

The Indonesian Update

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



Main Report:
Understanding Golput in Elections

The Economics

- The Policies and Challenges of Hydrogen Development in Indonesia ■
- Bolstering the Potential of Indonesia's Creative Economy in 2024 ■

Law

- The Comparative Study of Indigenous Peoples' Candidacies in Indonesia and Brazil Elections ■
- The Participation of Persons with Disabilities in the 2024 Elections Candidacy ■

Politics

- Examining the Potential Coalitions and Pragmatism of Political Parties in Post-2024 Presidential Elections ■

Social

- Interpreting the Essence of Social Justice In the Vision-Mission of the 2024 Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates ■
- Women and the Reflections on the Anti-Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Movement ■

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	1
MAIN REPORT	
Understanding Golput in Elections.....	3
THE ECONOMICS	
The Policies and Challenges of Hydrogen Development in Indonesia	10
Bolstering the Potential of Indonesia’s Creative Economy in 2024	17
LAW	
The Comparative Study of Indigenous Peoples’ Candidacies in Indonesia and Brazil Elections.....	22
The Participation of Persons with Disabilities in the 2024 Elections Candidacy	27
POLITICS	
Examining the Potential Coalitions and Pragmatism of Political Parties in Post-2024 Presidential Elections.....	32
SOCIAL	
Interpreting the Essence of Social Justice In the Vision-Mission of the 2024 Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates.....	37
Women and the Reflections on the Anti-Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Movement	44

INSTITUTIONAL PROFILE	49
RESEARCH PROGRAMS, SURVEY AND EVALUATION	51
PUBLIC DISCUSSION	55
TRAINING & WORKING GROUP FACILITATION ...	56

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FOREWORD

The February 2024 edition of the Indonesian Update features a main report regarding the phenomenon of white group (golput) in general elections (Pemilu). Abstention is not merely apathy. Golput should be interpreted and reflected as a form of protest and an expression of dissatisfaction with the Government's performance and other issues. It is important to make joint efforts to respond to expressions of abstention and to improve the system that applies in democracy, including in the context of elections.

In the economic sector, the Indonesian Update highlights the policies of the Indonesian Government that has committed to developing hydrogen through various national hydrogen development policies and strategies. However, hydrogen development in Indonesia is also not free from challenges. Next, we also discuss the creative economy or orange economy, which is an economy that is intertwined with economic, cultural and social aspects that interact with technology, intellectual property and tourism destinations.

In the legal field, the Indonesian Update addresses the participation of persons with disabilities in the 2024 election contestation. It cannot be denied that there must still be optimal efforts to continue to increase the political participation of persons with disabilities as election participants or candidates in election contestations. Next, we also discuss the comparison of community candidacy in elections in Indonesia and Brazil, as protecting the rights of indigenous peoples is as important as protecting the human rights of all citizens because all citizens are equal before the law, including in the context of elections.

In the political field, the Indonesian Update highlights the dynamics that are developing regarding the coalitions of political parties supporting presidential candidates after the results of the 2024 Presidential Elections (Pilpres) on February 14 2024. The pragmatism of political parties will determine the direction of the coalitions after the 2024 presidential elections.

In the social sector, the Indonesian Update highlights that new candidates for the head of government require an inclusive perspective in implementing campaign promises in the policy processes, including in efforts to realize people's welfare and social justice for all Indonesian people. Next, we also discuss women and the reflections on the anti-female genital mutilation (FGM) movement. The government needs to share a perspective framework regarding the importance of providing women with a sense of security regarding their bodies.

It is hoped that the monthly publication of the Indonesian Update with current themes will help policy makers in government and business institutions - as well as academic circles, think tanks and elements of civil society, both at home and abroad, to obtain actual information and contextual analysis about economic conditions, politics, social and law in Indonesia, as well as an understanding of public policy in Indonesia.

Happy reading.

The Significance of the 2024 EIT Law to the Problems of the Right to Freedom of Expression in Previous EIT Laws

Golput or White Group, is a group that deliberately refuses to exercise its right to vote in the general election process. In Indonesia, the abstention movement began to emerge in 1971, initiated by Arief Budiman, Julius Usman, and Imam Malujo Sumali. At that time, they chose not to take part in the election as a form of protest against the Soeharto government, which was considered authoritarian and limiting the freedom of participation in political activities, including the formation of political parties. Limiting the number of parties by the government is considered a violation of the basic principles of democracy; namely, the freedom of organization and politics (Budiman, 2006).

At that time, various student groups united to gather support for actions that were outside the formal procedures established by the Government. They encouraged voters not to follow the official rules and to vote outside the designated voting boxes. This group was later given by Arief Budiman the name “golput,” referring to their suggestion to vote on the blank or white part of the election paper.

Apart from feeling disappointed with the Government, which was considered authoritarian, political parties were also considered only as tools for the interests of the regime in power. Political party leaders are part of the Government elite who were isolated from the people, and they prioritized government programs rather than the interests of the people as a whole. Apathy towards political parties started to develop in the society, especially in big cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta and other cities. The abstention political movement initiated by Arief Budiman and his colleagues was a deliberate action as a form of moral protest against the government and existing political parties. This reflected deep disappointment with a political system that was seen as not serving the interests of the people.

Abstention from Year to Year

After 1971, the abstention movement continued to show its significant presence in the society. In fact, more and more non-voting movements joined efforts to improve and search for better alternative solutions to improve the Indonesian political system in accordance with democratic principles. At the time of the 1977 elections, abstentions emerged again strongly in the midst of the crisis that hit the government during the New Order era. This phenomenon was reflected in various important events such as the party fusion policy in 1973, the Malari riots in 1974, the Pertamina corruption scandal in 1975, and various other corruption cases involving government departments.

When the 1987 elections took place, Golkar managed to achieve a big victory with a vote percentage of 73.2% (Jahroh, 2015). However, this success was accompanied by national tensions regarding a number of issues that remain unresolved, including changes in national leadership, political stability, and economic development problems. In the 1992 elections, the abstention movement was not only driven by students, but also received widespread support from poor people both in cities and villages. They felt the negative impacts of government policies, such as land evictions and increasing unemployment.

When the 1997 elections took place, the situation was not much different. In fact, it appeared that public confidence in the legitimacy of the elections decreased. This time, the percentage of abstentions reached around 9.42% (Siti, 2015), indicating a high level of dissatisfaction with the existing political system. After the fall of the New Order, especially in the 2004 elections, the abstention rate remained high, reflecting the dissatisfaction that the majority of the society still felt with the new political system and government.

By looking at the development of the abstention phenomenon from year to year (1971-1998), at least this series of events explains three main things. First, with the emergence of an awareness of rationality among voters, especially in the context of elections that are considered relatively safe, peaceful and democratic, people have greater opportunities to express their political freedom and sovereignty. The 2004 elections were a concrete proof that the people had a deep understanding of their own rights.

The people were no longer just tools for the interests of political elites, but rather had critical views on the agendas championed by political parties and political elites. The public believed that political elite tended to only pay attention to the interests of their own group and party, without paying attention to the broader interests of the entire people. Therefore, the 2004 Elections were an important

moment in which the people showed that they had mature political awareness and were able to make critical assessments of the leaders and political parties they supported.

Second, the lack of alternative parties is still an important issue in political development. While the freedoms afforded by democratic systems create opportunities for change, they also carry the risks of fragmenting reformist forces. This happens because of the emergence of new parties, which often only have half-hearted commitments and are influenced by various primordial interests. As a result, the existence of these parties can become an obstacle to healthy and sustainable democratic consolidation.

The importance of having parties that are credible and fully committed to democratic principles is becoming increasingly clear, because they can become the main pillars in building a solid foundation for an inclusive and representative political system. Therefore, to achieve strong democratic consolidation, serious efforts are needed to build quality alternative parties that are able to accommodate the interests of the society at large.

Third, political parties experience dysfunction, especially in terms of representing the interests of the society. They fail to combine the various interests of the people, giving the impression that political power is more in favor of the political elite than the interests of the people in general. This gives rise to the view that political parties tend to maintain their power in the name of the interests of a small elite, without paying attention to the needs and aspirations of the wider people. This dysfunction is detrimental to the democratization process because it reduces people's sense of trust and legitimacy in political institutions.

Therefore, serious efforts are needed to improve the political representation system so that political parties can be more effective in articulating and representing the interests of the people as a whole. This will help ensure that political power is truly exercised in the interests of the wider community, not just a small political elite.

The Analysis of the Causes of Abstention

The analysis of the causes of abstention can be divided into two factors; namely, internal factors and external factors. Apart from voters' critical considerations for abstaining from voting as stated above, internal factors are mainly related to constraints or obstacles experienced directly by voters. One example of an internal factor is technical obstacles, such as worsening health so that someone

cannot go to a polling place (TPS), or is not registered on the Permanent Voter List (DPT). Apart from that, other internal factors can be related to work; for example, someone has to work in a remote location such as a sailing ship or in the middle of the forest, making it impossible for them to be present at the polling station on the Election Day. Also, the challenges when TPS cannot be accessed, such as by people with disabilities or by voters who live in remote areas.

On the other hand, external factors include a wider range of things beyond an individual's control, such as administrative problems, lack of comprehensive information dissemination on the electoral process so that many people do not know the procedures or importance of participating in elections, as well as political choice factors and high levels of distrust in the society towards the existing political system. This distrust can arise from the Government's failure to deal with social and economic problems, as well as rampant corruption scandals.

Overall, both internal and external factors can contribute to the high number of abstention in a general elections. Therefore, there needs to be serious efforts from the Government and related institutions to overcome these various obstacles and obstacles, as well as increasing community participation in the democratic process. This can be done through more effective outreach, increasing voting accessibility, as well as concrete steps to improve the political system and the government as a whole.

The Reflections on the 2024 Elections

Political observers from the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) (2023) provided interesting predictions regarding the abstention rate in the 2024 elections. According to him, it is possible that the abstention rate could reach 18-20%. This projection reflected a critical view of domestic political dynamics considered to have experienced a drastic decline recently. However, as of the writing of this article, there is no official data from the KPU showing the level of abstentions in the 2024 elections, so the data from BRIN cannot be accepted or refuted.

