

The Indonesian Update

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



Main Report: The Inefficient Debt Utilization by the Government

Politics

- Public-Owned Democracy: An Affirmation
- Anticipating the Voters List Problems
- Kicking Out the Corruptors from Democracy
- The 20 Years of Reform and Political Parties in Indonesia

Social

- A BPJS Deficit, a Result of the Wrong Concept of Universal Health Coverage?
- To be "Health Kartini"
- "Mayday...Mayday...Mayday": the Occupational Safety and Health of Domestic Workers

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FOREWORD

The May 2018 edition of the Indonesian Update raises a main theme on the Inefficient Debt Utilization by the Government. This issue has become a concern, as debt utilization should improve development productivity and effectiveness in order to avoid state budget deficits from happening.

On politics, the Indonesian Update discussed the idea of reinstating DPRD's authority to elect regional heads. This could become a step-back in our democracy. Three other political topics that are discussed are the problematic voters list, the plan to ban ex-corruption convicts from contesting elections, and the unsuccessful democratic transition after 20 years of the reform era in Indonesia. So far, there have been no relations between political ideologies and the political directions of political parties.

On social affairs, the Indonesian Update talks about the mistakes in implementing the universal health coverage principle in Indonesia, which has led to the problem of BPJS deficits; about the dark side of women's health; and the health and safety of personal assistants. The topics are chosen to celebrate the Labour Day.

The regular publication of the Indonesian Update with its actual themes is expected to help policy makers in government and business environment -- as well as academics, think tanks, and other elements of civil society, both within and outside the country, to get the actual information and contextual analysis of economic, legal, political, cultural and social developments in Indonesia, as well as to understand the public policy in Indonesia.

Happy Reading.

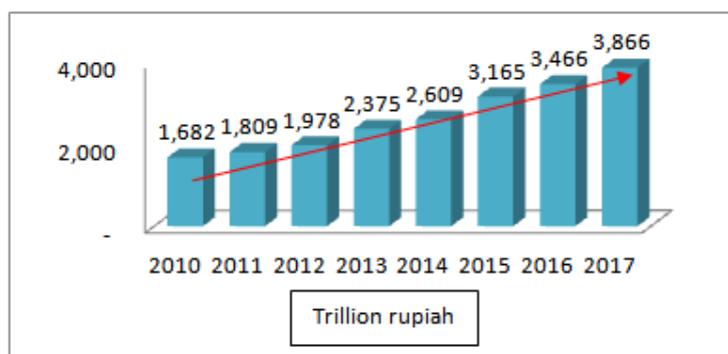
The Inefficient Debt Utilization by the Government

Debts are not a new issue for developing countries like Indonesia. Since its independence, Indonesia has used debts as one source of state financing. The amount of development expenditures in the state budget posture is greater than the total revenue, making debts as one way to finance the budget deficit. These conditions have made it difficult for Indonesia to escape from debt problems each year.

The recorded amount of the accumulated Indonesian government debts at the end of February 2018 reached a level of Rp 4,035 trillion. The majority of the total debts are dominated by the issuance of Government's Debt Papers (SBN), which reached a level of Rp 3,257 trillion, or 80.73 percent of the total government debts. Aside from the SBN issuance, foreign debts have reached a level of Rp 771.76 trillion, and domestic debts have touched a level of Rp 6.24 trillion (*kompas.com*, 21/3).

Meanwhile, in the last eight years (ie 2010-2017), the amount of government debts load continued to increase significantly. In 2017, the amount of debts that must be paid by the government increased by Rp 2,184 trillion compared to that in 2010. Please see the image below:

Government Debt Statistics Years 2010-2017



Source: Ministry of Finance (processed)

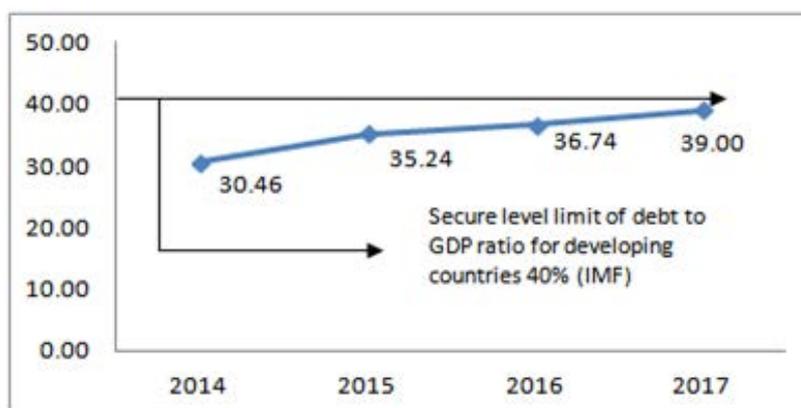
The significant growth of government debts during 2010-2017 occurred in 2015. In that year, the amount of debts reached a level of Rp 3,165 trillion, a 21.3 percent increase over the previous year. Then, the next year the debt burden continued to increase until a level of Rp 3,866 trillion in 2017.

The fluctuations in the values of debts under the leadership of President Jokowi, starting from early 2015, were not without a reason. These conditions occur because the growing expenditures undertaken by the government. One of the most visible sectors with growing expenditures in is the infrastructure sector. Finance Ministry data showed that the percentage of growth in infrastructure spending in 2017 increased by 23.5 percent compared to that of in the previous year. Then, during 2014-2017, the increase in infrastructure spending reached a level of Rp 232.7 trillion.

The author argues that the deficit through debts should consider carefully the state's financial conditions. One indicator in determining the level of debt security is the ratio of debts to Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Article 12 of Law No. 17/2003 on State Finance regulates that the debts are considered at a safe level if the maximum limit of loans is not more than 60 percent of the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

On average, the ratio of government debt to GDP during 2014-2017 was still at a safe level of below 60 percent. However, if further examined, the ratio of debts to GDP showed an increasing trend each year. In 2017, the debt-to-GDP ratio increased significantly compared to the previous years, which increased by 6.2 percent, or at a ratio of 39 percent. Please see the image below:

The Ratio of Debts to GDP Percentage



Source: Ministry of Finance (processed)

Referring to the security level of debts according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), developing countries should have the debts to GDP ratio not more than 40 percent. The security level shows that Indonesia has an alarming rate of the debts to GDP ratio. The growth level of government debts continues to increase and is not comparable to effectiveness of GDP growth. This is a very vulnerable situation that can hamper the pace of development.

