

The Indonesian Update

Monthly Review on Economic, Legal, Security, Political, and Social Affairs



Main Report: Emergency of BPJS Deficit

The Economy

- Indonesia's Export Performance Declines
- Transparency Polemic Special Autonomy Fund (Otsus) In Papua

Politics

- Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 3/2018:
Shackling Society Thoughts
- Polemics over the Idea of Appointing Acting Governors from the
Indonesian National Police

Social

- Polemics over the Reorganizing of the Tanah Abang area
- The Healthy Indonesia (Nusantara Sehat) Program: Reducing the
Maldistribution of Health Professionals in Indonesia

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FOREWORD

The BPJS deficit had reached a level of Rp 9 trillion until the end of 2017. This conditions have caused by the amount of incoming funds is not proportional to the amount of expenditures, especially those related to financing the claims of catastrophic diseases. The January-February 2018 edition of the main report raises the topic of “BPJS Deficit Emergency” to focus on prevention and health promotion as an effort to reduce BPJS spending.

In the field of economy, Update Indonesia addresses the issue of “The Decline of Indonesia’s Exports Performance” and “Polemics over the Transparency of Papua Special Autonomy Fund”. In the political field, we discuss Permendagri No. 3/2018, which restrains research activities on sensitive issues. We also discussed the polemics over the proposal to appoint police generals as Acting Governors, using media monitoring techniques to monitor five selected online media outlets.

In the social field, this time Indonesia Update raises the polemics over the complex arrangement of commercial areas of Tanah Abang, which have been influenced by economic, social, political and legal factors, especially related to the arrangement of the existence of street vendors.

In this edition, we also look at the Healthy Indonesia (Nusantara Sehat) Program of the Indonesian Health Ministry, particularly in providing quality health workers, retaining health workers in their working areas, as well as career sustainability of health workers after their contracts end.

The monthly publications of the Update Indonesia with actual themes are expected to help policy makers in government and business institutions - as well as academics, think tanks, and civil society elements, both within and outside the country, to obtain actual information and contextual analysis of economic, political, social and legal issues in Indonesia, as well as an understanding of public policy in Indonesia.

Happy Reading.

Emergency of BPJS Deficit

Until the end of 2017, BPJS had run a deficit about Rp 9 billion. This happened as a result of imbalance between its income and expenses, especially the expenses to pay the claims for catastrophic diseases. There are eight catastrophic diseases that incur high costs, such as heart diseases, kidney failures, stroke, cirrhosis of hepatitis, thalassemia, leukemia, and hemophilia. The total costs that BPJS had to pay for catastrophic diseases services until September 2017 was 19.68 percent of the total cost, including inpatient and outpatient services (<http://ekonomi.kompas.com>, 11/17).

The other factor that has caused BPJS deficit is that the BPJS system has failed to minimise the disobedience of the members to pay a regular premium payments. Many members join BPJS so that when they are sick they can get complex treatments in hospital. Unfortunately, after they have received an expensive treatment, they stopped paying the regular premium payments. The data show that non-beneficiaries are members who have the highest levels of arrears (<http://www.jamsosindonesia.com>, 2/18).

Government's Recommendation and The Challenges

There are a couple of options that the government has tried to formulate. The two strategies are using cigarette tax (about 50 percent) and using cost-sharing scheme, especially to catastrophic diseases (<http://nasional.kompas.com>, 11/17).

Article 94 Paragraph 1 Point C UU No. 28/2009 regulates that originates from cigarette tax has to be divided between the district governments (70 percent) and the provincial governments (30 percent), with a minimum 50 percent of it has to be allocated for health issues. Article 2 of The Regulation of Health Minister on the

Technical Guidelines on the Use of Smoking Taxes for Public Health Services Funding No. 40/2016 states that cigarette funds can be used to reduce the risk factor of contagious and also non-infectious diseases (including immunization), to increase health promotion, to increase family health, to improve nutrition status, to improve environmental health, to improve occupational health and exercise, to control cigarette consumption, and to improve primary health care services.

The points mentioned above have been specified to utilize the cigarette tax for preventive and advocacy aspects. Meanwhile, if the cigarette tax would like to be used to fix the BPJS deficit, the government must prepare a new scheme to guarantee the sustainability of preventive and advocacy aspects. We do not want to solve one problem but then creating another one.

The other solution that the government has mentioned is impose cost-sharing scheme for catastrophic diseases. The cost-sharing scheme only for non-beneficiaries. This scheme is believed to prompt non-beneficiary members to switch to private insurance companies or to demand better health services (<http://www.tribunnews.com, 11/17>).

Since 2015, DJSN (National Social Security Council) has proposed to increase the premium of class III beneficiaries to around Rp 36.000. It is the lowest rates. At this time, the premium of class III beneficiaries is Rp 25.500, so BPJS absolutely needs a subsidy from the government. If the government cannot give the subsidy, the next step that it has to take is to increase the beneficiary premium.

Table 1.

Percentage of Per Capita Expenditure Based on the Income in Indonesia 2016

| Economic Status | Expenditure for Cigarette |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | 12.94 |
| 2 | 15.16 |
| 3 | 16.11 |
| 4 | 15.12 |
| 5 | 11.60 |
| Total | 13.80 |

Source: BPS, Susenas 2016

parties have rejected the increase of BPJS premium, especially the premium of non-class III beneficiaries. The proposed increase will create an economic burden for them, even though the data from table 1 tell us that people from the economic status 1 (the poorest) have bigger expenditure for cigarette compared to the economic status 5 (the richest). The household expenditure for health services should be a priority. If the poorest can buy a cigarette of about 2-3 packs a day (Susenas, 2016), definitely they can pay the monthly premium, which will be equivalent to the cost of three packs cigarette if the monthly premium is increased.

Recommendations

- Specific requirements for BPJS applicants

Decreasing the BPJS deficit can be done by specifying special requirements for new BPJS applicants. The applicants have to attach a medical check-up report from the last three months. The scheme should have a higher premium for applicants who are older and have more complex medical histories. If this scheme is not applied, then BPJS will run a deficit year by year. The deficit will happen as an impact of many applicants who have catastrophic, register with BPJS when they have been diagnosed with a serious sickness.

- Implementation of strict sanctions and improvement of sanctions

The members who delinquent monthly premium will be given a fine 2.5 percent of the outpatient services cost when they use health services within 45 days since their memberships are reactivated. This sanction is only implemented for outpatient services. At the same time, members will cover 100 percent for the costs of inpatient services. The sanctions are too small if they only apply just for the outpatient services.

Moreover, BPJS Kesehatan should make a new scheme to reduce of “break up” members, specifically for the non-beneficiaries member. BPJS Kesehatan also must cooperate with each local government to collect the information on “break up” members. For the members who have arrears and are detected as a poorest, they should be registered as Jamkesda members. The local governments will pay the monthly premium for them.

