

The Indonesian Update

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



Main Report: Debts: “No Free Lunch”

Law

- Rearranging Penalization in the ITE Law ■
- Cipta Kerja* Law: an Unpretentious Simplification ■

Politics

- Optimizing the Role of BNPT in the De-radicalization in the Millennial Generation ■
- The Orwellian Nuance of the Indonesian Government, is it Real? ■

Social

- The Impact of Distance Learning and the Preparations towards Face-to-Face Learning ■
- Improving the BPJS Health Services during the Pandemic Period ■
- Getting to Know the National Committee on Governance Policy ■
and Its Role in Times of Crisis
- Stop Child Marriage: Never Sacrifice Their Future Again ■

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	1
MAIN REPORT	
Debts: “No Free Lunch”	3
LAW	
Rearranging Penalization in the ITE Law	7
<i>Cipta Kerja</i> Law: an Unpretentious Simplification	11
POLITICS	
Optimizing the Role of BNPT in the De-radicalization in the Millennial Generation	15
The Orwellian Nuance of the Indonesian Government, is it Real?	21
SOCIAL	
The Impact of Distance Learning and the Preparations towards Face-to-Face Learning	24
Improving the BPJS Health Services during the Pandemic Period	29
Getting to Know the National Committee on Governance Policy and Its Role in Times of Crisis	34
Stop Child Marriage: Never Sacrifice Their Future Again	39
INSTITUTIONAL PROFILE	44
RESEARCH PROGRAMS, SURVEY AND EVALUATION	46

PUBLIC DISCUSSION	50
TRAINING & WORKING GROUP FACILITATION ...	51

Contributors :

Arfianto Purbolaksono (Coordinator), Hemi Lavour Febrinandez,
Muhamad Rifki Fadilah, Nisaaul Muthiah, Rifqi Rachman, Vunny Wijaya.
Editor: Awan Wibowo Laksono Poesoro

FOREWORD

The April 2021 edition of the Indonesian Update raises a main report on the issue of government debts that has resurfaced recently. Empirical evidence notes that the position of Government debts as of the end of February 2021 was already at IDR 6,361.02 trillion, with a ratio of government debts to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 41.10 percent. The government must remain careful in managing its debts, especially in the midst of a pandemic, which has caused Indonesia's GDP growth to decline at any time.

In the field of law, the Indonesian Update discusses the regulation of punishment or penalties in Law Number 11/2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions (UUITE). Until now, there are still debates over to the classification of the ITE Law. Does this law fall into the category of administrative law or administrative penal law? In addition, we discuss a new range of problems related to Law Number 11/2020 concerning Job Creation (Job Creation Law) that has resurfaced again. This started with President Joko Widodo's steps to stipulate 49 Government Regulations (PP) and four Presidential Regulations (Perpres) on February 21, 2021.

In the political field, the Indonesian Update discusses the vulnerability of increasing acts of terrorism involving millennials. It is important to encourage BNPT as the main actor in countering terrorism in order to optimize its role in preventing the spread of radical understanding among the younger generations. Apart from that, we also discuss the Orwellian-nuanced governance of Indonesia that has taken place in recent years. Since Joko Widodo served as President of the Republic of Indonesia, the issue of the Orwellian state has often emerged as a reaction to the direction of government policies that use police agencies to monitor the public. This form of use can be seen; for example, through the discourse of police patrols on the social media.

In the social field, the Indonesian Update raises the impact of Distance Learning (PJJ) that has been implemented in Indonesia for more than one year. The policies carried out to prevent the spread of the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) have also been implemented by various countries in the world. In addition, we discuss BPJS Kesehatan partner health facilities, which are mostly focused on curative efforts. Increasing the use of digital systems and strengthening the Puskesmas Essential UKM units need to be done so that

promotive and preventive efforts are not increasingly displaced. Next, we discuss the National Committee for Governance Policy (KNKG). The formation of the KNKG is stipulated in the Decree of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs (Kepmenko) Number 44/2021 concerning the KNKG. However, not many people or business people know about the KNKG. Then, we also discuss the elimination of the practice of child marriage as one of the targets for sustainable development (Sustainable Development Goals / SDGs) in 2030.

Monthly publication Update Indonesia with actual themes are expected to help policy makers in government and business - as well as academics, think tanks, and civil society, both within and outside the country, to get actual information and contextual analysis of economic conditions, politics, social, and law in Indonesia, as well as an understanding of public policy in Indonesia.

Happy Reading.

Debts: “No Free Lunch”

Talks about government debts have returned to the public recently. Empirical evidence notes that the position of Government debts as of the end of February 2021 has already been at IDR 6,361.02 trillion, with a ratio of government debt to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 41.10 percent (APBN Kita, 2021). In principle, this ratio can still be tolerated, because it is still under the provisions of Law Number 17/2003 concerning State Finance that regulates the nominal limit of total Government debts in one period, i.e. it cannot exceed 60 percent of GDP.

Nevertheless, the Government must remain careful in managing its debts, especially in the midst of a pandemic, which has caused Indonesia’s GDP growth to decline. If the GDP is smaller, then as a result it can make the debt-to-GDP ratio jump sharply. In addition, the real consequence that must be faced is that the burden of paying debt interests will be very clear for the next 10 years (Kuncoro, 2021).

The Consequences of Stimulus

In the midst of an economic slowdown that has eroded state income, on the one hand, state spending continues to soar, so inevitably one of the instruments used to finance it is through debts. Therefore, the increase in debts is actually a consequence of the stimulus provided by the Government to restore the economic cycle to normal.

Theoretically, the Kaleckian Model view states that government spending (through expansion of government spending and widening the budget deficit) can have a positive impact on economic growth (Fadilah, 2020). With an increase in government spending, this will have an impact on an increase in economic growth as measured by income and output levels. This view has the conclusion that the fiscal stimulus in the form of widening the deficit and increasing debts is intended to spur government spending, which in turn will boost the economy. Logically, if demand and / or supply increases,

it will encourage a new equilibrium with a higher level of output. Aggregate demand with the function $Y = C + I + G + (X-M)$ will be affected by government spending. Thus, the greater the government expenditure, then the higher the national income from the demand side will be.

Therefore, government debts that are used to finance government spending also have the same impact on national income from the demand side (Islam, 2014). Furthermore, many studies support the need for debts because debts have a positive impact on a country's economy, especially to spur growth and investment (See for example Warner, 1992; Jayaraman et al, 2008; Hameed et al, 2008, and Adegbite et al, 2008).

From an empirical level, this argument can also be tested by a collection of facts that show that of all GDP items that experience a contraction, only government expenditure items experience positive growth, and through their stimulus becomes a bumper in preventing a deeper economic downturn. Furthermore, based on various evaluative studies conducted, the government's National Economic Recovery (PEN) program has also proven to be an effective cushion for public purchasing power and business world finances.

Quoted from our APBN (2021), a survey conducted by the Institute for Economic and Community Research (LPEM) and the Demographic Institute (LD) of the University of Indonesia showed that PEN intervention made the majority of respondents survive (not experiencing a decrease in turnover and profits). However, the information dissemination related to the low literacy of the PEN program still needs to be improved. Specifically for the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) Program Assistance Program (BPUM), a survey conducted by the Ministry of Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises (KemenkopUKM) and the National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K) shows that the majority of BPUM recipients do not have cash reserves of more than 10 days or it can be said that the BPUM program is appropriate as a cash buffer for micro businesses.

On the social protection side, the Socio-Economic Impact Survey conducted by UNICEF, Prospera, SMERU, and UNDP found that 85 percent of respondents received at least one aid program with the largest coverage being Village Direct Cash Assistance (BLT) at 17.6 percent. This shows that the scope of government assistance has reached the majority of Indonesians, including through a comprehensive policy response in handling COVID-19 and economic recovery.

There is No Free Lunch

We agree with the Kaleckian Model that the policy to expand state spending can indeed boost the economy. However, there is a price to pay. As stated by Basri (2021), the stimulus can be likened to Padang rice during the day that can fill a hungry stomach, but it has bad implications if it is consumed continuously. With regard to debts, the expansion of state spending amid slumping state revenues creates a budget deficit, then the budget deficit must be patched up with debts.

In the final round, debt creates the risks that countries will become tied to their debtor country. For poor or developing countries, currently the debt position has risen sharply especially to deal with COVID-19, even though multilateral financial institutions as well as the world's richest countries have offered substantial financial support to help ease the financial burden.

See, for example, countries that are members of the G-20 offer substantial financial support by deferring debt payments. However, most of the new loan financing (albeit on concessional terms) will be added to the economic accounts of these developing countries in the medium term. Not only that, it should be remembered that in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, the debt assistance package being offered is a delay, not a write-off. This means that debt payments will continue and the calculation of interest will also continue to increase over time.

Therefore, many countries are predicted to face an economic crisis due to this COVID-19, even with a larger amount of debt and deeper financial pressure. This will raise concerns about the ability of these countries to properly pay off external debt. Then, the risk of state default may not occur this year or the next 2-3 years, but most likely will occur in the medium and long term. Thus, what Keynes said "in the long run we are all dead" may occur as a result of many countries being choked by a large debt burden.

