

# The Indonesian Update

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



## Main Report:

Indonesian Digital Economy Policies in the Jokowi Government

### Law

The Criminalization of Freedom of Speech amidst the 2024 Elections ■

The Signs of the Last Year of Prolegnas 2024 ■

### Politics

The Notes on Using Sirekap in the 2024 Elections ■

Prabowo Subianto's Honorary General Title from Law Number 20/2009 ■

Political Manipulation and Election Dynamics: the Analysis  
of Transaction Cost Manipulation Practices and Strategic Policies in Indonesia ■

### Social

Observing Women Workers in the Oil Palm Plantation and the Mining Sectors ■

Considering Indonesia Clean of Waste 2025 ■

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# FOREWORD

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The March 2024 edition of the Indonesian Update highlights a main report regarding Indonesia's digital economic policy during the Joko Widodo (Jokowi) administration. Digital economic transformation efforts are relatively on the right track. However, collaboration, synergy and cooperation between policy makers in different ministries/agencies are still very much needed to optimize the development of Indonesia's digital economy in the future.

In the legal field, the Indonesian Update raises a topic about the situation regarding election internet content regulation, especially regarding the 2024 election period, the current situation, and the approach that needs to be taken to follow up on reports submitted during the 2024 election period. Furthermore, we also discuss the formation of a national legislation program (Prolegnas) 2024. It is hoped that meaningful participation will produce laws that are relevant and of good quality in addressing problems. DPR RI needs to work effectively and with integrity to immediately discuss the large list of bills that are still incomplete, as well as preparing follow-up actions to discuss the 2024 Priority Prolegnas.

In the political field, the Indonesian Update raises the issue of the use of Sirekap, which has sparked polemics and has the potential to weaken the integrity of the 2024 Election results. Next, we discuss the granting of the title of Honorary General to Prabowo Subianto in light of Law Number 20/2009 concerning Titles, Service Certificates and Respects, which is considered quite controversial in the society. Then, we also discuss the practice of manipulating transaction costs and strategic policies in Indonesia in the 2024 elections.

In the social sector, the Indonesian Update focuses on women workers in palm oil plantations and mining sectors. Even though female workers work as manual plantation laborers with a casual relationship status, female workers also play a role and contribute to these sectors. Next, we also discuss how the implementations of policies for a Waste-Free Indonesia 2025 still face challenges, including reducing plastic waste.

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.**

## Indonesian Digital Economy Policies in the Jokowi Government

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Under the command of President Joko ‘Jokowi’ Widodo, Indonesia has made numerous transformation efforts to accelerate and equalize the economy. Some of these efforts include digital economic transformation, the development of the green economy and blue economy, industrialization of energy and natural resources, ease of investment through deregulation, etc.

Moreover, President Jokowi has also succeeded in enhancing Indonesia’s economic growth from the brink of contraction due to the COVID-19 pandemic thanks to the national economic recovery (PEN) policies. These endeavors have made Indonesia one of the countries with a swift post-pandemic economic recovery. Other triumphs of Indonesia under President Jokowi’s supervision are the entrustment as the G20 Presidency in 2022 and the Chair of ASEAN in 2023. According to the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs (November 19, 2022), Indonesia’s 2022 G20 Presidency was the largest in history.

Although many economic transformations and developments have been implemented, there are several things that President Jokowi must address before the end of his leadership in October 2024. This research will analyze the digital economic policies under President Jokowi’s administration in the past year (2023-2024), and the problems that ought to be settled. This research will also provide recommendations that can be implemented by President Jokowi’s Government and for the future 2024-2029 administration.

### **Jokowi’s Digital Economy Policies in the Last Year**

The digital economy, as a tangible step to accelerate Indonesia’s economic growth, has become one of President Jokowi’s priorities since serving as the head of government of Indonesia. One of the digital economic sectors encouraged by President Jokowi is e-commerce.

The potential for e-commerce in Indonesia is abundant compared to neighboring countries in the region of Southeast Asia. According to the “e-Conomy SEA 2023” report by Google, TEMASEK, and Bain Company (2023), Indonesia’s gross merchandise value (GMV) from the e-commerce sector is US\$62 billion in 2023, or approximately 75.6% of its overall digital economy. Indonesia’s e-commerce GMV in 2023 is almost fivefold Malaysia’s e-commerce GMV, about fivefold the Philippines’ e-commerce GMV, close to eightfold Singapore’s e-commerce GMV, approximately threefold greater than GMV Thai e-commerce, and nearly four times Vietnam’s e-commerce GMV.

Moreover, Bank Indonesia (2024) noted that the total e-commerce transaction volume during 2023 was IDR 454 trillion and was forecasted to reach IDR 487 trillion in 2024. The volume of e-commerce transactions also grew by 29.16% in 2023, or a 6.96% increase from 2022.

Individuals who shop on e-commerce have reached 156 million people with commodities that include food and beverages, household and office goods, hobbies and other collections, personal care and cosmetics, cell phones, and accessories. The upsurge in the value and volume of e-commerce transactions is due to Bank Indonesia’s success in accelerating the digitalization of the payment system, expanding digital payment services, encouraging the strengthening of the digital financial economy, and maintaining the stability of the payment system infrastructure (Bank Indonesia, 2024).

The commitment to developing e-commerce in Indonesia can be evident from the myriad laws and regulations issued by the Government, one of which is through the Ministry of Trade. The Ministry of Trade has issued Minister of Trade Regulation Number 31/2023 concerning Business Licensing, Advertising, Guidance, and Supervision of Business Actors in Trading through Electronic Systems (MoT 31/2023). Minister of Trade Regulation 31/2023 aims to encourage a more equitable and competitive Indonesian e-commerce ecosystem, supporting the empowerment of MSMEs and local business actors with Electronic Trading Systems (PMSE), as well as increasing consumer protection (infopublik.id, September 27, 2023).

The comprehensive development of the digital economy is being organized by President Jokowi’s administration through the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, which has issued the “White Paper on the National Strategy for the Development of the Indonesian Digital Economy 2030” (2023). The document states

various measures that can expand the role of the digital economy in Indonesia's economic growth. Moreover, Indonesia will reach the peak of the demographic bonus or a higher number of productive people in contrast with non-productive people in 2030. There are six pillars of the digital economy that need to be strengthened; namely, (1) infrastructure, (2) human resources, (3) business climate and cyber security, (4) research, innovation, and business development, (5) funding and investment, and (6) policies or regulations.

However, the development of the digital economy in Indonesia always encounters various challenges in its implementations. Firstly, from the infrastructure side, that can be evident from the internet speed indicator. The median of Indonesia's mobile broadband and fixed broadband internet speeds is 25.37 Mbps and 29.43 Mbps, respectively, or still far from the world's median mobile broadband and fixed broadband internet speeds of 50 Mbps and 91.93 Mbps, respectively. (speedtest.net, January 2024). Moreover, there is still a sufficiently high gap between internet penetration levels in Western Indonesia and Eastern Indonesia, although the national penetration rate is improving from year to year. According to the "2024 Indonesian Internet Penetration Survey" (2024) by the Indonesian Internet Service Provider Association (APJII), Indonesia's internet penetration rate in 2024 is 79.5%, or 1.31 percentage points higher than the previous year.

One of the causes of this gap is the expensive logistics costs of building internet infrastructure due to Indonesia's geographical structure, which is an archipelagic country. The Government is also trying to encourage the development of telecommunications infrastructure and provide ease of doing business, one of which is through Law Number 6/2023 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 2 of 2022 concerning Job Creation Becoming Law (UU 6/2023) and its various regulations derivatives.

