

The Indonesian Update

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



Main Report:

VAT Increase: Time to Pay for 'Lunch'

Law

- The False Hope of De-penalization of the Revision of the ITE Law ■
- The Inconsistency of the Constitutional Court's Decision: Eradicating the Independence of the KPK ■
- Reflection on Leadership in the Corruption Pandemic Period ■

Politics

- Another Way to Guarantee the Freedom of Speech ■
- The 2024 Simultaneous Elections and Their Potential Excess ■
- Risk Mitigation for the Implementation of the 2024 General Elections and Regional Head Elections ■

Social

- Maximizing Blended Learning as a Learning Method in the New Normal Age ■
- Why Does Sexual Violence Keep Occurring? ■
- Optimizing the Impact of Pre-Employment Cards during a Pandemic ■

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Contributors :

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

FOREWORD

The June 2021 edition of the Indonesian Update features a main report on the Government's plan to amend the Law (UU) on Taxation. One of the changes proposed by the Government is related to the rate of value added tax (VAT). The increase in the VAT rate is planned to be applied to products such as basic necessities and other types of mining products or drilling products taken directly from the source, even education services. The reason for the government to increase the VAT rate is to reduce the deficit in the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN) due to the Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) pandemic.

In the field of law, this time the Indonesian Update discusses the certainty that the Government will not abolish Law Number 19 of 2016 in conjunction with Law Number 11 of 2008 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions (UU ITE). This certainty is then followed by three recommendations that have an impact on freedom of expression and the proliferation of new types of punishment in the digital world in Indonesia. Furthermore, we also discussed changes to the institutional design of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) which was originally an independent institution, but changed after the enactment of Law Number 19 of 2019 concerning the KPK (KPK Law). In addition, we discuss efforts to eradicate corrupt behavior by public sector officials. This effort includes massive prevention in various sectors, including the business sector.

In the political field, this time the Indonesian Update discusses the online expression of opinions which has not been accommodated in Law No. 9/1998 on Freedom to Express Opinions in Public (UU 9/1998). Next, we also discuss the model of the 2024 general election, which continues to use the five-box selection. The five elections are the election of the President/Vice President, DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD, and Regency/Municipal DPRD. In addition to discussing the problem of the 2024 Election Simultaneous Model, we also discussed the importance of risk management from stakeholders to mitigate the implementation of the General Election and Pilkada in 2024.

In the social sector, the Indonesian Update this time raised the issue of the "blended learning" model which is one of the best options to start pursuing "lost learning" that occurred due to the pandemic. In addition, we discussed

the high number of reports about sexual harassment and violence in the mass media. The emergence of these cases shows that acts of sexual harassment and violence still exist. Next, we discussed the Pre-Employment Card program during the pandemic which became so important, including in encouraging the birth of new entrepreneurs.

The monthly publication of the Indonesian Update with actual themes is expected to help policy makers in government and business institutions – as well as academics, think tanks, and elements of civil society, both at home and abroad, to obtain actual information and contextual analysis of economic conditions, political, social, and legal issues in Indonesia, as well as an understanding of public policy in Indonesia.

Happy Reading.

VAT Increase: Time to Pay for ‘Lunch’

The Indonesian people are currently being shocked by the government's plans related to taxation. The reason is that the government is currently planning to amend the Law (UU) on Taxation. One of the changes proposed by the Government is related to the rate of value added tax (VAT). The increase in the VAT rate is planned to be applied to products such as basic necessities, some types of mining products or drilling products and even education services.

Previously, if traced historically, the government has long had a plan to increase the VAT rate. This plan has been in motion since 2019. However, this plan has not yet been realized.

Furthermore, the plan to amend the Law on Taxation is contained in the fifth amendment to Law Number 6/1983 concerning General Provisions and Tax Procedures (UU KUP). One of the articles of concern is Article 7 paragraph (1), which reads: The rate of Value Added Tax is 12% (12 percent). Meanwhile, if referring to Law Number 42/2009, VAT is 10 percent. This means that in the proposed KUP Bill, there will be an increase in VAT from 10 percent to 12 percent (Tirto.id, 10/06).

The Reason for VAT Increase

The reason for the government to increase the VAT rate is to reduce the deficit in the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN) due to the Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) pandemic. This is due to the sharp increase in state spending to deal with the impact of the pandemic, while tax revenues were sluggish in line with the weak economy (CNNIndonesia.com, 08/06). In addition, another reason is to reduce the budget deficit to below 3 percent,

the option of financing with debts must be shifted to the option of increasing domestic revenues.

David Ricardo is right that every time there is an increase in government spending (fiscal expansion), it will also be filled with tax increases in the future. As Adam Smith stated that “there is no free lunch”, then the time has come for the Indonesian people to pay for the ‘lunch’ that has been provided through various stimuli by the government in previous years (Fadilah, 2021).

On the other hand, the impact of policy intervention by the government, especially in the long term, must be carefully anticipated so as not to have unwanted and counterproductive impacts in the long term. The following is an analysis of the negative potential if the policy of increasing VAT is realized by the government.

Becoming a Boomerang

By increasing the VAT rate, the government thinks that this rate can compensate for the income due to reduced revenues from tax revenue posts. Thus, the government can re-tighten its budget deficit by 2023. On the other hand, if the government will realize this plan, especially for products such as basic necessities and education costs, apart from being considered controversial by the public and insensitive to the economic conditions of the people during this pandemic, economically, the application of VAT on products like this will also trigger inflation or price increases in general and continuously. This is due to the fact that there will be an increase in the prices of basic necessities. As the demand for which is not small, although this still needs to be studied specifically, it is possible that inflation will also rise.

For example, in Australia, VAT or Goods and Service Tax (GST) does apply. However, it is excluded for essential foods, such as bread, flour, milk, eggs, cheese, and milk. In addition, Australians are also exempted from GST for basic and highly nutritious food, such as fruit, baby food, bread and tea, all types of meat for human consumption, cereals and fish. However, GST is charged for ready-to-eat food served in restaurants either for dine-in or take away.

Not only Australia, India also applies VAT rates for food products with a multi-tariff scheme. This means that each product and service is subject to a different percentage of VAT depending on the category and its benefits to the wider community. For example, the Government of India imposes the highest VAT of 28 percent on food products. The highest rates apply to chocolate listed as a product. Then, for licensed restaurant foods, such as alcohol, frozen vegetables, and unhealthy processed foods, the VAT is 18 percent. For staple goods in the form of frozen fruit products, frozen meat, and food products that do not receive other subsidies, the VAT rate is 12 percent. As for sugar, tea, coffee, edible oil, and medicines, the VAT is 5 percent. For the majority of basic foods such as meat, fish, dairy products, fresh vegetables, bread, salt, and others, VAT is exempted (CNNIndonesia.com, 10/06).

From these two countries, it can be seen that the VAT rate imposition scheme is not imposed on products that are basic and used daily by residents in those countries. However, in Indonesia, referring to Article 44E in the fifth amendment to Law Number 6/1983, it will remove basic necessities from being subject to VAT. Basic food products that will be subject to VAT include rice, grain, corn, sago, soybeans, salt, meat, eggs, milk, fruits, and vegetables. Of course, these polemics will burden the Indonesian people in meeting their daily needs because of the increase in VAT rates will have an impact on increasing the prices of these goods.

Furthermore, this scheme to increase the VAT rate could backfire for the government. Why is that? This is because, based on calculations, the current 10 percent VAT rate seems to have reached the optimum point. Referring to the Laffer curve theory, state revenues can decrease when the increase in the effective tariff has been exceeded. The Laffer curve theory basically explains how much revenue the government will get from raising or lowering tax rates depends not only on tax rates, but also on how changes in tax rates change taxpayer behavior. Very high tax rates will encourage the outflow of large amounts of capital and labor from the market system to a non-market or underground economy (Blinder, 1981).

In calculations, the VAT rate itself is more or less the same as the company's profit margin. This means that if there is an increase in VAT, it is feared to disturb the Pareto Optimum conditions, where the increase in VAT must be paid for by decreasing the company's

profit margin because the company must bear the burden of increasing VAT in order to maintain market share and protect consumers (Kuncoro, 2019). Such conditions will clearly burden the company to produce because of the increase in production costs instead of bearing the burden of the added VAT of its consumers.

However, if many companies ultimately choose to burden it on consumers, the impact will also be directly felt on people's purchasing power. Moreover, in principle, VAT is a type of indirect tax, where VAT is a tax paid by other parties (traders) who are not tax bearers. In other words, in the VAT scheme, the tax bearer is charged to the final consumer, which is then deposited by the relevant merchant.