In fact, if we follow the Ricardian view that has warned that the society is visionary, if the government provides a stimulus by increasing the deficit to drive the economy it will not automatically be effective because people do not increase their consumption. This happens because people anticipate future tax increases in order to finance the deficit and pay off debts.

The few phenomena that agree with the Ricardian thesis seem to come one by one. In Indonesia, the signal of tax increases has begun to be felt; for example when the Minister of Finance decided to re-discuss the imposition of excise on sweetened drinks, then

the proposal for plastic bag excise that has been approved by the House of Representatives (DPR), and recently the government has also rolled out regulations regarding Value Income Tax (VAT) and Income Tax (PPH) related to the sale of credit, starter packs, and electricity tokens. This is the price the people must pay after enjoying the stimulus provided by the government.

Adam Smith says “there’s no free lunch”. This means that there is no free lunch, so all stimulus which is likened to a lunch that has been served along with the consequences of soaring debts must be paid immediately; for example, through tax increases, as well as other debt payment risks that urge countries to patch their spending budgets.

Adam Smith says “there is no free lunch.” All stimulus is likened to a lunch that has the consequences of soaring debts that must be paid immediately.

Recommendations

In the Indonesian context, there are several recommendations that can be made, including:

1. The Ministry of Finance needs to evaluate debt policies; for example, the extent to which debts are used for handling COVID-19 so far. The Ministry of Finance must prioritize expenditure items that are able to boost the economy quickly and sustainably
2. The Ministry of Finance in the medium term must begin mapping the debts owned by Indonesia. The debt mapping process is intended to see which debts will mature in the near future so that they can be mitigated for the payment process.
3. The Ministry of Finance in the medium term also needs to think about sources of funding to pay debts. Thus, Indonesia will not be caught up in a future debt crisis due to the debt burden during the COVID-19 pandemic.
4. The Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs and the Ministry of Finance need to think about alternative financing other than through debt posts that have been carried out so far. There is a need for a potential mapping process from other sources to be used as a source of financing.

- M. Rifki Fadilah -

Rearranging Penalization in the ITE Law

The increasing number of convictions in Indonesia, such as what happened due to the provisions contained in the ITE Law, cannot be separated from the dynamics of criminalization in criminal law. Criminalization is the object of substantive criminal law study that discusses the determination of an act as a criminal act (or crime) that is punishable by certain criminal sanctions. Disgraceful acts that were not previously qualified as prohibited acts are justified as criminal acts that are punishable by criminal sanctions (Luthan, 2009).

According to Soerjono Soekanto (1981), criminalization is an act or determination of the authorities regarding certain actions, which the community considers as an act that can be punished as a criminal act. This means that there is an error in the society that calls criminalization an attempt to criminalize someone who is innocent. In this context, the incident that is commonly referred to as a “*criminalization*” is actually a “*case fabrication*”.

Acts that are criminalized in laws outside the Criminal Code, from 1985 to 2014, showed a tendency for stronger state control over the activities and civil liberties of citizens (Ali, 2018). The formation of a statutory regulation no longer takes into account or classifies the types of legal products produced based on clear categorization. So, it is commonplace to find administrative provisions that have the threat of severe criminal sanctions. As stated in Law Number 11/2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions (ITE Law).

There are twenty-nine laws containing criminal provisions from 1985 to 1995 (Arief, 2013). The results of Anugerah Rizki Akbari's research (2015) show that from 1998 to 2014, of the 392 laws that legislators established and passed, 154 of them contained criminal provisions. This meant that there were nearly 40% of the laws that were formed by the DPR which contained criminal provisions. In

total, from 1985 to 2014 there were 183 laws containing criminal provisions.

The data above showed that there was an error by the drafters of the law in including serious criminal sanctions in the special criminal act outside the Criminal Code. This has raised a bias that makes criminal sanctions the main choice for all violations that occur. Criminalization is no longer used as a last resort in law enforcement efforts (*Ultimum Remedium*).

Reviewing Administrative Law and Administrative Penal Law

Based on the development of criminal law in Indonesia, provisions regarding punishment or penalization are no longer limited to the provisions contained in the Criminal Code. Several legal products, such as Law Number 31/1999 on Eradication of Corruption and Law Number 15/2003 concerning Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism are part of criminal law known as special offenses outside the Criminal Code. The law is also part of the criminal law family.

Apart from the two categories of criminal law previously mentioned, there are other divisions called administrative law and administrative penal law. The emergence of this division is due to the increasingly broad definition of administrative law, and there are even regulations that contain criminal sanctions. Therefore, a good understanding is needed so that legislators are not mistaken in placing a legal arrangement.

The notion of Administrative Law covers a very broad scope, not only in the areas of tax law, banking, capital markets, and consumer protection but also in the fields of economy, environment, health, education, social welfare, spatial planning and so on. This is due to the notion of administrative law (Maroni, 2013). Meanwhile, Muladi (1995) explains that the emergence of the tendency of administrative law legislation to include criminal sanctions is to strengthen administrative sanctions (administrative penal law). This is intended so that the use of criminal sanctions can only be carried out if administrative sanctions are not able to cause a deterrent effect.

Resetting Penalization in the ITE Law

Until now, there are still debates over the classification of the ITE Law. Does this law fall into the category of administrative law or administrative penal law? Referring to Andi Hamzah's opinion, he

emphasized that the ITE Law is an administrative law, and not a criminal law. If you still want to contain criminal provisions, you can only threaten with six months imprisonment or administrative fines (idntimes.com, 2020).

When we are more careful in examining the position of the ITE Law in regulating law in Indonesia, the law is actually included in the category of administrative penal law. It can be seen from several articles that regulate criminal sanctions, such as Article 27 paragraph (3) of the ITE Law on defamation and defamation, which is punishable by imprisonment and fines. This regulation has actually moved from the original purpose of establishing the ITE Law.

We can trace the initial purpose of the formation of the ITE Law to the formulation of regulatory content in the Academic Paper (NA) of Law Number 11/2008 concerning ITE. In the background section, it is explained that the development of the digital world creates new civil problems; namely, the emergence of e-commerce transactions that have become part of national and international commerce (Febrinandez, 2021). However, in its development, the ITE Law has been mostly used to suppress freedom of opinion and freedom of expression.

Problems related to convictions to case engineering are two issues that are often directed to criticize the substance and implementation of the ITE Law. By the end of 2020, SAFEnet recorded 324 criminal cases related to the law. Based on these records, as many as 209 people had been charged under Article 27 paragraph (3) of the ITE Law on defamation (Kontan.co.id, 2020). This data showed that the majority of cases brought in using the ITE Law were not cases related to the protection of freedom of expression, information, and electronic transactions carried out by the public.

Limiting freedom of expression by prohibiting certain expressions in the form of criminal acts must be carefully formulated. The state must be able to distinguish between expressions that constitute criminal offenses, which are clearly different from expressions that cannot be punished but are still justified by the existence of civil suit or administrative sanctions. The state also needs to clearly identify expressions which constitute acts of intolerance, civility or disrespect for the rights of others (ICJR, 2021).

After understanding the separation of criminal law, administrative law and administrative law which has a criminal content, the legisla-

tors; namely, the president and the DPR, can choose the following two recommendation options. First, it continues to categorize the ITE Law as an administrative penal law, but with the reduction of criminal threats in several articles, especially those related to regulations that limit freedom of expression.

Second, returning several criminal sanctions provisions contained in the ITE Law to the Criminal Code, such as Article 27 paragraph (3) of the ITE Law. Then, making the ITE Law only regulates administrative provisions in conducting electronic transactions and protection of digital information. Violations of the ITE Law also only have to be rewarded through administrative sanctions such as revocation of licenses.

- Hemi Lavour Febrinandez -

With regard to criminal sanctions in the ITE Law, whose norms are based on the Criminal Code, these provisions can be returned to the codification of the criminal law. This will make criminal law arrangements in Indonesia more orderly, avoiding overlapping regulations.

Cipta Kerja Law: an Unpretentious Simplification

A range of problems related to Law Number 11/2020 concerning Cipta Kerja (Cipta Kerja Law) has resurfaced. This started with President Joko Widodo's steps to stipulate 49 Government Regulations (PP) and four Presidential Regulations (Perpres) on February 21, 2021. Some of the regulations have revoked or revised related existing regulations, while some other have become new regulations (Tempo.co, 2021).

The 49 regulations are the implementing provisions of the 11 clusters contained in Cipta Kerja Law. There is no need to dissect one by one the content of Cipta Kerja Law and its derivative regulations to realize that there are mistakes related to this law. One of the things highlighted is the process of its birth.

Since its inception, the law has drawn criticisms and resistance from the public. Apart from the matter of substance, Cipta Kerja Law also has problems related to its non-participatory formation process. As its objectives are related to structuring and simplifying regulations, the process of changing the law should have referred to the provisions contained in statutory regulations, providing room for the participation of the public.

The delinquency of the process of drafting Cipta Kerja Law has been caused by the choice of technique to change the law. The use of the omnibus law method in the process of changing the legal rules in Cipta Kerja Law was the first to be practiced in Indonesia. Unfortunately, the preparation carried out was not guided by Law Number 12/2011 concerning the Formation of Laws and Regulations as amended into Law Number 15/2019.