- Cost-sharing

The GOI (Government of Indonesia) can use this system provided that it is done with careful preparations and provisions. In addition, BPJS Kesehatan must also improve services to compensate for this new system so that the non-beneficiary members are not reluctant to accept this cost-sharing scheme. Many countries have done this system with clear roles. The GOI can adopt the cost-sharing scheme of China's, Japan's, or the other countries' that have succeeded to implement such a scheme (see Table 2).

Japan as a developed country does not cover the full payments of the health services. Japan has specific criteria for three types of health finance: the first is the health finance for the workers (companies, etc.), the second one is the national health finance for jobless citizen, including housewives and children, and the third one is the health finance for elderly people. Each category has cost limit that can be covered by the government. If it exceeds the cost limit, the patients/ members must perform a cost-sharing scheme of service charges.

Table 2. Health Financing Scheme in China and Jepang

| Country | Scheme |
|---------|--|
| China | Cost-sharing has been implemented since 2005. A member of health finance must perform a cost-sharing scheme: 20% for outpatient services and 20-80% for inpatient services. Cost-sharing that has been done can decrease the number of catastrophic diseases claims to about 0.73%. |
| Japan | Has divided health insurance to three schemes: a health finance for the workers, national health finance for jobless citizens, including housewives and children, and health finance for elderly people. The government covers 80% for outpatient services and 70% for inpatient services. The cost sharing will be done if the bill exceeds the cost limit. |

Sources: <http://lib.ui.ac.id>, 2/18; <http://www.who.int>, 2/18

- Cigarette tax adjustment and monthly premium rates

The GOI must prepare a plan of the cigarette tax proportion that will be used to solve the BPJS deficit. The important thing that we have to emphasize is the funds to maintaining BPJS deficit should not take a 'quota' of cigarette tax funds for prevention and advocacy. The concept of prevention is better than cure not only as a slogan. It must be implemented for better health of society. If the funds for prevention and advocacy are not enough, tariff adjustment can be done as an alternative. The premium corrections must be simultaneously taken with decisions issues by ministries and related institutions.

The BPJS deficit can be fixed in several ways, such as tightening the registration requirements, affirming sanctions, cost-sharing, cigarette tax subsidy funds, and revising the monthly premium.

- Umi Lutfiah -

Indonesia's Export Performance Declines

Indonesia's exports showed a decline at the beginning of 2018. According to a report issued by the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), the export value of Indonesia in December 2017 had decreased compared to previous months. Indonesia's exports in December 2017 decreased by 3.45 percent compared to November 2017. The value of Indonesian exports in November 2017 reached a level of 15.28 billion dollars, and in December 2017 decreased to a level of 14.79 billion dollars (<http://www.bps.go.id>, 01/28).

According to Suhariyanto, the head of BPS, in November 2017 the exports of non-oil sector had decreased by 5.41 percent from 14.04 billion dollars to 13.28 billion dollars in December 2017 (<http://www.republika.co.id>, 01/15). He said that the biggest decline in the non-oil sector in December 2017 was in the jewelry sector, at a level of 205.2 million dollars, or 38.83 percent. The non-oil sector has been contributed significantly to Indonesia's export earnings, where in December 2017, reached a level of 89.79 percent. A total of 69.83 per cent had been contributed by the processing industry, 18.10 percent contributed by mining, and as much as 1.86 percent by the agricultural sector (<http://www.republika.co.id>, 01/15).

The decline of the Indonesian exports' performance has received a direct response from the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo (Jokowi). At the opening the working meeting with the Ministry of Trade, President Jokowi said that he was upset about Indonesia's export prices, which lagged behind those of neighboring countries in 2016. Jokowi compared the export revenues with those of neighboring countries. In 2016, the value of Indonesian exports was at a level of 145 billion dollars, while other countries, such as Thailand, Malaysia and Vietnam were able to produce for 231 billion dollars, 184 billion dollars, and 160 billion dollars, respectively (<http://www.republika.co.id>, 01/31). At the opening of the meeting, President Jokowi also reminded the Minister of Trade not to work too mo-

notonously, relying solely on traditional markets to sell our exports of goods. The President stated that non-traditional markets, such as Asia and Africa, were plenty (<http://republika.co.id>, 01/31).

Responding to the decline in the value of Indonesian exports, the Minister of Industry said that the defeat of the national exports to those of countries was due to the lack of Free Trade Agreements (FTA) with the countries of export destinations (<http://finansial.bisnis.com>, 01/31). Airlangga Hartanto, the Minister of Industry, also stated that other countries such as, Vietnam, were more aggressive in establishing the Free Trade Agreements (FTA), such as the European Union and the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreements. Meanwhile, Indonesia is still working together with the EU to prepare a trade agreement. Indonesia has also not joined the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP).

Finance Minister Sri Mulyani has also responded to President Jokowi's statement. She said that the issue of exports was not only the responsibility of the Ministry of Trade, but also the responsibility of some other ministries and institutions. The export issue is the responsibility of the Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM) and the Local Governments (PEMDA) (<https://bisnis.tempo.co>, 02/02). Sri Mulyani also added that the local governments have an important role due to the high costs of doing business and to bureaucratic hurdles stemming from government policies.

According to the author, there are several external and internal factors that have caused the decline in the export performance of Indonesia. In terms of external factors, there is economic slowdown that has occurred in several trading partners. Sri Mulyani argued that currently the world economy is in difficult conditions, where there have been fluctuations in world oil prices, economic slowdown in China and some geopolitical problems (sindonews.com, 2017/01/17). Moreover, currently the United States government is experiencing a shutdown of public services operations. This certainly has an impact on the export performance, as Indonesia has a large portion of its exports sent to the United States. According to the BPS data, Indonesian exports to the United States reached a level of 11.2 percent of total exports, or around 17.1 billion dollars in 2017.

In terms of internal factors, there is absence of new agreements to expand the export market. Currently, Indonesian exports tend to rely on countries of traditional markets, such as USA, China, and Japan. Airlangga Hartanto as the Minister of Industry, has not been working swift to achieve international trade agreements. For example, the cooperation to prepare the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the Europe is still in the process, and Indonesia has not joined the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP).

Indonesia's export performance should be maintained as exports are one of the largest sources of foreign exchange earnings

According to the author, Indonesia needs to start the expansion of export destination markets, especially to non-traditional markets, such as by accelerating the FTA cooperation with Europe and by utilizing the TPP agreement. As expressed by Suhariyanto, the head of BPS, in the year 2017, the value of the exports to traditional markets was only at a level of 35 percent of total exports (<https://finance.detik.com>, 01/01). According to the Industry Minister's expert staff for the strengthening of the industrial structures, there are many advantages of opening markets in non-traditional markets, such as North America, South America, Central and Western Europe, the Middle East and there South Africa. For example, most in these countries apply export quota systems (<http://ekonomi.kompas.com>, 2017/05/06).