The declining political dynamics can be explained from several aspects. First of all, the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) is one of the factors that creates dissatisfaction among the society. Constitutional Court decisions that are controversial or considered detrimental can trigger distrust of the judiciary and the legal process as a whole.

Furthermore, the issue of presidential neutrality is also a factor that complicates political dynamics. Criticism of the president's neutrality can have a negative impact on public confidence in the justice and independence of the institution of the head of state. Apart from that, the distribution of social assistance (bansos), which is considered massive and tends to be undirected, also enlivens political dynamics. Criticism of the way social assistance is distributed, which is considered to be blind and not in line with community needs, can increase the level of dissatisfaction and distrust of the Government's performance.

Thus, abstention is not merely apathy. Golput should be interpreted and reflected as a form of protest and expression of dissatisfaction with the Government's performance and other issues. The high projection of abstentions in the 2024 election may be a direct response to political dynamics and policies that are considered controversial or detrimental by the majority of society.

Thus, the prediction of a high abstention rate in the 2024 elections should be a serious concern for the Government, election management institutions and of course civil society in general. The efforts to understand and overcome the root causes of public dissatisfaction need to be made so that democracy can continue to run well and receive broad support from its citizens.

Recommendations

As the main driver of political dynamics, political parties have a big responsibility in revitalizing the democratic system. Therefore, they need to carry out an in-depth analysis of the factors that caused the high number of abstentions in the previous elections. By understanding the root of the problem, political parties can detail the aspects that need to be improved and evaluated, and use this as a basis for preparing more effective and responsive programs.

In addition, it is important to encourage candidates and political parties to focus their campaigns more on positive, informative, educative and inspirational narratives. This kind of approach can not only shape better perceptions among voters, but also has the potential to increase public interest and participation in the democratic process. Campaigns that focus on substantial and relevant issues to the society can provide constructive solutions that will be better able to motivate voters to become actively involved.

Not only that, it is also important for political parties to implement

comprehensive political education programs. By taking this approach, parties can provide the public with a better understanding of the importance of political participation, voters' rights, and the positive impact of involvement and active participation in general elections. Holistic political education will help create a society that is more informed, critical and involved in the political process, which can ultimately reduce the rate of abstentions and strengthen the foundations of democracy.

Election organizers, such as the General Election Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu), have a big responsibility in ensuring that the election process runs transparently, fairly and inclusively. To achieve this, they must carry out intensive and targeted outreach campaigns to the community. This campaign not only aims to thoroughly explain the election process but also to educate the public about the importance of their right to vote, as well as the impact of active participation or absence in the election.

Apart from that, election organizers must also ensure that information regarding candidates, political platforms and party programs is available transparently and easily accessible to the public. By providing clear and open information, the public will be better able to make decisions that are more informed and based on a strong understanding of the vision and mission of the candidates and the programs they offer.

No less important, the use of technology and commitment to applying open election data can also be an effective means of increasing the accessibility of election-related information. The KPU and Bawaslu can develop applications or websites that are user-friendly and provide information that is easy to understand for all levels of the society. In this way, the public can easily access information regarding the election process, list of candidates, as well as information related to voting, which will ultimately increase their participation and involvement in the democratic process.

Legislative members, as election policy makers, have an important role in maintaining the integrity and public trust in the democratic process. To achieve this, they must consider revising the electoral system through changes to the Election Law. Reform of the electoral system must aim to increase integrity and transparency so that the public can have stronger confidence in fairness and truth in general elections.

Apart from that, legislative members also need to directly involve the public in the political decision-making process. Active participation programs can create a sense of belonging among people and motivate

voters to participate actively in the political process. On the other hand, legislative members must demonstrate their performance as representatives of the people and one of the pillars of democracy with seriousness, integrity and sustainability.

Public consultation and open discussion are also important steps to increase public trust and involvement in policy making. Through this forum, the public can convey their aspirations, concerns and input regarding the election process so that policy makers can better consider the interests and needs of the community in designing more inclusive and representative policies.

Finally, cooperation between the Government, educational institutions, NGOs and the private sector is very important in overcoming the obstacles that cause high abstention rates. By working together, various parties can support each other through their resources and implement effective strategies to increase voter participation, provide a better understanding of the importance of political participation, and overcome problems that affect people's trust in the political system. This is an important step towards realizing elections that are more democratic, relevant, contextual and inclusive.

- Felia Primaresti -

Golput is not just apathy. Golput should be interpreted and reflected as a form of protest and expression of dissatisfaction with the Government's performance and other issues. "It is important to make joint efforts to respond to expressions of abstention and improve the system that applies in democracy, including in the context of elections."

The Policies and Challenges of Hydrogen Development in Indonesia

The year 2023 was crowned as the hottest year on record. According to the Copernicus Climate Change Service (C3S) (January 9, 2024), the global average temperature in 2023 was 14.98°C; that is, 0.17°C higher than the highest global average temperature in 2016. C3S also recorded concentrations of carbon dioxide (CO₂) and methane (CH₄) in the atmosphere of 419 parts per million (ppm) and 1,902 parts per billion (ppb), respectively, in 2023. The carbon dioxide and methane concentration figures were 2.4 ppm and 11 ppb, respectively, higher than those in 2022.

The phenomenon of hot temperatures in 2023 also occurred in Indonesia. The Indonesia Meteorology, Climatology and Geophysics Agency (BMKG) (January 1, 2024) stated that the average air temperature in 2023 was 27.2°C, which was 0.5°C higher than the average air temperature during the period of 1991- 2020. It made 2023 the second hottest year after 2016 in Indonesia, which explained that the 'global boiling' phenomenon had indeed occurred.

Indonesia itself has a commitment to mitigating climate change by reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 31.89% with its own efforts (unconditionally) and 43.2% with international assistance (conditionally) in the Enhanced Nationally Determined Contribution (ENDC). The energy sector is also one of the sectors contributing to the substantial GHG emissions in Indonesia. The energy transition from fossil energy to renewable energy is also being implemented. One of the renewable energies currently being developed by the Indonesian government is hydrogen.

This article will analyze the hydrogen energy development policies in Indonesia, the challenges of its development, and the recommendations for the current Government and also the new Government for the 2024-2029 period.

Policies and Challenges for Hydrogen Development in Indonesia

Hydrogen is said to be the world's future energy source. There are at least three things that support this argument. First, rapid technological developments have made world hydrogen prices more affordable. Green hydrogen; for example, has a production price of around US\$2.7 to US\$8.8 per kilogram, which in 2030 will be US\$2 to US\$6 per kilogram with technological improvements (World Energy Council, 2021).

Second, the demand for clean energy is increasing to support the net-zero emission (NZE) commitment. According to the zero-tracker.net site (accessed January 13, 2024), 151 countries covering 88% of GHG emissions and 89% of the population have committed to achieving NZE. Third, the desire of the world community to stop using fossil energy. This can be seen from 84% of respondents surveyed by the World Economic Forum and Ipsos, who emphasized the importance of switching to sustainable energy sources (World Economic Forum, March 30, 2022). Therefore, the majority of countries in the world, including Indonesia, are implementing energy transition policies, one of which is through the development of hydrogen.

The energy transition policies in Indonesia are salient because the energy mix in Indonesia is still dominated by fossil energy. Based on data from the National Energy Council (DEN) in the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM) (January 18, 2024), coal still dominates Indonesia's energy mix in 2023 with a value of 40.46%, followed by petroleum (30.18%), natural gas (16.28%), and new renewable energy (EBT) of 13.09%. Renewable energy use, such as hydrogen, is one of the crucial factors for the energy transition process in Indonesia.

According to the "National Hydrogen Strategy" report (2023) by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, hydrogen plays a vital role in the de-carbonization process of the energy sector, such as fuel for fuel cell electric vehicles (FCEV), as an energy storage medium; hydrogen power-to-X; as well as de-carbonization of sectors that are difficult to be independent of fossil energy; for example the aviation sector, steel production, manufacturing, transportation and shipping. The report also states that Indonesia's current hydrogen consumption was around 1.75 million tons per year, of which the majority was used for urea (88%) and ammonia and oil refineries at 4% and 2%, respectively. However, the source of hydrogen

used in Indonesia currently comes from natural gas, which, if we refer to the hydrogen color code classification, is gray hydrogen.

Generally, the hydrogen color code classification is related to the production source used and the production method, such as the gray hydrogen described earlier. According to the Deputy Dean for Applied Science Research at the University of British Columbia, Walter Mérida, in the Conversation (July 15, 2021), gray hydrogen was hydrogen produced from fossil energy production sources, such as natural gas, the majority of which produced through the steam methane reforming (SMR) process. Gray hydrogen production costs ranged from US\$0.98 to US\$2.93 per kilogram (BloombergNEF, August 9, 2023). However, gray hydrogen is not 'clean' hydrogen because the GHG emissions produced were moderately high; that is, around 11.1-13.7 kilograms of CO₂e per 1 kilogram of hydrogen (Longden et al., 2021, in Green Hydrogen Organization, January 28, 2022).

In addition to gray hydrogen, blue and green hydrogen were the two most frequently discussed hydrogen color codes and were also being developed by the Government of Indonesia. Blue hydrogen, which was also referred to as 'low carbon hydrogen', was gray hydrogen with the Carbon Capture Storage (CCS) process. The CCS technology made the production cost of blue hydrogen higher than gray hydrogen. BloombergNEF (August 9, 2023) said that the cost of producing blue hydrogen was US\$1.8 to US\$4.7 per kilogram. The application of CCS made GHG emissions produced by blue hydrogen smaller than gray hydrogen; namely, 5.8-8.5 kilograms of CO₂e per 1 kilogram of hydrogen for a 56% capture rate and 1.7-4.3 kilograms of CO₂e per 1 kilogram of hydrogen for a 90% capture rate (Longden et al., 2021, in Green Hydrogen Organization, January 28, 2022).

