



Limiting the term of office of village heads in an effort to prevent abuse of power

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Length of service;
Restrictions;
Village head:

Article history:

Received Jan 4, 2024;
Revised Jan 5, 2024;
Accepted Jan 11, 2024;
Online Jan 15, 2024.

ABSTRACT

The village head is a strategic position, because it is a position created to provide services to the community. Before reform, the terms of office of village heads were regulated in Law Number 5 of 1979 concerning Village Government. In this law, the term of office of a village head is 8 (eight) years and can be reappointed for 1 (one) term of office. Then, after the amendment to the 1945 Constitution, regulations regarding the term of office of village heads were regulated in various kinds of laws, namely Law Number 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Government, Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government and the most recent is Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages. There are differences in the term of office of the village head from the three laws, namely Law Number 22 of 1999 regulates that the term of office of the village head is 5 (five) years and can be two terms, then Law Number 32 of 2004 regulates the term of office of the village head, namely 6 (six) years and may be two terms. Meanwhile, Law Number 6 of 2014 regulates that the term of office of a village head is 6 (six) years and may be for three terms. Even though the village head's term of office is already long, it turns out that there is still dissatisfaction expressed by the village head and there is talk of increasing the village head's term of office to 9 (nine) years for each period. To prevent abuse of power, it is important to limit the term of office of village heads. If the village head's term of office is too long, the potential for fraud will become increasingly open.

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1. Introduction

The founding of a country has a goal to provide prosperity for the people who inhabit that country. To bring prosperity to society, a good governance system is certainly needed. One form of good governance is by establishing certain positions in order to maximize services to the community. One of the positions created in order to provide services to the community is the position of Village Head.

Village head is a strategic position. Before reform, the terms of office of village heads were regulated in Law Number 5 of 1979 concerning Village Government. In this law, the term of office

of a village head is 8 (eight) years and can be reappointed for 1 (one) term of office. Then, after the amendment to the 1945 Constitution, regulations regarding the term of office of village heads were regulated in various kinds of laws, namely Law Number 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Government, Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government and the most recent is Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages.

There are differences in the term of office of the village head from the three laws, namely Law Number 22 of 1999 regulates that the term of office of the village head is 5 (five) years and can be two terms, then Law Number 32 of 2004 regulates the term of office of the village head, namely 6 (six) years and may be two terms. Meanwhile, Law Number 6 of 2014 regulates that the term of office of a village head is 6 (six) years and may be for three terms.

As time goes by, the regulation of the term of office of village heads in Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages has created problems because there are differences compared to the terms of office of village heads in the previous law. In Law Number 22 of 1999 and Law Number 32 of 2004, a village head can only serve two terms of office. Meanwhile, Law Number 6 of 2014 allows for a village head to serve up to three terms of office. This issue was then resolved by the Constitutional Court. The decision of the Constitutional Court Number 42/PUU-XIX/2021 strictly limits the term of office of a village head to 3 (three) terms of office.

Even though the village head's term of office has been long, it turns out there is still dissatisfaction expressed by the village head. In January 2023, there was talk of increasing the term of office of village heads to 9 (nine) years for each period, as conveyed by the Association of Village Heads who held a demonstration at the DPR RI Building demanding that the DPR RI revise Law Number 6 of 2014 regarding the term of office of heads. village to 9 (nine) years. There were several reasons and various considerations expressed by the village head regarding the emergence of this discourse, including optimizing the performance of the village government and minimizing conflicts and divisions ahead of the village head election.

Then, officials at the national level also responded to this discourse. Abdul Halim Iskandar (Mendes PDDT) welcomed the proposal. According to Abdul Halim Iskandar, the proposed term of office for village heads of up to 9 (nine) years is a middle way to ensure the stability of village development, but according to him this must be moderated by limiting leadership opportunities to 2 (two) periods. Apart from that, political parties such as PDIP also support the discourse of increasing the term of office of village heads.