The amendments to 79 laws containing 1,244 articles at once were clearly not a simple matter. It should have taken sufficient time for legal drafters to be able to properly compile any rules that would be changed. In fact, this has become a difficulty in itself because

there was no method that could be used as a guideline for discussing and drafting Cipta Kerja Bill. If Cipta Kerja Law was used as an experiment in changing the law using the concept of the omnibus law, then the rules of the games should have been finalized first.

Of the 49 implementing regulations that have been passed, the Indonesian Center for Law and Policy Studies (Pusat Studi Hukum dan Kebijakan Indonesia/PSHK) has found around 466 follow-up provisions. There are 11 derivatives to government regulations, 11 derivatives to presidential regulations, 377 derivatives to ministerial regulations, 60 derivatives to non-ministerial agencies regulations, and 7 derivatives to regional regulations. The follow-up regulations are not only to lower regulations, such as ministerial regulations, but also to parallel delegations between government regulations and between presidential regulations (Putra, 2021).

Law Number 12/2011 concerning the Formation of Prevailing Laws does not prohibit the delegation of rules, even though it is carried out between parallel regulations. However, the problem is the inconsistency of the government in wanting to simplify regulations through Cipta Kerja Law, which has actually created new complexities in regulatory structuring.

Referring to the results of PSHK's research, during the first period of President Joko Widodo's administration, starting from 2014 to December 2020, around 13,401 regulations had been issued (Putra, 2021). The increase in the number of implementing regulations under the emerging law is one of the problems in regulatory reform. The potential for overlapping and colliding regulations is a threat to justice and legal certainty for the community.

Changing the law using the omnibus law method was a good step in implementing regulatory governance. The process of changing laws that has a substantive relevance will be more effective and efficient because the discussion process is focused on one particular type of content. Thus, the amendment scripts should not be piling up in the DPR.

One thing to remember is that the method of changing the law using the omnibus law was intended to simplify regulations to avoid overlapping. It was a waste if the legal products at the statutory level have been simplified and harmonized, but there is still a build-up at the level of implementing regulations such as PP, Perpres, to ministerial regulations (Permen).

Other Options for Setting Rules under the Law

Starting from the understanding that statutory regulations in a country are an integral part or a sub-system of the legal system in a country, laws and regulations in various forms and levels must be interrelated, harmonious, and not overlapping so as to form an effective legal system that moves dynamically and comprehensively in a unified legal system in order to achieve legal objectives (Indrayati, 2019). If the linkage and harmony between these laws and regulations do not materialize, there is an overlap. There will be a situation where the statutory regulations will conflict with other laws and regulations.

This legal harmonization term appeared in the study of law in 1992 in Germany. This legal harmonization study was developed with the aim of showing that in the world of government policy law and the relationship between the two there is diversity that can lead to disharmony (Sayuna, 2016). Harmonizing the law is important to harmonize various derivative regulations from Cipta Kerja Law. This is intended so that the substances regulated in the statutory product do not overlap, complement each other, and are interrelated. The lower the type of regulation, the more detailed and operational the content will be.

This goal will not be achieved with the issuance of hundreds of implementing regulations for Cipta Kerja Law, which will open up loopholes for conflicts between regulations. Unlike the DPR, which has a legislative function, other regulations under the law have the potential to clash with one another. This will happen because each related institution or ministry has the authority to make its own implementing regulations.

In the event of a conflict between the contents contained in the implementing regulations of the Employment Copyright Law, there is a testing mechanism through a judicial review and an executive review. However, this can only be done against rules that have been passed. Ideally, with regard to Cipta Kerja Law, which still has a pile of implementing regulations that have not yet been passed, the most appropriate way to avoid disharmony and hyper-regulation is through the formation of a special body under the power of the executive to carry out an executive review of the implementing regulations of Cipta Kerja Law.

Executive review is a mechanism to review a draft of legislation produced by the executive branch of power. The goal is that there

are no conflicting contents, preventing the number of regulations from swelling. This is important considering that the purpose of changing the law uses the omnibus law method in Cipta Kerja Law to simplify existing regulations.

The formation of a special body to study and harmonize legal products under the law is also an important matter. This special agency can be filled by elements of the government, academia, and various civil society groups. The involvement of community groups that are outside the executive branch of power will provide a more objective perspective in looking at laws and regulations related to Cipta Kerja Law.

- Hemi Lavour Febrinandez -

Amendments to the law using the omnibus law method in Cipta Kerja Law, which aims to simplify regulations, will be a failure if the implementing regulations still result in hyper-regulations.

Optimizing the Role of BNPT in the De-radicalization in the Millennial Generation

At the end of March 2021, Indonesia was again shocked by the reckless action of a young woman who attacked the Indonesian National Police Headquarters. Unfortunately, the action of this 25-year-old young woman ended with the police officers intercepting her and killing her. It was later discovered that this reckless act was part of the terror committed by sympathizers of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in Indonesia.

Previously, still in March, an act of terror also occurred in Makassar City, when a couple of husband and wife carried out a suicide bombing against the Makassar Cathedral Church on Sunday (28/3). According to the police report, the two perpetrators were of young age, born in 1995. Looking at the two acts of terrors above, there are similarities in the age of the perpetrators who belonged to the category of the millennial generation. This is of course a concern about the vulnerability of the millennial generation to being exposed to the influence of radical thought in Indonesia.

The Vulnerability of Millennial Generation as Terrorists

The picture of the age group of terrorists lately is of deep concern. In fact, by looking at the age group of the perpetrators, they should be part of the nation's young future generations. However, the terrorists died at young age because they carried out actions that were against law and religion, as well as human values.

The threats and acts of terrors committed by the millennial generation have actually been recorded in several surveys conducted in Indonesia. At the end of 2020, the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) released the results of a survey, which stated that 85 percent of the millennial generation was vulnerable to being exposed to radicalism. The survey also found a higher potential for radicalism among women than men. Women had the potential of

12.3 percent, while men 12.1 percent. Furthermore, in the survey it was found that the potential for radicalism was more prevalent among urban people than in rural areas (inews.id, 12/17/2020).

Previously, a survey conducted by Mata Air Fondation and Alvara Research Center in 2017 also showed a threat to young people in Indonesia. According to the survey results, 23.4 percent of students and 23.3 percent of high school students were exposed to radicalism. This was known after these students and students agreed with jihad for the establishment of an Islamic state or a caliphate in Indonesia.

Radical thinking and intolerance among the younger generation occur because of the influence in their daily environment. The influence of the immediate environment for young people usually occurs in the educational environment at both the school and campus levels. The influence in the educational environment often arises because of the factors of the teaching force that affect their students.

This was confirmed in the results of a survey by the Center for Islamic and Community Studies (PPIM), UIN Jakarta in 2018. The survey results found that the majority of Muslim teachers in Indonesia had high intolerant and radical opinions. In the survey, it was found that 10.01 percent of Muslim teachers had implicitly intolerant opinions, and 53.06 percent had implicit intolerant opinions. In addition, 6.03 percent of Muslim teachers had very intolerant opinions and 50.87 percent of teachers had explicitly intolerant opinions. For radical opinions, PPIM found that 2.58 percent of teachers had very radical opinions implicitly and 11.70 percent of teachers had implicitly radical opinions. In addition, 5.95 percent of teachers had very radical opinions explicitly, and 40.14 percent of teachers had explicitly radical opinions (cnnindonesia.com, 19/10/2018).

In addition, the influence of radical thinking can also occur in their daily environment; namely, surfing activities in cyberspace. The results of a survey conducted by the IDN Research Institute in collaboration with the Alvara Research Center in 2018 showed that 45 percent of millennial juniors; namely, those aged 20-27 years, accessed the internet, either via desktop or cellphone for 4-6 hours a day. Meanwhile, there were 49 percent of millennial seniors aged 28-35 years (kompas.com, 1/30/2019).

Therefore, referring to this situation, it can be imagined how the development of the use of the internet and the social media among young people can be a medium for the formation of the influence of radicalism on young people.

Bruce Hoffman (2006), a terrorism expert from Georgetown University, explains that the internet is an effective means for radical groups to promote “global dialectics”, where awakening, awareness, activism and radicalism can be stimulated at the local level and mobilized to a wider process through protests and dissent.

When related to the development of the ISIS network in Indonesia, Maria A. Ressa (2015), states that ISIS sympathizers in Indonesia are very active on the social media. The social media helps them to broaden their base, spreading radicalism and conducting recruitments. ISIS is believed to have expertise in using the social media for propaganda and radicalization. Their videos and messages are consistently uploaded to attract the sympathy of young people.

In addition, there are four stages of radicalization carried out by ISIS; namely, first, agitation, among others, playing very personal things, such as poverty, trauma, hopeless injustice, and fear. Second, identify yourself, groups or groups that emphasize the importance of feeling connected. Third, indoctrination, including capacity building and personal guarantees. And fourth, heinous extremism, which includes action, sacrifice, and giving oneself completely for self-satisfaction (Ressa, 2015).

Recommendations: Optimizing the Role of the BNPT

Responding to these problems, the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) as the main actor in counterterrorism should optimize its role in preventing the spread of radicalism among the younger generations. Given the strategic role of BNPT after the issuance of Law Number 5/2018, which revised Law Number 15/2003 concerning Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism. Several articles regulating the duties, functions and authorities of the BNPT are as listed in the following table.