Compared to gray and blue hydrogen, green hydrogen; namely, hydrogen produced through an electrolysis process and using renewable energy, could be said to be 'clean' hydrogen. The Hydrogen Council in the Green Hydrogen Organization (January 28, 2022) stated that the GHG emissions produced were only 0.3-1 kilogram CO₂e per 1 kilogram of hydrogen. However, the cost of producing green hydrogen was still very high because it requires electricity from renewable energy sources. BloombergNEF (August 9, 2023) noted that production costs range from US\$4.5-US\$12 per kilogram.

In developing blue and green hydrogen, the Indonesian Government refers to several policies related to hydrogen and new renewable energy in general. Several policies used in developing the hydrogen and new renewable energy ecosystem are summarized in the following table.

No.	Regulations	Descriptions
1	Law Number 30/2007 on Energy (UU 30/2007)	Emphasizes energy regulation, energy security, energy justice, sustainable development and environmental sustainability.
2	Law Number 30/2009 on the Electricity (UU 30/2009) which was updated by Law Number 6 of 2023 on the Determination of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 2 of 2022 on the Job Creation into Law (UU 6/2023)	Several articles in Law 30/2009 have been amended in Law 6/2023 to make it easier for business actors to obtain business permits. Emphasizes planning and governance of the national electricity sector, and also encourages the use of new renewable energy sources.
3	Government Regulation Number 79/2014 on the National Energy Policy (PP 79/2014)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Several things that are attached regarding the use of EBT and the mix of EBT in the national energy mix of 23% in 2025 and 31% in 2050. A new Draft Government Regulation (RPP) to replace PP 79/2014 is being formulated and is expected to be completed in June 2024. The process has now reached the harmonization process by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, 19 January 2024).
4	Government Regulation Number 14/2015 on the National Industrial Development Master Plan 2015-2035 (PP 14/2015)	Encouraging the strengthening of national industry, including the fertilizer industry, which in fact uses hydrogen through technology development, usage and development of EBT in the green industry.
5	Presidential Regulation Number 22/2017 on the General National Energy Plan (Perpres 22/2017)	Explains the energy demand-supply until 2050, maximizing the use of renewable energy by looking at economic value, developing hydro energy which can produce green hydrogen, including developing hydrogen for transportation.

6	Government Regulation Number 74/2021 on the Amendments to Government Regulation Number 73 of 2019 on the Taxable Goods Classified as Luxury in the Form of Motor Vehicles Subject to Sales Tax on Luxury Goods (PP 74/2021)	Hydrogen is used as fuel for fuel cell electric vehicles (FCEV). In Article 36 PP 74/2021, a Sales Tax rate on Luxury Goods (PPnBM) of 0% is given for battery electric vehicles or fuel cell electric vehicles.
7	New and Renewable Energy Bill	Based on the Problem Inventory List (DIM) of the 2022 New and Renewable Energy Bill, Article 9 was changed to "New Energy Sources consist of nuclear and other New Energy Sources", one of which is hydrogen.
8	Presidential Regulation Number 11/2023 on the Additional Concurrent Government Affairs in the Energy and Mineral Resources Sector in the New Renewable Energy Subsector (Presidential Decree 11/2023)	Explains the authority of the Central Government which includes managing hydrogen as a New Renewable Energy.

Source: Several regulations are quoted from the “Indonesia Hydrogen Roadmap” report by IFHE and BRIN, 2023. The regulatory lists and descriptions are processed and updated by the author.

The seriousness of the Government of Indonesia in developing hydrogen can also be seen from the activities and development of hydrogen utilization, as included in the “National Hydrogen Strategy” (2023) by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources; namely, studies conducted by various institutions including universities, private companies, state-owned companies and foreign companies; cooperation that has been agreed; for example, between PT PLN (Persero) and Hydrogen De France (HDF) Energy; cooperation between PT PLN (Persero) and IHI Corporation Japan in a hydrogen and ammonia co-firing pilot project, as well as investment plans by Augustal Global Investment (AGI) Germany related to green hydrogen production plans in Sumatra.

However, the development of hydrogen in Indonesia is also not free from several challenges in terms of technology, regional geography, dependence on fossil energy, and regulations.

First, there are technological challenges. Carbon Capture Storage (CCS) technology is needed for the blue hydrogen's development. The cost of CCS technology is still relatively expensive because it depends on the type of process, capture levels, carbon dioxide transportation, and storage location (International Institute for Sustainable Development, 7 September 2023). The technology for green hydrogen is much more expensive than blue hydrogen, which is also still in the development stage. Moreover, green hydrogen also requires EBT as an energy source, which is another challenge for the Government because Indonesia's EBT mix is still far from the target.

Second, the geography of Indonesia as an archipelagic country is also a challenge where logistics costs for developing EBT become more expensive. Third, Indonesia is still very dependent on fossil energy, such as coal and natural gas. These two fossil energies are needed in the energy transition process. However, it is feared that developing blue hydrogen; for example, which requires CCS, will further extend Indonesia's dependence on fossil energy, especially natural gas.

The final challenge is related to regulations. The Government still does not have regulations that are specified in governing hydrogen development, even though the Government already has a road map for this. Moreover, it can also be said that the Government has been discussing the New and Renewable Energy Bill for quite some time, which could be one of the regulations that can accelerate the development of low-carbon hydrogen and green hydrogen in Indonesia. This regulatory uncertainty can also hinder the desire of domestic and foreign investors to invest capital in hydrogen development in Indonesia.

Hydrogen Development Recommendations

According to the explanations above, these are several recommendations for the Government of President Joko Widodo and the New Government 2024-2029.

First, regarding regulations, the Government through the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (KESDM), Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK), Ministry of Finance (Kemenkeu), Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises (KBUMN), Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology (Kemendikbudristek), the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (KemenkumHAM) together with the House of Representatives (DPR) must be able to discuss

carefully but also quickly the New and Renewable Energy Bill. It could be a milestone in hydrogen development in Indonesia.

Second, the Government, through the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises, also needs to collaborate with the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment (Kemenkomarves) and the Ministry of Investment/Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) in encouraging international cooperation in the development of low-carbon hydrogen and green hydrogen in Indonesia. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology could also collaborate with countries that have succeeded in developing hydrogen in relation to the transfer of knowledge, experience, and technology adaptation.

Third, the Government, through the Indonesian Financial Services Authority (OJK), can provide incentives for banks that support hydrogen development in Indonesia. The Ministry of Finance could also work with the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises to provide fiscal incentives, such as research and development funds for state-owned and private companies that want to develop hydrogen.

Fourth, the Government across the ministries above also needs to collaborate with several relevant associations, such as the Indonesian Employers Association (APINDO) and the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN) related to hydrogen.

- Putu Rusta Adijaya -

The Indonesian Government has committed to developing hydrogen through various existing policies and a national hydrogen development strategy. However, hydrogen development in Indonesia is also not free from challenges. There are several things the Government can do; namely, speeding up regulations for hydrogen development; encouraging international cooperation; providing incentives for banks, state-owned companies and the private sector, as well as collaborating with various relevant associations, such as APINDO and KADIN.

Bolstering the Potential of Indonesia's Creative Economy in 2024

Creative economy, also known as orange economy, is a concept that is developed based on the contribution and potential of creative assets to contribute to economic growth, which includes economic, cultural, and social aspects that interact with technology, intellectual property, and tourism destinations (United Nations, 2023). Referring to Article 1 of Government Regulation (PP) Number 24/2022 on the Implementations of Law Number 24/2019 concerning Creative Economy, creative economy is defined as “the realization of added value from intellectual property originating from human creativity based on cultural heritage, science knowledge, and/or technology.” In other words, creative economy is an economy that is supported by multidisciplinary sciences and innovative policies such as technology in its development and implementations.

In general, creative economy in the world, including Indonesia, is growing after the COVID-19 pandemic, an unprecedented situation that devastated the economy in 2020. According to the Press Release of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy/Tourism and Creative Economy Agency (Kemenparekraf/Baparekraf) on October 13, 2023, the growth of creative economy of Indonesia in 2019 or the pre-pandemic period was 3.9%. The presence of COVID-19, which caused massive-scale economic restrictions, led to the growth of creative economy to -0.5% in 2020. Its growth rebounded again to 2.9% in 2021 and rose sharply to 9.49% in 2022. In 2022, the growth of creative economy was 5.59 percentage points higher, or an increase of 143.3%, compared to 2019.

In Indonesia, there are 17 types of creative economy, ranging from game development, interior design, crafts, fashion, and culinary to performing arts. The contribution of creative economy in Indonesia has also proven to be moderately high to the national economy. Kemenparekraf/Baparekraf said that in 2022, the contribution of creative economy to the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was IDR 1,280 trillion, while the contribution of the creative economy

sector workforce in 2022 was 17.7% (Kemenparekraf/Baparekraf, October 13, 2023).

However, the development of creative economy in Indonesia is facing various challenges, from domestic to global challenges. This article will analyze the climate of the world's and Indonesia's creative economy sector, the challenges to developing creative economy in Indonesia, and recommendations for the current Government and the new Government in the future to strengthen and accelerate creative economy in Indonesia.

The Creative Economy Sector and its Challenges in Indonesia

Creative economy is one of the fastest-growing sectors across the world. According to Forbes (May 16, 2023), the global value of creative economy is estimated at US\$985 billion without showing any slowdown. Based on the nine countries studied, Deloitte (June 2021), in its report entitled: "The Future of the Creative Economy", stated that the creative economy is predicted to grow 40% in 2030.

The creative economy sector contributes 3.1% to world GDP, where the value of exports of cultural goods in 2019 was valued at US\$271.7 billion or doubled from 2005, while the value of exports of cultural services valued at US\$117.4 billion in 2019 (UNESCO, 2022a, in India CWG Background Paper Priority, 2023). This sector also apparently employs people aged 15-29 years, which are more young people than other sectors, and provides employment opportunities for approximately 50 million people throughout the world (India CWG Background Paper Priority, 2023; UNESCO, 2022b, in India CWG Background Priority Papers, 2023). The income generated from the creative economy sector globally is also quite large; that is, US\$2.25 trillion (UNESCO, 2018, in India CWG Background Paper Priority, 2023).