Second, the challenge of human resources (HR), which can be noticeable from the indicators of the Information and Communication Technology (ICT) workforce in Indonesia, is still inadequate. The Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs (2023) noted that the number of ICT workers in the total workforce in Indonesia was only 0.8% during 2019-2022. This figure was far lower compared to those in Malaysia (7.7%) and in Singapore (5.1%). The demand for workers in the ICT sector is forecasted to reach almost 2 million people in 2025 and 9 million people in 2030 (wartaekonomi.co.id, September 25, 2023).



The challenge of developing the ICT workforce in Indonesia is arguably influenced by the large proportion of the Indonesian workforce, which is still in the informal sector, and the majority of whom have an elementary school background or below. The dynamics of ICT development must be rapidly responded to by the Government, especially with the acceleration of Artificial Intelligence (AI). One of the Government programs to encourage the development of digital human resources is the Revitalization of Vocational Education and Vocational Training (RPVPPV) program (Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture, September 21, 2023).

Third, the challenges of the business climate and cyber security. The National Cyber and Crypto Agency (BSSN), in the report “Indonesian Cybersecurity Landscape 2023” (2024), said that there was more than 403 million anomalous traffic during January-December 2023. This anomalous traffic can raise theft of sensitive data, reduce device and network performance, and reduce trust in an organization (BSSN, 2024).

If the expansion in e-commerce transactions; for example, is not followed by invigorating cyber security, then the costs paid by companies and consumers will be immense. A fragile cyber security in the digital economic ecosystem will be easily exploited by irresponsible individuals to execute cyber-attacks. One form of cyber-attacks that is very detrimental is ransomware. BSSN in Kompas.com (May 15, 2023) said that the estimated country loss due to ransomware was IDR 10 trillion in 2023, or twofold the cost in 2022.

As one of the countries with expeditious digital economic growth and even dominance in Southeast Asia, Indonesia ought to have cyber security policies. The Government has also issued Presidential Regulation Number 47/2023 concerning National Cyber Security Strategy and Cyber Crisis Management to boost cyber security capabilities and strengths and protect Indonesia’s digital ecosystem. BSSN also has a role as coordinator, government administration, and organizer of vital information infrastructure protection (bssn.go.id, August 31, 2023).

Fourth, the challenges of research, innovation, and development. Generally, Indonesia’s innovation capability ranking has undeniably improved; however, it is still not close to other countries. The reason is that there is still a lack of local patents, scientific articles, technological models, and documents, which are cited and produced domestically (Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, 2023).

However, the Government, through the Directorate General of Intellectual Property (DJKI) of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham), has tried to accommodate the growth in domestic patents through the Patent One Stop Service (POSS) program, which is currently being implemented in eight provinces in Indonesia (DJKI Kemenkumham, March 7, 2024). The existence of patents can advance economic growth through encouraging investment and discoveries (World Intellectual Property Organization, accessed March 13, 2024).

Fifth, funding and investment challenges. As previously explained, the development of the digital economy, including the development of telecommunications infrastructure, the development of the ICT sector and human resources, cyber security infrastructure, as well as patents and innovation, is costly. To encourage funding for the digital economy, the Government cannot accomplish it alone due to its limited fiscal space. The Government is also trying to invite foreign investors, such as investors from the United States, to develop Indonesia's digital economy (Ministry of Communication and Information, September 5, 2023).

The first, second, third, fourth, and fifth challenges will be arduous to achieve through restrictive policies. Policy relaxation that does not omit the monitoring and evaluation aspect is needed. Moreover, the pentahelix approach between stakeholders and Central Government regulations must be adopted and supported by Regional Governments to optimize the development of the digital economy in Indonesia.

### **Recommendations for the Digital Economy Development**

According to the aforementioned background, President Jokowi's administration has been relatively on the right track in developing the digital economy since the beginning of his leadership. These six challenges are problems that must be settled before the end of President Jokowi's administration. The following are recommendations for developing the digital economy for the current Government and also for the Government of the 2024-2029 period.

First, following the development of digital economic infrastructure, robust coordination, cooperation, and collaboration between ministries/institutions are required. The President's directions must be accommodated by the Ministries/Agencies. For example, the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kominfo) is mapping needs related to digital economic infrastructure in remote areas

of Indonesia in collaboration with the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises (KBUMN), Ministry of Finance (Kemenkeu), Ministry of National Development Planning (PPN)/Bappenas, and related ministries/institutions.

The synergy between ministries/institutions must be strengthened and controlled by the President so that policy implementation failures such as the failure of Presidential Regulation Number 74/2017 concerning the 2017-2019 National Electronic Trading System Road Map (E-Commerce Road Map), one of which was caused by the unequal understanding of the Ministries/Agencies in the implementation process, will not be repeated.

Second, the Government through the Ministry of Manpower (Kemenaker) and the Ministry of Education and Culture Research and Technology (Kemendikbudristek), Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA), Ministry of Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises (Kemenkop UKM), Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture (Kemenko PMK), and related ministries/institutions must continue to provide training, education, reskilling and upskilling for all Indonesian people without exception for young people, women, MSMEs, indigenous peoples, people with disabilities and other vulnerable communities.

Third, the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment (Kemenkomarves), the Ministry of Investment/Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM), and the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (Kemenko Polhukam) need to collaborate to create policies that provide easy investment and funding for investors in the country and abroad. Even though policy conveniences are provided, aspects of monitoring and evaluation and good governance must still be upheld to maintain the interests of developing the national digital economy.

**- Putu Rusta Adijaya -**

*The Jokowi administration has made many transformation efforts, such as digital economic transformation. Jokowi's administration is relatively on the right track in developing the digital economy, which was planned since the beginning of his leadership. However, collaboration, synergy, and cooperation between ministries/agencies and policymakers are still very much required to optimize the development of Indonesia's digital economy.*

## The Criminalization of Freedom of Speech amidst the 2024 Elections

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Social media utilization was common during the 2024 General Election, especially during the campaign period. The ByteDance & We Are Social Report (2023) found that social media such as Tiktok, Youtuber, Facebook, and Instagram had a considerable advertising reach, with Tiktok in the first rank at 56.8%. Then based on the Populix survey, social media was also the main source of information for young people in recognizing presidential and vice presidential candidates in the 2024 elections, which was 28% (Populix, 2024). Thus, it is natural that social media was used as one of the favourite platforms in the campaign strategy (kompas.id, 14/12/2023).

Reflecting on the current situation, the use of social media to find information has grown tremendously. According to the data from the *Digital News Report 2023* reported by Reuters Institute (2023), citizens got the most headlines from online media (including social media) with a percentage of 84%, followed by social media at 65%, television 54%, and print media 15%. The phenomenon of social media platforms becoming a favourite for citizens to exchange ideas and convey messages is a manifestation of freedom of speech, which is a human right. Freedom of expression is protected in Article 28 and Article 28E paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, international instruments that are pioneers of the right to freedom of expression include: Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and Article 19 of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) also guarantee this right.

However, freedom of speech on social media comes with consequences. The use of social media, the spread of fake news or hoaxes and forms of negative news have also become rampant as a consequence of free speech. The number of hoaxes circulating has made social media users need to be careful in managing information. As a follow-up, hoaxes, especially those related to elections, have a reporting mechanism to be later removed or declared as “hoaxes” by

the Ministry of Communication and Information (Budi Arie Setiadi in [hukumonline.com](http://hukumonline.com), 11/1/2024).