The next issue is the dominating government debts through the issuance of Government's Debt Papers (SBN), which reached a level of 70 percent. Referring to the data of the Financing and Risk Management Directorate (DJPPR) at the Ministry of Finance, the SBNs are mostly owned by foreigners, with a share of reaching 39.73 percent per 4 April 2018. The dominance of foreign ownerships over government bonds is very vulnerable, because when there is global economic turmoil, massive capital outflows will disrupt the stability of the economy.

Further, the effectiveness of government debts so far is also questionable. The author notes that the increase in debts has not been able to stimulate the rate of economic growth. Starting from 2015-2017, the average increase in debt growth was a level of 14.12 percent. Meanwhile, the average rate of economic growth in the same year is still very slow that only amounted to 1.92 percent. Even in 2017, economic growth rate has decreased.

In addition, the achievement of a growth rate is also below the target set in the 2017 APBNP. Quoted from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the economic growth in 2017 is only 5.07 percent or missed the target economic growth set out in the APBNP 2017, which reached a level of 5.2 percent.

Debt Utilization Should Be Productive and Effective

The author argues that the increasing debts are a consequence of state budget deficits. Basically, utilizing debts as development capital is alright, as it is regulated in Law No. 17/2003 on State Finance. But, the most important thing is how the utilization of debts is able to improve the productivity and effectiveness of development.

So far, the ratio of debts to GDP should be able to be controlled by the government through the Ministry of Finance, as from the previous years, the ratio of debts to GDP continues to increase every year.

Debt allocation to productive sectors should become one of the ways that to control the debts to GDP ratio. Currently, government debts have been directed to productive sectors such as education and infrastructure, but investment in the sectors is a long-term investment, meaning that it may take sometime before the impact on the economy can be felt.

Furthermore, the financing of productive sectors that have an impact on the short term and that are able to provide a multiplier effect should be prioritized. The Micro Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) sector could be one of the potential leading sectors promoting economic growth. Moreover, according to the data from the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs, the number of SMEs continues to grow annually, where in 2017 the number reached a level of 59 million units.

The facilitation of financing and optimizing the role of SMEs are important. This is because the sector has the potential to have multidimensional impacts. For example, SMEs would be able to increase the growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), would potentially increase foreign exchange through exports, would create added value for the business actors and to increase manpower absorptions.

Then, the dominance of foreign ownerships of SBN, which continues to increase each year, should also be monitored. Although these conditions indicate positive sentiment towards investing in the domestic market, but we need to watch out if there are massive out flows.

Furthermore, a policy intended to improve tax and retributions through intensification and extension policy through the Ministry of Finance is important. The aim is to increase the proportion of government expenditure financing through the tax component and retribution. So, the proportion of expenditure through debt financing could be minimized.

The efforts described above need to be taken into consideration by the policy makers. Because when the debts are not used properly and their utilization is not controlled, this would create a burden in a burden.

Optimizing debt utilization to productive sector, controlling foreign ownership in SBN and increasing tax revenue realization is very important to make the debt utilization can encourage the development process

- Riski Wicaksono -

Public-Owned Democracy: An Affirmation

On April 6th, Home Minister Tjahjo Kumolo met with Speaker of the House of Representatives Bambang Soesatyo. One of the main issues of discussion was the evaluation of the direct local elections that are currently being implemented. After the meeting, Bambang Soesatyo stated that he believed that the government would agree with the idea of returning the DPRD's authority to elect the Heads of Regions (Liputan6.com, 06/04). Previously, Bambang Soesatyo had introduced a discourse that regional heads are no longer chosen by the people. He argues that they should be elected by the DPRDs (*Republika.co.id*, 28/02).

If that idea is actually converted into a law, then our democracy will step back. Not only that, the process of local political institutionalization and public participation that have been built must be dismantled without any logical reasoning. There will be a big loss for the public if this idea proceeds.

The proposal to restore the authority of DPRD in electing the regional heads is not a new thing. After the enactment of Law no. 32/2004, which revised Law no. 22/1999 on Regional Government, the discourse has appeared several times. In the middle of 2014, the House of Representatives (DPR RI) also proclaimed that the heads of the regions should be elected by the local parliaments as it was stipulated in Law no. 22/1999. The reason given was relatively the same from time by time.

Direct elections that have been implemented are considered very costly. In addition, direct elections have also been accused of causing widespread illegal transactions and corruption by local heads to recover their campaign costs. These reasons show that democracy belongs only to the elite. The problems of the elite in a democracy have been transform into public problems, even though sometimes the public does not realise that the problems have become theirs. The author considers that there are efforts to alienate the public from politics.

The Three Reasons that Eliminate People from Politics

If we closely examine the plan to disassembly our instruments in the democracy today, we can see that it is a very biased plan controlled by the way of thinking of the elite. This can be seen from the reasons why the members of the Parliament want to restore the procedures for filling the positions of the regional heads to the DPRD. Even if there is a question of money politics in the direct elections, but the proposal to restore the authority of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly to elect the regional heads is also not free from problems.

First, transferring the authority from the people to the DPRD to elect the heads of regions is considered eliminating the trading of votes. The author does not deny that in the current elections, there have been corrupt transactions. But, it would be too haphazard to conclude that direct elections are the source of unsound transactions. According to the author, the unsound transactions are attributable to the distrust of candidates to win direct elections. They are prompted to convince the public through vote transactions.

The story will be different if the candidates have good reputations and adequate social capital. Not all candidates for regional heads are involved in vote-buying practices to become heads of regions. If the intention is to minimize such bad practices, then what needs to be done is the improved recruitment processes of candidates for regional heads by the political parties. So far, the recruitments processes are still being dominated by patron-client and oligarchy practices. Transferring the authority to the DPRD does not guarantee that it will eliminate the practices of buying and selling votes. The experience from implementing Law no. 22/1999 should also be considered. At the time, members of Parliament were involved in money politics during the elections of regional heads.