The contribution of creative economy is also quite significant in Indonesia; for example, in terms of the number of workers. A total of 23.98 million people worked in the creative economy sector in 2022, or a growth of 23.7% from 2020, which amounted to 19.39 million people. The creative economy subsectors in Indonesia are very diverse; namely, 17 subsectors, of which the fashion, culinary, and craft subsectors contribute 99.94% of the total export value of the country's creative economy products. The contribution of the export value of creative economy products during the January-

June 2023 period from the fashion subsector was US\$6.56 billion, while the culinary subsector contributed US\$4.46 billion, and the crafts subsector contributed US\$792.67 million (Kemenparekraf/Baparekraf, 2023).

Kemenparekraf/Baparekraf (October 13, 2023) also noted that the creative economy sector absorbs more female workers (58%) than male workers (42%). Moreover, the creative economy sector also absorbs workers from high school graduates and below. As many as 54% of the workforce in the creative economy sector are senior high school (SLTA) graduates, followed by high school graduates at 38.8%, and 7.2% are diploma graduates or higher.

Although, in general, the fashion, culinary, and craft subsectors dominate in terms of exports of Indonesian creative economy products. This does not mean that other creative economy subsectors do not show growth prospects. The gaming industry is another promising creative economy subsector. According to Reedser Analysis data for 2023 in the Press Release of the Ministry of Communication and Information (December 11, 2023), as much as 70% of the Indonesian population had been exposed to games available on existing devices. In 2022, game users in Indonesia had downloaded 3.45 billion online games. In 2028, Indonesia is projected to have 45.5 million online game users with an estimated revenue of US\$491.10 million or almost IDR 6 trillion.

In an effort to encourage the games industry in Indonesia, the Government issued Presidential Regulation Number 19 of 2024 on the Acceleration of Development of the National Games Industry (Perpres 19/2024) on February 12, 2024. Several policy directions based on Presidential Decree 19/2024 include: (1) encouraging a national games industry that adapts to culture, technology, creativity, societal innovation, and the global economic environment; (2) creating a national games industry that is globally competitive; and (3) creating new jobs that support the arts and culture of the Indonesian nation.

Even though Indonesia's creative economy sector is growing due to demand for this sector, Indonesia's creative economy sector is also not free from challenges and obstacles that exist both domestically and internationally.

First, challenges related to Artificial Intelligence (AI). AI technology has developed rapidly from year to year, such as generative AI. Kemenparekraf/Baparekraf (2023) also noted that AI could assist in developing Indonesia's creative economy sector; for example, automation and production efficiency. The existence of generative AI can increase efficiency, and production speed, and reduce production costs in creative economy sectors, such as graphic design, animation, and the film industry. Although AI creates its own opportunities in the sector and is beneficial, as previously mentioned, generative AI can potentially hinder human creativity because everything can be done by AI, which can ultimately reduce innovation, art, and authentic new ideas from humans.

Second, challenges related to infrastructure and human resources in the technology sector. As previously stated, the gaming industry is an industry that will provide an economic value of IDR 6 trillion by 2028. Problems with technological infrastructure, such as the internet, research and development, and skilled human resources, are classic problems in building a digital economy. Developing a creative economy, such as the games industry, is arduous due to the lack of stable internet infrastructure, especially in remote areas of Indonesia, or the unavailability of other supporting infrastructure such as game studios. Human resources in Indonesia, which unfortunately are still dominated by high school graduates and below, do not yet have equal and standardized abilities based on needs.

Third, challenges related to the protection of intellectual property rights (IPR). According to a report by Dynatrace (2023), as many as 95% of leaders in the technology sector are concerned about data leaks and illegal use of intellectual property due to code generation by generative AI. The negative potential of generative AI will be detrimental to creative economy actors who already have copyrights if protection related to IPR is not strengthened and emphasized by the Government.

Recommendations

Indonesia has many creative economy subsectors, and each subsector has its own supply and demand. Therefore, in strengthening the potential of creative economy in Indonesia, there are several recommendations for the Government.

First, the Government, through the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy/Tourism and Creative Economy Agency (Kemenparekraf/Baparekraf), needs to collaborate with various associations

and companies in the creative economy subsectors and strengthen collaboration if this cooperation has already been carried out. That is because the 17 sub-sectors of creative economy in Indonesia have enormous potential. In fact, the film subsector displayed positive growth in 2023. The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy/Baparekraf could also collaborate with the Indonesia Financial Services Authority (OJK) to provide incentives for financial services institutions that contribute to developing Indonesia's existing creative economy subsector.

Second, the Government through the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy/Tourism and Creative Economy Agency (Kemparekraf/Baparekraf) could collaborate with the Ministry of Communications and Informatics, the Ministry of Manpower, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, as well as the Ministry of Cooperatives and MSMEs in providing training to human resources, especially MSMEs and MSMEs that are owned by women so that they can improve the creative economy independently.

Third, the Government, through the Ministry of Communications and Informatics, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, and the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy/Tourism and Creative Economy Agency, could further strengthen and emphasize intellectual property rights (IPR) regulations in order to provide a sense of security, comfort and legal certainty for community and MSMEs who work in the creative economy industry.

- Putu Rusta Adijaya -

Creative economy, or orange economy, is an economy that is intertwined with economic, cultural, and social aspects that interact with technology, intellectual property, and tourism purposes. It can be stated that the growth of creative economy in Indonesia has recovered after the COVID-19 pandemic and is predicted to continue to grow. "The Government needs to strengthen cooperation with companies in the creative economy subsector, to provide economic incentives, to provide skills training, and to strengthen legal products related to intellectual property rights to support creative economy in Indonesia."

The Comparative Study of Indigenous Peoples' Candidacies in Indonesia and Brazil Elections

Indigenous peoples are recognized and protected under Article 18 B of the 1945 Constitution. This makes indigenous peoples also part of Indonesian citizens who have the same political rights to vote and to be elected in general elections. The right to participate in the political life of the country is also protected by international instruments; namely, Article 5 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Over time and context, the interests and basic rights of indigenous peoples have been marginalized. Not only political rights in elections, but even the basic right to a prosperous life has not been achieved. In the development of the National Strategic Project (*Proyek Strategis Nasional/PSN*), which is heralded as the biggest achievement of this regime because of the large amount of infrastructure built, it turns out that there has not been much regard for the rights of indigenous peoples. According to the 2023 Agrarian Annual Report, in the development of PSN, there were 115 agrarian conflicts from 2020 to 2023, including the agrarian conflict on Rempang Island (Chaerudin, 2023).

In the case of Rempang Island as one example, the agrarian conflict started on land that the community considered to be ancestral heritage land from before independence that was issued with a Cultivation Rights Title and owned by PT Makmur Elok Graha. The disputed land is planned to be used for the construction of Rempang Eco City, which will contain factories and other properties. These development efforts have been affecting the Malay Tribe, the Sea Tribe, and other tribes who have lived on Rempang Island (ugm.ac.id, 25/9/2023). The conflict broke out with riots and clashes between the affected indigenous communities and the police, where violence and intimidation occurred in September 2023 (kompas.id, 16/9/2023).

Amid the neglect of the basic rights of life of indigenous peoples, it is very important to encourage government policies that favor the existence and life of indigenous peoples. This can then be fulfilled by having policymakers and implementers who carry out the interests of indigenous peoples or are even part of indigenous peoples themselves. In the context of the 2024 elections, this paper discusses the efforts of the indigenous peoples' movement to participate in the elections and its comparison with Brazil. This country is used as a comparison because Brazilian indigenous peoples have experienced the same issues as Indonesian indigenous peoples; namely, agrarian conflicts, evictions from land, violence, and intimidations in the majority of forest land for the establishment of mining or other state needs (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2023).

The Nomination and Endorsement of Indigenous Peoples' Representatives

To participate in elections as participants, indigenous peoples have moved together to fight for their rights in electoral politics since the holding of the Indigenous Peoples Congress of the Archipelago (*Kongres Masyarakat Adat Nusantara/KMAN*) III in 2007 until KMAN VI in 2022. In this movement, the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (*Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara/AMAN*) facilitates the election of indigenous delegates to contest elections (Akbar, 2023). AMAN is an independent community organization that works for the welfare of indigenous peoples. In AMAN's Outline of Work Program for Indigenous Peoples' political participation program, AMAN has a work program to expand indigenous peoples' political participation at all levels; strengthen the political base of indigenous peoples; and strengthen the capacity of indigenous peoples' political administrators and cadres (AMAN, 2022).

Reviewing the number of indigenous delegates, in the 2014 elections, 38 legislative candidates representing AMAN were elected to the legislature (Perludem.org, 4/2/2019). In 2019, there were 157 indigenous delegates nominated to contest the 2019 elections and 32 delegates for the 2024 elections (Perludem.org, 4/2/2019; Sombolinggi, 2023). The decline in this number is due to the issue of changing the electoral system to a closed proportional one, which in 2023 was tested at the Constitutional Court during the registration period for legislative candidates (Abdi Akbar, Director of Expansion of Political Participation of PB Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara, written answer on 12/2/2024).

The selection of indigenous delegates is done through a process of deliberation in the villages. The elected delegates are those who have been involved and struggling with indigenous peoples for many years and were born from customary deliberations in the villages. Furthermore, what the representatives of indigenous peoples have in common is a mission to fight for the constitutional rights of indigenous peoples, and to achieve indigenous peoples who are politically sovereign, economically independent, and culturally dignified (Akbar, 2023).

The community delegates then enter into a political contract that obliges the delegates to fight for the passage of the Indigenous Peoples Law and other policies that affect the interests of indigenous peoples. They will also join a political party in line with the rules for registering election participants in general. As a mode of accountability, successfully elected delegates are required to report every six months to AMAN on the progress made so far and issues in parliament (Akbar, 2023).

The mechanism reflects how representatives of the people should always have a dialogue with their constituents and follow the instructions of the ambassadors they represent. This method is in line with the spirit of the model of legislative representation as a messenger or delegate according to Bintan R. Saragih (1985) and the relationship pattern of the mandate theory of representation according to Giovanni Sartori (1962). This mechanism can also increase the confidence of indigenous delegates to enter political contestations as big as elections.