However, the mechanism for reporting hoaxes and reporting information that criminalizes freedom of speech on the basis of spreading hoaxes or even hate speech is mixed up and prone to abuse. Misuse of this reporting mechanism can lead to violations of freedom of speech that has been guaranteed by the state. This paper will discuss the situation of regulating electoral internet content, especially related to the 2024 election period, the current situation, and the approach that needs to be taken to follow up on incoming reports in the 2024 Election period.

### **Regulation of Campaigns on Social Media and ITE Law**

The practice of campaigning on social media is regulated in Article 26 paragraph (1) of the Regulation of the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia Number 15/2023 concerning General Election Campaigns (Campaign Regulation) as the basis for its implementation. Furthermore, in Articles 37 and 38 of Campaign Regulation, it is regulated that the maximum number of accounts used for campaigning is 20 accounts in each type of application that must be registered with the central or regional General Election Commission. On the last day of the campaign period, official campaign social media accounts must be closed. The articles above generally only regulate official account management for campaigns.

From a regulatory aspect, the supervision mechanism for materials circulating on social media during the campaign is regulated in Article 26 paragraph (2) of the Election Supervisory Agency Regulation Number 11/2023 concerning General Election Campaign Supervision (Campaign Supervision Regulation). The article states that election supervisors supervise the spread of false news and/or hate speech in the use of official campaign social media accounts that have been registered. In practice, according to Article 45 paragraph (3), Campaign Supervision Regulation, election supervisors can also cooperate with social media platforms. The existence of reports and /or findings of alleged election violations is followed up by referring to Campaign Supervision Regulation.

Furthermore, according to the legal instruments above, Campaign Regulation and Campaign Supervision Regulation only regulate the moderation of social media campaign content managed by official accounts belonging to presidential and vice presidential candidate teams as well as legislative candidates. These regulations have not

specifically regulated social media content related to the 2024 Election issued by non-official accounts of the candidate team. However, Campaign Supervision Regulation has a method of receiving reports on the “Internet Content Reporting” page on the [bawaslu.go.id](http://bawaslu.go.id) website to complain about internet content containing hate speech, disinformation, and neutrality of the State Civil Servants.

Apart from the instruments issued by the organizers and supervisors of the 2024 General Elections, the regulation of information circulating on social media is also the realm of regulation of Law Number 1/2024, which has been enacted in 2024 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 11/2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions (EIT Law). Electronic information that intentionally attacks the honor or good name of another person by accusation is prohibited in Article 27A of the EIT Law. Notification of false and misleading news is also prohibited in Article 28 of the EIT Law.

### **Problems in Regulating Internet Content/Electronic Information in the 2024 Election**

In practice, according to the data from the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (CIT Ministry) (2023), from July 17 to November 26, 2023, there were 96 election-related hoaxes spread in 355 contents on various social media. Furthermore, from November 28, 2023 to January 11, 2024, CIT Ministry claimed to have taken down 51 contents related to the 2024 Election and issued 175 clarifications on the hoaxes of the 2024 Election (Budi Arie Setiadi in [hukumonline.com](http://hukumonline.com), 11/1/2024). Election Supervisory Agency also stated that 341 alleged violations of internet content had been found, of which the most were about hate speech (Puadi in [bawaslu.go.id](http://bawaslu.go.id), 8/2/2024).

It should be recalled that the EIT Law regulation for electronic information that attacks honor or good name as well as electronic information that is false and misleading has been quite problematic since its passage in 2008. These arrangements are problematic because they are prone to criminalization practices that abuse the articles of the EIT Law above as a basis for dislike or intimidation. The same applies to reporting to Bawaslu on the basis of defamation and disinformation.

The misuse of the basis for reporting hate speech, fake news, and defamation began to be indicated through the number of 341 allegations of hate speech that were reported to occupy the most report-



ing of all reports to Election Supervisory Agency (Puadi in [bawaslu.go.id](https://www.bawaslu.go.id), 8/2/2024). Furthermore, as of January 2024, there were 6 police reports submitted using the basis of the problematic articles of the EIT Law as mentioned above ([pbhi.or.id](https://www.pbhi.or.id), 9/1/2024). It can be seen that the criminalization of opinions is still carried out even during the election period, which is one of the biggest and most important moments in democracy. However, it is unfortunate that the reporting method used by Election Supervisory Agency also uses the same approach as the EIT Law, which has been problematic from the start.

The follow-up of these reports will also be problematic because until now there are still multiple interpretations at the law enforcement level, especially the courts, regarding the meaning of hate speech, defamation, and fake news. This is shown by the inconsistency in the interpretation of hate speech in the decisions of several courts; namely, Decision Number 180/Pid.Sus/2018/PN. Tjs (Decision of Tanjung Selor District Court), 283/Pid.Sus/2023/PN Jkt.Sel (Decision of South Jakarta District Court), 17/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Mar (Decision of Marisa District Court), and 206/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Tim (Decision of Timika District Court) as researched by the author in 2023 (Intania, 2023). Inconsistent interpretations will also be more likely to occur for Election Supervisory Agency's reporting system with more incoming reports and a short examination time.

### Recommendations

Restrictions on freedom of expression through reporting and criminalization of opinions with inappropriate approaches and inconsistent interpretations still occur during the 2024 elections. The following recommendations can be given for this situation:

- a. To review and/or to amend problematic articles in the EIT Law, namely Article 27A jo. Article 45 paragraph (4) and paragraph (7), and Article 28;
- b. The need for in-depth understanding and consistency of Bawaslu in following up Internet Content Reports that use the basis of reporting hate speech and disinformation; and
- c. There is a need for police and court officials to understand reports and prosecutions that are only meant to intimidate and repress free speech in the form of strategic lawsuit against public participation (SLAPP).

**- Christina Clarissa Intania -**

*Freedom of speech on social media comes with consequences. There is a need for in-depth understanding and consistency of Election Supervisory Agency in following up on Internet Content Reports that use the basis of reporting hate speech and disinformation. There is also a need for review and/or amend problematic articles in the EIT Law*

## The Signs of the Last Year of Prolegnas 2024

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The formation of legal products, especially laws, needs to go through a series of formal procedures until its promulgation to ensure the legitimacy of the products. The formal procedure for the formation of laws begins with planning in the national legislation program (*Program Legislasi Nasional/Prolegnas*) stipulated in Law Number 12/2011 on the Formation of Legislation as amended by Law Number 13/2022 on the Second Amendment to Law Number 12/2011 on the Formation of Legislation (Legislation Law). According to Article 17 of Legislation Law, Prolegnas is “the priority scale of law formation program in order to realize the national legal system.” Prolegnas, in Article 19 paragraph (1) of Legislation Law, contains a law formation program with the title of each draft law, the material regulated, and its relationship with other laws and regulations.

The preparation of Prolegnas needs to be in line with the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia; the order of the People’s Consultative Assembly Decree; other laws; the national development planning system; national long-term and medium-term development plans; government work plans and strategic plans of the House of Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/DPR*), and the aspirations and legal needs of the community. Article 20 paragraph (1) states that the DPR carries out the preparation of Prolegnas, the Regional Representatives Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah/DPD*), and the Government. Furthermore, the Prolegnas is stipulated in a DPR Decree.