Then, to improve the competitiveness of Indonesian exports that are currently lagging behind those of the neighboring countries, we need to optimize the role of the UMKM sector. Currently, an obstacle for the UMKM sector is the lack of access to market information (Ishak, 2005). The local governments, the Department of Trade and the Minister of Cooperatives need to improve the dissemination of information to the UMKM so that their products can compete in the markets. Then, the regulations from the local governments on the ease of getting business licensing also need to be improved. Currently, businessmen are still constrained by costs and bureaucratic obstacles stemming from government policies.

- Riski Wicaksono -

Transparency Polemic Special Autonomy Fund (Otsus) In Papua

Currently, the polemic over transparency of the utilization of the special autonomy fund (otsus) for Papua have re-emerged to the public. This has been triggered by the emergence of malnutrition and measles problems in Papua, especially in the Asmat district at the beginning of this year. The central government has set a an Extraordinary Events (KLB). According to reports from the Ministry of Health, there are about 646 children suffering from outbreaks of measles and 144 severe malnourished (*ekonomi.kompas.com, 2018/01/01*). The problem of malnutrition has actually not for the first time in Papua, as in 2013 malnutrition had also occurred in the District of Tambrau.

Malnutrition and measles outbreaks in Papua have been taken seriously by the minister of finance, Sri Mulyani argued, who has then questioned the effectiveness of the utilization and management of the special autonomy fund over the years. She has questioned whether the fund has been used in accordance with the primary purpose of the special autonomy (*cnnindonesia.com, 2018/01/02*). In line with Sri Mulyani's opinion, Minister of Social affair Mahram Idrus has also stated that the special autonomy fund (which reaches a level of eight trillion in 2018) need to be managed properly so that the assistance can be accurately targeted (*cnnindonesia.com, 2018/01/31*).

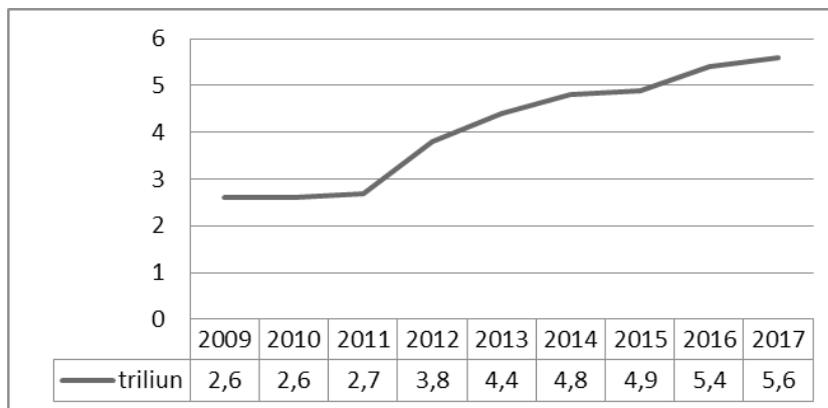
The discourse on evaluating the Papua special autonomy fund has actually been discussed a number of times. However, so far there has been no real evidence that the evaluation will be conducted. In 2014, the Minister of Home Affairs, Tjahjo Kumolo said that, he would evaluate the allocation of the fund. The previous home affair Minister, Gamawan fauzi, also stated a similar statement on the

special autonomy fund, which had not been implemented optimally (*tirto.id, 2018/01/31*).

The Regulation and the Development of the Papua Special Autonomy Fund

Regulations on the Papua special autonomy is stipulated in Law No. 21, year 2001. The central government has allocated Papua special autonomy fund as a source of budget funding to assist in the implementation of programs in specific fields, such as health, education, infrastructure and the economy. The special autonomy funds is being given to Papua for a period of 20 years, starting in 2001 and ending in 2021. Meanwhile the special autonomy fund for West Papua province has been allocated by central government since 2008. The administration of Special Autonomy fund, according to regulations is 2% of the National Fund Allocation (DAU). Until now, the effectiveness and transparency of the management of the fund are still being questioned.

Table 1. Development of The Special Autonomy Fund Papua Province Years 2009-2017



Source : reported by BPKAD Papua years 2009-2017.

The Central Government has allocated a very large special autonomy fund for Papua. In the last nine years (2009-2017), the government has allocated around Rp 36.8 trillion and the value continued to increase every year. In 2017, for example, the central government’s budget for the Papua special autonomy amounted to Rp 5.6 trillion, much higher than those in previous years.

Then, in 2018 fiscal year, the fund for the Papua special autonomy has increased by 0.43%. According to the 2018 state budget (APBN), the government has allocated 8.0 trillion for the special allocation fund. The funds include: Rp 5.6 trillion for the Papua province and Rp 2.4 trillion for West Papua (*metrotvnews.com, 2018/01/21*).

Analysis and Recommendations

According to the author, the Papua special autonomy fund has a very important role in term of local autonomy and the acceleration of development in Papua. But so far, the funds can not be managed properly by the local government. There are some indications of the ineffectiveness of the management of the fund. One of them is the weak planning process by the local governments.

This can be evidenced from the audit reported of the supreme audit agency (BPK) in 2009 and 2010, where the average realization of programs on health and education were still very far from a budget ceiling established under provincial legislation. The BPK audit report show that the realization of the health sector was at a level of 6.07% (2009) and at a level of 10.69% (2010), the ceiling was set a level of 15%. Then the realization of education amounted to a level of 7.62% and a level of 7.98%, while the ceiling was set at a level of 30%. Then, in the areas of infrastructure, the realization was quite high compared to other areas in 2009, reaching a level of 55.2%, with a ceiling set at a level of 50%.

In addition to the problems in the planning process, another problem which allegedly affect the effectiveness of the special autonomy fund management is the alleged irregularities in the implementation of the special autonomy budget. According to the result of BPK audits, there were irregularities in the amount of 4.12 trillion in the use of the special autonomy fund during the period of 2002-2010 (*reported BPK, 12.6.2014*).

Given the magnitude of special autonomy funds budgeted annually by the government, there should be some effort to manage the special autonomy fund better and to keep the fiscal independence of Papua. The government, in this case the Directorate General of Fiscal Balance, needs to disseminate information on a regular basis to provide information and an overview of the procedures related to the utilization of the special autonomy fund.

Then, as the period for the administration of the special autonomy fund is relatively limited, it should take proper planning processes. There should be the participation of academics and universities in the region. As a form of regional autonomy, development planning processes through a bottom-up approach should be encouraged. This can be demonstrated through the people's active participation in safeguarding the budgeting processes and its implementation.