This compares to Brazil, which has the same problems facing indigenous peoples (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2023). Until 2022, only two indigenous people had served in the Parliament, Mario Juruna in 1982 and Joenia Wapichana in 2018. In the 2022 Brazilian elections, 181 indigenous candidates ran (Malleret, 2022). This increase in the number of indigenous candidates was influenced by Joenia's predecessor in the Parliament (Karipuna, 2022). Joenia influenced many indigenous advocacy groups that inspired many indigenous people (aljazeera.com, 23/9/2022).

Candidates during the candidacy period experienced several challenges, such as a lack of budget for campaigns, a lack of traditional political party structures, and a lack of donors (aljazeera.com, 23/9/2022). However, in the 2022 Brazilian elections, Brazil's indigenous peoples' organization, the Articulation of Indigenous

Peoples of Brazil (APIB), formed a campaign to elect “headdress caucus” candidates who would fight back against the destructive agenda affecting indigenous peoples’ lives (Malleret, 2022). In addition, APIB also started the “Indigenous Campaign” which provides legal assistance and political marketing for indigenous candidates (campaignhaindigena.info, 15/2/2024).

Candidates endorsed by APIB were aligned with indigenous movements, affiliated with progressive parties, had a concrete chance of winning, and were familiar with other social movements and organizations (Guajajara, 2023; news.mongabay.com). The candidates chosen to be supported by APIB came from the choices of indigenous organizations in their respective regions. The stages of support carried out by APIB were selection, follow-up, assistance, training, and support (campaignhaindigena.info, 15/2/2024).

According to the above observations, it can be seen that indigenous peoples’ candidacies in Indonesia and Brazil have many similarities. Indonesia and Brazil both have indigenous organizations that support indigenous delegates; namely, AMAN and APIB. Recalling the previous explanations, APIB also considers electability to support candidates chosen by regional indigenous organizations. Meanwhile, AMAN is not recorded as considering this. The mechanism of political contracts and semester reports between candidates and endorsers are also only carried out by AMAN, while APIB only assists in the pre-election stages.

Looking at the dynamics between APIB and its candidates, they can both be categorized as delegates according to Saragih (1985), such as AMAN and indigenous peoples’ delegates. However, the dynamics of giving instructions only occur before the elections, and there are no reporting mechanisms and political contracts. It is only an awareness of carrying the same mission for the welfare of indigenous peoples. This difference in approach actually adapts to the political and legal culture in each country. AMAN’s method is good for ensuring that the representatives of indigenous peoples carry out their duties to carry out the agenda of indigenous peoples’ interests. Meanwhile, the APIB method is good if there is already a high level of awareness and trust between APIB and its candidates to secure the interests of indigenous peoples.

Recommendations

According to the comparison between Indonesia and Brazil, the following recommendations are proposed to encourage the candidacies of indigenous peoples in elections in Indonesia:

- a. Local Governments and the Ministry of Home Affairs need to resolve basic issues related to indigenous population data collection. If indigenous peoples do not have appropriate population data, they cannot register as voters, let alone election participants. This basic right as citizens to be registered needs to be fulfilled immediately through the recognition of indigenous peoples through local regent/mayor decrees and the provision of electronic ID cards;
- b. Political parties need to open up more opportunities for indigenous peoples to participate in political parties and run for elections. Political parties as products of democracy need to manifest aspects of inclusion and participation, as well as equality for all levels of society, including indigenous peoples. In addition, in today's era, more pluralistic representation would be a good plus for political parties;
- c. Legislative election participants who are not from indigenous peoples also need to be concerned with indigenous peoples' issues. It is also important for election participants to raise awareness of indigenous peoples and to familiarize them with the problems faced by indigenous peoples, and be willing to bring their interests to the election contest;
- d. It is important to understand that the issue of indigenous peoples is not only mandatory for indigenous peoples themselves, but everyone needs to understand and participate in promoting the protection of the rights of fellow Indonesian citizens. Protecting the rights of indigenous peoples is as important as protecting the human rights of all citizens because all are equal before the law; and
- e. AMAN should continue to implement its indigenous delegate facilitation program as it is already a very good initiative. There is a need to re-expand political rights education to indigenous peoples through collaborative work with various relevant parties so that more indigenous peoples in more regions can participate in elections. There is also a need to embrace and encourage more trailblazers who could inspire indigenous peoples, such as Brazil with its Joenia Wapichana.

Protecting the rights of indigenous peoples is as important as protecting the human rights of all citizens because all citizens are equal before the law, including in the context of elections. It is important to encourage the candidacies of indigenous peoples in electoral contestation as a form of protection of civil and political freedoms, public participation, and representation of indigenous peoples in democracy.

- Christina Clarissa Intania -

The Participation of Persons with Disabilities in the 2024 Elections Candidacy

According to Article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities ratified in Law Number 19/2011 concerning the Ratification of the Convention on the Right of Persons with Disabilities, persons with disabilities have the same political rights as other people; namely, the rights to vote and to be elected in general elections (elections). The political rights of persons with disabilities are further protected in Article 13 of Law No. 8/2016 on Persons with Disabilities.

Persons with disabilities have the right to run in the elections. However, according to the 2019 General Election data, the number of election participants with disabilities was 35 people from 33 provinces including 10 women with disabilities, which was still relatively small (Fitri, 2019; General Election Commission/KPU Yogyakarta, 2019). For the 2024 elections, there are 11 legislative candidates with disabilities for the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia/DPR RI*) from West Java, East Java, Central Java, Banten, Jakarta Special Capital Region, Aceh, Banten (Kompas.com, 7/11/2023; Disability Access Election Center, 2024).

Meanwhile, for the Regional Representatives Council of the Republic of Indonesia and the Regional House of Representatives, the data have not been fully collected by the author as of the date of this writing (12/2), because the KPU's decision letters on the Permanent Candidate List (*Daftar Calon Tetap/DCT*) do not include disability information. Despite the numbers showing an increase or decrease, there must still be optimal efforts to continue to increase the political participation of persons with disabilities as election participants or candidates in election contestation. This article will discuss the challenges that are still present and cause obstacles to the fulfillment of the political rights of persons with disabilities to be elected in elections.

The Challenges for Persons with Disabilities as Election Participants

According to the literature study, the following is a summary of the challenges of persons with disabilities becoming election participants that occurred in previous elections. *First*, in the implementations of elections, the method of delivering several stages tended not to be able to accommodate persons with disabilities. For example, people with hearing and visual disabilities were not able to receive information on information dissemination, registration methods, the announcement of the determination of election participants, and the number of seats and electoral districts that accommodate their disabilities (PPUA Penca, 2011). This lack of information will lead to confusion or even ignorance about their political rights, which will directly impact the non-use of their political rights.

In the 2024 Election period, the KPU has provided information that in the 2024 Elections all information is published by prioritizing accessibility. Information on the KPU website has been equipped with audio assistance so that it can be accessed by people with visual disabilities and also other assistance such as enlarging the size of the text and much more (Mochammad Afifuddin, Member of KPU RI for the 2022-2027 Period, at the event “Public Dialogue of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Team: Persons with Disabilities as State Constituents”, February 2, 2024).

The second is the confusion of persons with disabilities due to the changing election-related regulations (Dwintari, 2018). When viewed in the 2019 elections, changes have been made to several KPU Regulations (PKPU) in the same year (2018), as summarized in the following table.

Many Changes	Regulation
3 times	PKPU on Individual Candidacy for DPD Member Elections
2 times	PKPU on Selection of Provincial KPU and Regency / City KPU Members
	PKPU Stages, Programs, and Schedule of the 2019 General Elections
	PKPU on Election Campaign Fund

I time	PKPU on Election Campaign
	PKPU on the Nomination of Members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, and Regency / City DPRD
	PKPU on the Formation and Working Procedures of <u>Sub-district Election Committees, Voting Committees, and Voting Organizer Groups in the Implementations of General Elections</u>
	PKPU on the Preparation of Voters List in Domestic in the Implementations of General Elections

Source: jdih.kpu.go.id, processed by the author, 2024.

According to the table above, in one year, three changes can be made. Especially for PKPU related to candidacy, it often changes and this has made people with disabilities confused and affected their participation in the 2019 elections.

In the context of the 2024 elections, the PKPU changes made in the same year (2023) are also still being made. The changes made are to PKPU on Voting Equipment, Other Equipment Support, and Other Voting Equipment in Elections, PKPU on the Nomination of Presidential and Vice Presidential Election Participants and PKPU on General Election Campaigns (jdih.kpu.go.id, 2024).

Third, there are not many people with disabilities who can access and graduate from higher education (Baniswati and Nugraha, 2019). This was based on data from the Central Statistics Agency in 2020 as reported by Databoks (2021) that as many as 20.51% of people with disabilities had never been to school compared to 3.05% of non-disabled people. Furthermore, 29.35% of persons with disabilities did not graduate from elementary school (SD); 26.32% graduated from elementary school; 9.97% graduated from junior high school; 10.47% graduated from senior high school; and 3.38% graduated from college. These percentages were still alarming and directly reflected the inequality between people with disabilities and non-disabled people in obtaining education.

Challenges in terms of the low level of education of persons with disabilities will closely impact on the lack of confidence of persons with disabilities to contest elections and the difficulty of gaining the trust of voters (Basniwati & Nugraha, 2019). When reflecting

on the minimum education requirements in Law Number 7/2017 concerning Elections, candidates for president and vice president, DPR, Provincial DPRD, and Regency / City DPRD must have at least a high school education or equivalent. In addition, to the statistics above, there are still many people with disabilities who have not been able to run in the elections.

Fourth, even when election participants with disabilities have successfully registered, it is still difficult to gain the trust of voters because people with disabilities are still underestimated (Fitri, 2019; Waisnawa & Dewi, 2019). The stigma that people with disabilities will not be able to carry out tasks as non-disabled people is still widespread in the community, even though administratively, people with disabilities are eligible and registered in the permanent candidate list. Factors such as physical and communication abilities are still the main considerations for voters who doubt election participants with disabilities.

