development goals or the principles of good governance. This lack of analysis presents an opportunity for scholarly inquiry into whether extending the village head's term might contribute to village progress.

The policy regarding village head tenure has undergone many changes. During the highly centralized New Order era, state power penetrated villages through strict control over village heads, and the election of village heads was designed to be monopolistic. Through UU No. 5/1979, the government set the village head's term at eight years for two periods. During the Reform era, through UU No. 22/1999, the government attempted to weaken the power and patronage of village heads by reducing their term to five years for two periods.

However, over time, the policy on village head tenure gradually extended again. Law No. 34/2004 increased the term to six years for two periods. Most recently, Law No. 6/2014 allows village heads to serve for six years with a maximum of three periods. With the passing of the Village Law revision in June 2023, the village head's term was once again changed to nine years for two periods. This revision has significantly reduced village head power's limitation, even worse than during the New Order era.

The extension of village head terms has sparked significant debate. Proponents, including the Chairman of the Legislative Body of the House of Representatives and the Minister of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions, and Transmigration, argue that the extension is necessary to stabilize village politics and reduce post-election conflict. In Sleman Regency, the Sleman Regency Lurah Association (Manikmaya) supported the extension on effectiveness, arguing that a longer term would provide more continuity in village leadership.¹

On the opposing side, critics argue that the longer tenure poses a threat of abuse of power, increasing the risk of corruption. This concern is bolstered by findings from Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), which revealed that corruption cases at the village level have consistently been the highest from 2015 to 2021. Over these seven years, ICW documented 592 corruption cases, resulting in state losses of IDR 433.8 billion.²

In light of these concerns, there is a pressing need for academic inquiry into the legal and governance implications of the extension of village head terms. The starting point for this analysis can be drawn from Luthfy's (2019) work, which examines village head tenure policies from

¹Ahmad Syarifudin, "Sleman Lurah Association Agrees to 9-Year Term, Here's Why," Tribunjogja.com, 2023, https://jogja.tribunnews.com/2023/01/24/paguyuban-lurah-sleman-setuju-masa-jabatan-jadi-9-tahun-beginialasannya.

²Danu Damarjati, "Rejecting Extension of Village Head Term, ICW Presents Data on Village Corruption," detiknews, 2023, https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6537192/tolak-perpanjangan-masa-jabatan-kades-icw-kemukakan-data-korupsi-desa.

a constitutional perspective.³ His analysis highlights a decline in our constitutional norms as legal limits on power are eroding. Other relevant studies include Smart & Sturm (2013), who argue that extended tenure can reduce electoral accountability,⁴ and Janah et al. (2021), who explore implementing good governance in village governments in West Kalimantan.⁵ However, no prior research has directly examined the relationship between village head term extensions and village progress using a mixed-methods approach, combining big data analysis and case studies. This study addresses that gap by mapping the discourse on village head term extensions in online media. Discourse mapping is a critical tool for tracking the distribution of arguments and identifying the dominant actors in the debate – both supporters and opponents. To guide the discourse analysis, this research utilizes the elite theory developed by Bachrach and Baratz (1962).⁶ Their theory posits that small, elite groups often exercise power through visible decision-making, controlling the political agenda, and excluding specific issues from public debate. This framework is particularly relevant in examining how political elites, including the DPR and village heads, may influence decisions regarding village head term extensions.

To complement this discourse analysis, the research also investigates how villagers perceive the relationship between village head tenure and village development. This analysis is framed through the lens of good governance, which provides a structured framework for evaluating governance practices at both the national and local levels. Girikerto Village, located in Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta, was selected as a case study for this research. Girikerto is notable for being recognized as the Best Culturally Independent Village in Sleman Regency.⁷ The Cultural Independent Village Index is a robust measure of village progress, using four key assessment instruments: Preneur Village, Cultural Village, Tourism Village, and Prima Village. This index is integrated into the DMB strategy, which aims to align village development programs with good governance principles.⁸

The key findings of this study are intended to offer insights into community perceptions of village head term extensions, using the framework of good governance to assess the validity of the arguments made by both supporters and opponents of the policy. In particular, this study will examine how the principles of good governance – such as inclusiveness, fairness, transparency, legitimacy, and accountability – are upheld or undermined by the extension of village head terms. Good governance, as summarized by Maryam (2016), refers to governance that operates according to the norms and interests of the people to achieve national ideals.⁹ Drawing from Pomeranz and Stedman's (2020) work, this research evaluates good governance through eight key indicators: inclusiveness, fairness, efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, legitimacy,

³Riza Multazam Luthfy, "THE TERM OF SERVICE OF THE VILLAGE HEAD IN CONSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE," *Legal Issues* 48, no. 4 (2019): 319–30.