Thus, if the VAT rate of 10 percent is increased to 12 percent, of course this will have a direct impact on consumers in the form of higher selling prices. As a result, like it or not, consumers have to bear a higher tax burden than before. Thinking far ahead, it is not impossible that consumers will think about holding back their consumption because they avoid the increasingly expensive VAT tax.

Especially in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic situation, which has eroded people's purchasing power, the planned increase in VAT will further discourage people from consuming. According to BPS data (2021), the level of public consumption is still at a position of minus -2.23 percent year on year (yoy). If this VAT increase is implemented, this will have the potential to make public consumption more restrained when the current government requires consumption from the public to encourage the pace of economic growth. Thus, the policy of increasing the VAT rate will be counterproductive in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic situation.

In addition, the impact that the government must consider in the future is inflation due to rising prices of goods. On the other hand, currently Bank Indonesia (BI) is implementing a counter-cyclical policy by lowering its benchmark interest rate. Thus, if there is a signal of an increase in inflation, then this will cause BI to re-mix the policy to raise its benchmark interest rate.

An increase in the benchmark interest rate will make the loan

interest rate up again. As a result, the cost of credit loans will increase and the final round will burden many companies to expand their business through credit loans in banks. The long tail means the production process will also be hampered and the absorption of labor will also take longer.

Policy Recommendations

With the problematic scheme above, the increase in the VAT rate can have an unproductive effect on the economy, especially in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic situation. To overcome these problems, the following policy recommendations are offered:

The government through the Ministry of Finance (Kemenkeu) can implement a policy of increasing VAT to 12 percent after the economy returns to normal. For example, after 2024 due to various sources, the Indonesian economy would be able to return to normal;

The Ministry of Finance must look for alternative sources of taxation from sources other than VAT; for example, a tax increase for the rich or an inheritance tax. But, what the government must pay attention to is that this tax imposition policy will not become a disincentive for the economy, especially because it can distort the market due to the imposition of such a large tax.

The Ministry of Finance must relax the budget deficit policy at least until the economy returns to normal. In addition, in the short term or before the economy is normal, the Ministry of Finance can extend the time of easing fiscal policy until it is truly normal and get good tax revenues after the economy recovers.

- M. Rifki Fadilah -

The government's discourse to increase the VAT rate from 10 percent to 12 percent has disturbed the public. The policy of increasing the VAT rate will be counterproductive in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic situation.

The False Hope of De-penalization of the Revision of the ITE Law

The government has ensured that it will not remove Law Number 19/2016 in conjunction with Law Number 11/2008 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions (ITE Law). This was conveyed directly by the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (*Menteri Koordinator Bidang Politik, Hukum, dan Keamanan/Menkopolhukam*) of the Republic of Indonesia, Moh. Mahfud MD (kontan.co.id, 2 May 2021). This assurance was obtained by the government based on the results of the study team formed through the Decree of the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs No. 22/2021 concerning the ITE Law Study Team.

The ITE Law Study Team consists of two sub-teams, the first of which is tasked with formulating implementation criteria for certain articles in the ITE Law, which are often considered to have multiple interpretations. Second, to examine several articles in the ITE Law, which are considered to have multiple interpretations to determine whether or not revision is necessary. In addition to confirming that there will be no changes to the ITE Law, there are three recommendations that have an impact on freedom of expression and the proliferation of new types of punishment in the digital world in Indonesia (kontan.co.id, 2 May 2021).

First, to overcome the tendency of misinterpretation and unequal application of the ITE Law, the government will make technical guidelines for implementation criteria, which will later be realized in the form of a Joint Decree (*Surat Keputusan Bersama Menteri/SKB*) between three agency leaders; namely, the Minister of Communication and Information, the Attorney General, and the National Police Chief.

The form of the implementation guidelines will be used as a pocketbook for the public, police, and prosecutors in carrying out the provisions contained in the ITE Law. This recommendation is a positive signal as long as it aims to provide education to the public

and law enforcement officials. This is needed because of the lack of public knowledge related to the substance to the implementation of the ITE Law.

This recommendation point is one of the important things to do in the context of education related to community activities in the digital space. Providing a comprehensive understanding to the public regarding digital literacy can be a step to prevent crime in cyberspace. Digital literacy must continue to be carried out in line with technological developments.

However, the implementation guidelines that will serve as a guide in understanding and implementing the provisions of the ITE Law will be in vain when several multi-interpretation articles have not been removed. Implementation guidelines that are prepared without paying attention to the understanding of law enforcement regarding human rights and civil rights in the digital world will only add to a long series of criminal issues related to the ITE Law.

Second, there will be a semantic revision or very small limited revision of the ITE Law. This revision is in the form of adding phrases and additions to the explanation of the law, such as an explanation or definition of blasphemy, slander, trouble. Thus, no one will carry out their interpretation of the criminal provisions in the ITE Law. In addition, several articles will also be amended, including Articles 27, 28, 29, and 36 of the ITE Law (republika.co.id, 22 May 2021).

The articles that are planned to be amended by the government are in line with several studies and recommendations from civil society. One of the problems of the multi-interpretation article in the ITE Law directly weakens the protection of freedom of opinion and expression. The ITE Law and its implementation have proven to be the enemy of democracy in the digital era. Referring to Indonesia's democracy index, freedom of opinion and expression during 2018 and 2019 was included in the poor category. The implementation of the ITE Law has proven to have an impact on democracy in Indonesia, which since its enactment, there have been cases of stifling freedom of expression on the internet that has been ensnared by the ITE Law (Arman Dhani, 2016).

To protect democracy, freedom of expression, and prevent the public from being punished haphazardly using multi-interpreted articles in the ITE Law, what must be done is not only partial revision but

also deleting these articles. Or if you want to continue to formulate criminal provisions related to conventional criminal acts that occur in the digital space, then we can add the formulation to the Criminal Code so that digital crimes only need to be made into one book in the Criminal Code.

The policy study of the Indonesian Institute (2021) also explains the error in classifying criminal law. In addition to the general criminal provisions regulated in the Criminal Code and special crimes outside the Criminal Code, there are also provisions known as Administrative Penal Law. This is due to the emergence of the tendency of Administrative Law to include criminal sanctions to strengthen administrative sanctions. If we want to continue to enforce the ITE Law containing criminal provisions, then an act can only be threatened with six months in prison or an administrative fine.

Third, adding Article 45C to the ITE Law, which will regulate false reporting that can cause trouble. So far, the ITE Law only regulates the provisions for the crime of false reporting related to electronic transaction consumers as contained in Article 28 paragraph 1 of the ITE Law. The disturbances referred to here occur in the physical/real space and not in the digital space.

The government's plan to add Article 45C to the revision of the ITE Law regarding fake news that causes trouble will add to the series of multi-interpretation articles in this law. The new nomenclature adopted from Article 14 and Article 15 of Law Number 1 of 1946 concerning Criminal Law Regulations is not relevant to legal developments and today's era.

However, the provisions in Article 14 and Article 15 of Law Number 1 of 1946 can still be used today, because there is no specific rule stating that the article is revoked or no longer valid (*Presumptio Iustae Causa*). Thus, the legislators consider that it is commonplace to adopt these provisions into the ITE Law based on technological developments. The problem with the article lies in the phrases in the two articles. An example is the formulation of Article 15 of the *a quo* law.

*Barang siapa menyiarkan kabar yang tidak pasti atau kabar yang berlebihan atau yang tidak lengkap, sedangkan ia mengerti setidak-tidaknya patut dapat menduga, bahwa kabar demikian akan atau mudah **dapat menerbitkan keon-aran** di kalangan rakyat, dihukum dengan hukuman penjara*

setinggi-tingginya dua tahun (Anyone who broadcasts uncertain news or news that is exaggerated or incomplete, while he understands at least should be able to suspect that such news will or **can easily cause trouble** among the people, is sentenced to a maximum imprisonment of two years.)

The use of the phrase “*can cause trouble among the people*” will be adopted into Article 45C of the revision of the ITE Law. The word “can” publish trouble among the people shows that for the offense of Article 14 paragraph (2) of Law Number 1 of 1946 it does not have to be proven that there has been trouble among the people. Trouble among the people is a possibility or a potential that can occur.

The use of these phrases will be easily interpreted freely by the complainant and law enforcement. In addition, the offense can be applied to an act that has not caused trouble or is considered a completed offense only to the extent of its potential. It must be remembered that the encouragement from the community is to remove the multiple interpretation articles currently in the ITE Law, not to add to the confusion of the problems in the law.