Table 1. Articles governing BNPT in Law Number 5/2018 Amendment to Law Number 15/2003 concerning Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism

Article	Contents
Article 43E	1) The agency in charge of counter-terrorism, hereinafter referred to as the National Counterterrorism Agency, is under and responsible to the President. 2) The National Agency for Combating Terrorism becomes the center for crisis analysis and control, which functions as a facility for the President to determine policies and measures for crisis management, including mobilizing resources in dealing with terrorism. 3) The National Counterterrorism Agency is domiciled in the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia.
Article 43F	The National Counterterrorism Agency functions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Formulating and stipulating national policies, strategies and programs in the field of countering terrorism; b) Coordinating policies, strategies and national programs in the field of countering terrorism; and c) Implement national preparedness, counter radicalization and deradicalization.
Article 43G	In carrying out the functions referred to in Article 43F, the National Counterterrorism Agency has the following duties: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) formulating, coordinating and implementing policies, strategies, and national counter-terrorism programs in the fields of national preparedness, counter-radicalization and deradicalization; b) coordinating among law enforcers in countering terrorism; c) coordinating the Victim recovery program; and d) formulating, coordinating and implementing national counter-terrorism policies, strategies and programs in the field of international cooperation.
Article 43H	Provisions regarding the organizational structure of the National Counterterrorism Agency are regulated by a Presidential Regulation.

Two terror incidents in March became an alarm for BNPT as an important actor in countering terrorism. In addition, seeing the perpetrators of terror as a millennial group, the deradicalization program must be carried out immediately. BNPT must be able to prevent the process of spreading radical understanding as early as possible in accordance with the scope of its influence, such as in education and cyberspace.

Some notes on recommendations that can be made by BNPT are as follows. First, strengthening the synergy between ministries and institutions as well as local governments in carrying out de-radicalization, especially those related to the world of education. Strengthening this synergy is very important because education providers in Indonesia are not only the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) but also the Ministry of Religion (Kemenag), and the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education, including ministries that run official service schools.

Second, to encourage schools and campuses through the relevant ministries to conduct multicultural education-based teaching that is carried out from elementary to tertiary levels. Multicultural education teaches values of respect for cultural, ethnic, ethnic and religious diversity. The goal is to foster an attitude of tolerance that respects and respects differences. This is very important to be conveyed and internalized to our young generation today.

Third, to encourage the role of the Ministry of Religion, Ministry of Education and Culture, together with civil society organizations to identify radical thoughts among teaching staff in educational institutions. This is important to prevent the teaching staff from influencing radical thinking among students and university students.

Fourth, to encourage the participation of local governments together with community organizations, religious leaders, and the mass media in strengthening the prevention and countermeasures of radicalism. Local governments must participate because activities for the spread of radicalism are prevalent in the regions.

Fifth, increasing cooperation with religious organizations (Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah) and social media platform companies (Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Whatsapp, etc.) to create de-radical content via the internet and disseminate it through various social media platforms. This collaboration is important to reach the younger generations that are generally used to and often use the internet and social media in their activities.

Sixth, to increase tight surveillance and close social media accounts, which are proven through the legal process to spread radical ideas and invite acts of terror on the social media. The closure of these radical accounts must also be carried out based on a court decision. This supervision requires the synergy of the National Cyber and Crypto Agency (BSSN) together with related Ministries and Institutions, such as the Ministry of Communication and Information, the Ministry of Religion, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, the Ministry of Home Affairs, the State Intelligence Agency (BIN), the Indonesian Police, and the BNPT.

The increasing acts of terrorism, including those involving millennials, must encourage BNPT as the main counterterrorism actor to optimize its role in preventing the spread of radicalism among the younger generations.

- Arfianto Purbolaksono -

The Orwellian Nuance of the Indonesian Government, is it Real?

*“It was a bright cold day in April, and the clocks
were striking thirteen,”
George Orwell’s 1984*

The quote above is the opening sentence of the novel “Nineteen Eighty-Four” (1984), which has been referred recently in describing the current conditions of Indonesia. Eric Arthur Blair, who goes by the pen name “George Orwell”, created a dystopian state that infiltrates the deepest parts of every citizen through massive surveillance. The character of the country, which is called the Orwellian state, is then considered to have been and is currently operating in the management of government in Indonesia. However, is this statement correct?

An Orwellian State

Talks about Indonesian governance with an Orwellian nuance have been going on in recent years. Since Joko Widodo started to serve as the President of the Republic of Indonesia, the issue of the Orwellian state has often emerged as a reaction to the direction of government policies that use the police agency to monitor the public. This form of use can be seen, for example, through the discourse on patrol by the police on WhatsApp, which appeared at the time of the Minister of Communication and Informatics (Menkominfo) Rudiantara and the presence of the virtual police, which has been criticized currently (kompas.com, 18 / 6/2019; tirta.id, 20/2/2021). With the centralization of power in the process of monitoring people’s behavior online, some people have then contextualized the illustration of the Oceania country in the 1984 novel with the real conditions of Indonesia.

However, the Orwellian principles, which rely solely on the application of massive monitoring actions to communities, cannot be said

to be completely true. This is because the stressing point presented by the Orwellian state is in fact in the matter of using deceptive and manipulative language (Tavlin, 2015). Jargons, such as *war is peace*; *freedom is slavery*; and *ignorance is strength* are clear examples of how the main victim of the application of Orwellian principles is our ability to perceive a truth independently. Simply put, these conditions position the state as an entity that dictates what is right to its citizens.

Therefore, the Orwellian state diction, which has been pinned several times on the conditions of Indonesia, can be said to be inaccurate, when it is only used to describe massive oversight and intrusive government conditions. Furthermore, the improper use of Orwellian diction can be considered as a form of application of the Orwellian principle itself, which is linked to the misleading and manipulative use of language.

Polizeistaat

Compared to using Orwellian diction, it is felt that the conditions of the centralization of state power through intrusive actions would be more appropriately seen as an application of the concept of a Police State (*polizeistaat*). Tipton (2013) illustrates the concept as an unwanted living conditions, characterized by the presence of arrogant civil authorities.

Meanwhile, Chapman (1970) can be used as an appropriate reference when trying to understand the meaning of the Police State. He illustrates the gradual change in the definition of the Police State. Traditionally, the terminology of the Police State is based on the awareness that comprehensive knowledge, including about weaknesses in community organizing, will only be obtained by the state through surveillance at all levels of the society. The police entity in the eyes of the traditional Chapman's Police State also does not refer to a police agency. He illustrates that legitimate public authorities play an organizational role for the security and well-being of the population. There are three objectives of the traditional *polizeistaat* that Chapman notes: the protection of the population, the welfare of the state and its citizens, and the improvement of society.

The more modern meaning of the Police State has a fairly sharp distinction, by presenting the police apparatus as a new state institution used to establish dominance in determining the direction of internal policies. Chapman describes how this modern definition is a

precursor to the state conditions, which he calls the totalitarian police state. Conditions that place the police apparatus as a substitute for the party's ideological function of a totalitarian state.

Chapman's two periodic explanations regarding the Police State can actually help us in capturing the current phenomenon of governance in Indonesia. For instance, we can reflect on the police policy on 2 October 2020. The Telegram of the Head of the Indonesian National Police (Kapolri) Number STR/645/X/PAM.3.2./2020 assigns the apparatus, one of which, to launch a counter-narrative on issues that discredit the government. A situation like this is ultimately consistent with Chapman's (1970) modern meaning of the Police State, because the police apparatus is dictated by political requirements and is designed to become the state's overall offensive weapon. This then has an impact on the function of the apparatus, which initially served as a protective force for the community.

Those facts are very natural to serve as an early warning for elements of the society who support democracy in Indonesia, not only because of the shift in the position of the police apparatus in an unconstitutional Police State, but because the functions that will be performed will also erode other pillars of democracy. Therefore, the correct use of terminology in reading a phenomenon is a first step that can be taken, especially since the public still has the opportunity to perceive this phenomenon without being confronted by dictation as is the case in the Orwellian state.

- **Rifqi Rachman** -

The main victim from the implementation of the Orwellian principle is our ability to perceive truth independently, and Indonesia's conditions have not yet reached that extreme.

The Impact of Distance Learning and the Preparations towards Face-to-Face Learning

Distance Learning (*Pembelajaran Jarak Jauh/PJJ*) has been implemented in Indonesia for more than one year. The policies carried out to prevent the spread of the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) have also been implemented by various countries in the world. More than 1.2 billion students in 186 countries have been affected by the bans on Face-to-Face Learning (*Pembelajaran Tatap Muka/PTM*) (Li & Lalani, 2020).

The transition from PTM to PJJ has led to a surge in the use of technology in education worldwide (Li & Lalani, 2020). Many people who initially did not have the experience to do online learning have ended up doing so. The massive increase in the use of technology during the pandemic has brought both positive and negative effects on student learning.

Students who have access to and are able to operate technology think that PJJ makes the learning process more effective. However, the change from PTM to PJJ, which has been very fast and unplanned, has also caused bad experiences for students who did not have access and the ability to do PJJ. These conditions are not conducive to sustainable human resource growth.