Fifth, still related to the requirements, one that is still a source of confusion is the standard of physical and spiritual abilities for persons with disabilities (Fitri, 2019). In the archive of KPU regulations, from 2017 to 2024, decisions related to technical guidelines for physical and spiritual ability standards only regulated presidential, vice presidential, candidates for governor and deputy governor, candidates for regent and deputy regent, and candidates for mayor and deputy mayor. Similar provisions do not exist for legislative candidates (jdih.kpu.go.id, 2024). In KPU Decree Number 1374 of 2023 concerning Technical Guidelines for Health Examination of Candidates for President and Vice President in the 2024 General Elections, it is stipulated that the examination also includes examination of the five senses, neurology and sublime functions, psychiatry, and psychology, which can exclude persons with disabilities.

However, according to the Explanations to Article 240 Paragraph (2) Letter d of the Election Law, the existence of physical and mental health requirements is not intended to limit the political rights of citizens with disabilities who can carry out their duties as members of the DPR, provincial DPRD, and regency/city DPRD. In addition, the Elucidation of Article 182 letter h of the Election Law more clearly states that “Physically disabled” is not categorized as a health disorder, which indicates that this provision does not apply to persons with mental disabilities.

Recommendations

Referring to the challenges described earlier, the following can be done to improve the fulfillment of the political rights of persons with disabilities to be elected in elections:

- a. KPU needs to work more with civil society organizations in the regions to disseminate information on the political rights of persons with disabilities to vote and to be elected. KPU also needs to specifically convey that people with disabilities can and have the right to participate in election contestation as participants and be informed about the things needed by people with disabilities to be ready to register for elections;
- b. The KPU or political parties in the regions need to disseminate more provisions related to the requirements and implementations of elections to cadres with disabilities with methods that adjust to the variety of disabilities;
- c. KPU needs to provide a special percentage of representation of persons with disabilities, such as a special percentage of women's representation, and regulated in the Election Law/PKPU as one of the affirmative policies that can be done to pave the way for persons with disabilities to enter the election contestation;
- d. The need for consistency in the regulation of election provisions. If changes occur, there needs to be a certain ad hoc committee from the KPU that is directly assigned to disseminate information on changes in election provisions to election participants with disabilities according to each variety of disability;
- e. Inclusive education needs to be improved, as persons with disabilities need to attain the appropriate level of education to qualify for elections; and
- f. All educational, government, and private institutions need to be encouraged to have and implement an inclusive perspective so that stigmas against people with disabilities can slowly disappear and the wider community can objectively assess the substance of policies and innovations brought by election participants with disabilities in election contestation.

It is undeniable that there must still be optimal efforts to continue to increase the political participation of persons with disabilities as election participants or candidates in election contestation.

- Christina Clarissa Intania -

Examining the Potential Coalitions and Pragmatism of Political Parties in Post-2024 Presidential Elections

On February 14 2024, the Indonesian nation will hold general elections (Pemilu) simultaneously; namely, electing the President and Vice President, members of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR), the Indonesian Regional Representatives Council (DPD), as well as the Provincial and Regency House of Representatives (DPRD).

Specifically for the elections of president and vice president (Pilpres), according to Article 221 of Law (UU) Number 7/2017 concerning Elections, Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates are proposed in 1 (one) pair by a political party or a coalition of political parties. Furthermore, Article 222 states that candidate pairs are proposed by political parties or coalitions of political parties participating in the elections that meet the requirements for obtaining seats of at least 20% (twenty percent) of the total number of seats in the DPR or obtaining 25% (twenty five percent) of the valid national votes in the previous legislative elections. Therefore, in the 2024 elections there will be three pairs of candidates nominated by coalitions of political parties.

The three candidate pairs are, the Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar pair supported by the Nasdem Party, National Awakening Party (PKB), Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). The second one is the Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka pair supported by the Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, Democratic Party, National Mandate Party (PAN). The third one is the Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD pair supported by PDIP and PPP.

If we look at the composition of the political parties in each coalition, it shows that political parties that have an Islamic ideology or mass base have joined forces with political parties that tend to be nationalist. This is of course what has previously happened in the

elections in the Reform era, including in the last two elections; that is, the 2014 and 2019 elections.

The Previous Election Experience

Reflecting on the 2014 Elections, the Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa pair was supported by Golkar, Gerindra, PAN, PKS, PPP, the Democratic Party and PBB. Meanwhile, the pair of Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Jusuf Kalla (JK) was supported by PDIP, PKB, Nasdem, Hanura and PKPI. In 2019, the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair was supported by PDIP, Golkar, PKB, NasDem, PPP, Hanura, PKPI, Perindo, PSI, PBB. Meanwhile, their opponents, Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno were supported by Gerindra, the Democratic Party, PAN, PKS and the Berkarya Party.

In the elections in the Reform era, there has been a tendency to reduce political competition based on ideologies. The majority of parties in Indonesia that were founded in the Reform era tend to fall into the catch-all parties typology (Mellaz and Kartawidjaja, 2018). The fading of ideology in the post-reform political constellation has made political parties tend to be pragmatic and transactional. This means that ideology and political platforms are no longer the main basis for contestation. All parties in the elections tend to be “center” or more moderate, and compete for votes from the same niche of voters as other parties. This can also be seen in the formation of coalitions to support presidential and vice presidential candidates.

These conditions are also influenced by the electoral system in Indonesia, which requires support from political parties or coalitions of political parties as explained in Article 221 and Article 222 of Law Number 7/2017 concerning Elections. This regulation encourages political parties to be able to look for coalition members even if they have different ideologies. However, challenges in party coalitions in presidential elections in Indonesia usually do not last long enough. This is due to the pragmatic nature of the political parties themselves.

For example, in the 2014 elections, there was the Red and White Coalition, which was the coalition supporting Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa. One by one, the coalition members; namely, PAN, Golkar Party and PPP, had switched allegiance to becoming parties supporting the Jokowi-JK government. Likewise in 2019, PAN and even the Gerindra Party had then joined the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin government.

The Influence of Political Party Orientation

According to the explanations above, Müller and Strøm said that the party had two main goals; namely, first, to survive, and second to get success. These two points are relative to each party. However, that is the purpose of the establishment and existence of political parties. Based on these two things, we can see the orientation of political parties. According to an approach based on behavioral studies and rational choice, Kaare Størn divides party orientation into three models; namely, a policy-seeking party, a votes-seeking party, and an office-seeking party (in Mellaz and Kartawidjaja, 2018).

The policy-seeking party is a party that is oriented towards maximizing the impact of the resulting policies as reflected in various literature on party functions. The main aspect of this model is that the orientation and high priority are focused on the policy aspects promoted by the party. This policy includes programs and the articulation of party ideology, including a focus on certain issues or party demands.

The votes-seeking party is a party that is oriented towards maximizing its votes to win elections to control the Government. The basic orientation of this party model is winning elections. Meanwhile, the party's policies and positions on issues are more flexible. At a certain level, this flexibility is often used as a 'manipulative' instrument, in order to maximize or reach more votes.

The office-Seeking party is a party that is oriented towards maximizing benefits and control over the positions it controls. The main orientation is to secure these positions. This party model seeks to hold power, either alone or shared with other parties, either in the context of existence or as a balancing system, to gain access to patrons. Commitment to policy is something that parties avoid in this model. This is seen as counterproductive in the context of the coalitions or elections, because it could be an attack on other parties and close down opportunities for coalitions.

Political Party Orientation and Sustainability of the 2024 Presidential Election Coalition

Looking at the coalitions in the presidential elections, especially in the 2014 Elections and the 2019 Elections, the party orientation is divided into two classifications; namely, the votes-seeking party and the office-seeking party. The votes-seeking party is oriented

towards winning votes in order to win the elections or at least pass the parliamentary threshold by getting a minimum of 4 percent of the votes. Almost all parties fall into this category, except for the party that won the 2014 and 2019 elections such as PDI-P.

Meanwhile, PDI-P as the winning party was included in the office-seeking party category. This is because PDI-P, as the party that won the 2014 and 2019 elections, is oriented towards maximizing and securing its power. This effort is made to secure the position or position they control, although these efforts are made by sharing power with other parties in the coalition.

Therefore, looking at the tendencies of previous elections, there will be dynamics that develop regarding the sustainability of the coalition supporting presidential candidates after the official results of the 2024 Presidential Election (Pilpres) are determined by the General Election Commission (KPU). If the results are completed in one round, then the parties from the coalition of the losing candidate pair will join the winning coalition or later joining the coalition supporting the government.

Likewise, if there are two rounds of elections, the parties whose candidate pair loses will form a coalition which of course has a chance of winning and providing benefits to these parties. Meanwhile, the society will only be shown the mere pragmatism of political parties in their struggle for power.

Conclusions

According to the explanations above, it is very important to encourage reform within political parties in order to improve the quality of political parties as one of the pillars of democracy and to implement substantial democracy, and not just procedural.

Political parties should not only be oriented towards gaining power or mere pragmatism but also be struggling with ideology to encourage better public policy or become the policy-seeking party.

The efforts that must be made are first, strengthening political party institutions so that they become strong democratic institutions that can function optimally, and second, improving political recruitment. Political recruitment must be carried out by applying the principles of equality and gender.

The third one is improving political party funding. Currently, the most important thing is that the income and use of money by political parties and candidates must be disclosed and reported according to applicable regulations, whether it comes from government subsidies or donations. This is done as part of implementing transparency to the public.

- Arfianto Purbolaksono -

Looking at the tendencies of previous elections, there will be dynamics that develop regarding the coalitions of political parties supporting the presidential candidates after the results of the 2024 Presidential Election (Pilpres) on February 14 2024. The pragmatism of political parties will determine the direction of the coalitions after the 2024 presidential elections.