The applicable Prolegnas period is the 2020-2024 Prolegnas proposed since 2019. According to DPR Decision Number 46/DPR RI/I/2019-2020 on the National Legislation Program for Draft Laws for 2020-2024 (DPR Decision on Prolegnas 2020-2024), there are 248 bills prepared by DPR, DPD, and/or the Government. In addition, there are five open cumulative bill lists, which based on Article 23 of the P3 Law, consist of ratification of certain international agreements; as a result of the Constitutional Court’s decision; the State



Budget; the establishment, expansion, and merger of provinces and / or regencies / cities, and the stipulation / revocation of Government Regulations in lieu of Law.

Looking back at the House Decision on Prolegnas 2020-2024, 2024 is the last year of the 5-year Prolegnas period. In the 2024 Priority National Legislation Program, which is stipulated in DPR Decision Number 15/DPR RI/I/2023-2024 on the National Legislation Program for Priority Bills for 2024 (DPR Decision on Priority Prolegnas 2024), there are 47 bills and 5 open cumulative bills. This paper will further discuss the development of the 2024 Prolegnas as of the date of this writing (13/3) and matters that need to be considered in facing the final year of the Prolegnas.

### **Attention to Priority Legislation for 2024**

In the 2024 Priority Prolegnas, there are 47 bills and 5 cumulative bills. From the list of 2024 Priority Prolegnas Bills, the one that has been passed into law is Law Number 1/2024 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 11/2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions (EIT Law). However, it should be noted that the public has criticized this latest EIT Law due to the lack of transparency regarding the bill that is in the process of being formed into the EIT Law because it is not available for public access (Institute for Criminal Justice Reform, 2023; Intania, 2024). In addition, the EIT Law still contains substance that is also considered to have not resolved several problematic articles related to freedom of expression in the previous EIT Law (Legal Aid Foundation Indonesia, 2024; Intania, 2024).

In the 2024 Priority Prolegnas list, there are also several bills that still survive and have not been enacted since the 2015-2019 Prolegnas period, namely:

- a. Second Amendment Bill to Law Number 32 Year 2002 on Broadcasting;
- b. Amendment Bill to Law Number 5 Year 2014 on State Civil Servants (Civil Servants Bill);
- c. Land Bill;
- d. Bill on Amendment to Law Number 8 Year 1981 on Criminal Procedural Code (Criminal Procedural Bill);
- e. Bill to Amend Law Number 5 of 1990 concerning Conservation of Natural Resources and Ecosystems (Conservation Bill);
- f. Bill to Amend Law Number 19 Year 2003 on State-Owned Enterprises;

- g. Bill to Amend Law Number 8 Year 1999 on Consumer Protection;
- h. New and Renewable Energy Bill (NRE Bill);
- i. Alcohol Prohibition Bill;
- j. Domestic Workers Protection Bill (Domestic Workers' Bill);
- k. The Fourth Amendment Bill to the MPR, DPR, DPD, and DPRD Law (MD3 Bill);
- l. Second Amendment Bill to the Judicial Commission Law (KY Bill);
- m. Textile Bill;
- n. Draft Amendment to Law Number 18 Year 2003 on Advocates;
- o. Indigenous Peoples Bill;
- p. Civil Procedural Bill;
- q. Narcotics and Psychotropic Bill;
- r. The Cipher Bill; and
- s. Regional Language Bill.

According to the list above, it can be seen that there are several bills related to natural resources and energy, state institutions, procedural laws, and public welfare. There are Bills related to natural resources and energy; namely, the Conservation Bill and the NRE Bill. Amid the transition agenda from fossil energy to new and renewable energy to support environmental friendliness, the NRE Bill has a significant role in providing clarity on the legal basis for all current energy-related policies. The Conservation Bill is also impactful because with a lot of infrastructure to be built in the procurement of new and renewable energy, natural resources and surrounding ecosystems may be affected. Thus, if passed, the Conservation Bill is expected to protect the existence of natural resources and ecosystems around energy infrastructure development.

Then, bills related to state institutions that are still hampered in Prolegnas 2015-2019 to date are the ASN Bill, MD3 Bill, and KY Bill. Changes in the bills related to state institutions will affect the limits of authority and requirements of each institution, as well as its duties and responsibilities. Especially for the Civil Servants Bill, the status, responsibilities, and benefits of workers will also be affected by the passing of the Civil Servants Bill. On the other hand, reflecting on the discourse to amend Law Number 7 of 2020 concerning the Constitutional Court, until the end of 2023, the discourse to revise the Constitutional Court Law had not been continued because there were still objections from the Government regarding the term of office of constitutional judges (koran.tempco.co, 5/12/2023). The

same debate is likely to occur with Bills related to state institutions in the 2024 Priority National Legislation Program.

In the 2024 Priority Prolegnas, there are also Criminal Procedural Bills and Civil Procedural Bills that need to be completed. The Criminal Procedural Bill is an important instrument to be completed because it will serve as a guideline for criminal provisions in Law No. 1/2023 on the Criminal Code later. Thus, a new criminal procedure law is needed to adjust to new criminal offenses. Likewise, the Civil Procedure Bill is a renewal of the civil procedure law from the previous one that has been in effect for a long time and requires adjustments to the present.

Furthermore, in the field of public welfare, there are the Indigenous Peoples Bill and the Domestic Workers' Bill that need to be passed immediately. The Indigenous Peoples Bill and the Domestic Workers' Bill are two bills that have been urged by indigenous peoples and domestic workers, respectively. Indigenous peoples represented by the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara/AMAN) have filed a lawsuit against the President and the DPR to the Jakarta State Administrative Court, whose last hearing was held on February 29, 2024 (AMAN, 1/3/2024). Then, domestic workers united in the Jala PRT organization have been holding demonstrations in front of the DPR Building in Senayan, Jakarta since September 1, 2023 until the day of this writing (5/3/2024) (monitored from the Jala PRT Instagram account). This shows that these bills are still dragging on and have not been passed with the urgency that indigenous peoples and domestic workers have.

### **Recommendations**

Looking at the bills in the 2024 Priority Prolegnas, the following recommendations can be given:

- a. The DPR needs to be effective in utilizing time in this final year of legislation. The DPR should include relevant parties, especially those affected, in the discussion of bills to reduce time;
- b. Meaningful participation is needed that includes related parties from other government agencies, non-ministerial agencies, civil society organizations, academics, and other related and affected parties. Meaningful participation will produce relevant and quality laws that address the concerns of relevant parties through legal clarity and avoid problematic provisions that are detrimental to the community; and
- c. It is important to open all public documentation related to the

process of discussing the bill until it is passed into law to the public to open space for public participation and create meaningful participation. This also shows the commitment of policy makers in complying with the principle of transparency, which is one of the principles of the formation of laws and regulations. Access to the legislative deliberation process and related documents also needs to be easily accessible to the general public to facilitate their participation.

**- Christina Clarissa Intania -**

*Meaningful participation will produce relevant and quality laws in addressing the problems of related parties. The DPR needs to work effectively and with integrity to immediately discuss the large list of bills that are still unfinished, as well as preparing a follow-up to discuss the 2024 Priority Prolegnas.*

## The Notes on Using Sirekap in the 2024 Elections

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General elections (Pemilu) are a benchmark for democracy. The election results were held in an atmosphere of openness with freedom of opinion and freedom of association, and reflected community participation and aspirations (Budiardjo, 2015). The 2024 elections will be the biggest and most complicated elections ever held in Indonesia.

Considering the importance of the 2024 elections, it is hoped that election organizers can improve the quality and integrity of the 2024 elections. Poor election implementations will result in low trust in the participants and voters. One effort to strengthen the integrity of the 2024 elections is by encouraging the optimization of open election data.