⁴Michael Smart and Daniel M. Sturm, "Term Limits and Electoral Accountability," *Journal of Public Economics* 107 (2013): 93–102.

⁵Binti Rhaudhatul Janah, Shilmy Purnama, and Syamsuri, "Implementation of Good Governance Principles: Participation, Transparency, and Accountability in the Implementation of Village Government," *Journal of Public Administration and Local Governance* 5, no. 2 (2021): 132–43.

⁶Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Two Faces of Power," *The American Political Science Review* 56, no. 4 (1962): 947–52.

⁷Girikertosid.slemankab.go.id, "Girikerto Achieves the Best Ranking for Cultural Independent Village in 2022," Girikerto, 2022, https://girikertosid.slemankab.go.id/first/artikel/83-Girikerto-Raih-Peringkat-Terbaik-Desa-Mandiri-Budaya-Tahun-2022.

⁸Admin Bappeda - DIY Cultural Independent Village Grand Design Study Report," Bappeda Kulon Progo Regency, 2021, https://bappeda.kulonprogokab.go.id/detil/738/laporan-kajian-grand-design-desa-mandiribudaya-diy.

⁹Neneng Siti Maryam, "Realizing Good Governance Through Public Services," *Journal of Political Science and Communication* 6, no. 1 (2016): 1–18.

accountability, and capability.¹⁰ These indicators serve as the foundation for evaluating the governance implications of the village head term extension. By addressing these questions, this research seeks to comprehensively analyze the legal, governance, and community impacts of extending village head terms, offering a nuanced perspective on the ongoing debate surrounding the 2023 revision of the Village Law.

The proposal to extend the term of office of the village head is accompanied by various perceptions due to its sudden appearance and the lack of community participation in the proposal. The discourse on the extension of the village head's term of office without an accountable research base can lead to political instability, decreased village political participation, and division. Based on the background that has been explained, this paper will answer two questions: First, how is the discourse on the extension of the village head in Indonesia spread? Second, how do the people of Girikerto Village view the relationship between the tenure of the village head and village progress supported by the lens of good governance?

B. RESEARCH METHODS

This qualitative research uses a combination of the Big Data Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method and the case study method. Big data, which means big data, is now one of the new resources humans need, including in social research. Mass media and social media are most often the sources of Big Data in social research. This research uses both national and local online news media as data sources. To analyze the data, the author conducted a discourse network analysis. The discourse network analysis method is a method that combines discourse analysis that focuses on text content and social network analysis that focuses on its distribution.¹¹ This method will help researchers to identify patterns of words, sentences, and text structures used in public policy narratives and community perceptions related to the discourse on extending the term of office of village heads.¹²

Data was taken from various textual documents, such as online media articles, written opinions on social media, and video transcripts at the national level. Then, the discourse structures are systematically visualized into a network. In particular, this research will explain the relationship between issues, actors, and actors' positions by using the Java-based Discourse Network Analyzer application to code actors' statements, then using the gephy and visone applications to visualize them. The research will be deepened with a case study method in Girikerto Village to find out the community's views on the influence of the village head's term of office on the progress of the village head, which the lens of good governance will support. A case study is a research method that intensively examines a program, event, activity, at the level of a specific institution, group, or individual.¹³ Key actors of the village government will be interviewed to provide an assessment of village governance using indicators in the concept of good governance. These key actors include government actors, private actors, and civil society. The results of the interviews will be transcribed and then manually coded following the eight indicators of good governance and their derivatives previously described. The coding results will be presented narratively. This research was conducted from June to November 2023.