According to Conyers (1991), there are three main reasons for the importance of the involvement of the public's role in the development processes. Among them are: 1) public participation is one of the media to find information on the condition of area, 2) participation is a form of democratic rights of the people via his or her involvement in the development process, and 3) the public will be more aware of what programs are appropriate and necessary. Furthermore, the BPK also needs to continue to conducting periodic audits to examine the effectiveness of the special autonomy fund utilization, as well as to maintain the transparency of the budget.

Supervision and Mentoring the implementation of Papua special autonomy fund are important and at the same time still respects the Papua as an autonomous region.

- Riski Wicaksono -

Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 3/2018: Shackling Society Thoughts

A few days ago, Minister of Home Affairs Tjahjo Kumolo issued a Minister Regulation that tightens the process of getting research permits. The Ministry Regulation (Permen) in question is the Ministry Regulation No. 3/2018 on the Research Information Letter (SKP). Through this ministry regulation, the government wants to ensure that research activities by both individuals and groups do not have “potential negative impacts” (*Tempo.co*, 2018/02/06).

Many researchers have criticized the step taken by Minister Tjahjo Kumolo to issue Ministry Regulation No. 3/2018. Many of the researchers come from both non-government organizations and campuses. These researchers are demanding that the ministry regulation be canceled. After being protested by some researchers, the Minister of Home Affairs immediately canceled Ministry Regulation No. 3/2018 (*Cnnindonesia.com*, 2018/02/07). In order for this kind of policy not to be issued again, the author would like to give offer some suggestions about what needs to do after the cancellation of the Ministry Regulation.

The Minister of Home Affairs’ Problematic Thinking

In this section, the author will offer some critical notes on Ministry Regulation No. 3/2018. The critical notes will be the basis of what needs to be done by the Ministry of Home Affairs. The author argues that there are at least two ways of problematic thinking from the Ministry of Home Affairs.

First, the Ministry of Home Affairs’s overwhelming concerns will impose the freedom of thought in the society. The Minister of Home Affairs was overly concerned about the results of research activities conducted by researchers. The excessive concerns had been set out in one of the considerations of the Ministry Regulation No. 3/ 2018, which reads “to achieve order administration and to control the implementation of research in the framework of early vigilance, there is a need to issue a Research Information Letter (SKP)”.

Also, Article 2 of the regulation states that “the purpose of SKP is to achieve order administration and to control the implementation of research in the context of building awareness of the negative impacts that may arise from research processes outside the substance of the study.” This way of thinking has the potential to mute criticism and evaluation of government policy. Can we imagine what happens if there is no media coverage and research on malnutrition in Papua? Although Papua is a sensitive issue, with research, at least we can provide policy recommendations for the government to issue accurate policies.

Second, this ministry regulation is vulnerable to being manipulated by the regime in power. This ministry regulation can be exploited by the regime in power to defend themselves from public criticism. As Article 11 states “The government verifies whether a proposed research permit is expected to have a negative impact or not. If the government estimates that there is a negative impact of the planned research, then the government has the right to refuse to issue the SKP.”

According to Paragraph 4 of Article 15, the minister, governors and regents/mayors do not issue the extension of SKP if: a) the research conducted is not in accordance with the application letter; (b) the researchers do not comply with the provisions of laws, norms and customs; and (c) the research carried out may cause unrest in the community, disintegration of the nation or the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The authorities that are entitled to issue SKP permits are regents, governors, and ministers, in accordance with the scope of the research. If the research is conducted in two or more provinces, the researchers should get the SKP licensing from the Minister of Home Affairs. If the research is conducted in two or more districts, then the researchers should get the permission from the governor. If the researchers will conduct research in one district/city area, the researchers should get the SKP from the regent/mayor.

Problems will arise if a government policy, whether from the central or local government, is not appropriate. To prove whether or not a policy is correct, a study is needed. The problem is that the heads of regions or ministers are not open to criticism. Regional leaders will use the ministry regulation to reject research plan that will address sensitive issues and can disrupt their powers.

Recommendations

The purpose of a study is to discover the truth. The truth is probably different from the results of a study, as it is likely there are mistakes in the research. The shortcomings of a research activity may be scrutinized by further research. However, that does not mean that research should be prohibited. The availability of many studies from various disciplines will provide learning from a variety of perspectives.

The Minister of Home Affairs' decision to cancel Ministry Regulation No. 3/2018 and to return to Ministry Regulation No. 64/2011 on Guidelines for the Issuance of Research Recommendation was appropriate. Furthermore, the author encourages the minister of Home Affairs to simplify the processes of securing research permissions. The complicated processes for administrative matters need to be reduced. Similar steps have already been done by the Minister of Home Affairs when he revoked 51 Ministry Regulations that were considered inhibiting investment (*Kompas.com, 2018/02/07*). Even, if necessary and possible, research permits simply use online applications. This will make it easier for researchers to secure research permissions.

- Fadel Basrianto -

Tightening the research permission processes can potentially hamper the democratization of knowledge.

Polemics over the Idea of Appointing Acting Governors from the Indonesian National Police

Minister of Home Affairs Tjahjo Kumolo has an idea of appointing two high-ranking police officers to become the acting Governor of West Java and the acting Governor of North Sumatra during the 2018 direct regional elections (pilkada). They are the Assistant of Operations (Asops) to the Police Chief, Inspector General Mochamad Iriawan, and the Head of the Profession and Security (Propam) Division, Inspector General Martuani Sormin.

The legal basis for the proposed two names from the Indonesian National Police (INP) is contained in Paragraph 10 of Article 201 of Law Number 10/2016 on Pilkada, which states that “To fill the vacancy of a Governor position, the appointed acting Governor can come from a high-level office and he or she can be in the office until the inauguration of the new Governor in accordance with the provisions of the legislation.” In addition, another rule for the appointment of an acting governor from the Police is Paragraph 2 of Article 4 of the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 11/2018 that reads, “An Acting Governor are high-level officials at the levels of central or provincial governments “(*kompas.com*, 26/1).

The Monitoring of the Media Coverage on the Acting Governor Proposal

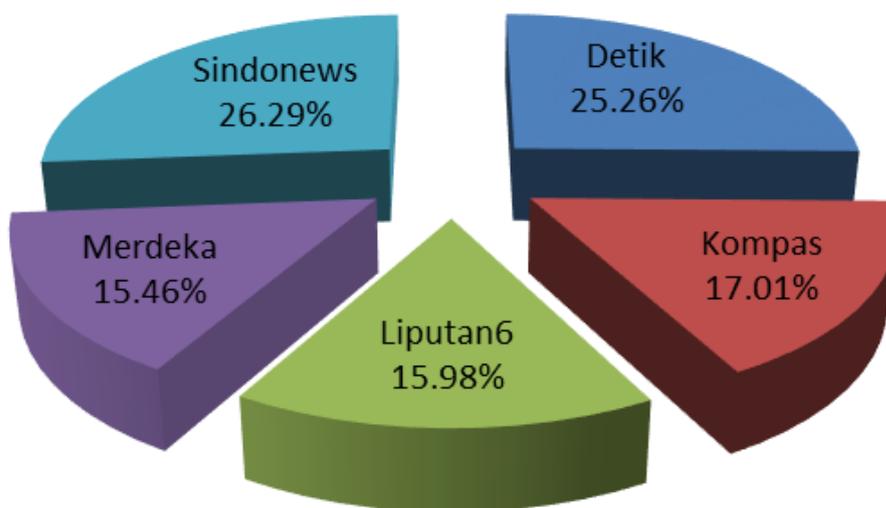
The nomination of the two high-ranking police officers has sparked polemics in the community. The author tries to review this through monitoring of online media coverage on the Acting Governor proposal.