Open Election Data Initiative-National Democratic Institute (NDI-OEDI, 2015) categorizes 16 types of election data. One of them is election results data. In Indonesia, openness of election results data is realized in the form of the Recapitulation Information System (Sirekap).

According to the General Election Commission Decree Number 66/2024 concerning Technical Guidelines for the Implementations of Voting and Counting in General Elections, Sirekap is an information technology-based application tool used as a means of publishing vote counting results and the process of recapitulating vote counting results, as well as a tool for assisting in carrying out the recapitulation of vote counting election results.

However, the implementation of the vote counting for the 2024 Elections through the Sirekap application carried out by the General Election Commission (KPU) has caused controversy. Problems that occur include; for example, the discrepancy between the Sirekap data and the 2024 Election Results Model C form document. There were problems with Voting Organizing Group (KPPS) officers up-

loading vote recapitulation results data in the CI plano model, which have resulted in the taking down of the display of graphics on Sirekap in the 2024 Election vote counting. This has then made the use of Sirekap spark polemics among the public and election participants, both political parties and presidential candidates.

### **The Importance of Election Data Openness in Indonesia**

Referring to the issues above, an important aim of using Sirekap is as an effort to encourage openness of election data in Indonesia. Open data itself can be seen as an important part of strengthening citizens' rights. With open data, it will be easier for people to access the information they need because it is available online and for free. In addition, the data collected often becomes the basis for decision making and implementation. By sharing that data, a public agency shows its intention to be transparent about its decision-making and implementation processes (NDI-OEDI, 2015).

Citizens and organizations can also use the data to hold public institutions accountable. There are several positive sides if election data is "opened", such as increasing the transparency of individual election processes; increasing the effectiveness of the election organizing body; increasing voter participation and engagement with the results; increasing inclusivity of traditionally marginalized groups; reducing election tensions, and generating new insights if citizen organizations combine outcome data with information about location or political violence (NDI-OEDI, 2015).

Next, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA, 2017) defines nine principles for open election data. The first principle is that it is on time. This means it is available as quickly as necessary to be useful. The second one is that it is granular. This means that it is available at the finest level of granularity or detail and is also available at the primary level; namely, the level of source data collection. The third one is that it is available for free on the Internet. The fourth one is that it is complete. This means it is released as a comprehensive dataset without omitting any data. The fifth one is that it can be analyzed. Available in machine-readable format and can be analyzed quickly and easily.

The sixth one is that it is non-proprietary. This means it is available in a format over which no entity has exclusive control. The seventh one is that it is non-discriminatory. This means it is available to any individual or institution for anonymous access without any usage restrictions, including application or registration requirements. The

eighth one is that it is license free. There should be no barriers to reuse and redistribution for any purpose. The ninth one is that it is available permanently for an unspecified time. In particular, data that is only available for a short time is non-open data (International IDEA, 2017).

In general, compliance with open data principles must be understood technically and in relation to the meaning of substantive democracy, good governance and the principles of inclusion. These principles must also be contextualized in the implementations of open election data in various data, including vote counting data which in Indonesia is carried out using Sirekap.

### **The Challenges of Using Sirekap in the 2024 Elections**

According to the explanations above, the use of Sirekap actually aims to increase transparency, accountability and maintain the integrity of election results. In addition, the use of Sirekap by the KPU has been carried out since the 2020 Regional Head Election (Pilkada). However, in reality, the use of Sirekap has actually created polemics, which have the potential to weaken the integrity of the 2024 election results.

Looking at this problem, there are several things that pose challenges to the use of Sirekap in the 2024 elections. First, the issue of perception is related to the importance of open election data within the KPU. Results of a mid-year study conducted by the Indonesian Institute, Center for Public Policy Research (TII) in 2022 entitled “Evaluation of the Implementations of PKPU Policy Number 5 of 2021 concerning the Implementations of an Electronic-Based Government System (SPBE) in the context of Encouraging the Implementation of Open Election Data”, found that the lack of information dissemination about the importance of open election data and SPBE was still a problem within the KPU.

This lack of information dissemination means that there is still a view within KPU internally, especially at the regional level, that openness of election data is not yet important to implement. This is a fundamental and important issue for election organizers, especially KPU, to strengthen knowledge about the importance of open election data. In fact, open election data is very important to strengthen election integrity. However, KPU is not ready to anticipate challenges in implementing open election data, including in implementing Sirekap.



The second challenge is limited human resources. This is due to the limited number of skilled human resources in information technology (IT) within KPU, both central and regional. The lack of skilled personnel is due to the absence of an increase in KPU's internal human resource capacity in the context of digitizing election data in order to support openness of election data.

The third challenge is the infrastructure problem. There is still a lack of infrastructure, both in the form of providing computer equipment and an uneven internet network. Apart from that, there is also the issue of the lack of security devices for data storage. These conditions are often found at the regional level. This issue is of course not only the responsibility of the KPU, but it is also important to involve ministries and other state institutions, which should support resolving the problem of digital inequality in Indonesia. Then fourthly, information dissemination and technical guidance to KPPS and other problems in Sirekap's input are an accumulation of problems in implementing open election data in Indonesia, especially the 2024 elections.

### Recommendations

According to the explanations above, it is very important to eliminate public suspicion and distrust and encourage improvements to the vote counting information system in the future. Several steps are needed; namely, first, the KPU needs to provide a statement regarding the problems and further and open explanations regarding the implementations of the 2024 General Election Sirekap.

Second, to encourage KPU to continue optimizing the openness of election data. Third, KPU needs to open up election data that is not yet available online and presented in one portal. Fourth, encourage KPU to increase outreach regarding the importance of open election data within the KPU.

Fifth, to encourage KPU to increase human resource capacity so that it can support the implementations of open election data. Sixth, to encourage the Ministry of Communication and Information to accelerate internet distribution to support the implementation of open election data in the context of the Simultaneous Regional Elections in 2024.

**- Arfianto Purbolaksono -**

*The use of Sirekap actually aims to increase transparency, accountability and maintain the integrity of election results. However, in reality the use of Sirekap has actually sparked polemics, which have the potential to weaken the integrity of the 2024 election results. Improving the system and governance of election administration is very important to restore public trust and encourage improvements to the vote counting information system in the future.*



## Prabowo Subianto's Honorary General Title from Law Number 20/2009

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On February 29 2024, Indonesia was abuzz with news of the awarding of the title of Honorary General to Prabowo Subianto. Even though the awarding of the title of honorary general was considered legally valid because it is regulated in Law Number 20/2009 concerning Titles, Service Certificates and Honors, in the context of Prabowo Subianto, this is considered quite controversial. This decision immediately became the main focus and sparked various responses among the public. Some saw it as a worthy step to honor Prabowo's service in a number of fields, while others questioned the decision considering the controversy surrounding Prabowo's past.

This controversy cannot be separated from the shadow of accusations of serious human rights violations that haunt Prabowo from the past, especially related to past events, such as the May 1998 tragedy and the kidnapping and enforced disappearance of activists in 1998. As a controversial figure, awarding this title sparked ethical and political debates. Some parties believe that giving an honorary title to Prabowo can be seen as legitimizing his past actions, while others see it as a political step that is not in accordance with the values of justice and human rights.

Several experts, including Senior Researcher from Indonesia Laboratory 45 (LAB45) Jaleswari Pramowardhani emphasized that awarding Prabowo with a decoration has quite large political implications. Apart from that, according to her, this will actually increase the burden on Prabowo in proving his non-involvement in the dark tragedy of 1998 (Tirto, 29/2/2024).