On the other hand, an academic at UM Surabaya, Hariri, believes that the term of office for a village head of 9 (nine) years is contrary to the constitution, because the constitution limits terms of office in order to minimize abuses of office such as corruption and oligarchy. Likewise, Adam Musi, an academic from the University of Jember, said that there is a limitation of power to prevent absolutism and arbitrariness, so that if the term of office is longer, the potential for abuse will be more open. According to researchers, if the Government and DPR follow the desire to increase the term of office of village heads to 9 (nine) years, this will have the potential for abuse of the authority of village heads. In Law Number 6 of 2014, the village head has several powers, including holding the power to manage village finances and assets. Moreover, now there is a Village Fund. And also considering the large number of corruption cases in villages, as ICW data states that in 2021 the number of corruption cases in villages will be the highest compared to others, namely with a total of 363 cases of corruption in villages. Not to mention, for example, a village head who is passive towards his village, the longer he serves, the longer it will take for his village to develop, let alone progress. Moreover, based on data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2021, the number of villages in Indonesia is 83,843. That's a huge amount. Thank goodness the village head is trustworthy, if otherwise then what would happen would be a loss for Indonesia itself, especially the village.

However, even so, regarding the pros and cons of the discourse on increasing the village head's term of office, there will definitely be parties that support extending the village head's term of

office and gain sympathy from the community. And researchers admit that people's voices are often forgotten, especially before elections where many parties try to gain support in villages because the voices of village people have greater weight than the voices of people in cities.

2. Method

The type of research used by researchers is normative legal research, namely research that focuses on examining the rules or norms in positive law. Normative legal research is a way to discover legal rules, legal principles and legal doctrines to answer the legal problems raised. Researchers studied and analyzed term limits for village heads in an effort to prevent abuse of power. This normative legal research means that the legal issues that are the object of the study are analyzed based on sources in the form of applicable laws and regulations and theories related to the legal issues in this research.

In this research, the approach method used is the statutory approach. The legislative approach is carried out by examining statutory regulations, namely the legal issues being studied. Apart from that, this research also uses a conceptual approach. By using a conceptual approach, researchers need to examine the views of legal scholars regarding the legal issue in this research, namely limiting the term of office of village heads in an effort to prevent abuse of power.

Primary legal materials are legal materials consisting of applicable laws and regulations. The laws and regulations used as primary legal material in this research are: the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945, Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages. Then the secondary legal materials in this research are books related to law, social and politics. Sources of legal materials were obtained from literature studies.

The technique of obtaining legal materials is carried out by collecting statutory regulations according to research needs and then classifying them to make it easier for researchers to conduct research so that the scope of the research does not go outside the boundaries of the problem being studied. The collection of legal materials was obtained from literature study. Researchers also collected various supporting information related to Village Heads, Limitations of Power, and also Prevention of Abuse of Power. Which is then analyzed qualitatively descriptively.

3. Analysis and Results

3.1. Protection of Constitutional Rights in a Rule of Law State

Constitutional rights are human rights guaranteed by the constitution, whether the guarantee is expressly stated or implied. Because it is included in the constitution or basic law, it becomes part of the constitution or basic law so that all branches of state power are obliged to respect it. Therefore, recognition and respect for constitutional rights as part of the constitution also means limitations on state power. As part of the constitution, constitutional rights must be protected, so that citizens as rights holders can defend their rights.

Protection of constitutional rights as one of the characteristics or elements of the rule of law. Protection of constitutional rights here is meant as a limitation of state power or to create a "limited period of office" where absolute power is not given to branches of state power. In relation to power, from the perspective of constitutional law, elections are a constitutional process of changing power. Elections are political activities which are the beginning of people's participation in the decision-making process as a means of recruiting leadership and legitimizing the exercise of power.