Secondly, if the filling of the position of regional heads is handed over to DPRD, consequently the heads of regions will be the subordinates of DPRD. They will be prompted to put aside the aspirations of the society. This could be the implication of the election of regional heads through the DPRD. Automatically the heads of the regions must be accountable to the DPRD. The amount of authority possessed by the DPRD to select and assess the accountability reports of the heads of the regions will raise the issue of political

bargaining with various rewards, whether in the forms of money, land, position, and other repayment motives (*Yappika, 2006*).

In relation to the format of government, the heads of regions can only turn the wheels of local government stably, if the heads of the regions can provide what is desired by the DPRD. Under these conditions, the public will only become the audience and the object of regional development policies, which will only be formulated by the local political elite.

Thirdly, if the proposal is to be enacted, it will not be surprising if our local politics in the future will be controlled by the local oligarchy circles. These local oligarchs will determine who is worthy of being the heads of the regions. In addition, they will also have the discretion to determine the direction of the regional heads' policies. The public will lose access to the control of powers in the regions. Therefore, it is important to reverse and create a new meaning of democracy that ensures the public can prompt the heads of regions to improve the welfare of the people.

Promoting Open Government

For the author, the proposal to restore the authority of the DPRD in electing regional heads is a way to keep the public away from politics. According to the author, to improve democracy, which still have a number of problems, is not by way of leaving the public and making the public as mere spectators. What is important is to increase public control over local governments.

The author argues that the application of the principle of open government could be a solution. By applying the principles of open government, the regional heads are required to foster public confidence in them as regional heads as well as local governments. To foster public trust, the regional heads to have financial transparency to the public. Furthermore, they have to open the processes of policy formulation to the public. Local governments and communities should collaborate to develop public policies aimed at improving regional welfare.

In addition, the application of the principle of open government will also make it difficult for regional heads to commit criminal acts of corruption or other things that could harm the communities. This can happen because the heads of the regions will be supervised by the DPRD and also by the communities. One example of a region

that has successfully improved the welfare of the community by becoming an open government is Bojonegoro District. Using the principle of open government, Regent Suyoto has succeeded in reducing the poverty level of Bojonegoro people. From its status as the poorest region of East Java, Bojonegoro's poverty level was at a level of 14.60 percent (*BPS Bojonegoro, 2017*). This Bojonegoro achievement has proved that the stronger the control and public participation in the formulation of a policy, the welfare of the region will be improved.

The public as a stakeholder of democracy must always be involved in political decisions, at least once every five years.

- Fadel Basrianto -

Anticipating the Voters List Problems

The General Elections Commission of Indonesia (KPU) had conducted the Data Matching and Research (Coklit) processes for the 2019 general elections (Pemilu) at home and abroad simultaneously. Coklit had been conducted by the Voters Update Committee for one month from April 17 to May 17, 2018. Coklit was important to anticipate the issues stemming from the voter list, which often arises in an election, either in the national elections or in regional elections.

The voters list, according to Regulation of the General Elections Commission (PKPU) no. 11/2018 on the Formation of the Voters List in the General Elections, is the voter data compiled by the KPU / KPU in regencies /KPU in by comparing of the latest Permanent Voters Electoral Data from KPU with the Potential Voters Electoral Data (DP4) from the Ministry of Home Affairs. Furthermore, the data will be used as material for the data updating.

The compilation of the voter lists is prone to problems and manipulations. If problems and manipulations happen, they will certainly have implications for the violations of the constitutional rights of the people as voters. The violations of the constitutional rights of the people will cause problems in administering the elections.

Learning from the 2009 and 2014 elections, the problems of the voters list started to emerge during the compilation of the voters list. That was due to the lack of synchronization between the KPU data and the MoHA data. In the 2009 elections, according to the Partnership data (2011), the number of unlisted voters and illegal voters was estimated to be around 31 million voters.

The illegal voters include deceased voters, long-term voters, unelected citizens, voters who are registered in two or more areas, and voters who work as members of the TNI / Police.

In the 2014 General Elections, the Elections Oversight Body (Bawaslu) questioned the voters' data that changed drastically. The number of potential voters in DPS (the tentative voters list) was at a level of 187,977,268 people. In the permanent voters list (DPT), the number went down to 186,842,533. The number decreased to 186,351,165 in the Voter Data Information System (Sidalih).

The KPU explained that the differences were due to improvements made by the KPU. Improvements had been made to fix invalid data, such as multiple voter problems, dead voters, and illegal voters.

The origin of the problems of the 2014 permanent voters list was the inaccuracy of the population data in the Potential Data for Electoral Voters (DP4) received by KPU from the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri).

At that time, Kemendagri, through the Directorate General of Population and Civil Registry, had acknowledged the weaknesses in the preparations of DP4. This was because the data collection still used manual recording methods. Administrative errors may occur during the data recording.

On the other hand, the KPU data showed that there were 14.1 million citizens whose ages ranged from 10-20 years, in which 0.03 per cent of whom were 10 years old and under who had been included in DP4. This did not include citizens who did not have an electronic identity card (KTP). Of the 190 million registered voters in DP4, about 44 million of them still used manual ID cards.

In order for the voters list problems to not recur as in the previous elections, at least some steps need to be taken. First, the KPU together with the Ministry of Home Affairs should improve the accuracy of the synchronization process of voters list of voters (DP4) and the permanent voter data (DPT). It is important to determine the number of permanent voters, the number of (voting booths) TPS, as well as the number of ballots.

Secondly, to improve the coordination amongst Bawaslu, mass media and civil society groups to improve the supervision of each stage in the determination of the voter list.

Thirdly, the KPU -- together with mass media and civil society groups -- should encourage the active participation of communities to register and report if there are mistakes in the voters' data col-

lection. For example, by increasing the information dissemination through conventional media and social media. These steps are taken as precautions to the emergence of voter list issues.