Even though the awarding of the title of Honorary General is legally valid, a more in-depth analysis is needed regarding the technical and ethical procedures that must be followed in accordance with applicable regulations. This article aims to explore how the award of the Honorary General title to Prabowo Subianto is in accordance with the provisions of Law Number 20/2009, which will then be

analyzed using the ethical theory of utilitarianism. In this analysis process, the possible impacts of granting this title will be considered, both from the perspective of justice, historical truth and possible political impacts. Thus, this article will try to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the controversy behind giving the Honorary General title to Prabowo Subianto.

### **Law Number 20/2009 concerning Titles, Service Certificates and Honors**

Rules and regulations are formed in accordance with a specific purpose. Likewise with Law Number 22 of 2009, where in Article 3 (c) it is stated that one of the purposes of granting Titles, Service Certificates and Honors to someone is to develop an exemplary attitude for everyone and encourage the spirit of producing the best work for the progress of the nation and country.

However, in terms of “developing an exemplary attitude,” Prabowo Subianto is still to this day one of the people responsible for the May 98 riots and the kidnapping and disappearance of activists that year. Even though it has been a long time, Prabowo’s existence in this context raises questions about the principles of moral and justice that should be the basis for receiving titles, decorations or honors. As someone who has served as Minister of Defense, Prabowo’s policies regarding food estates have also caused various controversies and criticisms. In the view of many parties, this policy is considered problematic and causes a lot of harm to the society, especially in terms of land use and environmental impacts.

Furthermore, in the context of Chapter V Article 25, sub-sections (b) and (d) of the law specify that to obtain titles, decorations and honors, a person must have moral integrity, be exemplary and have good behavior. Article 26 also explains special conditions that include lifelong dedication and struggle that exceeds the duties carried out; contributions with great ideas or thoughts that support the development of the nation and state, as well as the achievement of great works that have a positive impact on the welfare of society or increase the dignity of the nation. This is then worth asking again considering Prabowo’s track record, which was mentioned at the beginning of the reading.

Apart from that, Law Number 20/2009 also contains a provision that the President in making decisions regarding the awarding of degrees is assisted by the Council for Degrees, Merits and Honors, as explained in Article 18 (2). This article confirms that the Council in carrying out its duties is given support and is at the same time

assisted by the relevant ministers. In this specific case, Prabowo Subianto, who received the title from President, also served as active Minister of Defense in Joko Widodo's cabinet. Thus, referring to Article 18 (2), it can be concluded that Prabowo Subianto was also involved in the verification process of the requirements that must be met to receive his own title.

### **Awarding Titles, Merits and Honors from a Utilitarianism Perspective**

Utilitarianism philosophy initiated by Bentham (1748-1832) together with John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) is a moral view that emphasizes the principle that the goodness of an action is assessed in accordance with its positive consequences for the happiness and welfare of the society as a whole. They believe that an action can be considered good if the benefits it produces are greater than the harm it causes.

In the utilitarian view, it is important for individuals to consider the impact of their actions on everyone involved. This means that decisions taken must take into account the welfare and happiness of all parties involved, not just the interests of individuals or small groups. Thus, utilitarianism emphasizes the principles of equality and justice in considering the interests of all individuals in the society.

Bentham developed the concept of the "happiness calculus" to evaluate the consequences of certain actions. According to him, the level of happiness can be measured and calculated by considering factors such as intensity, duration, certainty and a number of other factors. Meanwhile, Mill added a qualitative dimension to utilitarianism by distinguishing between higher pleasures, such as wisdom and justice, and lower pleasures, such as purely physical pleasure.

Thus, consideration of a person's qualifications for receiving a degree, decoration, or honor must include a careful evaluation of their record of achievement and moral integrity. The presence of people with controversial pasts in the realm of receiving public awards poses serious challenges in achieving the goal of awarding awards, which should inspire and advance society as a whole.

According to the concept of utilitarianism, awarding the title of Honorary General to Prabowo Subianto also raises deeper ethical questions. Apart from considerations of merit, there are other aspects that need to be considered, such as the integrity and track

record of the individual being awarded. Awarding such a title must take into account its impact on the society as a whole, including the sense of justice and law enforcement, as well as the protection of human rights. Do these actions fulfill the principles of social justice and equality, or do they reinforce existing inequalities and injustices? Thus, utilitarianism requires not only to consider the immediate benefits accruing to the individual given the title, but also the broader implications for justice and the well-being of the society as a whole.

Of course, aspects of justice that are still questionable in the context of human rights crimes committed by Prabowo Subianto in the past should also be an important consideration in awarding this title. Justice is concerned not only with the benefits obtained by the individual awarded the title, but also with accountability for past actions and respect for victims and their families. The absence of clarity and justice for victims' families can create feelings of dissatisfaction and distrust of the legal system and government.

In the perspective of utilitarianism, actions that do not take into account negative impacts like this can be considered unethical because they do not consider the interests and welfare of all parties involved, especially those who are victims of the actions carried out. Thus, when considering awarding the title of Honorary General to Prabowo Subianto, the aspect of justice towards victims and their families must be the main concern to achieve harmony with the principles of utilitarianism which prioritizes the benefit of all people.

### **Recommendations**

From the analysis above, it can be clearly seen that the Government must ensure consistency in complying with Law Number 20/2009 concerning Titles, Service Certificates and Honors. This is the key to ensuring that every award of titles, decorations or honors is carried out in accordance with the procedures stipulated in the law. Therefore, the Government needs to carry out a thorough evaluation of the technical procedures implemented in the degree awarding process, as well as ensure that the ethical requirements set out in the law are fully met before a final decision is taken.

Additionally, it is important to note that the process of selecting members of the Board of Titles, Merits and Honors must also be carried out on a meritocracy basis. Recruitment of board members must be based on their qualifications, competence and integrity so as not to create conflicts of interest that could interfere with objec-

tivity and fairness in the decision-making process. Ensuring that the board is composed of individuals who are dedicated to the public interest and have high moral integrity will increase public trust in the institution.

By strengthening consistency in compliance with the law, as well as ensuring that the boards responsible for the degree awarding process operate with high integrity, the government can minimize the risk of abuse of power or abuse, as well as conflicts of interest in the process. This will strengthen the Government's legitimacy in carrying out its functions related to granting titles, decorations and honors, as well as maintaining public trust in state institutions.

**- Felia Primaresti -**

*The awarding of the title of Honorary General to Prabowo Subianto has sparked controversy in Indonesia. In this context, it is important for the Government to comply with the laws governing the granting of these degrees. Evaluation of board procedures and recruitment is an important step to maintain the integrity of the process and maintain public trust in state institutions.*

## **Political Manipulation and Election Dynamics: the Analysis of Transaction Cost Manipulation Practices and Strategic Policies in Indonesia**

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In the theory of manipulation of political transaction costs, it is said that transaction costs in running state affairs are divided into two types: those that are “natural” and those that are “artificial” (Sobrio, 1997). Natural transaction costs refer to costs that would exist without efforts on the part of political actors to reduce obstacles to political transactions. An example of “natural” transaction costs is the total budget for activities, programs and policies that have been jointly determined through the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN) and then promulgated. On the other hand, transaction costs are “artificial” are political transactions that are deliberately created by certain officials to achieve their own goals. This is done because it is believed that it can change people’s perceptions regarding the disadvantages and benefits of certain policies.