Then related to the protection of human rights in the concept of the rule of law and the principles of national democracy based on the constitution of the State of Indonesia, namely, article 28D Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which stipulates: "Everyone has the right to recognition, guarantees, protection and fair legal certainty and equal treatment before the law." Article 28D Paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which stipulates: "Every citizen has the right to equal opportunities in government." Article 28H

Paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which stipulates: "every person has the right to receive special facilities and treatment to obtain the same opportunities and benefits in order to achieve equality and justice." The constitutional rights of every citizen have the potential to be harmed because there is no difference in the term of office of village head and other executive positions.

The village head's term of office being too long also causes regeneration to not occur. Limiting the term of office of a village head can also prevent village head dysfunction because he has served for 2 (two) terms. By limiting the term of office of the village head, the constitutional rights of every citizen can be given, we will get new energy, leaders and thoughts full of idealism to take the village in a better direction. The regeneration cycle will run faster. From there, new seeds of future leaders for this country will also be found who are also from the younger generation who are full of idealism.

The principle of democracy or popular sovereignty in the constitution is adhered to and practiced, guaranteeing the participation of the community in the state decision-making process, so that every legal regulation that is implemented and enforced reflects the community's sense of justice. The law is not intended to only guarantee the interests of the ruling organs, but rather to guarantee the interests of justice for everyone. Thus, the legal state that is developed is not absolute *rechtsstaat* but democratic *rechtsstaat*. Law is a means to achieve shared idealized goals. The ideals of law itself, whether institutionalized through the idea of a rule of law or the idea of a democratic state, are intended to improve general welfare.

For the author, this command is not just an empty note without meaning, but is the spirit of efforts to realize good governance and clean government. And this is the state duty of every citizen to achieve the national ideals contained in the Foundation of the Indonesian Nation, our *Pancasakti*, starting from elements of structuring individual morality to structuring social institutions. For the author, he interprets politics from a substantial perspective, politics is a means of achieving happiness, this is a simple definition of politics. because politics is a supra-state system that covers all parts of life, or in other words, politics is the result of the *ijtihad* of the founding fathers of the Indonesian nation through the lens of diversity (*SARA*), in order to realize national ideals.

3.2. Corruption as a Form of Abuse of Village Head Power

Until now, Indonesia is still struggling to free itself from the shackles of corruption. Corruption not only occurs at the central government level, but corruption also occurs at the village government level. There are four causes of corruption at the village level, first, village heads are often conditioned to be at the spearhead and even more at the spearhead. Second, the village head was elected based on good electability, but the economic modality was very weak so he was encouraged to commit criminal acts of corruption. Third, the position of village head becomes the coffers of political parties at the grassroots. Fourth, lack of supervision and openness in the implementation of village government.

Basically there is no single definition of corruption. Corruption can mean using position for personal gain. Position is a position of trust. Corruption can mean charging money for services that should be provided, or using authority to achieve illegitimate goals. Corruption can include both legitimate and illegitimate activities. Corruption can occur within an organization, for example, embezzlement of money or outside the organization, for example, extortion. Corruption sometimes has a positive impact in the social sector, but corruption gives rise to inefficiency, injustice and inequality.

Some corruption is carried out on a freelance basis, meaning that officials individually or in small groups use their authority to ask for bribes. However, corruption can be endemic and structured systematically. According to Luis Moreno Ocampo, corruption that does not pay attention to the rules of the game at all is called hypercorruption. Meanwhile, Herbert Werlin called it secondary corruption, which he compared to alcoholism.

Corruption that has entered the hypercorruption stage has dangerous implications. This corruption is usually found within the scope of regional (village) government in various countries. Systematic corruption causes economic losses because it distorts incentives; political losses from undermining government institutions; social loss due to wealth and power falling into the hands of unauthorized people. If corruption has developed so deeply that property rights are no longer respected, the rule of law is taken for granted, and incentives for investment are disrupted, the result is that economic and political development will stagnate.