- Arfianto Purbolaksono -

The compilation of voter list is prone to problems and manipulations. If problems and manipulations happen, they will certainly have implications for the violations of the constitutional rights of the people as voters.

Kicking Out the Corruptors from Democracy

Corruption and democracy in Indonesia have such a close relationship. The intertwining between the two variables is increasingly apparent after the introduction of democratization and decentralization in this country. During the New Order era, corruption was practiced only by Soeharto's cronies, as they were the ones who could access the sources of state finances through the powers that they had. In the period after the 1998 reform, the number of actors involved in corruption has been growing. This is due to the fact that powers are no longer held at the level of the central government, but have been decentralized to the regions. Referring to Lord Acton's postulate, "power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely," it is not surprising that many local political figures who have become suspects in corruption cases in the post-decentralization era. The society has increasingly become saturated with news on corruption cases, as news on corruption has become daily news present. Corruption cases are no longer regarded as horrendous news.

However, this paper does not mean to say that reform, which contains the agenda of democratization and decentralization, has brought catastrophe of corruption to Indonesia. In fact, due to the reform, corruption cases can be reported to the public. This has something to do with press freedom and the increased civil society oversight. It is false to conclude that decentralization and democratization, which are the main agenda items of the reform, are the causes of corruption. This is actually not the case.

Returning to the discussion on the relationship between corruption and democracy is important to properly place the pros and cons of the idea of allowing corruptors to contest the 2019 parliamentary elections. The debat has started as the General Elections Commission (KPU) is now preparing a General Election Commission Regulation (PKPU) to ban ex-convicted corruptors from becoming candidates for the 2019 parliamentary elections.

Immediately, the planned regulation has received strong reactions from several political parties participating in the upcoming 2019 elections. The Democratic Party, PDI Perjuangan, the Star Crescent Party, and Perindo Party has rejected the planned regulation (*Kompas.com, 05/04*)

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, Bambang Soesatyo, has also stated that the prohibition of corruption ex-convicts from contesting elections will violate human rights. According to Bambang, they have redeemed their mistakes during the prison terms, so there is no need for such a restriction (*katadata.co.id, 18/04*). Amid the ongoing debate, then we need to decide on what position should we take and what reasons we need to include.

The author wants to continue the debate within a broader framework of a democratic transition. The author invites the people to link the debate with the consolidation of democracy that is currently still running in this country. In fact, in many developing countries that are undergoing the transitional stages of democracy, corruption is still the main issue. This is because the existing political institutions do not have strong foundations. For example, there are problems of the weakness of law enforcement, of the recruitment of political leaderships that do not apply the merit system, and of other political issues.

Ina Kubbe and Annika Engelbert (2017) argue that the practices of converting state finances into personal wealth through unlawful means have serious implications. The practices of corruption can undermine the sense of social justice and law enforcement. The severity of corruption will make the public no longer believe in political institutions that are still consolidating themselves. In the context of Indonesia, if corruption persists, Indonesia will not go beyond the democratic transition stage.

Attempts to Establish Democracy

We need to take a firm position to get rid of the corruptors from democracy. This is to strengthen the political institutions that are still consolidating themselves. This is why KPU's proposal to apply the prohibition of former corruption convicts to contest the elections gains its theoretical legitimacy. The prohibition is useful, as rent seekers will no longer undermine political institutions. We need strong political institutions to take us through the democratic transition.

Especially in the context of Indonesia, which has abundant natural resources, Indonesian political institutions are vulnerable to be ruined by their own actors. Inge Amundsen (2014) maintains that in democratic development countries that are not yet mature, natural resources will worsen the performances of existing political institutions. The practices of rent-seeking, crony capitalism, corruption, and legal bargaining to access natural resources, have made political institutions worse.

Therefore, KPU should keep banning former corruption convicts from becoming legislative candidates. In theory, this can strengthen democracy and this will also encourage the internal improvements of political parties. If we notice, many parties have made their cadres state rent hunters to supply the parties' financial coffers. With the ban, political party cadres will think twice before deciding to be involved in corruption, as their political rights to access powers can not be retained.

The prohibition of former corruption convicts from becoming legislative candidates should not be viewed partially. Furthermore, such restrictions should be viewed within the framework of democratic consolidation.

- Fadel Basrianto -

The 20 Years of Reform and Political Parties in Indonesia

In May of this year, Indonesia entered the twenty years of the Reform era. The Reform era started 20 years ago, which was marked by the collapse of the authoritarian regime that led to a journey into a transition of democracy. Unfortunately, the democratic transition has not been progressing as it was intended to be.

The Transition of Democracy

Samuel Huntington in the book *The Third Wave Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (2001) argues that democratization or transition to democracy in a country requires three things: first, the end of an authoritarian regime. Second, the establishment of a more democratic regime. Then the third, the consolidation of the democratic regime.

Not much different from Huntington, Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, Laurence Whitehead in the book *Transition to Democracy, the Latin American Case* (1993), maintain that there are four ideal conditions of transition from an authoritarian regime to a more democratic system. The first is a condition called a pre-transition, which is before the authoritarian regime collapses. Secondly, it is called a condition of early political liberalization. This is marked by the fall of the old regime, the strengthening of people's political rights, the relatively democratic elections and the change of government.

Third, the transition of government. This is marked by the emergence of a new government that works with strong legitimacy. It is this new government that reorganizes the entire infrastructure and superstructure of the political, economic, social and cultural systems to minimize the chances of a new authoritarian form. The fourth is the consolidation of democracy, which is marked by the emergence of clean new leaders in the government, especially from the civil society.

In Indonesia, unfortunately the democratic transition has not been fully operational in its ideal form. The author highlights the weak roles of political parties. the weakness of the parties' roles has an impact on the decrease in public confidence in political parties. The lack of public trust has led to the absence of ties between parties and the public.

The low public confidence in political parties has been confirmed in a number of survey results, such as those of Indobarometer survey in March 2017, which stated that 62.9 percent of the people felt that they were not close to the party (*tempo.co*, 23/3/2017).