The data used in this study include:

a. Network Analysis of Discourse on the Extension of the Village Head

¹⁰ Emily F. Pomeranz and Richard C. Stedman, "Measuring Good Governance: Piloting an Instrument for Evaluating Good Governance Principles," *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning* 22, no. 3 (2020): 428–40.

¹¹Tiodora Hadumaon Siagian, "SEARCHING FOR HIGH RISK GROUPS OF CORONA VIRUS INFECTION WITH DISCOURSE NETWORK ANALYSIS," *Indonesian Journal of Health Policy* 09, no. 02 (2020): 98–106.

¹²E. Ariningsih, "The Use of Discourse Network Analysis in Studying Policy Change," *Journal of Political Science & Public Affairs* 7, no. 4 (2019): 1–6.

¹³H. Mudjia Rahardjo, "CASE STUDIES IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH: CONCEPT AND PROCEDURE," Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, 2017.

Term of Office Primary data in this study was obtained through online text searches from various sources, such as news sites with the keyword "extension of the village head's term of office". To capture the entire discourse war, this research took all categories of online mass media, both national and local, including opposition, neutral, and pro-government mass media. In the absence of specific criteria, the tendency of each media's position on this issue will also be visible.

b. Case Study of Girikerto Village Community Perceptions of the Discourse on Extending the Term of Office of the Village Head.

For data collection, the case study method offers various methods, including interviewing.¹⁴ Purposive sampling is used to determine the objects interviewed. This means there will be a selection of actors who can help answer the research questions, in this case, the actors involved in village governance. This research will interview key actors in Girikerto Village. The key actors are essential in the operation of good governance in the village, including government, civil society, and private actors, namely Carik, Badan Permusyawaratan Kalurahan (BPKal), Ulu-ulu, Jogoboyo, influential landlords, farmers' associations, PKK women's groups, NGOs, religious leaders, youth organizations, and other community leaders.¹⁵ This data has been collected from July 2023 to September in Girikerto Village, Sleman, Yogyakarta.

While these methods address different scales—national discourse versus local perception—they are deeply interconnected. Big Data DNA helps to map the broader discourse surrounding the extension of the village head's term of office at the national level, identifying the dominant arguments, actors, and their relationships. The case study in Girikerto Village then examines how these national narratives are reflected, challenged, or reinterpreted at the village level.

For example, suppose the national discourse reveals concerns about corruption and abuse of power due to the term extension. In that case, the case study in Girikerto can explore whether such concerns resonate locally. Similarly, it can assess national-level arguments favoring political stability and development through local perceptions of whether the extended term has led to more stable and effective governance.

The results from the Big Data DNA are used to contextualize the interviews in the case study, providing a comparative framework for understanding how national-level discourse influences or contrasts with local realities. Thus, combining these two methods provides a richer and more nuanced analysis of the impact of the village head's extended term, not only through the lens of public discourse but also through the lived experiences of those directly affected by the policy.

Different analysis stages are needed to answer two research questions that use other approaches. Discourse network analysis, whose data is taken using Big Data technology tools has slightly different stages of analysis from qualitative analysis in general. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) summarize the stages of discourse network analysis into four stages,¹⁶ while the case study approach goes through more general qualitative analysis stages that have been summarized by Creswell (2019) into four stages.¹⁷ The two stages of analysis are outlined in Figure 1.

¹⁴Yani Kusmarni, "CASE STUDIES," UGM Journal UGM Press, 2012.

¹⁵R.D. Oktaviani and A.R. Maulana, "Identification of Important Actors in Village Development Good Governance (Case Study in Tegalgondo Village, Banyuwangi Regency)," *Journal of Public Administration of Brawijaya University Students* 8, no. 2 (2020): 17–26.

¹⁶Andreas M. Kaplan and Michael Haenlein, "Users of the World, Unite! The Challenges and Opportunities of Social Media," *Business Horizons* 53, no. 1 (January 2010): 59–68.

¹⁷J.W. Creswell, "Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches" 4 (2019).