The increasing prevalence of corrupt practices is not enough to just explain it from one point of view, for example, at certain limits in political life, people are increasingly showing themselves as "commander-in-chief" in law enforcement. The lack of clarity in the world of politics has resulted in the emergence of dark tunnels in the eradication of corruption, for example those who are suspected of being corrupt try to seek protection from political parties. Once they gain a place in a political party, law enforcement is threatened with suspension. Political parties become bunkers for corrupt people.

Bang Napi's message in a television program was that crime arises because of the intention and opportunity of the perpetrator. Likewise with corruption that occurs in villages, what motivates village heads to commit corruption are: First, village heads are often conditioned to be at the cutting edge and more at the end of the spear. A village head must be ready 24 hours to serve the community. From babies being born to people dying, the village head must come. There is something missing if the village head does not attend every community event. The profession of village head does not recognize holidays. Apart from that, at every community event the village head must make a donation. Donations are not just one day but can be more than that. Even though the village head's salary is small, he only relies on donations in the form of agricultural products: rice, coconuts or barren land.

Second, the village head was elected based on good electability but the economic modality was very weak so he was encouraged to commit criminal acts of corruption. Thus, there is a tendency to restore political finances. Third, the position of village head becomes the coffers of political parties at the grassroots. It is no secret that in the current era, even at the village level, political parties have embedded their political roots by placing their cadres as village heads. Then the question arises, how significant is the degree of politics at the local level? The significance of politics at the local level (read: village level) is in line with what former United States Senator Tip O'Neil once said, namely "Politics is Local". The argument for the importance of politics at the local level is because, (1) local politics is a learning laboratory within a more general and sensitive framework; (2) Local politics is the first arena for political participation; (3) Local politics is a barometer of daily life so that it can be taken into consideration by the government and stakeholders. The argument at the beginning is not a justification or affirmation of corruption but it must be a common enemy. Corruption is an extraordinary crime.

Fourth, lack of supervision and openness in the implementation of village government. This is because village people are usually more concerned about carrying out their daily activities such as farming, trading and fishing. Government affairs and budgeting are considered to be the work of smart people, village leaders only. The Village Consultative Body (BPD), a youth organization, is not functioning because the majority are migrating to big cities.

In Parkinson's Theory, it is explained that in every formal structure there is a tendency to increase personnel in organizational units. Every time they receive an assignment, officials usually form new bureaucratic units or groups or recruit new people. This resulted in swelling of the bureaucracy both in terms of the number of units and the number of employees. Because the land and sources of income that employees can extract become more limited, they are ultimately driven to commit corruption. Basically, this is not the only factor that encourages employees to commit corruption. The motivating factors for corruption are very diverse and often one factor strengthens another factor.

Apart from that, the mode of corruption can be revealed from the bureaucratic structure of patrimonial government at the village level, especially in Asian countries. 14 With the inherent culture of patrimonial bureaucracy, public and private space, personal space and official or official space cannot be distinguished. According to Wertheim, various forms of corruption are related to history, attitudes to life and the social structure of local communities. Thus, there are no checks and balances at the village level. However, the modes of corruption must be known first, even at the village level.

The modes of corruption at the village level include:

Reducing the allocation of Village Fund Allocations (ADD), for example, ADD funds are used as "cake" by village employees for personal interests, Cutting the allocation of Direct Cash Assistance (BLT), for example, the cuts are due to the principle of equality and justice for distribution to poor families who are not registered. However, what often happens is that BLT cuts are often misused by administrators at the village level. Reducing rice rations for the poor (raskin), for example, cutting 1-2 kg per head of family (KK). If calculated, it will produce a large amount which is then used to enrich oneself, Sale of Village Treasury Land (Bengkok), Rental of Village Treasury Land (TKD) which is not their right, for example, TKD for housing, Illegal levies from a program even though the program should be free, for example, land certification (bleaching), Family Card (KK), Resident Identification Card (KTP), Falsifying social assistance proposals, for example, misappropriating cow aid.