In Indonesia, although the number of internet users here has reached 73.7% of the total population (Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers / APJII, 2020), the number of students who have computers that can be used to do school work is only 34%. In addition, more than 30% of students in Indonesia do not have a place to study at home (OECD, 2018). Meanwhile, if you look at a number of countries, students have better facilities. For example, in Switzerland, Norway and Austria, 95% of students there have computers to help with their school work.

PJJ Experience in Several Countries

Each country has different challenges and impacts of implementing PJJ. In Switzerland, there are no obstacles in implementing

PJJ there. In fact, this country is at the forefront of organizing PJJ. This is because the distribution of access and the ability to operate technology in the country has been evenly distributed. Apart from Switzerland, Singapore has also developed the Singapore Student Learning Space (online learning platform) for the last three years. Therefore, Singapore has been better prepared to face PJJ than Indonesia.

Meanwhile, in some parts of America, the education system there is not ready to face the learning process during a pandemic (Dorn, et al., 2020). There are still millions of students who undergo PJJ without the internet due to limited access (Arkansasonline.com, 15/03). The situation is like in Indonesia.

Dorn, et al. (2020) categorizes PJJ implementation students into three categories. The first one the experience average-quality remote learning. Students who fall into this category can follow the PJJ process; however, the progress is slower than during PTM. The second one is the lower-quality remote learning. Students who fall into this category experience stagnant learning development. Meanwhile, the last category is students who are not getting any instructions at all; namely, students who have absolutely no information about their learning process during the pandemic. The third group is prone to drop out of school.

The Impact of PJJ in Indonesia

Among several countries in the previous section, the conditions for PJJ in Indonesia have many similarities to conditions in America. The education system in Indonesia was not originally designed for online learning. The very rapid changes in the learning system in Indonesia have made many parties unable to adjust to the new system, and in the end, have lagged behind.

In Indonesia, PJJ cannot be implemented in remote areas. More than 47,000 educational units do not have access to electricity and the internet. The Papua Education Quality Assurance Institute (LPMP) recorded that 14 regions that did not carry out PJJ activities at all during the pandemic due to limited access (Rizal, 2020).

Students who do not have access to doing PJJ, if analyzed using the categorization of students by Dorn, et al., (2020), they are included in the third group. They are the most vulnerable group to being left behind. Categorizing students during PJJ shows that in one generation of students, during the pandemic, there is inequality due to

access to technology. Not to mention if we compare these students with students in countries that do not have PJJ constraints; for example, Switzerland. These students have experienced a double marginalization in the learning process. The conditions will affect the student's progress in the future.

In the first categorization of students according to Dorn, et al. (2020) it is written that students who are classified as experience average-quality remote learning can follow the PJJ process, but the progress is slower than during PTM. The conditions are in accordance with the study of Chen, et al. (2021), which states that even though teachers from various parts of the world have different teaching methods and standards, they agree on one thing that on-line learning cannot match the quality of learning in the classroom. Regarding the non-replacement of the quality of the PTM above, eight teachers in eight countries considered that PJJ was ineffective. From a range of one to ten, their assessment of the effectiveness of PJJ was only 5. In fact, 60% of teachers in Japan and the United States rated the effectiveness of PJJ was at 1 to 3 from the range 1-10 (McKinsey, 2020).

Although the quality and support systems for implementing PJJ have improved since PJJ began, PJJ still cannot replace the quality of learning in the classroom. As a result, students have to pay back and lose their learning (learning loss). In addition to learning loss, many students experience a depressed condition due to a sense of isolation, learning challenges, and pressure due to the unavailability of facilities for doing PJJ and a lack of direct interaction with their classmates.

The Indonesian Child Protection Commission (Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia/KPAI, 2020) noted an increase in complaints of problems in the education sector (1567 cases), even though in 2019, complaints about problems in the education sector were only 321 cases. The learning from home situation is one of the causes for the increase in these problems. The KPAI survey of 14,169 parents showed that, of the total respondents, only 33.8% of parents had received information about quality childcare. This means that the majority of parents do not know how to care for quality children.

At the start of the pandemic, KPAI (2021) received 246 online complaints regarding PJJ from students and parents. The majority of these complaints complained about the severity of the assignments

given by the school to students during PJJ. The large number of complaints indicates that educational institutions still pay less attention to the perspective of child protection and the diversity of student conditions.

Supporting PTM with Strict Health Protocols

Students in several countries such as China and countries in the European Union have gradually started PTM since May 2020 (Kresnoadi, 2020). In countries in the European Union there has not been a significant increase in cases of COVID-19 after the initiation of PTM. Although it cannot be denied that in Israel and France there has been a spread of the COVID-19 distribution cluster as a result of schools being opened (Kresnoadi, 2020).

In Singapore, at the beginning of the pandemic, when most countries in Asia had started to replace the PTM method with PJJ, children in Singapore were still implementing PTM until April 2020. This was done on the basis of the results of research conducted by researchers from University College London, who mentioned that students are not more susceptible to contracting the virus than adults. Although in the end Singapore stopped PTM due to the spread of the virus that was increasingly widespread in the country.

The many negative impacts of PJJ in Indonesia have made it important for PTM to be implemented immediately, by implementing strict health protocols. All education units, parents, the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud), and the Education Office (*Dinas Pendidikan*) in each region must work together to finalize the preparation of PTM.

The choice of the Ministry of Education and Culture to require the availability of the PTM option after all educators have obtained the vaccine should be supported. This support must be followed up by preparing PTM facilities and methods by health protocols, for example: limiting the number of students per class, improving the quality of school sanitation, preventing crowds outside the classroom and while going to and from school, and others. With proper PTM preparation, the education unit will not become a cluster for the spread of COVID-19.

The decision to start PTM with a strict protocol is also in accordance with the study of Heavey, et al. (2020) which shows that schools are not a high-risk place for the spread of COVID-19. The many negative impacts of PJJ make us have to push for decisions

about implementing PTM with strict health protocols and awareness of the parties in organizing PTM so that students affected by the pandemic do not experience learning loss and become increasingly alienated.

- **Nisaaul Muthiah** -

PJJ has not yet been effective to be implemented in Indonesia because of the limited infrastructure. Currently, to minimize learning loss, supporting the Ministry of Education and Culture to implement limited PTM is the right step. In the future, The Ministry of Education and Culture, also The Ministry of Communication and Informatics need to encourage the equal distribution of infrastructure so that students can learn effectively, both via PJJ and PTM while still implementing strict health protocols.

Improving the BPJS Health Services during the Pandemic Period

The Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic has captured the attention of the government to focus on making various policies in the fields of prevention, handling, and recovery due to COVID-19. Currently, vaccination is also progressing towards the target of around 181.5 million people, which is expected to be completed by April 2022 (national.kompas.com, 03/01). The existence of vaccination is sufficient to provide relief to Human Resources (HR) who work in the health sector, especially health facilities.

During the pandemic, health facilities services have experienced many obstacles. One of them is reflected in the National Health Insurance (JKN) program. At the end of 2020, the Health Social Security Administration (BPJS) recorded a positive cash flow of IDR 18.7 trillion (national.kontan.co.id). However, patient visits during the pandemic have also decreased. Health Minister Budi Gunadi Sadikin said that there was a drastic decrease in the number of visits to JKN services, which fell to 70.69 million people (Bisnis.tempo.co, 17/03). This decrease occurred in all types of services, starting from first-level outpatient care, advanced outpatient care, and advanced inpatient care. The decline mostly occurred in First Level Health Facilities (FKTP); namely, Public Health Centers (Puskesmas), general practitioners' practices, dentists, general clinics, and Class D Pratama Hospitals (RS). One of the reasons that led to the decline in visitors was that participants were worried about contracting COVID in the health facility areas they visited.

Still in the article, 83.6 percent of Puskesmas experienced repeated patient visits. In addition, only 72.5 percent of Puskesmas served normal service hours. As many as 43 percent of Puskesmas also cut out Posyandu services. For schools, 68.7 percent of Puskesmas made home visits for children under five and 69.4

percent of Puskesmas visited pregnant women 's homes. Seeing this situation, BPJS Kesehatan needs to make efforts so that during the pandemic period it can continue to provide services in accordance with Law Number 40 of 2004 concerning the National Social Security System (SJSN).

Re-Understanding JKN

Access to health services is the right of every citizen. However, considering that not all residents are able to access services in public or private health facilities, the government must be present to provide support. BPJS Kesehatan also stands to support these efforts. The era of the initiation of BPJS Kesehatan also marks a shift in health services from being a private good to a public good.

The government's commitment to improving BPJS Health services is also inseparable from the commitment of the Ministry of Health (Kemenkes) in supporting the achievement of Universal Health Coverage (UHC) initiated by the World Health Organization (WHO). UHC aims for all individuals to receive comprehensive health services, from promotion and prevention to care, rehabilitation, and palliative care without being hampered by costs (who.int, 24/01/2019). UHC hopes that people can enjoy a better and healthier life based on promotional efforts, including disease prevention and curative and rehabilitative health services by mainstreaming quality primary health services (depkes.go.id, 13/02/2018).