Regarding efforts to encourage the revision of the ITE Law, the policy study of the Indonesian Institute (2021) proposes several recommendations related to problems in the ITE Law and freedom of expression in the digital space. *First*, the legal political direction of the ITE Law must be returned to its original purpose. This law must be able to protect the public from accessing and transacting on the internet, instead of being a tool to suppress freedom of expression.

Second, the provision of education and a human rights perspective related to the application of the ITE Law to the police can be carried out after the DPR and the President revise the multi-interpretation article in the law. Third, increasing digital literacy that does not only target internet users in general but also government agencies and law enforcement officers.

According to the recommendations from the ITE Law Study Team formed by the government, several things are not in line with the steps to improve the law. The policy study of the Indonesian Institute (2021) also noted the high number of convictions that occurred as a result of the multi-interpretation articles. The wrong implementation of law enforcement must be made legal standing to

abolish the multi-interpretation articles of the ITE Law, instead of adopting another criminal law regulation that has the opportunity to become a new multi-interpretation article.

- Hemi Lavour Febrinandez -

Initially, the formation of the Study Team to evaluate the ITE Law was a breath of fresh air to be able to overcome the problems of people filing a complaint report on each other and being punished for the multiple interpretations of the law. However, if one of the recommendations offered is to add another rubber article that threatens the freedom of expression, it will mean that something is wrong with the work carried out by this study team.

The Inconsistency of the Constitutional Court's Decision: Eradicating the Independence of the KPK

The change in the institutional design of the Corruption Eradication Commission (*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi/KPK*), which was originally an independent institution, did not occur after the enactment of Law Number 19/2019 concerning the KPK (KPK Law). The loss of KPK's independence has started since the issuance of the Decision of the Constitutional Court (*Mahkamah Konstitusi/MK*) Number 36/PUU-XV/2017. Amendments to KPK Law only legitimize and follow the things that have been hinted at by the a quo Constitutional Court decision.

The Court in the decision emphasized that KPK is an institution in the executive domain, which carries out functions in the executive domain; namely, investigation, investigation, and prosecution. KPK is not in the judicial domain, because it is not a judicial body authorized to hear and decide cases. KPK is also not a legislative body, because it is not a law-making organ.

The position of KPK, which is under the executive branch, is believed to maintain its independent nature and free from the influence of any power in carrying out its duties and authorities. It can be seen that the Constitutional Court narrowed the definition and grouping of state institutions because it forced KPK to enter the executive branch of power, although there were still other options according to developments in constitutional law.

The classical concept of *trias politica* initiated by Montesquieu is no longer able to reach the development of the modern state at this time. Seeing the development of the structure of Indonesian state institutions, the best approach is to use the theory of *The New Separation of Power*. The idea put forward by Bruce Ackerman (2000) explains that functionally the axis of power is divided into legislative, executive, judicial, and independent state commissions.

The emergence of independent state institutions is a logical consequence of the growing needs of modern countries. This happens because new institutions and institutions cannot be included in the three branches of power in the separation of power. Certain powers must be carried out independently to be able to escape from the intervention of the power of other institutions and the power of certain political groups.

In the context of Indonesia's state administration, there are several state institutions—which should be—independent because they have authorities that intersect with supervision, prosecution, as well as filling positions in the executive and legislative branches of power. For example, the authority to hold general elections, which was previously under the control of the Minister of Home Affairs, is now fully exercised by the General Elections Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU*) independently (Jazuly, 2015). Therefore, through the independence of the election administration, the organizers will not be burdened by intervention from the executive branch of power.

The same logic should be used when looking at KPK institutions. In carrying out its duties and authorities in the form of prosecution (investigation, investigation, prosecution, and confiscation) and prevention of criminal acts of corruption, it must be carried out without interference from other branches of power. This is motivated by the fact that the work of eradicating corruption also targets various levels of power branches, from members of the House of Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/DPR*) to ministers.

Before the emergence of the Constitutional Court Decision Number 36/PUU-XV/2017, which confirmed that the KPK was part of the executive branch of power, the Court had also discussed the position of the anti-racism institution in the Indonesian constitution. At that time, there was no consideration to state that the KPK was an independent institution in accordance with the theory of *The New Separation of Power*. The Court continues to use the lens of dividing state institutions based on the three existing branches of power.

Through Decision Number 12-16-19/PUU-IV/2006, the Constitutional Court very clearly stated that “*pembentukan lembaga negara seperti KPK dapat dianggap penting secara konstitusional dan termasuk lembaga negara yang fungsinya berkaitan dengan kekuasaan kehakiman sebagaimana dimaksudkan Pasal 24 ayat (3) UUD 1945*”

(the establishment of state institutions such as the KPK can be considered constitutionally important and includes state institutions whose functions are related to judicial power as intended by Article 24 paragraph (3) 1945 Constitution). KPK's greatest strength is actually when it is separated from the system. Placing it as a "special agency" in enforcing the rule of law may be seen as a direct threat to the abuse of power by the upper strata of Indonesian society (Syawawi, 2021).

Taking into account this explanation, it can be seen that the weakening of KPK did not stand alone through the revision of the law at the end of 2019. Beginning with questioning the KPK's institutional position and doubting its independence as the initial goal of its formation, it resulted in a prolonged effect that led to the weakening of the anti-racism institution.

Doubting the position of the KPK

In the opinion of the court in the Constitutional Court Decision Number 36/PUU-XV/2017, KPK is positioned as a state institution within the realm of executive power, because it carries out the task of investigating and prosecuting criminal acts of corruption, which is the same as the authority of the police and /or prosecutor. Because KPK is a state institution within the realm of executive power, KPK can be the object of the use of DPR's inquiry rights as people's representatives who carry out the supervisory function.

However, the use of DPR's inquiry right cannot be applied in the case that KPK carries out the duties of investigation and prosecution because of the independence and freedom of KPK from the influence of any power is in carrying out its duties and authorities. In this section of legal considerations, it can be seen that there are doubts by the Court to place KPK under the executive branch of power. If the Court believes that KPK should indeed be in the executive branch of power, then there is no need for an "*independent*" appendage. When KPK as a state institution carries out law enforcement duties has become subordinate to a certain branch of power, then there is no longer any freedom to act in the process of eradicating corruption.

Several ways can be done to save KPK and the face of the Constitutional Court, which has been known as the Guardian of the Constitution. At this time, nine KPK employees have applied for a judicial review of Articles 69B and C of the KPK Law. Article a quo

regulates the transfer of the status of KPK employees to State Civil Apparatus (*Aparatur Sipil Negara/ASN*).

Independence in managing human resources is one of the advantages possessed by KPK so far. However, with the transfer of employee status to ASN, the independence of KPK as a state institution has been undermined. Therefore, there are two possible outcomes of the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the application. *First*, the Constitutional Court emphasizes that independence in recruiting and managing employees is one of the points of KPK's independence in accordance with previous decisions, even though the institution remains under the executive branch of power.

Second, the Constitutional Court rejects the application because the transfer of employee status is a logical consequence of KPK's position as part of the executive branch of power. Thus, whatever decision the Constitutional Court will take, it will still be increasingly difficult to make KPK an independent institution as before. This happens because the Constitutional Court's decision is final and binding and binds the anti-corruption agency in the executive branch of power.

Independence must be used as a force to prevent and close the gap for intervention that comes from within and from outside KPK. However, by making KPK part of the executive branch of power, KPK must directly report to the President as the highest authority holder and must be ready to receive any intervention because it is the object of supervision of the legislative branch of power; namely, DPR.

- Hemi Lavour Febrinandez -

Reflection on Leadership in the Corruption Pandemic Period

A series of arrests of officials occupying the High Leadership Position (JPT) have tarnished the practice of good governance. In fact, the leaders and how their leadership is a very important factor in the success of the big agenda of the public sector. Especially at a time when the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic like this, leaders should be candles that can give hope to people's situations that are full of uncertainty.

Serving as JPT is basically a very noble task. If a leader is found to have committed a criminal act of corruption, it can be ascertained that he is treasonous of his public duties and responsibilities. So, is it still appropriate for such a leader to be called a leader? What is the true leadership expected during this seemingly endless corruption pandemic?

Re-understanding the Meaning of Public Sector Leadership

Government can run well when there is a top leader who is able to carry out their role and realize relevant public policy practices in the midst of the nation's situation. It doesn't stop there, if you examine the Indonesian government system, a leader must also base every policy and behavior in accordance with the mandate of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Because these two foundations are the way of life of the Indonesian people. In addition, it is also necessary to have a sense of integrity which is evident in its efforts to uphold anti-corruption values (honesty, care, courage, etc.), and awareness of the importance of maintaining public trust.