This article will focus on how manipulation of political transaction costs is often supported by government officials. According to Twilight (1994), there are many factors that can influence this massive practice of cost manipulation. These factors include executive support, security of political position, and the benefits associated with it, including support from political parties. Apart from that, ideology also has a big influence. This theory predicts that government officials are more likely to support laws, regulations, and policies that increase transaction costs. This is often caused by many people rejecting programs that actually benefit them, but are rejected due to ideological considerations.

In the context of the 2024 Indonesian Elections, this issue is even more interesting because the Government, with all its generosity, is distributing social assistance (bansos) on a large scale and increasing the salaries of State Civil Apparatus (ASN) in the political year. This raises questions about the true motives behind these policies, as well as their impact on political dynamics and voter choices.

### 2024 Election Context

In the context of elections, natural transaction costs can include things such as campaign costs, logistics, and the time required to organize and mobilize the mass of voters. Although all political parties and candidates try to minimize these costs, they still exist as a natural part of the political process. On the other hand, artificial transaction costs can refer to attempts to impede or impede the electoral process by inappropriate means. Examples of these practices include money politics, voter intimidation, and the spread of hoaxes or disinformation. Political actors may seek to create such obstacles to exploit the situation or influence the outcome of the election.

Citing the results of the Indonesian Political Indicators survey, it was said that the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the National Awakening Party (PKB) were the two parties that carried out the most dawn attacks. Executive Director of Indonesian Political Indicators, Burhanuddin Muhtadi, stated that 13.9 percent of respondents claimed to have received a dawn attack from PKB ahead of the 2024 election voting, while 12.6 percent of respondents claimed to have received it from PDIP. In his statement, Burhanuddin explained that many groups of citizens claimed to have been given or promised rewards if they voted for certain parties or candidates, these mainly came from the PKB and PDIP (CNN Indonesia, 2/3/2024).

The Anti-Corruption Education Center, Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) through its official website conveys three forms of “dawn attacks” that are most commonly carried out during the campaign period. The first pattern involves giving envelopes containing a certain amount of money to voters, with values varying depending on the existing political context and environment. This practice is often accompanied by promises of certain rewards or benefits that may be provided after the elections.

The second pattern involves distributing basic necessities to residents, which is often found in areas that are poor or prone to unethical political practices. These basic necessities can be in the form of basic commodities or other daily necessities, which are delivered as a form of support or ‘purchasing’ support for a particular party or candidate. Meanwhile, the third pattern includes the distribution of household items, such as dish soap, shampoo, body soap and other daily items.



The example above can be classified as a “made-up” manipulation of political transactions because the budget appeared in the middle of the road and was not regulated by specific regulations. By managing budgets outside established regulatory limits, political actors can easily hide their activities from public scrutiny. This becomes even more disturbing because often the budget used comes from politicians’ personal sources, which do not have to be reported transparently.

The Distribution of social assistance and salary increases for ASN In the context of the dynamics of the 2024 elections, the distribution of social assistance and the increase in salaries for ASN and TNI/Polri by 8 percent have become a hot topic of discussion because of its potential as a political instrument to win certain candidate pairs. However, determining whether these two policies fall into a “natural” or “artificial” political transaction requires a deep understanding of the background and intentions behind their implementation.

Basically, the policies of distributing social assistance and increasing salaries for ASN and TNI/Polri are part of the Government’s function in improving community welfare and increasing the motivation and welfare of civil servants and security forces. These two things are regulated in Minister of Social Affairs Regulation Number 1/2019 concerning the Distribution of Social Assistance Expenditures within the Ministry of Social Affairs. Meanwhile, ASN salaries are in Government Regulation Number 5/2024 concerning the Nineteenth Amendment to Civil Servant and TNI Salary Regulations in PP No. 6/2024 concerning the Thirteenth Amendment to Government Regulation Number 28/2001 concerning Salary Regulations for Members of the National Army of the Republic of Indonesia and the National Police in PP No. 7 of 2024 concerning the Thirteenth Amendment to Government Regulation Number 29 of 2001 concerning Salary Regulations for Members of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia.

However, if these policies are contextualized in political decisions, especially intensively carried out during the political year, there is a high possibility that they will be used specifically and strategically to support certain candidates in elections. Further analysis and investigation needs to be carried out to determine whether this is “manufactured” political manipulation or just part of “natural” political dynamics. It is said to be “made up” because it was carried out on a



large scale ahead of the 2024 elections, while this is also a “natural” thing as part of the Government’s policy instruments.

Factors that need to be considered include clarity of policy objectives, transparency in the decision-making process, and whether the policy is implemented evenly or only in areas that have the potential to support certain candidates. If the distribution of social assistance and salary increases is carried out transparently, fairly, and based on consideration of the real needs of the community and civil servants, then it can be categorized as a “natural” political instrument. However, if there is evidence that the policy was exploited dishonestly for certain political interests, then it can be classified as “contrived” political manipulation.

### **Recommendations**

In the context of elections, law enforcement and supervision efforts carried out by election organizing bodies such as the General Election Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) are crucial to maintaining the integrity of the democratic process. This includes taking action against detrimental practices, such as money politics, voter intimidation, and the spread of hoaxes or disinformation. Strict supervision of budget use in the context of elections is also needed to prevent abuse of power.

The Government also needs to show a strong commitment to the principles of openness and accountability in every stage of the decision-making process and policy implementation. This commitment must primarily be upheld by the Ministry of Empowerment of State Civil Apparatus and Bureaucratic Reform (PANRB), as well as the Ministry of Defense and Polri. The importance of this aspect of transparency is especially visible in the implementations of policies, such as the distribution of social assistance and salary increases, which must be carried out clearly and be accountable to the public.

**- Felia Primaresti -**

*The manipulation of political transaction costs can be divided into “natural” and “artificial” costs. Further analysis and investigation is important to highlight policy motives such as the distribution of social assistance and increases in ASN salaries during election times. As a political instrument, this policy has raised questions about its motives, especially when it is done during a political year. For this reason, law enforcement and strict supervision are important to maintain the integrity of the political process and to encourage transparency and accountability in political decisions and policy processes. This is important to ensure political decisions and policy processes are fair and representative of the society.*

## Observing Women Workers in the Oil Palm Plantation and the Mining Sectors

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The Government and the International Labour Organization (ILO) are pushing for the elimination of exploitation of women workers, especially in the palm oil and fisheries sectors. Sulistri, the Secretary General of the Federation of Food Beverage Tourism Restaurant and Hotel Labour Unions (FSB Kamiparho), explained that women in the oil palm plantation sector still experience a lot of discrimination. Their status as casual workers has made them vulnerable to low wages and the absence of social protection and occupational health and safety (K3) guarantees. This was explained in an online discussion of sectoral dialogue with the theme “Gender Equality for Decent and Fair Work in Rural Areas” in Jakarta, on Tuesday (Ekonomi.bisnis.com, 27/2/2024).

In addition, in other sectors such as mining; for example, the records from the Responsible Mining Index (RMI) in 2022 showed that there was still low participation of women in strategic positions and roles in decision-making related to mining projects. This awareness-raising movement is expanding along with increasing recognition in various development agencies and companies. In addition, the empowerment movement can also increase women’s participation in decision-making and social program planning that results in mitigation of adverse impacts on poverty reduction, as well as sustainable development outcomes (Responsible Mining Foundation, 2022).