Figure 1: Data Analysis Method

C. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

1. National Discourse on Village Head Term Extension: A Big Data Analysis

a. Distribution of the Discourse on Extending the Term of Office of Village Heads in Indonesia

Using the discourse network analysis (DNA) method, researchers successfully mapped the developing discourse on extending the term of office of village heads in Indonesia. The actors' statements were taken from the actors' comments reported by online media. The research included data from 100 news media articles, both local and national. Researchers identified 255 statements from 86 individuals and 18 organizations from the total news. Each actor's statement was then coded based on the frame (argumentation) put forward to support or reject. These statements can be classified into 66 arguments. We then presented the relationship between these frames.

From the results of the DNA analysis, it appears that the topic of village head renewal is a discourse that is debated by actors from the government, civil society, NGOs and academics. The following figure shows the discourse voiced by actors regarding whether or not the term of office of the village head should be extended for various reasons.

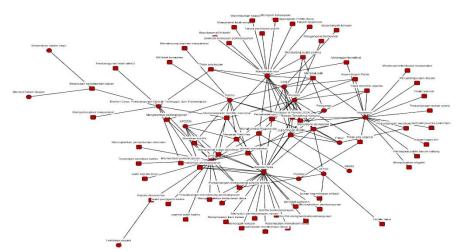


Figure 2: Map of the Discourse on the Extension of the Term of Office of the Village Head on a National Scale

The figure above shows the frames used and the relationship between the conceptual frames. Supporters and opponents have their arguments. The meeting point between those who support and reject is the frame of constitutionality and effectiveness. The constitutionality frame shows that those who support the extension of the term of office of the village head are a form of aspiration that must be immediately realized by the state and efforts to realize democracy by restoring the autonomous rights of the village. Meanwhile, those who reject it believe that the extension of the term of office of the village head is contrary to the principles of democracy because of the loss of leadership restrictions that will impact the potential for abuse of power.

Meanwhile, both supporters and opponents used the concept of effectiveness. Supporters believe that an effective way to maintain economic and political stability in the village is to extend the term of office of the village head. Meanwhile, those who rejected the idea questioned the effectiveness of extending the term of office because it was considered inconsistent with the reality that corruption in the village has increased yearly.

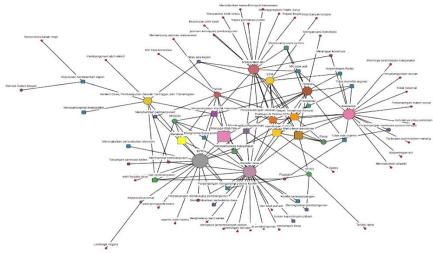


Figure 3: Frequency Map of Actors and Arguments

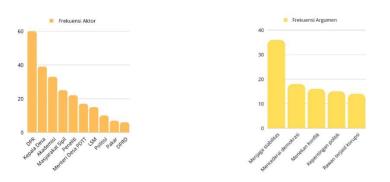


Figure 4: Diagram of Actor Frequency and Argument Frequency

Figures 3 and 4, with different formats, show that the frequency of occurrence of actors and arguments in the issue of extending the term of office of village heads has different intensities. In these figures, the actor points are shown in a round shape, and the arguments are displayed in a square shape. The size of the dot in the figure indicates the intensity of the most occurrences in the issue. The largest circle in this figure is shown by the DPR, with a frequency of 60. This means that the DPR is the actor that talks the most about extending the tenure of village heads. The two actors are most connected in arguments with the largest frequency, namely the argument of maintaining stability. This is in accordance with the concept of elite power stated by Bachrach and Baratz (1962), where power is seen in the decisions made and in the ability to determine the political agenda.¹⁸

As a legislative body, the DPR has the power to prioritize certain issues and ensure that public conversations focus on their desired agenda. Furthermore, village heads were also identified as having a significant role in their power as local elites. The dominance of connected stability-maintaining arguments between the DPR and village heads suggests that village heads are more involved in supporting political stability than safeguarding democracy. This indicates a desire to maintain the status quo and control local power. It can be concluded that the DPR and village heads use these arguments to legitimize the discourse on extending the term of office of village heads to maintain stability, even though it is contrary to democratic principles. The third most common actor was academics, and the fourth most common actor was civil society. These two actors are not connected to the first most arguments about maintaining stability but are connected to the second most arguments, namely harming democracy. This shows that there is resistance from non-elite groups to the political agenda of extending the term of office of the village head. Based on the theory stated by Bachrach and Baratz (1962), this resistance is a form of "non-decision" that shows non-elite groups' success in preventing specific political agendas.¹⁹

Another finding is that there are other supporting arguments used, such as suppressing conflict, supporting development, restoring village sovereignty, and accommodating community aspirations that are more often connected to groups of politicians, APDESI, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Villages

¹⁸Peter Bachrach and Baratz, "Two Faces of Power." ¹⁹Ibid.