Ideally, a capable leader will be able to move the government system and influence every resource in it towards a transformation or sustainable change. Mac Gregor Burns (1979) defines that transforming leadership as moral leadership that enhances human behavior. In this view, leaders transform followers and followers transform leaders.

Bernard M. Bass proposed that transformational leadership consists of the “4 I’s” (Tracey and Hinkin, 1998). First, idealized influence, described as behavior that results in follower pride, respect, and trust. Second, inspirational motivation, reflected by behaviors that provide meaning and challenge to followers, such as clear expectations and demonstrating a commitment to the organization’s overall goals. In this aspect, team spirit is raised through enthusiasm and optimism.

Third, intellectual stimulation. The leader stimulates followers’ new ideas and innovativeness, directs creative solutions, and stimulates followers to result in and use new approaches to work completion. Fourth is individual consideration. Leaders who listen attentively to their followers, treat them individually and pay special attention to attaining and fulfilling various growth needs.

The Upper Echelons theory developed by Hambrick and Mason in 1984 and 2007, reveals that an organization is an embodiment of the values of a leader. Strategic decisions taken by top management are the result of the character that is in him. Leaders make decisions based on personal interpretation of the situation at hand. The existence of limited cognitive abilities, various diverse goals, and the limited alternative solutions available encourage leaders to use personal interpretations based on experience, values, and personality.

Laura S. Underkuffler, a professor from Cornell Law School, Cornell University, America, in her book *Captured By Evil: The Idea Of Corruption In Law* (2013) argues that corruption is a matter of morality. Corruption is considered not as a prohibited crime that violates the law but as a psychological disposition, a tendency inherent in morality.

Still, in Laura’s book, it is explained that the corrupt are those who are seduced by the devil and trapped in its influence. It cannot arise from that influence all the time. In essence, corruption is a matter of character. Corruption will always be a matter of character in addition to external factors such as challenges from political parties. It will be better if the leader grows up in an environment that upholds morals and ethics. great effort is needed to build character and strengthen the noble values that should be embraced.

Breaking the Chain of Corruption Pandemic

Corruption can not be avoided by a country even developed countries though. Where there is power, that is where corruption is so prone to occur. Corruption is rampant in almost all areas of people's lives has undermined the state's capital which aims for the benefit of many people. During the pandemic, we can see that the budget that should be used to help the less fortunate in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, is actually compared to the number of officials to fatten their contents.

According to Laura, once someone commits corruption, he or she is not worthy to hold public office forever. The further implication that arises is the inevitability that corruptors may not be able to correct their moral defects. He will bear the status of a corrupt and labeled for the rest of his life. No less important, he must be treated as a corrupt individual who throughout his life has a tendency to commit corruption over and over again.

As a reflection, do these situations appear in the life of our nation and state? Instead of being labeled for the rest of their lives and losing their trust, the political mechanism in Indonesia still opens the door for corruptors to return to power. Penalties or criminal threats and so on are considered easy. Neglect of morals or ethics has become something common. Even when they were arrested, some of the corruptors did not show any significant remorse. It is also reported that many corruptors who enjoy certain facilities do not deter them from being arrested.

Binawan (2006) states that a good leader will be able to manifest himself to be superior and acceptable to the public. Being accepted by the public means that he can be a leader who is sensitive to the public needs. How to direct every available resource as well as possible to be enjoyed by the public. However, it also does not become populist, so that what does not depend on "other interests" actually disperses its focus and directs it to acts of corruption, for example in terms of capital.

In Giddens's terms, the politics of life, namely the politics of self-actualization, is a call to strengthen the moral values (remoralizing) that exist in society (Binawan, 2016). He must believe that what is right, within the control of morality. These situations will be realized if each leader truly understands the essence of his own existence who is given a noble task without forgetting the noble values of national life.

It does not stop there, public support for the existence of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) must continue to flow in the midst of various weakenings carried out by many parties. Transparency International Indonesia (TII) (2018) stated that efforts to paralyze anti-corruption agencies occurred in various parts of the world. For example, Hong Kong, South Korea, Nigeria, Italy, and so on.

According to TII, efforts to weaken the anti-corruption agenda in a country can take various forms. Weakening can be done in the form of personal attacks, either in the form of physical attacks, character assassination, or the use of criminal law instruments against employees or leaders of anti-corruption agencies. Still in TII's explanation, institutionally, attacks are carried out through a political process to reduce authority and even to disband the anti-corruption agency. Parliament and the president or prime minister are often key actors in weakening anti-corruption bodies.

Thomas Power, a lecturer at the University of Sydney, Australia, assessed that there were six stages of weakening the KPK in the era of President Joko Widodo (Tempo.co, 07/06). The first stage is to place some of the political elite outside the reach of the KPK. Thomas compared, during the leadership of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), where people in his circle could still be placed and investigated. Whereas in the Jokowi era, there were changes, especially when it came to wanting to know the 'big man'. Then, discursive delegitimation of independent investigators. The trick is through buzzing the Taliban issues. The fourth sign of weakness, which is most important, is the officer's mission to become the leader of the KPK.

Fifth, when the revision of the KPK Law (UU) took place and finally, the implementation of the KPK Law itself, one of which was the transfer of employee status to State Civil Apparatus (ASN). Thomas also said that structural and agency factors were also a weakening factor for the KPK that occurred in the Jokowi era. As for the structure, there are three underlying factors, namely institutionalized corruption, the politicization of law enforcement agencies, and independent institutions being a threat. While the agential factors are the politicization of the KPK in 2014, the picture of the government, and the president's attitude towards the anti-corruption agenda. In this case, according to Thomas, the president prioritizes the development agenda rather than eradicating corruption.

From the description above, it can be seen that with reference to the 4 I Bass, as well as the concept of leadership adopted by Binawan and Giddens's actualization politics, as well as a number of other opinions, leadership in the Indonesian public sector still needs a long way of significant improvement. The leadership crisis still occurs in various K/L/Pemda scopes. This requires mutual attention, especially in times of crisis because of a pandemic like this, one after another by policy changes that create uncertainty in the community. A leader with good character, able to transform his followers, and provide motivation along with the ability to communicate policies, becomes a figure who will always be looked forward to in this time of crisis.

Indonesian public sector leaders with good leadership characters are expected to be a stepping stone for public sector transformation. Public support for the KPK must also continue to flow to suppress the various effects of the weakening carried out by many parties.

Still related to leadership in the public sector, referring to the survey results of the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) (2021), the level of public trust in President Jokowi is under the governors and mayors/regents. Apart from regional heads, public trust in the TNI is higher than at the presidential level. According to the Executive Director of LSI, Djayadi Hanan, this happened because the governors and mayors were considered to be closer to the people. It can be seen that governments that are closer to the people tend to get positive sentiments from respondents. In addition, the level of public trust in the KPK decreases every year. It is ranked, with 17 percent strongly trusting and 66 percent trusting moderately.

So, how to deal with it? The KPK needs to continue to receive support from the community to carry out its duties and responsibilities in carrying out the four missions. First, increasing prevention efforts through improving the anti-corruption management system of state and government institutions. Second, increasing prevention efforts through comprehensive anti-corruption education. Third, the eradication of corruption that is effective, accountable, professional, and in accordance with the law. Fourth, improve the accountability, professionalism, and integrity of the KPK in carrying out its duties and authorities.

In essence, Indonesia still has a long way to go to eradicate corrupt behavior by public sector officials. This long Road also includes massive prevention efforts in various sectors, including the business sector. In this effort, Indonesian public sector leaders with good leadership characters are expected to be stepping stones for public sector transformation.

- Vunny Wijaya -

Another Way to Guarantee the Freedom of Speech

As a space that is growing massively, it must be admitted that the internet has influenced many aspects of the offline space of our lives. The interactions within the society, including in the form of delivering criticism to the government, also cannot avoid the shifts caused by the existence of the digital space. But, unfortunately, the guarantees and protection of online forms of expression in Indonesia still have gaps.

The loopholes, on the one hand, stem from the trend of using several problematic articles in Law Number 11/2008 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions (UU ITE), which ultimately bring criminalization of critical community groups. However, other factors were also found, stemming from the fact that the online model of expressing an opinion has not been accommodated in Law Number 9/1998 concerning Freedom to Express Opinions in Public (Law 9/1998). Hence, what is important to be reviewed from the Law 9/1998 so that the conditions of freedom of expression in Indonesia will be better?

Online Speech

Firstly, we must understand what is meant by online speech, and what distinguishes it from the offline form. As an offline activity, the freedom of expression can be referred to as an individual right to seek, receive and impart a variety of information and ideas, through all means (Amnesty International UK, 2020).