Determining the samples for the media monitoring was done by using a purposive sampling technique. The purposive sampling is performed to select particular samples or periods on the basis of scientific considerations. There are two important aspects in choosing the samples purposively: the purpose of research and text selection and the period (*Eriyanto, 2011*).

The monitoring of media reporting on the Acting Governor proposal was conducted from January 25, 2018 to February 5, 2018. The decision to select online media was due to the characteristics of online media that provide fast news with frequency that is greater than that of print media. The selected online media outlets were *kompas.com*, *detik.com*, *merdeka.com*, *liputan6.com*, and *sindonews.com*.

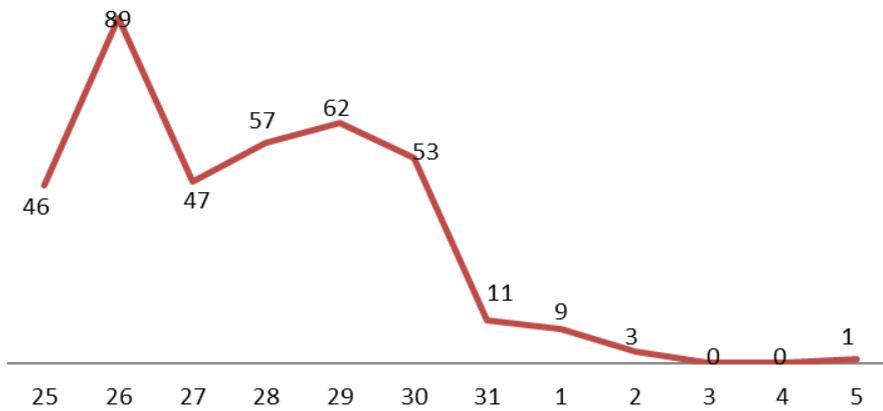
The number of media reports on the proposed Acting Governors from January 25, 2018 to February 5, 2018 on five online media selected were 194 news. According to the shares of voice in the news, the news tended to be evenly distributed on all online media. *Sindonews* had the highest number of media articles on the subject matter at a level of 26.29%. It was followed by *detik.com* (25.26%), *Kompas* (17.01%), *liputan6.com* (15.98%) and *merdeka.com* (15.46%).

Graph 1. Share of Voice



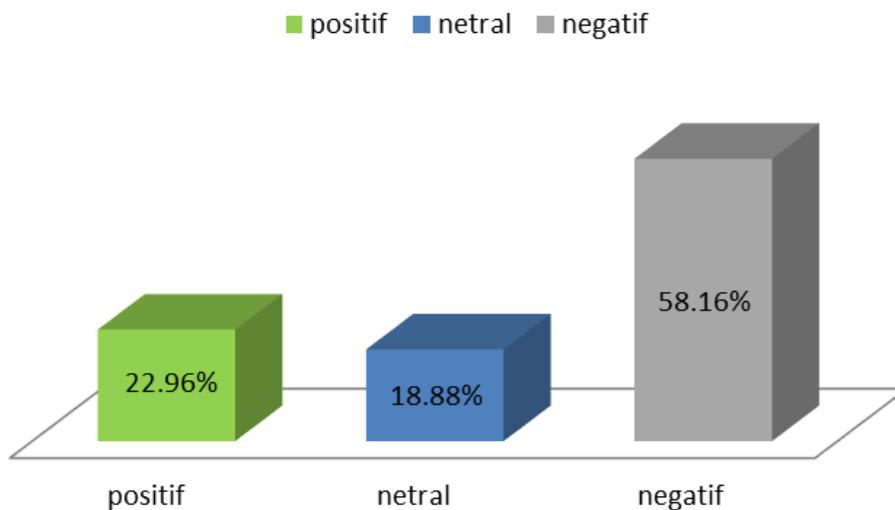
Furthermore, according to the news coverage in the period of January 25 to February 5, the news on this issue tended to decline. This can be seen in Graph 2 below. The trend of the reporting on this issue was at the highest level in the period of 25 to 30 January 2018. At the the beginning of February, the reporting tended to decrease.

Graph 2.
News Trend



Meanwhile, monitoring the news tone, the tone of the monitoring of the proposal on appointing Polri officers tended to be negative. This could be seen from the negative tone of news coverage, which was at a level of 58.16%. The positive tone news was at a level of 22.96%. The news with the neutral tone was at a level of 18.88%..

Graph 3
News Tone



The results of the media monitoring also show the five most frequently discussed issues surrounding the reporting on the Acting Governor proposal. The issue of elections was once the most frequently discussed issue (50.30%), as the appointments of the Acting Governors will be conducted to fill the vacancies during the 2018 direct electoral elections.

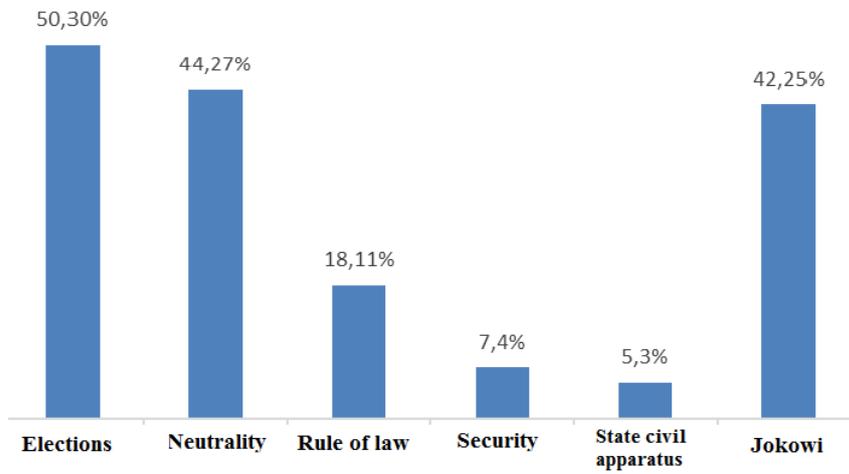
Furthermore, the issue of neutrality (44.27%) arose due to concerns of the neutrality of the Police during the direct elections. This issue has been raised by political parties outside the PDI-P, which are concerned that the Police institution will side with PDIP's candidate pairs, especially in West Java and North Sumatra. In addition, in West Java, PDIP is endorsing Anton Charliyan who is a Police Officer. On the other hand, the Government and the Police Institution try to dismiss this concern. A number of Government officials -- from the Vice President, Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Wiranto, Home Affairs Minister Tjahjo Kumolo to Police officials -- have been trying to convince the public about the commitment to maintain the neutrality of the Police.