In addition, the SMRC Survey of May 2017 period showed that the state institutions that got the least public trust were the DPR and political parties. In the survey, public confidence in the House was only at a level of 63 percent and in political parties was at a level of 56 percent (*katadata.com*, 9/6/2017).

The Reform of Political Parties

As one of the democratic institutions, political parties in this era of reform are still facing challenges in performing their functions and roles. Lili Romli (2011) states that political parties in the eyes of the public have a less good image. This has happened because political parties are not or have not been able to play and perform their functions optimally. Political parties have no ability to deploy resources and represent the interests of citizens and also to connect citizens and the government.

Referring to the opinion of Thomas Meyer (2002), there are at least two reasons why political parties occupy a more important position than any other organizations in a democratic country. First, only political parties that are capable of performing the task of creating programs through compromise that will be implemented for the whole society. Second, political parties have a duty to bring together the interests of the society through state policies, using negotiations and compromises.

According to the author, the fundamental issue of political parties in the Reform era is that their ideologies are not in line with directions of the political parties. Ideologies and political parties should be closely related. Ideology is a set of ideas organized systematically in order to provide a comprehensive views for a political party.

In addition, an ideology is also not merely a theoretical thought that is only at the level of philosophy, but it can be implemented operationally in life. Therefore, an ideology can be reflected in every policy created or voiced by a political party.

The weak influence of ideologies on the directions of political parties in Indonesia has caused political parties to move without values and to move pragmatically. Political parties are only political vehicles to gain public powers.

The strong consequence of oligarchic influence in political parties in Indonesia has caused political recruitments for both internal and external executives, such as for public offices, to only be decided by a group of people.

The third issue is the memberships and financial relations of political parties. Rod Hague and Martin Harrop (2004) believe that the decline in the number of political party memberships has been occurring simultaneously with the number of voters.

In Indonesia, as has been mentioned in the results of a number of surveys on the decline of parties' closeness with the community, the political parties' relationship with the community has become weak. As a result, the parties should be more dependent on the state for their funding.

On the other hand, the parties need funds to fulfill their objectives, functions, obligations. Political parties also have activities, which include operational secretariat, political education and regeneration, organizational consolidation, public performance, board trips and campaign activities. All of which requires money or large enough funds to enable the functioning of political parties to work.

The impact of the state subsidies on the funding of political parties is that parties race to seize power in the government. The ruling parties essentially grant the subsidies for themselves, Katz and Mair (1995) call this a party cartel. Party cartels are parties that collude into state agents and use their resources to ensure their own survival.

Conclusions

According to the above explanations, the author argues the need for reform in political parties. The first effort that must be made is the strengthening of institutional political parties, so they become

strong democratic institutions and to run optimally. Then, the issue of political party funds. Currently, the most important thing is that the income and the use of money by political parties and candidates must be disclosed and reported according to the rules, whether they are derived from government subsidies or donations. This will be done as part of the implementation of transparency to the public.

As one of the democratic institutions, political parties in this era of reform are still facing challenges in performing their functions and roles.

- **Arfianto Purbolaksono** -

A BPJS Deficit, a Result of the Wrong Concept of Universal Health Coverage?

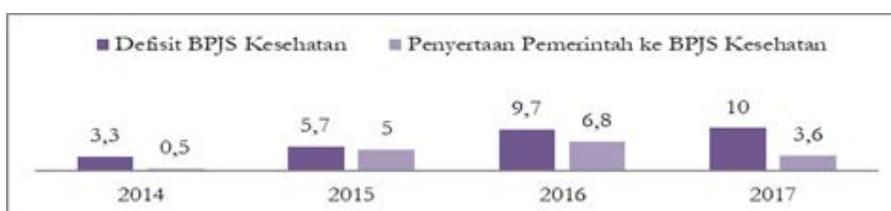
Next year will be the year to determine whether the target of the Universal Health Coverage (UHC) Indonesia can be achieved or not. UHC is successful if at least 95% of the population in Indonesia is registered as BPJS participants. Then, does UHC determine how many participants have health care when they are sick?

A Result of UHC's Wrong Concept

Many people misunderstand the concept of the UHC and the good intention of the government. UHC is in fact identical to the curative rehabilitative health services, the coverage for the sick to get medical treatment, and health financing for the sick. In fact, UHC health services also include promotion and prevention.

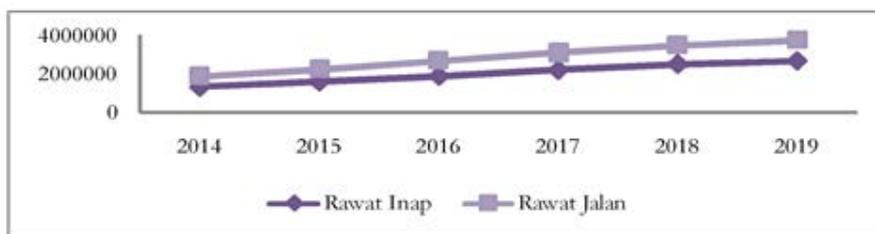
This erroneous concept was likely to be one of the causes of the BPJS deficit. The data showed that the deficits experienced by BPJS from 2014 to 2017 continued to increase. Meanwhile, the inclusion of the government to allocate funds was limited (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. The Deficit and Government Investments in Health BPJS to 2014-2017



Source: <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2017/10/09/2017-defisit-bpjs-kesehatan-diperkirakan-lebih-dari-rp-10-trillion,21/3>

Figure 2. The Projected Trend in the Number of Cases of Catastrophe in Indonesia, 2014-2019

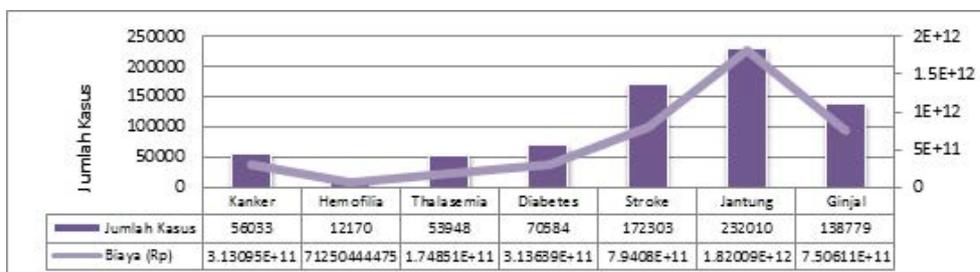


Source: Ministry of Health, 2015

* *Catastrophic illness is a disease of high costs and complications can be life threatening (www.depkes.go.id,4/4)*

The increase in BPJS deficit was in line with a growing trend of the number of catastrophic diseases in Indonesia (see Figure 2). Catastrophic illnesses were costly and were referred to as diseases that dominated BPJS costs: about 30 percent for outpatient and 33.5 percent for hospitalization costs. The most costs incurred by BPJS for this type of catastrophe were for heart disease. Second and third positions were occupied by stroke and kidney (see Figure 3). The three diseases were highly preventable through advocacy and preventive efforts. Table 1 shows some of the ways to prevent the three diseases.