Interpreting the Essence of Social Justice In the Vision-Mission of the 2024 Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates

The general election (Pemilu) on 14 February 2024 is a momentum for the Indonesian people to elect several community representatives in the Parliaments such as the House of Representatives (DPR RI), the Regional Representatives Council (DPD RI), the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) at the provincial level and the DPRD at the district / city level. This year's election will also elect the President and Vice President for the period 2024-2029. In addition, the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia (KPU RI) on 13 November 2023 had determined the three pairs of candidates elected in this presidential election contest, which are as follows: the Anies Baswedan - Muhaimin Iskandar, Prabowo Subianto - Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and Ganjar Pranowo - Mahfud MD pairs.

Even though the three candidates have been selected and the campaign period has begun, the Indonesian people (including those living in the border areas) still do not know and understand the visions and missions, as well as the policy programs that will be implemented by the three presidential candidates. Therefore, it is important for Indonesians to simply understand the essence of the visions and missions offered by the presidential candidates.

Understanding the Vision-Mission of the Three Presidential Candidates

The President is the highest leader who is in control of a country's policies. In addition, the President as the head of state and the head of government is obliged to build a framework for the direction of the nation's civilization and development, which is contained in the vision and mission. The President's vision and missions become an important substance of the presence of policy program planning that will be implemented.

Furthermore, the visions and missions of the three pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates for the 2024-2029 period

are worth exploring in more depth. The vision and mission of presidential candidate number one (01) is “Indonesia Adil Makmur Untuk Semua”. This vision and mission are based on the results of the candidate pair’s evaluation during their long journey to various regions that are considered to still have inequality in development (Aceh to remote Papua) (aminajadulu.com, 2024). The results of the evaluation of the candidate pair also led to their assessment of the importance of equitable development, which was derived into eight work program missions.

Still, in the context of the vision and missions, the presidential candidate paired with serial number two (02) carries the slogan “Bersama Indonesia Maju, Menuju Indonesia Emas 2045”. This vision and mission are based on the preparations of the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN), which aspires to achieve a “Golden Indonesia” in or before 2045. The RPJPN prepared by the Jokowi administration on Golden Indonesia contains the idea/discourse of a demographic population dominated by the younger generation with the hope that it can provide benefits in development (demographic bonus). In addition, the vision and missions include 17 priority programs and 8 quick best results programs (prabowo.gibran2.id, 2024).

The candidate pair of Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD carries “Towards Indonesia Unggul: Fast Movement to Realise a Fair and Sustainable Maritime State” as the slogan of the vision and missions. They are based on the candidate pair’s view that Indonesia needs to raise its status from a developing country to a developed country, which is realized through 8 fast-moving missions consisting of 114 programs (ganjarmahfud03.id, 2024).

According to the presentations of the visions and missions, in general, the following matrix table provides a recapitulation of the work programs of the presidential candidates.

Table 1. Overview of the Work Programmes of the Candidate Pairs Based on Vision-Mission

Candidate Pair	Vision	Mission
Anies R. Baswedan - Muhaemin Iskandar	Indonesia Adil Makmur untuk Semua	Providing cheap basic needs, through food independence, energy security, and water sovereignty.
		Alleviating poverty through new business and employment opportunities.
		Realising sustainable ecological justice for future generations
		Building human-based cities and villages
		Creating a healthy, smart, productive, moral, and cultured society.
		Realizing a prosperous Indonesian family as a source of national strength
		Strengthening defense and security and enhance Indonesia's leadership role
Prabowo Subianto - Gibran Rakabuming Raka	Bersama Indonesia Maju menuju Indonesia Emas 2045	Strengthening the ideology of Pancasila, Democracy, and Human Rights
		Strengthening the national security defense system and encouraging national independence through self-sufficiency in food, energy, water, sharia economy, digital economy, green economy, and blue economy.
		Continuing infrastructure development and increasing quality employment, encourage entrepreneurship, developing creative industries, and develop agro-maritime industries in production centers through the active role of cooperatives.
		Strengthening the development of human resources (HR), science, technology, education, health, sports achievements, and gender equality, as well as strengthening the role of women, youth (millennial generation and generation Z), and people with disabilities.
		Continuing downstream and developing natural resource-based industries to increase added value in the country.
Building from villages and from below for economic growth, economic equity, and poverty eradication.		

Prabowo Subianto - Gibran Rakabuming Raka	Bersama Indonesia Maju menuju Indonesia Emas 2045	Strengthening political, legal, and bureaucratic reforms, as well as strengthening the prevention and eradication of corruption, drugs, gambling, and smuggling.
		Strengthening harmonious life with the environment, nature, and culture, as well as increasing inter-religious tolerance to achieve a just and prosperous society.
Ganjar Pranomo - Mahfud MD	Menuju Indonesia Unggul, Gerak Cepat Mewujudkan Negara Maritim yang Adil dan Lestari	Accelerating the development of superior Indonesian human beings who are qualified, productive, and have a personality
		Accelerating the mastery of science and technology through accelerating independent research and innovation (R&I).
		Accelerating knowledge-based and value-added economic development.
		Accelerating equitable economic development
		Accelerating the development of a national digital system
		Accelerating the realisation of a sustainable environment through a green and blue economy
		Accelerating the implementation of substantive democracy, respect for human rights, equitable rule of law, and professional security
Accelerating the enhancement of Indonesia's role in realising a more just new world order through a free and active foreign policy and strengthening national defense		

Source: Processed from various sources, 2024.

The Essence of Social Justice in the Visions-Missions of Election Participants

According to the table above, the following is an analytical study of how the concept of social justice is translated into the vision-mission frameworks of the presidential-vice-presidential pairs.

Constitutional Judge Wahiduddin Adams as the keynote speaker at the Basic Training of Paralegal Cadres themed “The Internalisation of Pancasila and Pro-Justitia in Community Advocacy” explained “The Interpretation of Social Justice in Pancasila”. Wahidudin explained the concept of “social justice” about the regulation of “National Economy and Social Welfare” contained in Chapter XIV - Articles 33 and 34 of the 1945 Constitution. According to him, the notion of “controlled by the state” in Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution contains a higher or broader meaning than ownership in the conception of civil law. The conception of control by the state is a public law conception related to the principle of popular sovereignty adopted by the 1945 Constitution both in the political (political democracy) and economic (economic democracy) fields (hukumonline.com, 13/6/2022).

Furthermore, Escaping-Anderson (1998, in Kurniawan et al., 2015) explains that the welfare state refers to the active role of the state in managing and organising the economy, which includes the state’s responsibility to ensure the availability of basic welfare services at a certain level for its citizens. In general, a country can be classified as a welfare state if it has four main pillars, such as 1. social citizenship (the social role of the community in the state); 2. full democracy; 3. modern industrial relations system (modern industrial relations system), and 4. right to education and the expansion of modern mass education system.

On the other hand, Barr (1998, in Kurniawan et al., 2015)) states that to realise a welfare state, several things can be done, such as providing alternative sources of community welfare that do not only come from the state and providing free services (such as free health services) or by providing tax relief and so on. Therefore, the state is no longer considered the only source of welfare provision but also involves many aspects and the participation of all levels of the society in development, including state feedback in providing forms of tax incentives to the community.

If we reflect on the various missions of the presidential and vice-presidential pairs described above, in general, the Anies - Muhamin and Ganjar - Mahfud MD pair in their missions place themselves as executors rather than their position as policy regulators. To realise the success of the programmes launched, it requires the participation of many parties. The Government in executing every policy programme cannot work alone, so it requires cooperation and collaboration from all elements of society. Therefore, future Indone-

sian head of state and government need an inclusivity perspective in this development planning framework. In addition, with social justice, it can also be assessed from the Government's ability to include the entire community in the efforts to realize welfare.

The same applies to the Prabowo-Gibran pairing. This pair is considered to be an extension that will continue the work programme of the previous leadership. Thus, the current administration and policy implementation can be the standards of judgment in implementing policies in the next leadership. As analyzed by Firman Noor (BRIN Researcher), many of the development legacies of the previous administration (Jokowi) did not reflect a democratic process and instead disenfranchised the affected communities. In this context, the National Capital City (IKN) project reflects this. The pattern is similar to what happened in investment projects in Rempang Island, Wadas Village, Air Bangis, Mandalika, and others. In addition, Firman assessed that Jokowi's government was "no more democratic" than SBY, who had a military background. This can also be seen from several indicators related to Indonesia's democratic climate, including Freedom House, The Economist Intelligence Unit, and V-Dem. This is what makes democracy even more damaged because of the lack of opposition (BBC.com, 6/2/2024).

Recommendations

According to the elaboration of the vision-mission and analysis of policy program planning, several things need to be done as follows:

1. Each election participant, especially the presidential candidate pair, needs to prepare a derivative policy mission in the form of real activity programs, including the involvement of other components (business actors, civil society, the private sector and so on). With the derivation of the policy mission into the forms of activity programmes and the division of tasks and roles that will be carried out, it is hoped that the programmes carried out can create a model of government and policy that is effective, efficient, relevant, inclusive, participatory, accountable, and has the promised impact.
2. Encouraging the newly formed government to create political stability, order, security, and welfare, through transparency and accountability, as well as a conducive democratic climate based on the principles of good governance.
3. Encouraging a Government that can rebuild global trust through free and active foreign diplomacy. With Indonesia's active and influential position in global forums, it is expected that Indonesia can improve the level of international trust, which also has an

impact on wider global cooperation opportunities, including in inviting investment to Indonesia.

- Dewi Rahmawati Nur Aulia -

The Government needs cooperation and collaboration from all elements of the society in implementing its policies. Therefore, the new head of government candidates needs an inclusivity perspective in implementing campaign promises in the policy process, including in efforts to realize people's welfare and social justice for all Indonesians.

Women and the Reflections on the Anti-Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Movement

Every 6 February is commemorated as the International Day of Zero Tolerance for Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). On this day, the entire world community is reminded to reject all forms of reasons for the practice of cutting/circumcising the genital organs of females. Female genital mutilation (FGM) involves the alteration or destruction of the female genital organs for cultural or non-medical reasons. Internationally, this practice is considered a violation of the human rights of women and girls, especially the rights to health, safety, and physical integrity, as well as the potential for fatal damage, especially in the enjoyment of sexual body rights.