In practice, the implementations of JKN should be in line with the objective of emphasizing UHC on preventive efforts. According to Subandi Sardjoko, Deputy Minister for Development, Society and Culture of the Ministry of National Development Planning (Ministry of National Development Planning / Bappenas) (2018) the situation in one of the health facilities; namely, the Puskesmas, saw a decrease in preventive efforts in the JKN era because Puskesmas was very focused on curative efforts.

Other red notes also color the practice of BPJS Kesehatan in general. Before the pandemic period, based on the author's observations, there were a number of problems. Among them, first, changes in the morbidity (incidence of disease) of the sick population continue to increase from time to time. Meanwhile,

from a preventive perspective, it is still lacking. Second, participants lack discipline in paying. Third, there is a moral hazard in participants, one of which is seen in participants who have just registered when they are about to give birth. Fourth, a number of participants did not receive services according to class because the participants were not able to accommodate the health facilities and there were a number of partners (hospitals) who withdrew. Fifth, a number of recurring deficits occurred before 2021. Before the pandemic, in 2019, BPJS Health recorded a deficit of IDR 13 trillion (kompas.com, 12/06/2020). Sixth, the BPJS Health claim budget corruption case. For example, a budget corruption case of Rp.7.7 billion occurred at the Regional General Hospital (RSUD) Lembang, West Java (news.detik.com, 22/08/2019).

During the pandemic, a number of Puskesmas were aggressively disseminating information on the prevention of COVID-19, one of which was by providing education related to Clean and Healthy Living Behavior (PHBS). For example, the Puskesmas provides education on how to wash hands using soap and clean water. Education is also carried out in various places including schools. However, seeing the pandemic situation that has not ended, Puskesmas and health facilities that are part of JKN must be able to take advantage of this pandemic period to intensify promotional and preventive efforts that are more down-to-earth and up to date.

Strengthening Promotional and Preventive Efforts

Observing the JKN situation, curative efforts simply shift the promotional and preventive efforts made by health facilities. If you look at the health facilities that are involved in JKN, the health facilities most visited by the participants are the health centers and hospitals. Puskesmas is the health facility that provides the most services. According to data from the Ministry of Health (2019), there are 10,134 well-known health centers in Indonesia.

Boosting the optimization of JKN services at health centers and hospitals, promotional and preventive efforts can be done through the support of information technology (IT) or the use of digital systems. However, considering the situation in Indonesia, which is not all connected to the internet, even though the internet is a fundamental aspect of digital practice, its provision is still being pursued in collaboration with the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo).

For health facilities that already have internet access, it is necessary to conduct a needs analysis first, if the commitment is to remove the digital system. In fact, the practice of digital systems needs to be supported and developed by IT HR. Specifically, the hospital needs to establish IT in order to maintain the sustainability of the system. For BPJS Kesehatan partners that have removed the digital system, at least they have an application or website that can be accessed boldly and for free. The application or website can be used to encourage promotional and preventive efforts through education in the form of articles or images.

Currently, the digital system is one of the strategies used in promotional and preventive efforts. Realistically, BPJS Kesehatan also needs to encourage Puskesmas to assess the Public Health Efforts (UKM) unit as the unit responsible for promotional and preventive efforts at the Puskesmas level. This is in accordance with the mandate stated in the Minister of Health Regulation (Permenkes) Number 75 of 2014. In fact, every Puskesmas must organize UKM, especially UKM in the Essential category. Each Puskesmas must carry out essential Public Health Efforts (UKM) without the criteria for the Puskesmas criteria. Essential UKM includes five types of services; namely, health promotion (promkes); environmental health (Kesling); maternal, child health (KIA), and family planning (KB); nutrition services; and disease control.

Puskesmas has a role as the gatekeeper, which is expected to provide comprehensive health services to the community, not only providing services to individuals, but also to the wider community. In practice, the UKM unit does not only have promotional and preventive duties but also has a duty to encourage community participation to be involved in improving public health.

Quoting a report entitled “Strengthening Basic Health Services in Puskesmas” published by the Ministry of National Development Planning / Bappenas (2018), since the decentralization era, many health centers were found not meeting standards, especially their UKM staff. Still in the report, since the JKN era, the workload of Puskesmas for other units; namely Individual Health Efforts (UKP), has automatically increased significantly. The function of the Puskesmas has shifted and has been reduced to a “medical clinic”. The impact of changes in the function of Puskesmas on the performance of SMEs is quite concerning, as seen in the indicators of UKM programs, such as decreased im-

munization coverage and exclusive breastfeeding, contraceptive prevalence rate (Contraceptive Prevalence Rate/CPR) for family planning, and the TB case detection rate (Case Detection Rate/CDR TB) was also stagnant, and stunting in children under five did not decrease significantly. Especially during a pandemic like this, a number of health facilities have significantly reduced their service hours considering the high risk of transmission.

At present, vaccination is at least a hope to reduce the assessment of the risk of transmission when health services are provided by the Puskesmas. Of course, by continuing to carry out health protocols (prokes). Most fundamentally, the SME unit needs to conduct a human resource management review, to ascertain whether the number of human resources is in accordance with the needs of various programs during the pandemic, including if the Essential SME program is intensified again.

In line with this, cross-sector strengthening can also be carried out with various stakeholders, especially Puskesmas cadres and community. In essence, encouraging BPJS Health services during the COVID-19 period must again prioritize promotional and preventive efforts. As previously mentioned, in fact, UHC focuses on promotion and prevention efforts, not pursuing the number of participants.

- Vunny Wijaya -

Observing the situation in the JKN era and especially during the pandemic, the attention of BPJS Kesehatan partner health facilities is mostly focused on curative efforts. Increasing the use of digital systems and strengthening the Puskesmas Essential UKM units need to be done so that preventive efforts are not increasingly displaced.

Getting to Know the National Committee on Governance Policy and Its Role in Times of Crisis

The government is making various efforts to deal with the economic impact of Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19). Specifically, the central government also formed the Committee for Handling COVID-19 and National Economic Recovery (KPC-PEN) in order to accelerate the handling of COVID-19 as well as economic recovery and national economic transformation. As of 23 December 2020, the progress of the realization of the PEN program has reached IDR 502.71 trillion or 72.3% of the total budget of IDR 695.2 trillion (covid19.go.id, 30/12/2020). The two clusters with the highest increase in realization were the social protection cluster and support for the Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) sector with achievement of above 90%.

Entering 2021, KPC-PEN's efforts will continue to be carried out simultaneously with the initiation of vaccinations which will bring a new chapter to the handling of COVID-19. To support the acceleration of economic recovery, especially for business players in the private sector, on March 4, the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemenko RI) also updated the mandate of the National Committee for Governance Policy (KNKG). This is written in the Decree of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs (Kepmenko) Number 44 of 2021 concerning the KNKG. However, not many business people know the KNKG. What exactly is the KNKG and how does it play in supporting economic recovery during the COVID-19 period and after the pandemic?

Getting to Know the KNKG

Stepping back to the 1980s to the 1980s, at that time the World Bank (WB) began to develop and redefine the concept of gover-

nance or governance which became one of the foundations for the existence of the concept of good governance. As a donor agency, after the 1998 crisis, WB began to put this concept into practice and demanded recipient countries adopt and adapt good governance practices as a form of seriousness in social and economic reform. Not only WB, donor agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) also impose conditions on donor-recipient countries to implement good governance or what is more widely known as reform. Good governance is systematically designed to respond to corruption, economic and financial crises, which are considered problems in poor and developing countries.

Good governance was initially aimed at reforming the public sector. However, along with the level of competition that is getting tougher in the corporate environment, good governance is also applied to the company to ensure the effectiveness of achieving the targets set by the company, which is then known as good corporate governance (GCG) (Kharisma, 2014). Still in this article, good governance actually appears in the context of globalization. In order for the government of a country to survive various crises, improvements in the sphere of governance (good governance) and the strategic private sector (GCG) are efforts that must be pursued continuously.

After the 1998 crisis, Indonesia was also committed to carrying out reform efforts as a form of commitment to economic and social recovery that focused on reforming the public sector. At that time, in 1999, the government began to form the KNKG which was originally named the National Committee on Corporate Governance (KNKCG) based on the Decree of the Coordinating Minister for Economy, Finance and Industry (Menko Ekonomi) Number KEP / 31 / M.EKUIIN / 08/1999 (ekon.go.id, 04/03). The establishment of the KNKCG is aimed at preparing Indonesian Good Corporate Governance (GCG) Guidelines for the business sector which are continuously adjusted to developments at the global level.

Indonesia adopts international practices to improve governance and also adopts the GCG Guidelines from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). In these guidelines, there are five basic principles of GCG, namely transparency, accountability, responsibility, independence, and fairness. In essence, each of these principles leads to an increase in the work of companies that help sustain the country's economy (OECD, 1999).

From year to year, GCG practices have increasingly shown a significant relationship between the state and its instruments as regula-

tors, the business world as market players, and the public as users of the products and services of the business world. The Indonesian government finally changed the name of the KNKCG to the National Committee for Governance Policy (KNKG), through the Minister of Coordinating Decree Number KEP / 49 / M.EKON / 11/2004. The KNKG consists of a Public Sub-Committee and a Corporate Sub-Committee.