Figure 3. Number of Cases and Catastrophic Illness Costs January-June, 2014



Source: Ministry of Health, 20

Disease	Type Prevention
Heart	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Periodic health checks - Stopping from smoking - Diligent physical activities/exercises - A healthy diet with balance calorie - Enough rest - Managing stress
Stroke	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Controlling high blood pressure - Quitting smoking - Controlling diabetes mellitus - Monitoring cholesterol levels by keeping your diet and exercise - Avoiding pressure and stress
Kidney	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Drinking lots of water - Paying attention to personal hygiene to avoid urinary tract infections - Controlling diet - Avoiding the use of drugs in the long-term - Avoiding disease diabetes mellitus, hypertension - Having periodic examination

Source: Info Regular Data of MoH RI, 26/3; <http://www21.ha.org.hk,26/3>

Unfortunately, until now there are no legal aspects that clearly addresses the concept UHC working on advocacy and preventive aspects. Would not it be nice if UHC also targeting healthy group that does not hurt?

Advocacy and preventive in UHC

Permenkes No. 19 of 2014 already touches on the promotion and prevention in UHC. One of them is in the form of capitation funds and their utilization. The utilization of these funds can be used for two purposes; namely, the payments for services and the operational costs, including promotional and preventive activities. The allocation for services makes up at least 60 percent of the funds. The remainder of the funds is used for operational costs, including individual health effort advocacy, preventive measures, rehabilitative measures, curative measures, home visits, operational mobile health clinics, printed material/stationery, and financial administration and information systems.

Facts on the ground indicate that the presence of Permenkes No. 19 2014 is in fact not able to serve as the guidelines for health centers to allocate a portion of the funds for advocacy and preventive services. Kurniawan's study explained that only six percent of the capitation funds at the health centers were allocated to advocacy services and preventive visits at home or mobile services. Why does this happen?

The Identification of Problems and Recommendations

There are two points that have resulted in the fail to have the optimum utilization of capitation funds for promotion and preventive services, among others:

1. The absence of a clear legal framework for the utilization of capitation funds specifically for advocacy and preventive programs. Many health center staff members do not understand what types of activities are allowed to be funded by capitation funds. Referring to Permenkes No. 21, 2016, the preventive advocacy activities are divided into inside and outside the building. However, the components of the activities inside and outside the building are not clear. The officers do not understand whether it is okay if the targets are not individuals but groups.
2. Different funding sources for the same program. One example is the case of promotion and prevention programs. PHC get BOK (the Health Operational Assistance funds), where the priority activities include promotional and preventive aspects. In fact, the funds are not allowed to be used for the same kinds of activities. This has caused some health services, especially PHC, to feel afraid to use capitation funds for advocacy and preventive programs.

If it is true that the aspects of promotion and prevention have already gotten the maximum attention in an era of JKN, the Ministry of Health and the Government should immediately clarify the regulations related to the use of capitation funds. With the legal aspects that clearly regulate the use of capitation funds, it is expected that the first-level health workers do not hesitate to plan a promotional and prevention-based programs.

UHC concept that has focused on curative and rehabilitative aspects can be offset by the utilization of capitation funding for upstream aspects; namely, promotion and prevention. Furthermore, the BPJS financing for catastrophic illnesses and the deficit will decline gradually.

- Umi Lutfiah -

The BPJS deficit can be overcome by strengthening advocacy and preventive efforts towards the 2019 UHC. The Ministry of Health and the Government should as soon as possible make specific guidelines related to the use of capitation funds in FKTP for advocacy and preventive programs.

To be “Health Kartini”

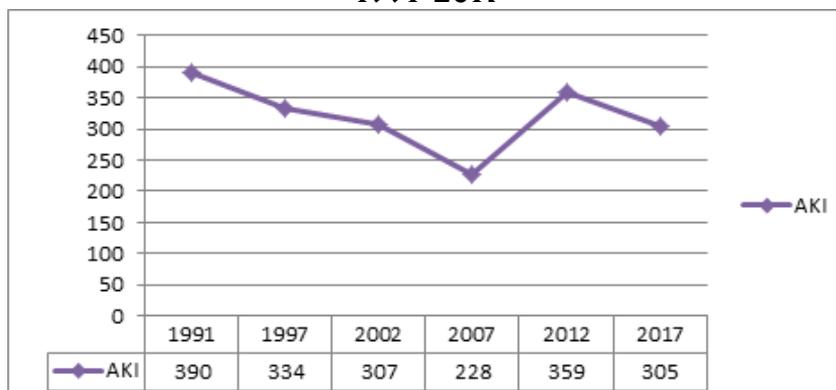
April 21st is celebrated as the Kartini Day. The Kartini Day is always interpreted as a moment to wear kebaya (the Indonesian traditional female clothing), to do cooking competitions, and to have other activities that are related to ‘women’. However, will the Kartini Day be limited to these kinds of activities?

If we return to the ideas introduced by RA Kartini through the book “Habis Gelap Terbit lah Terang (After Darkness Light will Come)”, 21st April should not only be seen as a symbolic meaning. The essence of the Kartini Day should be interpreted as the process of building intelligence. How do we fix the ‘darkness’ within ourselves in order to become the ‘light’, including in the matters of health?