PDTT, DPR, and other policy makers. On the other hand, other arguments against, such as undermining democracy, containing political interests, prone to corruption, and low public participation, are more connected to civil society groups, experts, academics, observers, researchers, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Based on the findings of the DNA method, it is concluded that the discourse on the extension of the village head's term of office not only shows the power struggle between political elites and local elites, but also shows the debate on democratic principles and community participation, which is supported by more arguments coming from political elites than community groups. Community groups tend not to be on the same side as the elites.

2. Local Perceptions of Term Extension in Kelurahan Girikerto: A Case Study

a. Opinions of Kelurahan Girikerto Residents on the Discourse on the Extension of the Term of Office of Village Heads or Lurahs

Interviews conducted with several essential actors in Kelurahan Girikerto showed differences in residents' opinions on the agenda of extending the lurah's term of office. This difference occurs because of the different interests of each actor. Even so, of all the interviewees in this study, more rejected the extension of the lurah term than supported it. Many even admitted that they did not know about this policy before it was enacted. This shows that there are similarities between the findings of the big data analysis and the results of the case study, namely that the policy discourse on the extension of the lurah tenure comes from the government elite only, not from the general public.

Another important finding is that some residents do not necessarily oppose or support it. They consider that the length of the lurah's term is not crucial to the government's performance. Government performance is more determined by the performance of the lurah and their officials. Broadly speaking, residents who agree with the extension of the lurah's term of office have similar reasons for being satisfied with the performance of the current lurah. However, they also have doubts about extending the lurah's term of office if the policy is applied to lurahs whose performance is unsatisfactory.

"I agree with the extension of the Head of Village's term of office because the performance of the current Head of Village is satisfactory. However, I cannot guarantee that I will still agree if the performance of the Head of Village is not good. Government performance is determined by the performance of the Lurah, not by the length of the Lurah's term of office."²⁰

A female interviewee who is active in the PKK organization expressed her objection to the proposed extension of the village head's position as stated in the interview:

"I don't agree, because it's a matter of profit and loss. If it is good, thank God, but if it is not good enough, it is difficult to replace it."²¹

Meanwhile, disagreement was based on more diverse reasons. For example, the nine-year term of office in the lurah extension policy is considered too long for a person to carry out the responsibilities of a lurah, which will reduce their

²⁰"Interview with Sarijo, Village Official, August 28" (2023).

²¹"Interview with Ratih, PKK Representative, August 28" (2023).

ability to work. Other reasons include the absence of regeneration in the leadership process in the village. In addition, with this discourse, it is feared that there will be a phenomenon of "buying a cat in a sack." This is understood to mean that if the elected leader does not meet the community's expectations, they will have to wait a long time to replace their leader, provided that the incumbent does not run again.

"I disagree because 9 years is too long. Ideally five years. Too long a term of office will be boring unless it goes through the election procedure again".²²

In addition, there are also those who believe that an extension of the term of office is not urgent to determine because they feel that a six-year term is sufficient. The kalurahan work program has been considered timely enough that there is no need to extend the term of office. It was also felt that this policy would hinder the rotation of kalurahan leadership.

Other reasons include the absence of regeneration in the village leadership process. In addition, with this discourse, it is feared that there will be elected leaders who do not meet the community's expectations. They will have to wait long to replace their leader, provided that the incumbent does not re-nominate. This difference of opinion can be understood due to differences in interests between actors. Some of those who agree with the discourse on the extension of the lurah's term of office come from community groups that have benefited from the lurah's policies or from the same group of friends.

b. Citizen Assessment of the Performance of the Village Using *Good Governance* Indicators

In general, residents' assessment of the lurah's performance based on *good governance* principles tends to be good. In terms of inclusiveness in policy-making, residents have been sufficiently involved with village meetings. Village meetings invite representatives from important village organizations (PKK, Gapoktan, Karang Taruna, religious leaders, etc.) three times a year to determine the RPJMDes, RKPD, and several other regulations. In addition, there are also deliberations at the dukuh level that serve to gather aspirations from the community.