On the other hand, with the development of the internet, the application of this right to express has then shifted into the digital space. This is because the internet has fulfilled the prerequisites as a tool that can accommodate individuals to express, communicate, and provide information. Then, the embodiment of the freedom of expression principle in the digital space has finally been deemed necessary to be protected from intervention (Sangsuvan, 2014).

In its 2000 World Report, Human Rights Watch (HRW) discussed some threats that could interfere with the freedom of expression on the internet. There are three major issues highlighted by HRW, all of which are still relevant today. The issues discussed by HRW ranged from filtering and blocking, monitoring and surveillance, to encryption issues as an effort to strengthen privacy and avoid interception.

The existence of potential threats that target the freedom of expression on the internet, as noted by HRW above, has prompted the existence of a legal umbrella that provides guarantees and protection of online speech. This urgency applies to all countries, including Indonesia, which has a regulation that guarantees the right to the freedom of expression.

The Limitations on Existing Regulation

Law 9/1998 is a regulation aimed at providing guarantees and recognitions of the speech's models that are part of human rights. This regulation also recognizes that freedom of expression is a right guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These conditions then illustrate how the implementation of a democratic state cannot be separated from the fulfillment of the people's right to express their opinion.

When the observation on the Law 9/1998 was made, Article 1 number 2 stated that "in public" was defined as "...in front of many people, or other people, including in a place that can be visited and or seen by everyone". From this definition, many speech forms have emerged, such as rallies and demonstrations, marches, public meetings, and free pulpits (Article 9 paragraph (1)). Moving on from the definition, we can then assume that "in public" in this regulation refers to an offline space, in which physical interactions and communication occur between individuals.

The offline scope above then gets a challenge, when the internet comes and offers a new arena for community interactions. Of course, the presence of digital space as a new locus of interactions between humans also presents new forms of interactions, including in expressing an opinion. These conditions have pushed Law 9/1998 to the edge because it has not placed the digital space as the latest area capable of presenting the extension of people's offline activities. Furthermore, the digital space that has not been accommodated has also caused public opinion activities in the digital space to

have not been explicitly recognized and protected by Law 9/1998. The implications have also been seen from some records of violations of people's freedom of expression in the digital space issued by several organizations in recent years. Finally, what kind of anticipations should be made upon Law 9/1998 to remain relevant on the development of information and communication technology?

The absence of a definition of digital space has caused the activities of online speech that occur in it cannot be explicitly recognized and protected by Law 9/1998.

Expanding the Reach

First and foremost, it is appropriate to expand the space for expression in Law 9/1998. This can be done by reviewing the definition of "public" while including and defining the digital space. This is because several prerequisites regarding the "public" in this regulation have been fulfilled by the digital space. For instance, regarding the clause about "in front of a crowd", which in fact can be calculated more measurably in the digital space.

A form of individual expression in the digital space will be present in the form of text, audio, visual, or a combination of those three elements. As long as access to this form of expression is available, all internet users have the potential to be exposed very easily. In addition, online forms of expression can generally also be visited on several occasions. Moreover, all visiting activities for public expression of content in the digital space can also be presented in detail. Some facts above that have then made the digital space meet the prerequisites regarding the "public" stated in Law 9/1998.

The logical consequence of the expansion of the arena of speech ultimately requires this regulation to also recognize and regulate forms of expression in the digital space. This will be a manifestation of the state's efforts to ensure the relevance of freedom of expression over time while maintaining the essence of the freedom of expression itself.

- **Rifqi Rachman** -

The 2024 Simultaneous Elections and Their Potential Excess

Several discourses on innovation in the implementation of general elections (Pemilu) began to emerge. One example is the unification of election ballots talked about by the Commissioner of the General Elections Commission (KPU), Viryan Aziz (cnnindonesia.com, 10/16). It can be said that the presence of the discourse is a response to the provisional decision regarding the 2024 Simultaneous Election model, which still uses the five-box election. The model is the elections of the President/Vice President, the members of House of Representatives (DPR), the members of the Regional Representative Council (DPD), the members of the Provincial House of Representatives (Provincial DPRD), and the members of Regency/Municipal DPRD.

Although the implementation with a similar concurrent model in 2019 left some bad precedents, the option for the five-ballot boxes has still been chosen by policymakers. So, what is important to do so that the simultaneous election model can be implemented better?

The Constitutional Court's Decision

The results of the judicial review on the question of the simultaneous elections were issued by the Constitutional Court (MK) on February 26, 2020. Decision No. 55/PUU-XVII/2019 provides six options for a constitutional simultaneous election model. Of the six types of concurrent models available in the decision, it is found that the elections of the President/Vice President, DPR members, and DPD members must be held simultaneously. Conducting those three elections simultaneously is considered important to strengthen the presidential system that is used in Indonesia.

In addition, the six options provided by the Constitutional Court can also be seen through the categorization of the simultaneous se-

lections. In a complete version, all the simultaneous design options in the Constitutional Court Decision Number 55/PUU-XVII/2019 can be observed in the following table:

Table 1. Alternatives for Simultaneous Elections

| No. | The First Simultaneity | The Second Simultaneity | The Third Simultaneity |
|-----|---|---|--|
| 1. | The Elections of DPR members, DPD members, President/Vice President, and DPRD members | | |
| 2. | The Elections of DPR members, DPD members, President/Vice President, and Governors, Regents/Mayors | | |
| 3. | The Elections of DPR members, DPD members, President/Vice President, DPRD members, Governors, and Regents/Mayors | | |
| 4. | National Elections: DPR members, DPD members, President/Vice President | Local Elections: Provincial DPRD members, Regency/City DPRD members, Governors, and Regents/Mayors | |
| 5. | National Elections: DPR members, DPD members, President/Vice President | Provincial Elections: Provincial DPRD members and Governors | Regency/City Elections: Regency/City DPRD members and Regents/-Mayors |
| 6. | Other alternatives that maintain the simultaneous elections of DPR members, DPD members, President/Vice President | | |

Source: Legal considerations sub-Paragraph [3.16], Constitutional Court Decision Number 55/PUU-XVII/2019.

Through the same decision, the Constitutional Court also gives the right to determine the design of simultaneous elections that may be applied to the legislative. However, there are some considerations conveyed by the Constitutional Court to lawmakers in determining the design of the simultaneous elections of the six options available. Some of these considerations, verbatim, are:

1. The selection of models that have implications for changes to

- the law is carried out with the participation of all parties that have interests in general election organization;
2. The possibility of changes to the law on the choice of models is carried out earlier so that there is time for simulation before the changes are effective;
 3. The legislators carefully consider all technical implications of the available model choices so that their implementation remains within the limits of reasonable reasoning, especially to manifest the quality of the general elections;
 4. The choice of the model always takes into account the convenience and simplicity for the voters in exercising the right to vote as a form of implementing their sovereignty; and
 5. Not regularly change the model of direct elections that are held simultaneously to create certainty and stability in the implementation of the general elections.

From the available options in organizing elections, we notice an important point that the division of elections at the national and local levels is an alternative that can be taken for 2024. Furthermore, the Constitutional Court's Decision Number 55/PUU-XVII/2019 also guarantees the constitutionality of the simultaneously national and local models of elections, while still conducting the election of President/Vice President, DPR members, and DPD members at the same time.

Hence, what should be encouraged collectively is the willingness of the members of Parliament to examine this option further. Several studies that discuss alternatives to national and local elections have also emerged. Starting from the article written by Prayudi (2021), the book published by the Partnership for Governance Reform (2011), to the policy brief from the Joint Secretariat for the Codification of the Election Law (2017).

The Anticipation for the Complexity of the Five Ballot Boxes

If the option of five-ballot boxes is ultimately used as a model for the simultaneous elections, then some previous precedents should be used as a reference in formulating a better election organization strategy. For example, policymakers should consider the impact of invalid ballots from using the five ballot-box model. The results of the KPU recapitulation in the 2019 Elections validated this precedence. The number of invalid votes in 2019 gradually increased, starting from the national to the regional level. This number can be seen from the examples presented in the following table:

Table 2. The Number of Invalid Votes in the 2019 Elections

| Election | Number of Invalid Votes | Number of Invalid Votes (%) |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| President/Vice President | 3.754.905 | 2,37 |
| DPR | 17.503.953 | 12,50 |
| DPD | 29.710.175 | 19,02 |

Source: Recapitulation of Vote Results pemilu2019.kpu.go.id

The discourse of merging the five ballots, which was mentioned at the beginning of this article, then became an option. However, the voting method carried out in the discourse also requires changes to the legal umbrella to maintain its constitutionality. Viryan's discourse will change the voting method that has been used to write.