The ‘Darkness’ in Women’s Health

The health status of our country is far from being good, especially if we look at it from maternal health aspect. The data of the Indonesian Demographic and Health Survey (IDHS) showed that the Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) was still above a level of 300 per 100,000 births. In fact, our target in 2015 was a level of 110 deaths per 100,000 births (UNDP, 2015).

Figure 1. The Trend of Maternal Mortality in Indonesia, 1991-2017



Source: Indonesian Demographic and Health Survey (IDHS), 1991-2017

The next target to be achieved in relation to Indonesia's MMR is the target of SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) for 2015-2030. According to this target, Indonesia should manage to reduce MMR to a level of less than 70 deaths per 100,000 births (UNDP, 2015). Presumably, this target is still difficult to be achieved.

Late and Not Safe

One of many factors that have resulted in the high maternal mortality rate in our country is the 3T (3 late) factors. These include the late in recognizing the dangerous signs, the late in arriving at health facility, and the late in getting medical care at health facilities.

The Women Research Institute (2015) stated that the delay factors occurred due to the limited knowledge of women. Women's access to knowledge was minimal, and even knowledge about reproductive health was dominated by men (the husbands).

A research on the relationship between the decision-making and the delays showed that the referral system will be faster if it is taken by women themselves, not by husbands or families (*Wulandari, et. al., 2016*).

Unfortunately, the position of women within families is still very weak. In a Patriarchal Culture, including Indonesia, the main decision-making actor in a family is the husband. Even in the matters of women's reproductive health, pregnancies, and the use of the tools /methods of contraception, husbands are still the main actors.

Recommendations

WHO (the World Health Organization) agrees that the health status is the highest fundamental right for every person regardless of race, religion, politics, the socio economic level, and gender. We have to ensure that every woman can determine matters in relation to her reproductive health by herself, including everything related to pregnancies and childbirths.

Article 72 of Health Act 36/2009 only regulates the reproductive health of women who are married. It does not mention about reproductive health protection for those who are pregnant and give birth outside of marriage.

Unfortunately, every antenatal care (ANC) and the handling of emergency conditions of delivery should be carried out with the ap-

proval of their husbands or families. How long does it take to take care of administrative matters? Even though it is already evident from the findings that if a decision is taken by women on their own, the referrals to health facilities will be quick. Remember that the 'too late' factors have caused a high maternal mortality rate in Indonesia.

A strategy that can be taken by the Ministry of Health is to provide freedom to pregnant women and also to partum women to determine their own needs. This step can be started by giving the flexibility that the medical approval can be done with the consent of women.

Husbands and families must also be willing to provide sufficient space for women to participate in decision-making in the families. Women must be given broad access to what they need, including in matters of pregnancies and childbirths.

Women, as individuals, must have enough knowledge about pregnancies and childbirths. Adequate knowledge on pregnancies and childbirths would make women more aware of their health during pregnancies and later in childbirth. In this era, women as the representatives of Kartini, should be able to achieve better health status. Women should not allow dying just because they are powerless to make decisions about themselves.

- Umi Lutfiah -

The essence of Kartini Day should be interpreted as the process of building intelligence, including in expanding the knowledge of pregnancies and childbirths, in making decisions related to reproductive health. Women as the representatives of Kartini must be able to achieve better health status.

“Mayday...Mayday...Mayday”: the Occupational Safety and Health of Domestic Workers

Decent and safe work is the right of every human being on earth, without exceptions. By working, a person has an opportunity to improve the quality of life, not to worsen his or her life. Therefore, employers must pay attention to the Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) conditions in their workplaces, both in formal and in informal settings.

Domestic workers (DWs) are categorized as vulnerable workers because of two factors; namely, they work behind closed doors and in informal setting. Working as a domestic worker is often considered by the government or community as an occupation with limited exposure to hazards and also with low risks (Smith, 2011). The conditions are aggravated by their status as informal workers. Due to their status, domestic workers are denied the rights and protection such as workers in the formal sector. There is no doubt that this has an impact on the safety and health of domestic workers, which are often ignored or neglected.

Ironically, the number of domestic workers has increased and will continue to increase in the future. In 2008, the International Labor Organization (ILO) released an estimated number of domestic workers: 2.2 million domestic workers. There was an increase of four million domestic workers (to 2.6 million domestic workers) in 2012 (Suhaimi, Farid, Ruslam, 2013). This indicated that domestic workers were one source of income generating activity for many families. As reported in some mass media outlets, there were many accidents occurred at home, such as a gas cylinder exploded in one of the houses in Duren Sawit area which injured three people (*Detiknews, 2017*).

Jaringan Nasional Advokasi Pekerja Rumah Tangga (JALA PRT) suggested that in 2012, 40% of domestic workers worked in hazardous environments and were vulnerable to physical, economic, psychological, sexual harassments and unpaid hardness (*HukumOnline.com, 2014*). ILO (2017), in its research on OSH mapping

of domestic workers, identified various types of work carried out by both live-in and live-out domestic workers. The work involves housekeeping - wiping, sweeping, mopping, tidying up the bed, scrubbing the bathroom floors, washing clothes, ironing, washing dishes. Other tasks that domestic workers often do are cooking, taking care of children and babysitting.

ILO (2017) in the PROMOTE project stated that in general the hazards encountered by these domestic workers were the same as the hazards found in any other workplaces: physical hazards (noise, heat, cold, vibration, and lighting); chemical hazards (dust, cleaning fluid, detergent); biological hazards (fungi, animal blood, dog fleas, viruses and bacteria); ergonomic hazards (bending position > 30 minutes, squatting position > 30 minutes, continuous sitting position, lifting heavy loads like gallons of water, and holding child continuously).

As mentioned earlier, it is clear that domestic workers have similar vulnerabilities to other workers; for example, to those in the formal sector (the garment industry, the automotive industry, and other industries). If these hazardous conditions continue to be ignored, they will adversely affect the safety and health of domestic workers. The poor conditions will be exacerbated by inadequate resting places as well as the habit of consuming unhealthy food (Smith, 2011). Live-in DWs are often exposed to long working hours, which potentially increase the risks of work-related injuries (Smith, 2011 and Labor Clinic, 2015). Appropriate work hours (at least in accordance with the applicable law, which is 40 hours per week and 2 days off per week) are crucial to limit work-related injuries.