On the other hand, the change in the political system from centralized (New Order) to decentralized (Reformation Order) did not always provide best practices. It turns out that corruption not only occurs in the Senayan complex and the Merdeka area but has also spread to arenas far from the frenetic pace of national politics. It turns out that corruption is decentralized down to the village level. Omni present corruption. The amount of corruption, the methods of corruption may be "anchovy class". However, this does not mean that acts of corruption are permitted or even frowned upon. Corruption could be more afdhol (better) carried out in congregation so that they can hold each other hostage, protecting each other between bureaucratic structures even at the village level. Here's some data:

Table 1. Examples of Corruption Cases in Villages

Village head/ Village Head	County town	Alleged Corruption	Information
Darmaji	Trenyang Sumberpucung Village, Malang Regency.	National Mass Certification Program (Prona) Levy. Each head of family is charged IDR 500 thousand-1.5 million even though the program is free.	(Java Post, 27 May 2011)
Susanto	Jenggolo Kepanjen Village, Malang Regency.	Distortion of Village Treasury Land (TKD) and Village Fund Allocation Funds (ADD).	Renting out 10 hectares of land that is not his right. (Java Post, 27 May 2011)
Mujito	Senggeng Village, Malang Regency.	FraudBent land rent IDR 30 million.	It turned out that the rented land could not be worked by the tenant. (Java Post, May 27, 2011)
Sujiono	Klampok Village, Malang Regency.	Redistribution levy land that should be free. Levies start from IDR 1.8 million - IDR 7 million.	Complaints about levies carried out by 1,183 residents who applied for cultivated land. (Java Post, 27 May 2011)
Mursalih	Tarumajaya People's Heritage Village, Bekasi Regency	Misuse of Village Treasury Land Disposal Funds in 2003 resulted in state losses reaching IDR 1 billion.	The perpetrator has violated Law Number 20 of the Year 2010 concerning Corruption Crimes. (Post City, May 12, 2011)
Hernando Ferry	Kujang Village, District, Cikoneng, Ciamis Regency	Corruption in Irrigation Funds amounted to IDR 95 million in 2009.	www.tempointeractive.com (February 21, 2011).
Sulkan	Sumber Gondang	Mass certificate adjudication in	Funds from levies reached IDR

Village, Kabuh District, Regency	2008. Program from the World Bank it should be free but	160 million. (www.mediaindonesi a.com)
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The objects that were corrupted were: Village Fund Allocation (ADD), for example the funds are for the village head's personal needs, Village Cash Land (TKD), for example the Village Cash Land is sold without complying with applicable legal procedures, Mass Certification: Land, KTP, for example with illegal levies even though the program is free, Social Funds or Assistance from the Province, Regency, for example social funds in the form of assistance for cattle and then the animal assistance is managed by yourself, Infrastructure Funds (irrigation, roads).

Based on the matters mentioned above, according to the author, it is important that the term of office and period of the Village Head be limited. Apart from that, the Indonesian Constitution also emphasizes that one of the characteristics of the Indonesian government system is that it adheres to the principle of a rule of law and not a state of power. Based on the provisions of the constitution, this means that the government has limited power and is not allowed to be arbitrary. The principles adopted must be reflected in the practice of state administration, including the practice of village government administration.

4. Conclusion

It is necessary to limit the term of office of village heads in an effort to prevent abuse of power. If not limited, the constitutional rights of every citizen have the potential to be harmed because the village head's term of office is too long. Apart from that, there are differences in terms of office and terms of village heads when compared with the terms of office of other executive public officials. Therefore, the term of office of the village head needs to be limited to avoid or at least minimize the potential for corruption by the village head due to serving too long.

Acknowledgments

There are no words that can express my gratitude to all the leaders and colleagues at the Faculty of Law, Tanjungpura University. The guidance, encouragement and support he has provided throughout this research process has been invaluable and meaningful to me. All of this has helped me achieve satisfactory results in this research. I hope that in the future I can apply this knowledge more wisely and be useful for other people. Thank you very much for everything.

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