It should be remembered that Law Number 7/2017 concerning General Elections (Election Law) regulates the procedure for voting and the form of ballot papers. For example, Article 353 states that voting is done by punching a hole in the ballot. In addition, Article 341 paragraph (1) letter f also stipulates that the tool for punching a hole in the ballot is voting equipment. Meanwhile, Article 342 also explains the content of election ballots, which includes photos, logos, and serial numbers.

Therefore, the need to harmonize the legal umbrella and technical implementation has become unavoidable. Improvements to the Election Law are still realistic to be taken, considering that this regulation is also included in the list of the 2020-2024 National Legislation Program in the Parliament. So, to fulfill the legislative targets and the implementation of direct, general, free, secret, honest, and fair elections, making some changes at the law level should be a wise option.

- Rifqi Rachman -

If the option of five-ballot boxes has become the model for simultaneous elections, then some previous precedence should be used as a reference in formulating a better election organization strategy.

Risk Mitigation for the Implementation of the 2024 General Elections and Regional Head Elections

On June 3, 2021, the Commission II of the House of Representatives (DPR), the Government and Election Organizers have decided on the schedule for the 2024 General Elections (Pemilu) and Regional Head Elections (Pilkada). They agreed on the schedule for the 2024 General Elections; that is, Wednesday, February 28, 2024. While the schedule for the 2024 Regional Head Elections is Wednesday, November 27, 2024 (kompas.com, 4/6).

However, the Chair of the General Elections Commission (KPU) Definitive Ilham Saputra denied the agreement. Ilham said that the schedule was still temporary (tirto.id, 7/6). Not much different from Ilham, Minister of Home Affairs (Mendagri) Tito Karnavian emphasized that the Ministry of Home Affairs and the General Elections Commission (KPU) were still discussing the schedule for the 2024 general elections (Pemilu). republica.co.id, 9/6).

Meanwhile, the 2024 Regional Head Elections have been confirmed to be held in November 2024. This has been stated directly in Law Number 10/2016 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 1/2015 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1/2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors (republika.co.id, 9/6).

According to the explanation above, the absence of an agreement on the schedule between the DPR, the Government, and the Election Organizer is one indication that the planning for the 2024 General Elections and Regional Head Elections is not optimal. In fact, the holding of the 2024 General Elections and Regional Head Elections is predicted to be the most complicated election activities that will be held by Indonesia. If you look at

the implementation of the previous General Elections and Regional Head Elections, the General Elections and Regional Head Elections have never been held in the same year.

Mitigating the Risks of the 2024 General Elections and Regional Head Elections

Elections are not just about drafting and passing election laws. Organizing elections also requires good management to implement electoral laws. This then requires risk management from stakeholders to mitigate the implementation of the General Elections and Pilkada in 2024.

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance/IDEA (2020) defines risk management in elections as a systematic effort undertaken to develop knowledge about and situational awareness of internal and external risks to the electoral process and to initiate timely prevention and mitigation actions. Risk management usually refers to processes for identifying and analyzing threats to take preventive and mitigating actions.

By using risk management indicators in elections made by International IDEA (2020), especially in internal factors related to the management of election administration, there are six risk factors that can occur in the 2024 General Elections and Pilkada.

Tabel 1. Risk Factors for the 2024 General Elections and Regional Head Elections

| Internal Factors | Risk Analysis |
|---|---|
| Legal Framework | Differences in interpretation between the two election management institutions can pose a risk to the holding of simultaneous general elections and the regional elections in 2024. |
| Election Planning and Management | Budget and timing issues will be risks that need to be anticipated. Plus at this time, Indonesia is still dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic, where more budget allocations are absorbed and prioritized for handling the pandemic. |
| Human Resources (HR) Training and Education | Education and training for the personnel of the Voting Organizing Group (KPPS) is a risk that needs to be considered. |
| Voter Registration | The issue of voter registration is a risk that must be considered in the implementation of the 2024 General Elections and Pilkada. This is because the issue of voter registration is a problem that often arises in every election. |
| Election Campaign | Risks that occur during the campaign period are the emergence of polarization of supporters of presidential candidates accompanied by hate speech based on ethnicity, religion, race and inter-group (SARA), as well as the increasing spread of fake news on social media. |
| Voting | Reflecting on the 2019 elections, the voting process is expected to take quite a long time. Similar to the 2019 election, voters will elect the President, members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, Regency/Municipal DPRD, and members of the DPD |

These risks occur in every stage of the elections. This issue should be anticipated by the election organizers as early as possible.

Recommendations

According to the explanation above, it is necessary to mitigate risks in the implementation of the General Elections and Pilkada

held in 2024. These risks are problems that arise after reflecting on the implementation of previous elections. Identifiable risks occur from the stage of drafting the legal framework to the process of voting and counting votes.

If these risks are not anticipated from the outset and cannot be overcome in the future, they will lead to a decline in the quality and integrity of the 2024 General Elections and Pilkada. Poor election management will lead to low confidence in participants and voters. Therefore, taking into account the aspects of good election management, the following section tries to provide policy recommendations to minimize the risks of holding elections.

Several recommendations can be made to prepare election organizers ahead of 2024; namely: first, KPU and Bawaslu need to strengthen information dissemination related to technical rules in the implementation of the 2024 General Elections and Pilkada to the Regional General Election Commission (KPUD) and the Regional General Elections Supervisory Body (Bawasda). from the provincial to district/city levels. This is important to prevent multiple interpretations in the implementation of technical rules for elections and local elections.

Second, the KPU needs to evaluate the implementation of training for KPPS so that it can optimize the KPPS training stage. Optimization of training includes the delivery of training materials that can solve problems on voting day. For example, by providing training in the administration of voting and vote counting, as well as training in the use of information systems in the context of vote counting. In addition to training, the KPU also needs to increase the training budget so that all KPPS members can attend training and gain knowledge related to voting and counting votes.

Third, KPU collaborates with the Ministry of Home Affairs to improve the process of updating voter data. Improvements to this stage are carried out by building mutual agreement on the main ingredients of voter data. This can be used to revise the current regulations, so that in the future voter data is more accurate than the previous election.

Fourth, KPU and Bawaslu will simplify the administration of vote counting at the polling station level. KPU and Bawaslu make an understanding of rules related to the administration of voting

and vote counting that are simpler to make it easier for KPPS to report the results of the vote. Furthermore, the understanding and agreement between the KPU and Bawaslu is set forth in the form of regulations such as the General Elections Commission Regulation (PKPU) and the General Elections Supervisory Agency Regulation (Perbawaslu), which become the legal umbrellas regarding the administration of voting and vote counting. After the regulation is issued, the KPU makes technical instructions which are socialized through training to KPPS.

Fifth, KPU and Bawaslu strengthen and reinforce rules that prohibit participants from using campaigns that smell SARA. For example, by imposing sanctions on election participants in the administrative form and forwarding them to the Police if elements are found that could endanger security stability.

Sixth, KPU and Bawaslu together with the Ministry of Communication and Informatics, as well as civil society groups, encourage the strengthening of digital literacy for the community. Strengthening digital literacy will foster a critical understanding of the community regarding circulating information. The public will be able to sort out the information obtained, whether the information obtained online, including information about elections, is hoax or not.

Seventh, KPU and Bawaslu need to improve wider collaboration with civil society organizations related to issues of democracy and elections, as well as citizen participation in the policy process to help improve the management of election administration. Cooperation can be done through studies and hearings between civil society and election administrators.

- Arfianto Purbolaksono -

The absence of an agreed schedule is one indication that the planning for the 2024 General Elections and Regional Head Elections is not optimal. In fact, the implementation of the 2024 General Elections and Regional Head Elections is the most complicated election activity that will be held by Indonesia.

Maximizing Blended Learning as a Learning Method in the New Normal Age

After the vaccine program for teachers and education personnel is completed, schools are expected to be able to carry out limited face-to-face learning (*Pembelajaran Tatap Muka/PTM*). In limited PTM, in addition to the strict health protocol requirements, a rotation system and quota restrictions on the number of students in the class will also be implemented. According to the Director-General of Early Childhood Education, Basic Education, and Secondary Education (Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini, Pendidikan Dasar, dan Pendidikan Menengah/Dirjen PAUD Dikdasmen) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi/ Kemendikbud-Ristek), Jumeri, (liputan6.com, 09/06), in limited face-to-face, children do not need to take full lessons in a day (maximum 2 hours) but arranged according to the needs of each school. Meanwhile, the number of days per week is not every day (maximum 2-3 days per week).