In the third place, there were issues related to the role of President Joko Widodo (44.25%). This issue was often discussed because the Acting Governor proposal has to be approved by President Jokowi. Many inputs and resistance from political parties and civil society groups have made President Jokowi do not pass this proposal. In addition, there has been pressure on President Jokowi so that he will not pull the Police and the TNI into the political arena.

In the fourth place, there was the issue of the rule of law (18.11%). This issue was discussed because there are differences in views between Kemendagri and a number of parties, such as elements of Political Parties, academics, and civil society groups, on the legal rules of the appointments of the police officers. MoHA potentially violates a number of Laws, such as Law no. 10/2016 on the Elections of Governors, Regents, and Mayors (Elections Law), Law no. 5/2014 on State Civil Apparatus (ASN), and Law no. 2/2002 on the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia.

In the fifth position, there was the issue of security (7.4%) which arose because one of the reasons for the Minister of Home Affairs to come up with the proposal was the security vulnerabilities in the implementations of elections in 2018. In the sixth, there was an issue of the state civil apparatus (5.3%). This issue arose because the Acting Governors should be civil servants at the echelon one rank.

Graphic 4.
Issues Discussed



According to the news tone from monitoring media on five selected online media (January 25-February 5, 2018), the tone of the reporting on the proposal of appointing police officers as Acting Governors tended to be negative.

Conclusions

The proposed appointments of Police officers as Acting Governors in West Java and North Sumatra by the Minister of Home Affairs have sparked polemics in the community. According to the findings of the media monitoring of the five online media outlets, this proposal was responded negatively by some parties. This is related to the suspicion of the neutrality of the Police in the political arena and to the issue of the legal rules of the appointments of Polri officers as Acting Governors.

If the Interior Minister continues to appoint the police officers as Acting Governors, public confidence in the Joko Widodo administration and especially in the Police institution will be undermined. Secondly, it would potentially violate laws and regulations.

According to the author, Kemendagri should not be insisting in appointing police officers as Acting Governor, as it is against the existing rule of law. As the appointments may affect Pilkada vulnerability, the TNI and INP should anticipate the vulnerability, not the Acting Governor. Then, finally, President Joko Widodo is expected to listen to many public aspirations that reject the proposal.

- Arfianto Purbolaksono -

Polemics over the Reorganizing of the Tanah Abang area

Tanah Abang is a trade area that has brought blessings as well as problems for the Jakarta local government. Tanah Abang has existed since three centuries ago. Now, Tanah Abang has become the largest wholesale textiles market in Southeast Asia. The circulation of money in Tanah Abang is approximately Rp 250 billion a day.

The figure excludes the economic activities from the Tasik Market and street vendors (PKL) around the Tanah Abang Market. According to Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin) Jakarta, there are around 30,000 sellers at Tanah Abang market. They are spread of from Blok A to Blok G (*Kompas, 13 November 2017*).

In addition to becoming a trade area, Tanah Abang also has a role as a transit area for commuters who want go to the Tanah Abang Train Station. The consequence of the busy activities in Tanah Abang area is the traffic jam problems in and around the Tanah Abang area. There are several factors that have created traffic jams in Tanah Abang. First, PKLs are the main contributors to traffic congestion in the area.

Second, the sidewalks in Tanah Abang are not enough to accommodate many pedestrians coming from the Tanah Abang Station. This is because the sidewalks are occupied by Tanah Abang's street vendors. This has forced pedestrians to walk on the streets along with motorized vehicles. There are around 110 thousand train passengers coming in and out of the Tanah Abang Station (*Tempo.co, 2017*). Third, angkot (public minivan) drivers activities to pick up and drop off their passengers have also contributed to the congestion problem, as other vehicles are also forced to stop when the angkots make a stop.

Reorganizing Tanah Abang: Historical Tracking

Almost every Governor of Jakarta has made a decision to reorganize Tanah Abang. At least four Governors of Jakarta have chosen different policies to solve the traffic jam problems in Tanah Abang. But, all of them have shared the same concern: PKL as the main stakeholders have made traffic congestion worse in Tanah Abang. They have offered different solutions to PKL in Tanah Abang. When Joko Widodo was the Governor of Jakarta, he relocated the PKL to Blok G. He conducted several events to promote Blok G. That made customers come to Blok G. But after six months, customers were not interested in Blok G because it lacked facilities, such as adequate parking space for cars as well as other facilities for the comfort of the customers. Afterwards, sellers at Blok G returned to the streets.

Under the leadership of Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), Tanah Abang was re-organized. Ahok continued Jokowi's program to move PKL back to Blok G. To that aim, Ahok deployed the Jakarta public order officers (Satpol-PP) to create order in Tanah Abang. Dozens of Satpol-PP were standby at Tanah Abang to ensure that every stakeholder, especially PKL, obeys the laws and regulations. This policy was only temporary effective because this policy did not give a sustainable solution. When Ahok finished serving as the Governor of Jakarta, PKL returned to the streets again.

Djarot Syaiful Hidayat as the successor of Ahok was overwhelmed by PKL. He tried to stop PKL to occupy the sidewalks by deploying hundreds of Satpol-PP. However, the result was not significant, as often the information on the planned raids had been leaked to PKL. When Satpol-PP conducted the raids, PKL had secured their things.

Tanah Abang under Governor Anies Baswedan

Few weeks after Anies-Sandi was inaugurated as the Governor and Vice Governor of DKI Jakarta for the period of 2017-2022, they began to touch one of the sensitive issues in Jakarta: a disorder in Tanah Abang. Unlike the previous governors, they chose to organize Tanah Abang by accommodating PKL. They decided to close Jati Baru Raya Street and to provide 400 portable stalls for PKL. The policy has been getting a variety of responses. There are those who agree with the policy because it gives non-motorized more space in the Tanah Abang area. On the other hand, this policy has also been getting negative responses, as this policy has been fol-

lowed by several new problems. The Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta wanted to increase space capacity for pedestrians by closing the street, But in fact, with the legalization of the existence of PKL on Jati Baru Raya Street, PKL also occupy the pedestrian pavements.

Like a barometer, Tanah Abang will become a benchmark to assess whether Anies and Sandi succeed or fail in leading Jakarta.