It is very unfortunate that knowledge of OSH in relation to the domestic workers is still poor (ILO, 2017). Domestic workers, employers, and domestic worker agencies have limited knowledge of OHS and of the importance of having healthy and safe working environments. This is a result of the unavailability or lack of information on OSH of domestic workers. There has been lack of information dissemination of OSH to the various stakeholders.

To raise awareness of OSH in the workplace, the issues of OSH and DWs should be strengthened on the Labor Day on 1 May. It is time for OSH to be the major issue on Labor Day so that stakeholders, especially governments and employers, will pay more attention to the health and safety of their workers. It is time for all stakeholders (DWs, Government, DWs agencies and other stakeholders) to

promote Awareness, Understanding, Strengthening and Supervision (4Ps) on OSH issues.

The Labor Day should put an emphasis on OSH topics, especially the improvement and awareness of OSH in informal sector like at workplaces where DWs do their jobs. We need to ensure that OSH becomes the norm. The specific issue that can be raised about OSH and DWs is to encourage the enactment of the Draft Law on the Protection of Domestic Workers.

The draft law should have the aim of improving the working conditions of domestic workers. The fundamental issue that needs to be encouraged and has a great leverage in the implementation and improvement of OSH in the workplaces of domestic workers is the enactment of the draft law on the Protection of Domestic Workers.

The draft law has been neglected for more than ten years. Instead, the government had issued Regulation of the Minister of Manpower (Permenaker) No. 2/2015 on the Protection of Domestic Workers. However, this regulation still lacks in providing recognition and protection to domestic workers. This Permenaker does not have a clear legal standing, because this regulation has no legal powers to impose criminal sanctions (Andapita, 2015).

The weak protection for DWs also has also resulted in the absence of health insurance for them. So, if the domestic workers experience accidents, there will be no insurance schemes to cover all the costs. Many domestic workers are not enrolled in any insurance, such as BPJS or any other health insurance. This is due to being informal employees.

From the phenomenon above, there are some recommendations that can be suggested, including giving recognition to domestic workers as formal workers by establishing rules that provide protection to domestic workers. This rule of law may include the ratification of the domestic workers protection bill and the ratification of the ILO 189 Convention on Eligible Work for Domestic workers. By passing the domestic worker protection bill, there will be an obligation for employers to fulfill the rights of domestic workers, one of which is to enroll in BPJS. In addition, by having the right regulation, there is a control mechanism to monitor employers in terms of providing safe and healthy work environment.

- Endah Setyaningsih - Research Associate The Indonesian Institute -

The issues of OSH and DWs should be strengthened on the Labor Day on 1 May. It is time for OSH to be the major issue on Labor Day, so that stakeholders, especially governments and employers, will pay more attention to the health and safety of their workers.

 **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. The economy plays an important role as one of the fundamentals of national development. 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 implementation of regional autonomy that is based on Law No. 32 Year 2004 has demanded bottom-up planning processes, which are participatory in development process. However, fiscal decentralization is still seen crucial particularly for people living in the regions. This can be seen from the high number of gap, poverty, and unemployment. Therefore, there is a need for effective policy formula, which has the right targets.

TII has research focus on fiscal decentralization and sustainable development issues. Fiscal decentralization issues will focus on the discussion on financial matters, corruption, and development of local infrastructure development. With regard to sustainable development, TII focuses on productivity, competitiveness, infrastructure development and development gap. On poverty issues, TII focuses its research on social protection, human resources and employment, and government subsidy policies.

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 an 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 foundations.

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 using sociological, anthropological, and political approaches in order to produce more comprehensive academic papers and bills. It is expected that the laws and regulations will be produced through such participatory processes, which involve the writing of academic papers and also focus group discussions (FGD), which will involve the stakeholders related to the laws and regulations that will be discussed.

RESEARCH ON THE POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Since the enactment of Law No. 22 Year 1999, which was then revised through Law No. 32 Year 2004 on the Local Government, powers are no longer centralized in the central government. Based on the Law, the local governments have wider autonomy to manage their own internal affairs. With the wider regional autonomy and obligation to create good governance, the local governments are demanded to be more responsive towards public aspirations. Therefore, public policy research has become more important for local governments to analyze contexts and issues in the regions, as well as the public's aspirations to formulate public policies.

In order to respond those needs, TII research in political affairs offers policy assessments on various policies that have already been applied or will be implemented. TII will look at socio-cultural, economic, legal, and political aspects in assessing public policies. Our research will be useful to assist governments in formulating policies that are in line with contexts, priorities, and people's aspirations. TII also offers various breakthroughs of transformative policies that are in line with the Open Government principles' implementation in order to increase public participation in policy processes.

Political Research Division of TII provides analysis and policy recommendations in order to generate strategic policies in the strengthening of democracy and the establishment of good governance

both at the national and at the local levels. Political research forms that are offered by TII are **(1) Public Policy Analysis, (2) Media Monitoring, (3) Mapping & Positioning Research, (4) Need Assessment Research, (5) Survey Indicator.**

RESEARCH ON THE SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Social development needs policy foundations that come from independent and accurate research. Social analysis is needed by 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, children, and elderly.

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.**

EVALUATION OF A PROJECT OR A PROGRAM

One of the activities that have been performed by TII is the qualitative evaluations of projects or programs of non-governmental organizations or governments. The evaluation activities are offered by TII in stages; that is, mid-term evaluations of the projects/programs and also the final evaluations at the end of the projects/programs.

As we know, the evaluation is an important step in the implementation of a project or program. Mid-Term Evaluations of the projects or programs are intended to look at and analyze the challenges, the overall learning takes place during the projects or programs, and to make recommendations for the continuity of the projects or programs. Meanwhile, the final evaluations allow us to view and analyze the outcomes and the lessons learned to ensure the achievements of all the objectives of the projects or programs at the end of the projects or programs.

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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