Limited PTM will also be carried out if parents allow their children to go to school. Children will continue to learn from home if the parents wish to so. For this reason, teachers/education personnel must prepare two types of learning; namely, limited PTM and distance learning (*Pembelajaran Jarak Jauh/PJJ*). Likewise, with children, those who take the option of doing limited PTM will do mixed learning between PTM and PJJ (blended learning). Based on that, this paper will analyze further blended learning, how the implementation of blended learning in Indonesia has so far been, as well as how the steps so that blended learning can be carried out optimally.

The Definition and Implementation of Blended Learning

The concept of blended learning has become a trend before 2001 (CR Graham, 2006). Recently, this concept has been widely used again as an alternative learning method during the pandemic. According to Harding et al., (2005), blended learning is a learning ap-

proach that integrates traditional face-to-face learning/PTM and PJJ using online learning resources (especially web-based) and various communication options that can be used by teachers and students. The American Society of Training and Development identified that blended learning was one of the 10 most popular knowledge delivery methods in 2003 (Graham, 2006). The learning method is considered to be able to make the learning process more meaningful because of the diversity of learning resources that may be obtained.

Currently, blended learning is one of the PJJ solutions that are not running optimally. With this learning method, at least students can feel PTM again even though it is limited. However, blended learning, which is a combination of limited PTM and PJJ, has also not run optimally. There are several reasons why blended learning has not run optimally, including differences in learning facilities owned by students, lack of cooperation between teachers and students' parents, and inadequate school infrastructure.

In addition, if we look at the implementation of blended learning in several regions in Indonesia, the process has not run effectively. In Silvana's (2021) survey of students at the Universitas Pembangunan Nasional (UPN) Jakarta, of 20 students, 13 students doubted the effectiveness of blended learning, five students stated that blended learning was not effective, and only two students thought that blended learning was effective. The results of the study also show that the biggest obstacle to blended learning, especially when learning online, is the internet connection. The students feel less focused on learning outside the classroom. The respondents of the study were students who constituted the group of students who were in the highest level of education. From these conditions, we can imagine that the quality of blended learning at the secondary and primary education levels could be worse than that.

Meanwhile, from the teachers' point of view, they have difficulty in designing blended learning. Teachers must try harder to be able to manage both learning processes, both during limited PTM and during PJJ. One of the difficulties experienced by the teachers is because there is no training for teachers as a guide for implementing blended learning (Khaerunnisa, 2019).

So far, several schools have implemented blended learning; namely, one State Elementary School in Banyuwangi and one Senior High School in Jakarta (beritajatim.com, 06/03; BeritaSatu, 19/04). The two schools have even combined the online learning process with

limited PTM at the same time. According to one teacher at the high school, their blended learning can encourage the flexibility of the learning process. Students are free to determine when they feel the need to do limited PTM and when they do PJJ. Students at the school also feel happy with the flexibility of their blended learning process. Meanwhile, according to an elementary school teacher in Banyuwangi, their blended learning does not run without problems. According to him, one of the obstacles in implementing that learning method is the capacity of internet and network quotas.

Maximizing Blended Learning

If done optimally, blended learning can be one way to improve the quality of learning, because the learning method utilizes advances in communication and information technology, without compromising the learning process that is carried out face-to-face. With blended learning, learning activities can also be carried out more flexibly. Students can study anywhere with unlimited time such as at school. For this reason, schools and education units need to optimize these learning methods, considering that these methods are also an option for learning at this time.

To maximize blended learning, the Education Service (Dinas Pendidikan) in each region as well as the Kemendikbud-Ristek needs to pay attention to the readiness of teachers, schools/education units, and students. The Dinas Pendidikan and the Kemendikbud-Ristek need to guide teachers on ways that can be prepared for blended learning. This can be done either through online training or through guidance documents that are massively disseminated to teachers. It is hoped that teachers will not experience problems in designing the blended learning process

From the students' perspective, blended learning can be a solution for students who do not have a comfortable place to study at home. At least, with a frequency of 2 to 3 times a week to do limited PTM, children can gradually catch up on their loss. However, because PTM cannot be done in one full week, children still need a comfortable learning place in their homes. The Dinas Pendidikan in each region can assist children in the form of a desk to encourage children's learning comfort, or tailored to the child's needs. Schools can also take advantage of the Bantuan Operasional Sekolah (BOS) funds to help children find a comfortable place to study in their homes.

In addition, related to internet and network constraints experienced by teachers and children in the online learning process, again,

the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika/Kominfo) needs to pay attention to the distribution of internet and networks. This is very important because after all, in the future, blended learning will still be part of the learning process in Indonesia.

Finally, in the future, Kemendikbud-Ristek needs to develop a Learning Management System (LMS). LMS is software designed to create, distribute, and manage the delivery of learning content. With LMS, the blended learning system will be clearer and more organized. Falimbany (2019) states that blended learning will run well if it is supported by an LMS.

- Nisaaul Muthiah -

Currently, blended learning is one of the best options to start compensating lost learning that has occurred due to the pandemic. In the future, blended learning will also remain part of the learning process in Indonesia because of the advantages it offers. For this reason, there needs to be cooperation from various stakeholders in the field of education so that the learning method can run optimally.

Why Does Sexual Violence Keep Occurring?

In the past month, there was a lot of news about sexual harassment and violence in the mass media. Among them was harassment of women who were praying in mosques, women who were driving on the roads, and violence in dating relationships. The emergence of these cases shows that acts of sexual harassment and violence still exist. These cases are of course only the tip of the iceberg. There are still many cases of sexual harassment and violence that have not been revealed. This is in line with data from the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women/ UN Women (2020), which shows that no more than 40 percent of women who experience sexual violence report acts that have occurred to them.

In line with the emergence of the cases above, the data from the National Commission on Violence against Women (Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan/Komnas Perempuan) (2021) do show that the number of sexual violence, in general, has increased since 2008. In 2020, the number of violence against women (VAW) recorded in the Komnas Perempuan experienced a decline, but the decline could not describe the actual situation. This is because, in that year, of the total forms distributed by Komnas Perempuan to the institutions that handle VAW cases, only 15 percent of the forms were returned to Komnas Perempuan.

Not only in Indonesia, at the global level, 17.8 percent of women had also experienced physical and sexual violence in the last 12 months (UN Women, 2020), and the violence was perpetrated by their partners. So, how long will sexual harassment and violence continue? Besides, eliminating violence and discrimination against women is included in the 5th target of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Why Sexual Violence Still Occurs

If we look at the reports of sexual harassment that occurred in May 2021, one of them was about a woman being harassed while praying in the mosque. This action showed that the cause of sexual harassment was not due to the type of clothing worn by the victim, such as the misogynistic view that considers the cause of violence and harassment is the clothes worn by the victim. This view is wrong because the only cause of sexual harassment and violence is the perpetrator himself.

One of the aspects that can make a person a perpetrator of violence and sexual harassment is the patriarchal culture that is still entrenched in the society. This culture is reflected in the views of toxic masculinity and sexism.

Patriarchy is a system that assumes that men are destined to rule over women (Fromm in Adji, et al. 2009). Meanwhile, according to Walby (2014), patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices that position men as dominating, oppressing, and exploiting women. In fact, according to Derrida in Priyatmono (2020), the world is constructed by men and becomes a place for men to show their existence.

Meanwhile, toxic masculinity simplifies norms in the society and understands masculinity with traditional masculinity characteristics, such as violence, physical strength, emotional suppression, and devaluation of women (Connell, 2005; Pascoe, 2005; Posadas, 2017). This culture indirectly makes violence justified and provides a perspective on how men behave and treat other people, including women.

In addition, sexism is a form of prejudice or discrimination against other groups because of gender differences. In this case, usually, women tend to be considered weak. The act of sexism can stem from stereotypes about gender roles and the belief that certain sexes have a better and superior position than others. Sexism can refer to someone who discriminates, whether expressed through actions, words or beliefs.

Sexism is also defined as attitudes and motives that demean women existentially, regarding their bodies, thoughts, and feelings, which are considered inferior and may be ridiculed or humiliated (Candraningrum, 2014). Sexism can occur in various aspects and is one

of the things that cause someone to commit acts of harassment. Thus, sexism is very detrimental to women. In everyday life, sexism is originally often seen as light entertainment that does not need to be used as material to offend. However, because of the habit of using it as a joke, a culture of sexism has reached the point of “ignorance” and “insensitive”. This lack of sensitivity then gives birth to visible violence.

Realizing Gender Equality

The patriarchal culture, which includes toxic masculinity and sexism, is indirectly perpetuated by institutions, such as family, society, mass media, and the state. Thus, it is these institutions that have the responsibility to realize gender equality, including redefining the concepts of masculinity and femininity. Families need to apply parenting styles that encourage gender equality or are referred to as gender partnership families.