In terms of accountability, it is also quite good. So far, there has never been any news about corruption or misuse of kalurahan funds. Reporting on using Kalurahan funds is also routinely submitted to residents and the village facilitator. Residents are also satisfied with the innovation, effectiveness, and efficiency of the work carried out by the lurah. The reason is that the lurah has drastically increased the village's income or kalurahan. Even so, this does not mean there is no dissatisfaction with the performance of the kelurahan. The principle of justice does not seem to be fulfilled. One of the interviewees from this study admitted that development between dusun has been uneven so far. For example, the procurement of youth sports equipment and facilities as well as festival representatives for the kelurahan, more often falls on the hamlet of origin of the current lurah.

Regarding law enforcement, there are different opinions on whether there is money politics in Kelurahan during elections. One party said there had been no money politics to buy people's votes. Another party had heard of dawn raids and knew that a candidate for lurah had distributed volleyball equipment to

²²"Interview with Yunus, BPKal Management, August 28" (2023).

youth before the election.

c. The Relationship Between Perceptions of the Extension of the Term of Office of the Village Head and the Assessment of the Performance of the Lurah Using the Lens of *Good Governance*

From the interviews, the relationship between perceptions of the extension of the lurah's term of office and the interviewees' assessment of the lurah's performance can be seen although not explicitly. Residents' rejection is implicitly based on the principles contained in the concept of *good governance*. For example, it can be seen in the following statements.

"Too long a term of office will also make officials 'lack enthusiasm'. Like the presidency. In the first period, they must make a thunderous program so that they are re-elected in the next period. If the term of office is too long, the work will be slow because the next election is still a long time away."²³

This statement shows that, according to residents, extending the lurah's term of office will reduce the effectiveness and efficiency of the lurah's work because no competition can encourage the lurah's performance to be more effective.

"I disagree, because it is too ambitious and self-interested. This is understood because the proposal is from the lurah alone. If the proposal was from the community, it might be considered an aspiration from the community."²⁴

This statement shows that extending the lurah's term of office only shows a low level of inclusiveness in policy-making because this proposal did not come from residents but from the kelurahan government elite.

"I disagree because the current lurah does not really protect the youth,".²⁵

Finally, this rejection came from interviewees who were dissatisfied with the current lurah's fairness aspect because he prioritized his friends' interests and tended to distribute village funds to the dusun where the lurah came from.

In conclusion, although in assessing the performance of the lurah, residents tend to give a good score for the implementation of *good governance*, the fact that there is a large rejection of the discourse on the extension of the term of office shows that there are problems in this policy. In the context of term extension, residents implicitly reject the extension of the term of office of the village head because this policy does not fulfill the principles of *good governance*. From the findings of the interviews, the author found that three principles of *good governance were* not fulfilled, which became the basis or reason for residents to reject the policy of extending the term of office. The three principles are effectiveness and efficiency, inclusiveness, and fairness.

D. CONCLUSION

Political elites rather than community groups predominantly drive the discourse surrounding the extension of village head tenures. Our Discourse Network Analysis indicates that discussions primarily occur among political figures, including ministers and APDESI, while civil society largely opposes this idea, citing threats to democratic principles.

This pattern is mirrored at the village level, where community members often express skepticism about extending the village head's term, reinforcing that the proposal originates from

²³"Interview with Rahmat, Resident Representative August 28" (2023).

²⁴"Interview with Slamet, Gapoktan Representative, August 28" (2023).

²⁵"Interview with Roni, Youth Organization Representative, August 28" (2023).

elite interests. Despite a relatively positive evaluation of the village head's performance in participation and accountability, issues like uneven development persist. Moreover, extending the term may hinder the village head's effectiveness, contradicting principles of efficiency. These findings underscore a lack of inclusiveness in the decision-making process, contributing to community reluctance to endorse the proposed nine-year term.