So far, the KNKG has issued several guidelines for improving governance, including GCG Guidelines, GCG-Based Risk Management Guidelines, and Banking GCG Guidelines (setkab.go.id, 04/03). Since 2018, a personnel certification program has also been implemented in the field of governance competency for public officials and corporate management. Still in this article, based on the ranking on the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) released by the World Bank (WB), the ranking of Indonesia's governance in the last five years shows the direction of improvement in indicators of accountability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, and law enforcement.

Based on the latest mandate, KNKG operations will run with a more streamlined organizational structure. In addition, special additional tasks are also given to implement and implement governance, in the implementation of risk-based business licensing, both at the central and regional government levels. A number of changes and additional tasks for the KNKG were also carried out in view of the practice of the Omnibus Law. One of the objectives of implementing GCG is to increase the protection of the interests of investors, especially shareholders in public companies.

More specifically, Wilson Arafat (2008) states that GCG provides four major benefits. First, improving company performance through the creation of a better decision-making process and increasing the company's operational efficiency as well as improving services to stakeholders. Second, increasing company value. Third, increase investor confidence. Fourth, shareholders will be satisfied with the company's performance at the same time because it will increase shareholder value and dividends.

From the structure of the government, in Article 1 paragraph 2 in the Copy of Decree of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Number 44 of 2021 concerning the National Committee for Governance Policy that the composition of the KNKG consists of a board of directors and a supervisory board. The steering com-

mittee consists of the Chairperson of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy with members of the Minister of Finance, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN), Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform (PANRB), Minister of National Development Planning (PPN / Bappenas), Chair of the Board of Commissioners of the Authority Financial Services (OJK), and the Head of the Financial and Development Supervisory Agency (BPKP).

In addition, the board has six tasks, including reforming, refining, and disseminating new, manuals, roadmaps, and government assessment models in the public sector, corporate sector, and BUMN. Second, formulating policy recommendations and programs for improving governance in the public sector, corporate sector, and BUMN in order to improve the ranking of the Indonesian government at the international level.

The Urgency of the KNKG and Encouraging Its Role to Be More Significant in the Pandemic and Post-Pandemic Periods

After a number of Asian countries were severely rocked by the economic crisis, a number of countries rose up. Even South Korea (South Korea), which was in a bad condition with Indonesia at that time, has now shown many changes that have an impact on the country's economic growth. No one expected that South Korea, which had been infected with financial crimes involving top executives of blue-chip companies, has now recovered (Kaihatu, 2006). Even South Korea is able to grow to compete with Japan and is at the forefront of world technological developments. During the pandemic, South Korea is also predicted to be one of the countries whose economy will recover quickly.

Paying attention to developments, changes that occur in the commitment to change that occurs in a sustainable and sustainable manner and political leaders are slowly bringing South Korea to this revival. If you look at the situation in Indonesia, since the reform era began, Indonesia has been less effective in realizing administrative changes due to the dominance of the bureaucracy and the existence of conflict or collusion between the bureaucracy and the political elite (Kharisma, 2014). In addition, there are still many high-ranking Indonesian government officials who take advantage of their position to enrich themselves and those closest to them. One of them is evident in the rampant corruption among high-ranking officials in

the public sector, including those in the corporate and BUMN sectors.

Based on the 2008 Annual Report of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), a number of areas working by the KPK in efforts to eradicate corruption originating from externals are the reluctance of some state administrators to commit to change and eradicate corruption due to conditions that have made them comfortable. Apart from that, even if it has been committed to improving the system and preventing corruption, it is only at the theoretical level.

Observing the current situation, the principles of governance still need to run in order to improve outcomes on indicators of political stability and corruption. This also makes the existence of the KNKG still needed and important, as well as its closeness, including in efforts to support government policies in times of crisis.

In essence, the KNKG will be successful if it is preceded by a sincere commitment to making changes to each of the strategic actors in both the private and public sectors. This change also needs to be followed by various innovations in the two-sector bodies in accordance with global developments. The new mandate of the KNKG also needs to be carefully reviewed by paying attention to the evaluation of the performance of the KNKG in previous years and returning to its role in times of crisis.

- Vunny Wijaya -

Remembering the many irregularities that hinder Indonesia's economic growth from becoming better from year to year, KNKG's performance in pursuing the acceleration of national economic recovery needs to be preceded by a commitment to change and innovation from strategic actors in the private and public sectors.

Stop Child Marriage: Never Sacrifice Their Future Again

The elimination of the practice of child marriage is one of the targets for sustainable development (Sustainable Development Goals / SDGs) in 2030. The elimination of this practice is one of the indicators of the realization of gender equality, which is the fifth target of the SDGs. However, both Indonesia and the international community are still far from this target. Globally, in the decade before the Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic, the number of child marriages has decreased. However, in 2020, the number of child marriages both globally and in Indonesia has increased again.

At the global level, the data from the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2020) show that 21 percent of young women got married before the age of 18. In Indonesia, the dispensation rate for marriage has tripled, from 23,126 in 2019 to 64,211 in 2020 (National Commission on Violence Against Women/*Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan/ Komnas Perempuan*, 2021). Of the total applications for dispensation of marriage in 2020, 97 percent of them were granted by religious court judges (Pusparisa, 2020). The increase in dispensation for marriage has actually occurred since 2016. In that year the number of applications for dispensation of marriage was 8,488. This figure has continued to increase until 2020.

Although the number of applications for dispensation of marriage has increased continuously since 2016, from 2008 to 2018, in general the number of child marriages in Indonesia has decreased, although the decline is not significant. In the age group of children under 18 years of age, in 2008, there were 14.67 percent of children who had child marriages. Meanwhile, in 2018, in the same age group, the percentage of child marriage was 11.21 percent. The difference in the decline in the number of child marriages in one decade was only 3.46 percent.

The current trend of child marriage practices shows that one in nine girls in Indonesia is married (BPS, Bappenas, UNICEF, UI, PUSKAPA, 2020). More than 1.2 million women ages 20 to 24 are married before turning 18. Meanwhile, more than 61 thousand women are married before the age of 15.

If we compare the decline in the rate of child marriage in Indonesia and at the global level, globally, the practice of child marriage has also decreased by 15 percent since 2011 (UNICEF, 2020). The rate of decline in child marriage globally is faster than the decline in Indonesia. Indonesia has even become the country with the highest absolute number of child marriages in the world (BPS, Bappenas, UNICEF, UI, PUSKAPA, 2020). In addition, now the number of child marriages has increased again due to various factors, one of which is the COVID-19 pandemic.

The Causes of Child Marriage

The majority of perpetrators of child marriage are women (Susenas, 2018). If one in nine girls is married as a child in Indonesia, about one in one hundred boys is married as children. Between the two gender groups, the number of child marriages occurred in rural areas more than in urban areas.

A large number of child marriages in the village occur due to cultural and economic factors. Many people in the village still think that if girls are not married off immediately, they will become spinsters (Fitrianigsih et al., n.d). There are still many parents in rural areas who match their children and force them to marry without the children consent (Grijns & Horii, 2018; Fitrianigsih et al., n.d).

The existence of coercion from parents on children to marry shows that in the society, children are often considered as property belonging to the parents. Children are not treated as living individuals and have their own rights, volitions and wills. They are considered the subordinates of adults. Therefore, children are considered unable to articulate their wishes, including to reject marriage.

The high number of girls who get married at the age of children also shows the strong patriarchal culture in Indonesia. Many girls are forced to get marry immediately. One of them is because of the view that women do not need to go to school, because, in the end, women will return to taking care of the households.

Another cultural factor that encourages child marriage is the difference in the society in interpreting religious sources (Hanafi, 2020). In Islam; for example, there is a debate about the age of marriage of Siti Aisyah (Sutanti, 2021; Hanafi, 2020). There are parties who interpret that Aisyah got married when she was still a child. However, another interpretation says that Aisyah got married when she was not a child. This difference in interpretation is also one of the reasons for people to legitimize child marriage. In addition, there are still those who think that if children get married quickly, they will avoid adultery and immoral acts.

Apart from cultural factors, poor economic conditions in a family are also one of the factors driving the practice of child marriage (UNICEF, 2020; Fitriani et al., N.d). Especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, there are still many parents who think that marrying off their children is a solution to their family's economic problems. According to them, marrying off girls will ease the economic burden on the family.

Child marriage also occurs due to the lack of children's access to public services, such as access to education services and the Rights to Sexual and Reproductive Health (*Hak Kesehatan Seksual dan Reproduksi/HKSR*) (UNICEF, 2020). During the pandemic, school closings have an impact on increasing the risk of child marriage by 25 percent. Two percent of girls affected by the pandemic are not even returning to school because of child marriage. The lack of knowledge and access to these services prevents parents and children from taking preventive measures to prevent child marriage practices.

Another contributing factor to the high number of child marriages is the ease of granting dispensation to marriage by the courts. The high level of granting dispensation to marriage shows the lack of strict application of Law Number 16/2019 concerning Amendments to Law Number 1/1974 concerning Marriage, as well as the Supreme Court Regulation (Peraturan Mahkamah Agung/Perma) concerning Guidelines for Adjudicating Marriage Dispensation. In the Law and Perma it is written that the minimum age of marriage for a person is 19 years. However, judges still give dispensation of marriages easily.

The Consequences of Child Marriage

Child marriage is a practice that harms and violates children's human rights. As a result of child marriage, a person can lose various basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution, such as the right to access to education and the right to growth and development.