Also, angkot drivers have been conducting demonstrations to demand the re-opening of Jati Baru Raya Street. After the closing of the street, angkot drivers claim that their income has been reduced by 50 percent (*Kompas.com, 24 January 2018*). Another problem with this policy is PKL on Sudirman Street also demand that the government legalize their activities. They are demanding that the pro-street vendor policy is not only applied in Tanah Abang but in other places as well (*Mediaindonesia.com, 1 February 2018*). From that above conditions, we have not been able to assess the leadership performance of Anies-Sandi in managing Tanah Abang. Although creating new problems, we need to remember that the Anies-Sandi policy is a new way of organizing Tanah Abang. They have taken a different policy from those of the previous governors, which had failed to reach long-run solutions.

The author supports Anies-Sandi's policy to reorganize Tanah Abang in a different way, provided that the legal status of Tanah Abang's PKL does not reduce the pedestrians' rights. In the long-term, Anies-Sandi must also reorganize PKL in other areas in Jakarta. In a wider perspective, reorganizing Tanah Abang's PKL is a momentum to not only design a local regulation on PKL in Jakarta but also to manage Jakarta's spatial plan and to overcome the impacts. Thus, the protection of the pedestrians' rights and the controlling PKL will have a clear legal basis. This is important to be done by Anies-Sandi to convince the public that their promise to make Jakarta not only for certain elements of the society is not a mere assumption.

- Fadel Basrianto -

The Healthy Indonesia (Nusantara Sehat) Program: Reducing the Maldistribution of Health Professionals in Indonesia

The third point of Nawacita introduced by Joko Widodo (Jokowi) - Jusuf Kalla (JK) (since May 2014) says that the government will develop Indonesia starting from the periphery by strengthening the regions and villages within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, the Government of Indonesia (Gol) has been introducing various programs and policies to accelerate economic development, welfare improvement, and the health status of its citizens, especially in remote areas or less desirable areas.

Jokowi and JK are committed to reducing the isolation of communities by developing infrastructure in remote and less desirable areas. For example, the Gol is developing approximately 4,330 km of the Trans Papua roads, from West Papua to Papua (Liputan6.com, 2017, 7/18). Up to date, only 171.7 kilometers of roads that have not been completed. In addition to infrastructure development, the government also has been focusing on improving the health status of its citizens without exception.

The Primary Health Service (Pelayanan Kesehatan Primer or Yankes Primer) becomes the main focus of the Gol in 2015-2019 as there were a high maternal mortality rate (305 per 100,000 live births in 2015) and a high infant mortality rate (22 per 1,000 live births in 2015) (Ministry of Health, 2016). There are many malnutrition cases in various regions of Indonesia. Recently, malnutrition cases can be found in the Agats Sub-district of Asmat District in Papua. This problem has urged the government to improve yankes in various parts of Indonesia, especially in remote and less desirable areas.

The Global Health Workforce Alliance (GHWA) points out that health workers are the key components of yankes, along with the development of infrastructure, and the improvements of health facilities (GHWA, 2015). Poor access to health workers and health-care services has high potential to limit or at least not improve

community health outcomes. The disparity in workforce distribution between urban and rural areas remains a serious problem for both developed and developing countries, including Indonesia. Many health workers in Indonesia prefer to work in urban areas because they offer better facilities than rural areas (Efendi, 2012). For example, the ratio of doctors in Jakarta is higher (117 per 100,000 population) compared to those of other provinces, such as West Nusa Tenggara (105 per 100,000 population). The disparity in midwives and nurses also occurs between provinces in Indonesia (Ministry of Health, 2005).

In order to address the disparity of health workers between urban and rural areas, in 2002, the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia (MoH) introduced the Healthy Indonesia (Nusantara Sehat) Program. According to MoH Regulation No. 23 year 2015 (Ministry of Health, 2015), this program takes a team-based approach, deploying five up to nine health workers (i.e. doctors, dentists, nurses, midwives, public health staff and others) to isolated areas. The program aims to improve health services in the Puskesmas, concentrating on the isolated areas, borders, and areas categorized as those with health problems.

In 2014, the GoI conducted a pilot project of the Nusantara Sehat program. A team-based health workers were deployed in four Puskesmas, in four districts, and in four provinces, such as in North Sumatra, West Kalimantan, Maluku and Papua (Ministry of Health, 2015). Every health worker in Indonesia is allowed to apply for these positions, provided they meet the requirements: (i) doctors and dentists have to be under 30 years of age; (ii) other health workers have to be under 25 years of age; (iii) they must hold a practice license; and (iv) they must be willing to be deployed in any area in Indonesia.

Referring to this pilot project, the GoI believes that by sending a team of health workers it is more likely to retain them in remote and less desirable areas (Ministry of Health, 2015). Health workers feel comfortable because they work in a team. Setyaningsih (2017), in her research on attracting and maintaining midwives in remote areas of Indonesia: a case study in West Nusa Tenggara, also stated that health workers (i.e. midwives) in remote villages felt more comfortable working with their colleagues in Polindes. A sense of comfort was gained because they could exchange knowledge and discuss about an appropriate approach in handling patients (i.e. pregnant women and childbirth), especially when an emergency situation occurred.

Even though the Nusantara Sehat program is relatively new, it has been recruiting and distributing high numbers of health workers: 1,422 health workers, which were divided into 251 teams had been deployed to 251 Puskesmas by 2017 (Liputan6.com, 2017, 05/18). The Nusantara Sehat Program is one of the government programs that have the potential to overcome the disparity of health workers between urban and rural areas.

On the other hand, this is a very ambitious program from the national government aimed at creating more job opportunities for health workers, because it is open to every health worker from across Indonesia. It is clear that this program contributes to the improvement of the supply of the health workers, particularly in some areas where the numbers of health workers are limited.

Another aspect to consider is the ongoing careers of the health workers after their two-year contracts with the Nusantara Sehat program are completed. They, such as village midwives in remote areas, expect to be appointed as civil servants (Pegawai Negeri Sipil or PNS) after their contracts with Nusantara Sehat program finish (Setyaningsih, 2017). However, the Gol has limitation in recruiting health workers to become civil servants because it may burden the national budget in the long run. Indonesia should consider less expensive ways to encourage health workers to work and stay in remote and less desired areas.

The Government of Indonesia needs to invest more time in exploring possible career options for health workers who work and live in remote and less desirable villages. One of the alternative solutions to retain health workers in remote areas after the Nusantara Sehat program is completed is revisiting the dual practice policy for health workers. Dual practice in this case PNS or contracted based employees (Pekerja Tidak Tetap or PTT) are allowed to provide healthcare services in their homes. According to WHO (2013), dual practice also covers fulltime health workers employed by the government as public service providers, undertaking extra, related work in order to obtain additional income, usually in the private sector. Additional income is usually acquired for personal benefits.