A study conducted by Olson (2011) shows that families with gender partnerships are happier than conventional families; namely, families that limit women’s roles to being in the kitchen, wells, and matresses.

The society and mass media also have an important role in realizing gender equality. Narratives of toxic masculinity, such as men should not cry, violence is commonplace for men, masculine men are sexually active and aggressive, the assumption that men are not natural to pour out their hearts, and so on, must be abolished from the society. This can be done; for example, through campaigns in the media or gender equality education and sex education.

Massive campaigns on social media can be a means of internalizing values in the society. In addition, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia/KPI) needs to regulate that broadcasts on television and other mainstream media carry the values of gender equality and provide a positive image of masculinity and femininity. The House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/DPR) must also add an aspect of gender equality in Law Number 32/2002 concerning Broadcasting, considering that in 2021, the Law will be included in the National Priority Legislation Program (*Program Legislasi Nasional/Prolegnas*). Meanwhile, gender equality education and sex education are also very important to be instilled in children and adolescents through the closest environ-

ment, such as families and schools, so that they understand gender equality and be aware of acts of sexual violence from an early age. In addition, the state, in this case, the DPR, is also required to provide a legal umbrella that can prevent and protect acts of violence and sexual harassment. One of them is by ratifying the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (*Rancangan Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual/RUU PKS*). So far, there is no adequate legal umbrella to prevent sexual violence and protect victims.

The Ministry of Women and Children Empowerment (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak) and Komnas Perempuan can also develop mechanisms for reporting acts of sexual violence and harassment that are easily accessible to all parties. For example, through applications, call centers, or other mechanisms. This is very important because so far, both regarding witnesses to acts of harassment and violence as well as victims, there are still many victims and witnesses who do not know where to go to report acts of violence or harassment that have occurred.

Finally, there are still many parties who think that gender inequality is women's problem only and can only be overcome by focusing on women. Meanwhile, gender inequality is a problem for all genders, including men, which have been considered as the superior gender. For this reason, it is very important to realize gender equality, which also involves the active role of men and various parties.

- Nisaaul Muthiah -

The culture that indirectly encourages sexual violence must be ended. Several institutions, such as family, mass media, state, and the society, must work together to eliminate this because women have the right to feel safe both in public and in private spaces.

Optimizing the Impact of Pre-Employment Cards during a Pandemic

The announcement of the selection of the 17th Pre-Employment Card was announced on June, 10. The management of implementing the Pre-Employment Card program ensures that the quota for batch 17 will be available as many as 44,000 people (Kompas.com, 07/05). This 17th wave is an additional wave in the first half of this year, which comes from the restoration of the membership status of the Pre-Employment Card recipients who were revoked from batches 12-16. The program, which has become President Joko Widodo's (Jokowi) campaign promise, continues to be implemented in the midst of public polemics. However, in the midst of the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) situation, which is not certain when it will end, a number of efforts need to be made to optimize the positive impact of the Pre-Employment Card.

Pre-Employment Card as a Social Safety Net

During the pandemic, the Central Government has also included the Pre-Employment Card program as a form of a social safety net (JPS). The World Bank (World Bank) (2021) explains that the JPS program is aimed at protecting groups of people or families who experience a chronic decline in conditions due to loss of work and steady income (chronic poor) and groups of people or families who experience a decline in the quality of poverty, so they are not able to meet the needs for survival (temporary poverty). The existence of JPS is also appropriate to encourage community productivity, which is supported through basic social assistance and the provision of job opportunities, especially in the aspects of health and education.

Looking at a number of President Joko Widodo's (Jokowi) flagship programs, such as the Smart Indonesia Card (KIP), the Healthy In-

Indonesia Card (KIS), and the Prosperous Family Card (KKS), they have clear goals and outcomes. KIP and KIS aim to help the poor/underprivileged to get basic social assistance in reaching education and health services. KKS aims to support basic needs in the form of Cash Direct Assistance (BLT) in the form of money. Meanwhile, if you look at the Pre-Employment Card, participants who pass the selection are given training and incentives. However, this program does not guarantee that participants will find employment.

From an empowerment perspective, this program is in line with the efforts to provide vocational training and work competency certification. Mulyadi (2016) explained that training is an effective form of social empowerment to overcome disease problems because people can determine their own destiny with the skills provided through social empowerment.

There are three types of vocational training courses in the Pre-Employment Card program (Rawie and Samputra, 2020). First, skilling vocational training given to unemployed or job seekers with the aim of increasing competence (skills) in accordance with the needs of the world of work as provisions in finding work. Second, up-skilling training that is given to employees to improve their competence according to the needs of the work being undertaken in the context of career development. Third, re-skilling; vocational training provided to workers who have been laid off or have been laid off with the aim of providing different/new skills to support entrepreneurship or professional transfer to new jobs.

The Effectiveness in the Pandemic: Optimizing the Impact of Pre-Employment Cards

Cyrus Network (2021) conducted a survey entitled “The Perceptions of Pre-Employment Card Recipients on the Implementation of Pre-Employment Cards” for 2,000 participants of the Pre-Employment Card program waves I–II. The survey results showed that as many as 98.7 percent of participants claimed to have benefited during the Pre-Employment Card program (Kompas.com, 23/05). In addition, as many as 98.4 percent of respondents agreed and strongly agreed if the government continued the Pre-Employment Card program in the future.

Still in the same article responding to the survey, Research Center of Reform on Economics (CORE) Indonesia, Piter Abdullah, said that the use of digital technology played a major role in the positive

perceptions of participants. This is reinforced by the answers from 96.2 percent of respondents who are satisfied and very satisfied with the digital program of the Pre-Employment Card platform. Seeing the pandemic situation that has not ended and the impact of the Pre-Employment Card, several efforts need to be made to optimize the resulting positive impact. Here are some recommendations.

First, expanding the reach of the Pre-Employment Card beneficiaries by continuing to encourage efforts to accelerate internet distribution. According to data from Kompas.com (14/07/2020), participants who have received benefits and passed the selection from 514 districts/cities throughout Indonesia. However, not all regions in Indonesia have good internet access. The Director of Government Information Application Services at the Ministry of Communication and Information, Bambang Dwi Anggono (2020) said that currently digital infrastructure was still not evenly distributed throughout Indonesia.

According to Kominfo data (2020), as many as 12,548 villages throughout Indonesia have not been able to access 4G internet. The Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo) according to the President's directive has been given a target to ensure that all villages can be connected to 4G internet by 2022. This effort needs to be continuously supported, because internet distribution will increase the distribution of beneficiaries of the Pre-Employment Card program, especially targeting areas that have a high city rate.

Second, focusing on increasing new entrepreneurs. President Jokowi has issued Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 76/2020. Thus, the purpose of the Pre-Employment Card is also more specific to focus on entrepreneurship development. Supporting this, the Ministry of Finance (Kemenkeu) has announced an increase in the budget allocation for the Pre-Employment Card in 2021 to Rp. 20 trillion, an increase of Rp. 10 trillion from the previously set budget (Tempo.com, 06/06). Vice Finance Minister (Wamenkeu) Suahasil Nazara revealed that the budget aims to provide additional assistance of 10 million People's Business Credit (KUR) in supporting the creation of new businesses from the alumni of the Pre-Employment Card participants.

According to the Pre-Employment Card Management Statistics (2021), 35 percent of recipients of the Pre-Employment Card were previously unemployed and then became workers and 17 percent of them became entrepreneurs. These results deserve to be appreciated and developed. New entrepreneurs who are alumni of Pre-Employment Card participants can be examples for participants who take part in this program. However, jobs or vacancies during this pandemic are very competitive, it would be very good if participants were directed to be independent by entrepreneurship.

As far as the author observes, the materials provided in the Pre-Employment Card program are also very relevant to support the presence of new entrepreneurs or those who want to develop their businesses during this pandemic. Moreover, there are opportunities where people also rely on online purchases or shopping. Participants can be directed to create an online business or other businesses matching their interests and resources.

The government's seriousness in supporting the existence of new entrepreneurs can also be realized with support and assistance or monitoring and evaluation of new entrepreneurs. This effort can be done by collaborating with private communities (startup companies, businesses, etc.) as well as universities. Synergy with the Ministry of Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) also needs to be improved because it is the leading sector in this effort.

- Vunny Wijaya -

Optimizing the impact of the Pre-Employment Card program during the pandemic is very important, including in encouraging the birth of new entrepreneurs. This can be done by reaching the beneficiaries of the Pre-Employment Card by continuing to encourage the acceleration of internet distribution.


THE INDONESIAN INSTITUTE
 CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

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.

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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