In addition, to commemorate it in 2024, the UN World Agency took the theme Her Voice Her Future as a form of campaign and movement carried out to remind that this practice still occurs in various parts of the world and must be eliminated because it violates human rights.

The Phenomenon of Female Circumcision in Various Parts of the World.

The practice of female circumcision is a practice that has been going on for a long time. From a religious perspective, it is explained that female circumcision was practiced around 2000 years before Islam and is practiced by various religious adherents in the world. In Saudi Arabia, where Islam originates, female circumcision is not commonly practiced, and there is not a single hadith that tells that the Prophet Muhammad's daughter was circumcised (Komnas Perempuan, 2019).

The practice of female circumcision is believed to honour women, although no medical benefits have been found to date. According to UNICEF, there are around 200 million women and girls in the world who have been circumcised. Indonesia itself is one of the countries with the highest prevalence of female circumcision in the world,

with an estimated number of circumcised women reaching 4.8 million people (mitrawacana.or.id, 24/01/2024).

World population agencies such as the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) have documented this practice in 92 countries. It is most commonly practiced in several regions of Africa and the Middle East. These countries include Somalia, Sudan, and Djibouti. This circumcision practice is referred to as infibulation. Technically, it involves the labia being removed and then used to close almost the entire vaginal opening, leaving a small opening for urine and menstrual blood (BBC.com, 14/5/2023).

Furthermore, female circumcision or Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in various parts of the world (including Indonesia) has various types. However, the World Health Organization (WHO) classifies female circumcision into four types, namely:

Firstly, clitoridectomy, which is the cutting of part or all of the clitoris. In certain cases, this only involves the thin skin around the clitoris. *Secondly*, excision is the cutting of part or all of the clitoris and labia minora with or without cutting the labia mayora. Furthermore, *the third* is infibulation, which is the narrowing of the vaginal opening by making a kind of partition. The partition is made by cutting or modifying the shape of the labia minora or labia mayora. Sometimes by sewing. Finally, all forms of harmful practices performed on the female genitalia for non-medical purposes, such as piercing, incising, and rubbing something into the genital area (YKP.or.id, 2/2020).

In Indonesia, the practice of female circumcision occurs for a variety of reasons such as the inheritance of culture and the practice of teachings derived from the Syafii Madzhab. The Syafii Madzhab states that circumcision is obligatory, both for men and women. This is stated in the book *I' anatuth Thalibin*: "Circumcision is obligatory for women and men if they were not circumcised when they were born." Some other scholars stated that circumcision was only Sunnah for women. In *al-Fatawi*, fatwa number 68002, it says: "The more favorable view is that circumcision is Sunnah for women, not obligatory." There is also an opinion that female circumcision is permissible and not obligatory.

The practice of female circumcision is a common occurrence given that the majority of Islam in Indonesia adheres to the Syafii school of thought. For example, the practice of female circumcision in Indonesia can be illustrated by *Makkatte*, a traditional tradition of the

Bugis community that is obligatory for every woman to perfect their Islam. Although this is considered a part that must be done by the Muslim community, the practice of cutting/circumcising is carried out by a circumciser called Sanro, or shaman (CNNIndonesia.com, 31/1/2023).

Journalist Udin, a professor at Yarsi University, Jakarta, also said that the tradition of circumcising girls in Indonesia was thought to have originated from migrants from Africa through Yemen, who then traded in the archipelago through the Sulawesi region and then developed to the island of Java (BBC.com, 19/5/2016). According to this understanding, the practice of circumcising girls may have occurred due to the influence of teachings brought by religious leaders and spread through tradition.

Furthermore, girls who undergo female circumcision face a number of short-term complications such as severe pain in the genital area, excessive bleeding, infection, and difficulty urinating. Longer-term impacts can include sexual and reproductive disorders that will affect mental health.

The Practice of Female Circumcision and Current Policy in Indonesia

The law of circumcision for female has been regulated in Minister of Health Regulation No. 6/2014 on the Revocation of Minister of Health Regulation No. 1636/MENKES/PER/XII/2010 on Female Circumcision (Hukumonline.com, 17/11/2021).

In addition, the Ministry of Protection, Empowerment of Women and Children (KemenPPPA) has taken progressive steps to encourage the abolishment of the practice of female circumcision. Assistant Deputy for Fulfilling Children's Rights to Care and Environment, Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA) Rohika Kurniadi Sari during a workshop on Prevention and Elimination of Female Genitalia Cutting/Cutting (P2GP) for Family Learning Centres (PUSPAGA) (Tuesday, 4/12/2023) stated that circumcision of women or girls by cutting and cutting is a dangerous practice that violates the rights of women and children and includes gender-based violence.

Since 2016, KemenPPPA in collaboration with UNFPA has conducted a series of advocacy and information dissemination of P2GP prevention, strengthened by the preparation of the Roadmap and

Action Plan 2030 on reducing and eliminating P2GP practices in Indonesia (KemenPPPA.go.id, 4/12/2023).

Rohika also mentioned that a new approach needs to be considered to overcome the practice of female circumcision, which is still widely occurring. If the approach taken is from a religious and health perspective, then in the future the approach taken will also look from the perspective of children and adolescents as well as the perspective of traditional leaders or cultural leaders. They will be actively involved in working together in advocacy and information dissemination efforts to prevent P2GP (KemenPPPA.go.id, 4/12/2023).

Furthermore, although the Minister of Health Regulation No. 6/2014 on the Revocation of the Minister of Health Regulation No. 1636 /MENKES/PER/XII/2010 on Female Circumcision had been passed, until now this practice is still found. Policymakers need concrete steps to build public awareness about the dangers and impacts of this practice on girls.

A Workshop on Prevention and Elimination of Female Genitalia Cutting (P2GP) for Family Learning Centres (PUSPAGA) in 20 Provinces and 11 piloting areas, 4-5 December 2023 was held in Jakarta as a form of effort to implement the policy content of the Road Map and Action Plan for P2GP Prevention (KemenPPPA.go.id, 4/12/2023).

In addition, KemenPPPA in addressing the problem of female child circumcision has prepared three major strategies developed in the P2GP Prevention Roadmap until 2030. The three strategic steps are providing P2GP national data, policy advocacy, and an integrated organizing system. PUSPAGA, as one of the institutions capable of becoming a learning center for the community, plays an important role in supporting various forms of harmful practices; namely, child marriage and P2GP in Indonesia (KemenPPPA.go.id, 4/12/2023).

The Importance of Collaboration and Co-operation in Handling the Practice of Female Genital Mutilation

Although information dissemination and education on the Prevention and Elimination of Female Genital Mutilation (P2GP) have been ongoing, the Government needs to build dialogical relationships not only with traditional leaders and religious leaders but also with the entire community. The Government needs to share a framework of perspectives on the importance of giving females security over

their bodies. Females have important sovereignty over their bodies and the future of their bodies. Therefore, the community needs to understand that the medically prohibited practice of circumcision is a form of sexual violence against women.

To prevent this illegal practice, the Government and all parties need to do several things such as, *firstly*, the Government through KemenPPPA together with health higher education institutions need to jointly encourage P2GP as an evidence-based policy. It is important that the information dissemination and education carried out require many academic results that show that the practice of cutting/opening Genitalia on females hurts the lives of females in the future—*secondly*, encouraging the local government and regional apparatus (such as community and religious leaders) together to build a common ground to agree that this practice does not become an obligation that must be imposed on every female. Every parent, society, community, and even the state must respect the choices made by females over their bodies. Concerning this choice, it is hoped that no more females will experience pain due to the practice of circumcision.

- Dewi Rahmawati Nur Aulia -

The Government needs to share a framework of perspectives on the importance of giving females security over their bodies. Females have important sovereignty over their bodies and the future of their bodies. Therefore, the public needs to understand that the medically prohibited practice of circumcision is a form of sexual violence against females.



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), Instagram Live Series and Space Twitter (Policy Talks and Initiative!), 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”).

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RESEARCH ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

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

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

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

RESEARCH ON LEGAL AFFAIRS

According to stipulations in Law No. 12 Year 2011 on the Formulation of Laws and Regulations, every bill which will be discussed by the legislative and the executive must be complemented with academic paper. This stipulation is also confirmed in Law No. 15 Year 2019 on the Amendment of Law No. 12 Year 2011 regarding the Formulation of Laws and Regulations.

Therefore, comprehensive research is very important and needed in making a qualified academic paper. With qualified academic papers, the bills will have strong academic foundation both from academic and content aspects. Furthermore, academic paper also functions as an early tracking over possibilities of overlapping laws and regulations, so that revocation of local regulations or other related issues which can be caused by legal, economic, or political aspects in the future, can be minimized as soon as possible.

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

RESEARCH ON THE POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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

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

Political Research Division of TII provide analysis and policy recommendations in order to generate strategic policy in the strengthening of democracy and the establishment of good governance both at the national and local levels. Political research forms are offered by TII **(1) Public Policy Analysis, (2) Media Monitoring, (3) Mapping & Positioning Research, (4) Need Assessment Research, (5) Survey Indicator.**

RESEARCH ON THE SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Social development needs policy foundations that come from independent and accurate research. Social analysis is a need for the government, the businesspeople, academia, professionals, NGOs, and civil society to improve social development. Social analysis is important to identify strategic issues which are developing and to make the right stakeholders' mapping to promote significant change in the context of development, public policy, and democracy in Indonesia.

The Social Research Division is present to offer strong and valid recommendations to produce strategic, relevant, efficient and effective, and impactful policies, in addressing to existing various issues. For example, issues related to education, health, population, environment, women, children, and elderly. Social research that TII offers: **(1) Social Policy Analysis; (2) Explorative Research; (3) Mapping & Positioning Research; (4) Need Assessment Research; (5) Program Evaluation Research; and (5) Indicator Survey.**

PRE-ELECTION AND REGIONAL HEAD ELECTION

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

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

EVALUATION OF A PROJECT OR A PROGRAM

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

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

THE INDONESIAN FORUM

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

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

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

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

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

LOCAL COUNCIL TRAINING

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

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

WORKING GROUP

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

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

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