In order to retain the team-based workers in their workplaces, dual practice policy needs to be modified without impacting financial burden to the national budget. Thus, the health workers who are deployed in remote areas can be retained. This modification should be implemented, particularly in the regions where local governments

have limited budgets in retaining health workers in their workplaces. The provision of qualified health personnel is an important factor so that a better quality of health services can be achieved. As a result, maternal and infant mortality rates can be reduced, and malnutrition in remote areas in Indonesia can be controlled

- Endah Setyaningsih - , Research Associate -

In addition to infrastructure development, the government also has been focusing on improving the health status of its citizens without exception.

**THE** **INDONESIAN INSTITUTE**
C E N T E R F O R P U B L I C P O L I C Y R E S E A R C H

The Indonesian Institute (TII) is a Center for Public Policy Research that was established on 21 October 2004 by a group of young, dynamic activists and intellectuals. TII is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit institution, whose main funding stems from grants and contributions from foundations, companies, and individuals.

TII has the aim of becoming a main research center in Indonesia for public policy matters and has committed to giving contribution to the debates over public policies and to improving the quality of the planning and results of public policy by promoting good governance principles and public participation in the policy processes in Indonesia.

TII's visions are public policies in Indonesia which highly uphold human rights and rule of law, as well as involve participation of various stakeholders and practice democratic good governance principles.

TII's missions are to conduct reliable research that is independent and non-partisan and to channel the research to the policy-makers, the private sector, and academia in order to improve the quality of Indonesian policy-makers.

TII also assumes the role of disseminating ideas to the society so that they are well informed about the policies that will have a good impact on the people's lives. In other words, **TII** has a position to support the democratization process and the public policy reform, as it will be involved in the process.

The scope of the research and review on public policies undertaken by **TII** includes economic, social, and political factors. The main activities have been conducted in order to achieve vision and mission based on research, surveys, training, public discussions, working group, weekly editorial articles ("Wacana TII"), monthly analysis ("Update Indonesia" and "The Indonesian Update"), annual analysis ("Indonesian Report"), and monthly discussion forum ("The Indonesian Forum").

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RESEARCH ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

The economy tends to be used as an indicator of the success of the government as a policy-maker. Limited resources have often caused the government to face obstacles in implementing economic policies that will optimally benefit the people. The increase in the quality of the people's critical thinking has forced the government to conduct comprehensive studies in every decision-making process. In fact, the studies will not be stopped when the policy is already in place. Studies will be continued until the policy evaluation process.

The TII Economic Research Division is present for those who are interested in the conditions of the economy. The results of the research are intended to assist policy-makers, regulators, and donor agencies in making decisions. The research that TII offers: **(1) Economic Policy Analysis; (2) Regional and Sectoral Prospects; and (3) Program Evaluation.**

RESEARCH ON LEGAL AFFAIRS

According to stipulations in Law No. 12 Year 2011 on the Formulation of Laws and Regulations, every bill which will be discussed by the legislative and the executive must be complemented with academic paper. Therefore, comprehensive research is very important and needed in making a qualified academic paper. With qualified academic papers, the bills will have strong academic foundation.

TII can offer and undertake normative and legal research related to harmonization and synchronization of laws and regulations, especially in making academic papers and bills. In addition, the research will be conducted with sociological, anthropological, and political approaches in order to produce a more comprehensive academic papers and bills. It is expected that with such a process, the laws and regulations will be produced through such a participatory process, which involves the making of academic papers and bills to also go through process, such as focus group discussion (FGD) which will involve stakeholders related to the laws and regulations that will be discussed.

RESEARCH ON THE SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Social Research

Social development needs policy foundations that come from independent and accurate research. Social analysis is a need for the government, the businesspeople, academia, professionals, NGOs, and civil society to improve social development. The Social Research Division is present to offer recommendations to produce efficient and effective policies, steps, and programs on education, health, population, environment, women and children.

Social research that TII offers: **(1) Social Policy Analysis; (2) Explorative Research; (3) Mapping & Positioning Research; (4) Need Assessment Research; (5) Program Evaluation Research; and (5) Indicator Survey.**

POLITICAL SURVEY AND TRAINING

Direct General Election Survey

One of the activities that TII offers is the pre-direct election surveys. There are sundry reasons why these surveys are important (1) Regional direct elections are democratic processes that can be measured, calculated, and predicted. (2) Surveys are used to measure, calculate, and predict the processes and results of elections and the chances of candidates. (3) It is time to win the elections using strategies based on empirical data.

As one of the important aspects in the strategies to win the elections, surveys can be used to prepare political mapping. Therefore, campaign teams need to conduct surveys: (1) to map the popularity of candidates in the society (2) to map the voters' demands (3) to determine the most effective political machinery that will act as a vote getter; and (4) to find out about the most effective media to do the campaign.

THE INDONESIAN FORUM

The Indonesian Forum is a monthly discussion activity on actual issues in the political, economic, social, legal, cultural, defense, and environmental fields. TII organizes these forums as media for competent resource persons, stakeholders, policymakers, civil society activists, academicians, and the media to meet and have discussion.

Themes that have been raised were the ones that have caught public attention, such as migrant workers, social conflicts, domestic politics, and local direct elections. The main consideration in picking a theme is sociological and political reality and the context of the relevant public policy at the time that the Indonesian Forum is delivered.

It is expected that the public can get the big picture of a particular event as the Indonesian Forum also presents relevant resource persons.

Since its inception, the Indonesian Institute is very aware of the passion of the public to get discussions that are not only rich in substance but also well formatted, which support balanced ideas exchanges ideas and the equal involvement of the different elements of the society.

The discussions, which are designed to only invite a limited number of participants, do not only feature idea exchanges but also regularly offer policy briefs (policy recommendations) to relevant policymakers and also summaries to the participants, especially the media people and the resource persons at the end of each discussion. Therefore, the discussions will not end without solutions.

LOCAL COUNCIL TRAINING

The roles and functions of local councils in monitoring local governments are very important. They need to ensure that participative and democratic policies will be espoused. Members of provincial and regent local councils are required to have strong capacity to understand democratization matters, regional autonomy, legislative techniques, budgeting, local Politics, and political marketing. Thus, it is important to empower members of local councils.

In order for local councils to be able to response every problem that will come out as a result of any policy implemented by the central government or local governments, the Indonesian Institute invites the leaderships and members of local councils to undergo training to improve their capacity.

WORKING GROUP

The Indonesian Institute believes that a good public policy process can be held with some engagement and empowerment of the stakeholders. The Indonesian Institute takes a role as one of mediator agencies to facilitate some forums in which the Government, Council Members, Private Sectors, NGOs and Academicians can meet in interactive forums. The Indonesian Institute provides facilitation on working groups and public advocacy.

The Indonesian Institute takes the role of mediator and facilitator in order to encourage the synergy of public policy work between the stakeholders and policy makers and also to have a synergy with funding agencies (donors).

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