It is crucial to incorporate community perspectives into discussions on the extension of village head tenures to enhance policy-making. The results of this study should inform future policy analyses related to this issue, promoting more equitable and participatory governance.

REFERENCES

- Ariningsih, E. "The Use of Discourse Network Analysis in Studying Policy Change." *Journal of Political Science & Public Affairs* 7, no. 4 (2019): 1–6.
- Bappeda, Admin. "Bappeda DIY Cultural Independent Village Grand Design Study Report." Bappeda Kulon Progo Regency, 2021. https://bappeda.kulonprogokab.go.id/detil/738/laporan-kajian-grand-design-desamandiri-budaya-diy.
- Creswell, J.W. "Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches" 4 (2019).
- Damarjati, Danu. "Rejecting Extension of Village Head Term, ICW Presents Data on Village Corruption." detiknews, 2023. https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6537192/tolakperpanjangan-masa-jabatan-kades-icw-kemukakan-data-korupsi-desa.
- Girikertosid.slemankab.go.id. "Girikerto Achieves the Best Ranking for Cultural Independent Village in 2022." Girikerto, 2022. https://girikertosid.slemankab.go.id/first/artikel/83-Girikerto-Raih-Peringkat-Terbaik-Desa-Mandiri-Budaya-Tahun-2022.
- "Interview with Rahmat, Resident Representative August 28." 2023.
- "Interview with Ratih, PKK Representative, August 28." 2023.
- "Interview with Roni, Youth Organization Representative, August 28." 2023.
- "Interview with Sarijo, Village Official, August 28." 2023.
- "Interview with Slamet, Gapoktan Representative, August 28." 2023.
- "Interview with Yunus, BPKal Management, August 28." 2023.
- Janah, Binti Rhaudhatul, Shilmy Purnama, and Syamsuri. "Implementation of Good Governance Principles: Participation, Transparency, and Accountability in the Implementation of Village Government." *Journal of Public Administration and Local Governance* 5, no. 2 (2021): 132–43.
- Kaplan, Andreas M., and Michael Haenlein. "Users of the World, Unite! The Challenges and Opportunities of Social Media." *Business Horizons* 53, no. 1 (January 2010): 59–68.
- Kusmarni, Yani. "CASE STUDIES." UGM Journal UGM Press, 2012.
- Luthfy, Riza Multazam. "THE TERM OF SERVICE OF THE VILLAGE HEAD IN CONSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE." Legal Issues 48, no. 4 (2019): 319–30.
- Maryam, Neneng Siti. "Realizing Good Governance Through Public Services." *Journal of Political Science and Communication* 6, no. 1 (2016): 1–18.
- Oktaviani, R.D., and A.R. Maulana. "Identification of Important Actors in Village Development Good Governance (Case Study in Tegalgondo Village, Banyuwangi Regency)." *Journal of Public Administration of Brawijaya University Students* 8, no. 2 (2020): 17–26.
- Peter Bachrach, and Morton S. Baratz. "Two Faces of Power." *The American Political Science Review* 56, no. 4 (1962): 947–52.
- Pomeranz, Emily F., and Richard C. Stedman. "Measuring Good Governance: Piloting an Instrument for Evaluating Good Governance Principles." *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning* 22, no. 3 (2020): 428–40.

- Rahardjo, H. Mudjia. "CASE STUDIES IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH: CONCEPT AND PROCEDURE." Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, 2017.
- Siagian, Tiodora Hadumaon. "SEARCHING FOR HIGH RISK GROUPS OF CORONA VIRUS INFECTION WITH DISCOURSE NETWORK ANALYSIS." Indonesian Journal of Health Policy 09, no. 02 (2020): 98–106.
- Smart, Michael, and Daniel M. Sturm. "Term Limits and Electoral Accountability." *Journal of Public Economics* 107 (2013): 93–102.
- Syarifudin, Ahmad. "Sleman Lurah Association Agrees to 9-Year Term, Here's Why." Tribunjogja.com, 2023. https://jogja.tribunnews.com/2023/01/24/paguyuban-lurahsleman-setuju-masa-jabatan-jadi-9-tahun-begini-alasannya.