A child who is married will lose the opportunity to pursue education (Lloyd et al., 2005). In fact, education affects various aspects, one of which is the economic conditions of a person. The disconnection of girls' education will indirectly increase the unemployment rate. The conditions have been caused by the level of education related to a person's work status.

The practice of forced marriage among children also makes them lose their developmental period. Physically, mentally and socially a married child is forced to grow up because the child holds the status of husband/wife after marriage. The practice of child marriage has indirectly taken away a child's developmental period. The conditions are very risky for children's health, both physically and psychologically.

In addition, a study conducted by Sagurti (2010) shows that pregnancy in children is significantly associated with the incidence of stunting, wasting, and underweight. The process of pregnancy and childbirth in girls and prospective children also has a greater potential for death (UNICEF, 2020).

The phenomena of stunting, wasting, and underweight in prospective children cannot be seen separately from future development problems. This is because stunting, wasting, and underweight have a negative effect on children's cognitive development (Daracantika et al., 2021). Meanwhile, children's cognition has a positive association with children's achievement in school, also physical and mental health (Manoux, Ferrie, Lynch & Marmot: 2005; Henderson, Richards, Stansfeld & Hotopf: 2012). In the long term, children's cognition is also associated with a person's employment status (Kerckhoff, et al., 2001), income (Case & Paxson, 2008), and national economic growth (Rinderman, 2012).

Not only that, child marriage is also a trigger for sexual violence (UNICEF, 2020) and divorce (Sutanti, 2021). Globally, nearly 50 percent of married children under the age of 15 have experienced physical or sexual violence (Girls Not Brides, 2020).

What We Can Do

The complexity of the negative impact of child marriage should make various parties aware of the immediate end to this practice. The government, particularly the National Development Planning Agency (*Bappenas*) and the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (*Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia/KPAI*), can collaborate with community and religious leaders to conduct massive outreach on the negative impact of child marriage. In villages, for example, community and religious leaders can use village funds to conduct information dissemination and community education to prevent child marriage. The hope is that through the information dissemination there will be an internalization of values in parents in particular and the society in general so that the cultural values that trigger the practice of child marriage can slowly be erased.

In addition, the Ministry of Education and Culture (*Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan/Kemendikbud*) must provide equal distribution of educational facilities so that all children can study and are farthest from the risk of child marriage. Kemendikbud should also update one of the education policies so that children who are already married do not lose the opportunity to continue to be able to access educational facilities.

The Ministry of Health can also work with the Ministry of Education and Culture to facilitate public access to services and knowledge about HKS. This is important to prevent the practice of child marriage in addition to being supported by increasing public awareness of the dangers of child marriage. The aforementioned institutions must be more active in preventing and overcoming these practices. The Religious Courts must also be more firm in tightening the granting of dispensation to marriage.

- Nisaaul Muthiah -

Child marriage is not a solution to various problems in households. Child marriage has been proven to take away the future and endanger the nation's young generations. Child marriage is also one of the roots of various new problems in the households and problems in the development of a country. Therefore, it is very important to make joint efforts and serious law enforcement to prevent and eliminate child marriage in Indonesia.

**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, political, and legal affairs. The main activities which have been conducted by **TII** in order to achieve our vision and mission, are: research, surveys, facilitation and advocacy through training and working groups, public discussions, public education, weekly editorial articles ("*Wacana*" or Discourses), monthly analysis ("*Update Indonesia*" in Indonesian and "**The Indonesian Update**" in English), mid-year policy analysis ("Policy

Assessment”), annual policy analysis (“Indonesian Report”), and monthly discussion forum on policy issues (“The Indonesian Forum”).

Contact Details :

The Indonesian Institute, Center for Public Policy Research

Jl. HOS. Cokroaminoto No. 92,

Menteng, Jakarta Pusat - 10310

Ph. (021)315-8032

contact@theindonesianinstitute.com

www.theindonesianinstitute.com

RESEARCH ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

The economy tends to be used as an indicator of the success of the government as a policy-maker. 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.

TII focus on economic issues, such as monetary policy and fiscal policy, as well as issues on sustainable development by using analysis which refer to economic freedom principles. Monetary issues will focus on the Indonesian Central Bank to maintain economic stability, both regarding inflation and exchange rate. Meanwhile, fiscal policy will focus on the discussions over the National Budget and infrastructure development both in the regions and in the cities. In relation to sustainable development, **TII** research is focusing on productivity, competitiveness, infrastructure development, and development gap. In addition, **TII** also upholds economic freedom principles in highlighting the importance of individual freedom and involvement of private sectors in increasing development and improving welfare in Indonesia.

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. This stipulation is also confirmed in Law No. 15 Year 2019 on the Amendment of Law No. 12 Year 2011 regarding the Formulation of Laws and Regulations.

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 both from academic and content aspects. Furthermore, academic paper also functions as an early tracking over possibilities of overlapping laws and regulations, so that revocation of local regulations or other related issues which can be caused by legal, economic, or political aspects in the future, can be minimized as soon as possible.

TII offers normative and legal research related to harmonization and synchronization of laws and regulations, especially in making academic papers, legal opinion on harmonization and synchronization of laws and regulations, and legislative drafting for the formulation of local regulations bill drafts or other laws and regulations. In addition, **TII** also offers openly research on other legal issues related to Constitutional Law and Public Administration, Human Rights, and Political Corruption.

RESEARCH ON THE POLITICAL AFFAIRS

The enactment of Law No. 23 Year 2014 on the latest regulation on the Local Government, has created different relations between the Central Government and the Local Government. Entering the era of Bureaucracy Reform, specification of division of affairs of the Central Government and the Local Government has increasingly demanded the implementation of good governance principles. The government is demanded to be adaptive and responsive towards public aspiration and services. Therefore, public policy research become more important for both the Central Government and the Local Government to analyse context and current issues in the regions. The government must also consider various actors whether political actors or bureaucrats, as well as public's aspiration and other non-state actor in policy processes.

In order to respond those needs, **TII** research in political affairs offer policy assessment on various policies which were already applied or will be implemented. **TII** will look at socio-cultural, economy, legal, and political aspects in assessing public policies. Our research will be useful to assist government in formulating policies which are in line with context, priorities, and people's aspiration. **TII** also offers various breakthrough of transformative policies according to existing contexts in particular and Open Government principles' implementation in general, in order to increase public participation in policy processes, particularly in the era of the openness of public information.

Political Research Division of **TII** provide analysis and policy recommendations in order to generate strategic policy in the strengthening of democracy and the establishment of good governance both at the national and local levels. Political research forms are offered by **TII** **(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 a need for the government, the businesspeople, academia, professionals, NGOs, and civil society to improve social development. Social analysis is important to identify strategic issues which are developing and to make the right stakeholders' mapping to promote significant change in the context of development, public policy, and democracy in Indonesia.

The Social Research Division is present to offer strong and valid recommendations to produce strategic, relevant, efficient and effective, and impactful policies, in addressing to existing various issues. For example, issues related to 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.**

PRE-ELECTION AND REGIONAL HEAD ELECTION

One of the activities carried out and offered by **TII** is a pre-election survey as well as a pre-election and regional head election. The reasons underlying the implementation of pre-election and regional head election surveys, namely: (1) A good election is a democratic process that can be arranged, calculated, and predicted in the resulting process; (2) Survey is one of the important and common discussions to measure, calculate, and predict how the process and results of the General Election and the Regional Head Election will take place, in accordance to the expectations of the candidates; (3) It is very important to win in the General Election and the Regional Head Election based on empirical, scientific, measurable and supportable data.

As one of the important aspects of a strategic candidate's election, the survey is useful for monitoring political power. In this case, the success team needs to conduct a survey for: **(1) mapping the candidate's position in public perception; (2) mapping voters' desires; (3) publishing the most effective political machinery used as voters; and (4) Looking for the most effective medium for the campaign.**

EVALUATION OF A PROJECT OR A PROGRAM

One of the activities that have been performed and experienced offered by **TII** is a qualitative evaluation of the projects and programs of non-governmental organizations and government. Evaluation activities are offered **TII** stages of mid-term evaluation of the project/program (mid-term evaluation) and also the final evaluation at the end of the project/program (final evaluation).

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

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).

Executive Director

Adinda Tenriangke Muchtar

Research and Program Manager

Arfianto Purbolaksono

Board of Advisors

Rizal Sukma

Jaleswari Pramodawardhani

Ninasapti Triaswati

Debra Yatim

Abd. Rohim Ghazali

Saiful Mujani

Clara Joewono

Researcher of Economy Affairs

Muhammad Rifki Fadilah

Researcher of Law Affairs

Hemi Lavour Febrinandez

Researchers of Political Affairs

Rifqi Rachman

Researcher of Social Affairs

Nisaaul Muthiah

Vunny Wijaya

Program and Supporting Staff

Gunawan

Administration Officer

Maya Indrianti

Finance Officer: Rahmanita

IT Staff : Usman Effendy

Desain dan Layout

Siong Cen

Jl. HOS. Cokroaminoto No. 92,
Menteng, Jakarta Pusat - 10310
Ph. (021)315-8032
contact@theindonesianinstitute.com
www.theindonesianinstitute.com