Previously, records from RMI 2018 also proved that most of the 30 companies were assessed as having no evidence of efforts to strengthen gender balance in the company’s leadership and governance teams (Responsible Mining Foundation, 2018). On the other hand, various challenges continue to arise for female mine workers, such as sexual harassment, lack of acceptance by male colleagues, physical constraints, lack of gender-appropriate facilities or personal protective equipment, balancing family responsibilities with shift work, and others (Responsible Mining Foundation, 2022).

### **The Challenges for Women Workers in the Plantation and the Mining Sectors**

According to the National Labour Statistics of the Central Statistics Agency (Sakernas BPS) in 2023, workers employed in the plantation sector reached 10.37 million people. If the agricultural workforce was broken down narrowly by gender, the participation rate of men to work in this sector was still greater than that of women. BPS said there were 23.04 million male workers and 15.10 million female workers working in the narrow agricultural sector. In addition, if disaggregated by education level, most plantation workers only had primary education with a percentage level of 85.65% (satudata.pertanian.go.id, 2023).

The number of women's work participation in the plantation sector must be considered as a form of empowerment activity to improve the domestic household economy. Women workers in the oil palm plantation sector are the examples. In a report compiled by Anies Hidayah, an activist from Migrant Care (ILO, 2019), it was stated that Indonesia had 16.1 million hectares of oil palm plantations, with expansion plans reaching around 20 million hectares of land that had been allocated and spread across several islands in Indonesia such as Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, and Papua. In addition, it was estimated that the world's consumption of palm oil continued to increase every year and would reach 50 million tonnes by 2030. About the declaration of Palm Oil Vision 2045, the Plantation Fund Management Agency (BPDP) has targeted the production of Crude Palm Oil (CPO) up to 60 million tonnes per year.

Furthermore, the report also underlined that the declaration of the Palm Vision 2045 would also increase the expansion of oil palm plantations, including through cheap labor and land rents. Therefore, it would make sense that most of the laborers used would be people with low/basic education levels. The low wages given to plantation laborers were also followed by the absence of a safety net for occupational safety and health (K3) and social protection guarantees, such as BPJS Employment, health, and old age insurance.

Still in the above context, if referring to labor regulations, especially related to the status of employment relationships in oil palm plantations in Indonesia, it consisted of permanent workers and non-permanent workers (casual daily workers, piecework workers, and kernet). In the context of women workers in plantations, the work of women placed in the maintenance section such as spraying, fertilizing, and cleaning the area is not seen as core work in oil palm

plantations. Most of the female workers who work in the maintenance section have the status of non-permanent laborers. Women workers who work in maintenance are vulnerable (precariat) to the situation of the work area, inadequate wages, irregular hours, and work risks in oil palm plantations in Indonesia. This is a clear form of precarious labor.

On the other hand, although women work as casual plantation laborers, if referring to the Regulation of the Minister of Agriculture of the Republic of Indonesia Number 22/Permentan/Sm.200/5/2018 concerning the Levels of the Indonesian National Qualification Framework for Workers in the Agricultural Sector, then women plantation workers who perform maintenance work can be categorized as skilled/competent workers. This means that with the skills possessed by women as workers, they have the right and need protection guarantees, such as occupational safety and health (K3), including social labor protection guarantees.

The same applies to women workers in the mining sector. The 2022 RMI report in the gender thematic score explained several things related to the position of women in this sector. In general, the gender thematic score showed that there was a transversal problem with low efforts to improve policies in this field, which had an impact on the weak position of women with an average score of only 11%.

Furthermore, gender-conscious practices still lagged far behind the global narrative in the mining sector; for example, in terms of workplace safety. Some mining companies in Australia have redesigned Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) and workwear to ensure they are suitable for all workers, including women and pregnant women (measuring requirements such as the size of women's socks and boots, and the size and weight of helmets, clothing and head torches) (Responsible Mining Foundation, 2022).

Furthermore, related to the wage aspect in Indonesia, I Gusti Ayu Bintang Darmawati, the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA) in the Ngobrol Tempo event with the theme "Women in Mining", revealed that there was still a lot of discrimination, especially against the main workers in the mining sector and related to the wage aspect. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2021, the average wage of female workers was at a value of 3 million. Meanwhile, the wage given to male workers was around 3.7 million (majalah.tempo.co, 23/5/2022). Related to the wage difference, Budi Susilorini, found-

er of the organization “Women in Mining and Energy”, said that Indonesian women miners were in the lowest social class because they did not have legal status, so it was estimated that it was difficult to get a decent wage (voaindonesia.com, 15/07/2020).

On the same occasion, the Deputy for Gender Equality of the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPP-PA), Leny R. Rosalin, said that although according to BPS data as of August 2017, the number of female workers in the mining sector was around 115 thousand people while male workers were 1.28 million people, women’s participation could be increased through effectiveness and productivity. According to her, KemenPPPA must ensure that all sectors and all fields of work are women-friendly.

### **The Importance of Improving the Welfare of Women Workers**

Women’s participation in the plantation sector is very important. Although women workers are considered to be only manual plantation laborers with a casual relationship status, their position cannot be underestimated. Women plantation workers as casual laborers have tasks that are no less important than those performed by male plantation workers. For example, women as palm oil laborers also have a role in carrying out maintenance to increase palm oil production.

Likewise with women who work in the mining sector; not infrequently, female workers in this sector are vulnerable to sexual violence, even miscarriages. Therefore, the Government, employers and related companies, the Ministry of Manpower, and other stakeholders must work together and collaborate to create a labour protection guarantee policy scheme that can protect all workers, including women workers regardless of their employment status.

### **Recommendations**

Considering the importance of women’s participation, including in the economic sector, as well as in the oil palm plantation and mining sectors, the Government, business actors, including relevant ministries, both the Ministry of Manpower and the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection, need to do the following:

*First*, to encourage the Government and the Ministry of Manpower to provide tax incentives as an effort to support businesses to increase the absorption of women workers and provide them with OHS guarantees, including social protection guarantees in strategic sectors such as oil palm plantations and mining.

*Second*, to encourage the Ministry of Manpower and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection to ensure that the policy implementation of the Decree of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number 88 of 2023 concerning Guidelines for the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in the Workplace can be implemented by not only establishing a mechanism for reporting cases of violence but also forming a unit of officers in the field work sector, such as oil palm plantations and mining.

**- Dewi Rahmawati Nur Aulia -**

*Women's participation in various sectors, including in oil palm plantations and mining, is very important. Although women workers work as manual labourers in plantations with a casual relationship status, women workers also play a role and contribute in these sectors. It is important to ensure gender equality, legal protection, and proper guarantees to women workers in accordance with applicable laws and regulations.*

## Considering Indonesia Clean of Waste 2025

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The Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) on Tuesday (5/3/2024) awarded Adipura 2023 to six administrative regions in DKI Jakarta. The six areas in Jakarta received Adipura for the Metropolitan City category. The award was handed over by Deputy Minister of MoEF Alue Dohong at the MoEF's Manggala Wanabakti Building (news.detik.com, 5/3/2024).

In the event, Vice President Ma'ruf Amin highlighted the problem of waste management, which was currently the Government's concern. Ma'ruf Amin explained that the Government set a target for the National Policy and Strategy (Jakstranas) to reduce waste by 30 percent and handle waste by 70 percent by 2025. The Government is also targeting Zero Waste Zero Emissions by 2050. Therefore, to realize these targets, he encouraged local governments to implement an integrated waste management system from upstream to downstream (news.detik.com, 5/3/2024).

### **Waste Generation and Countermeasures in Indonesia**

Waste is a pile of products from human productivity that is still a problem in Indonesia. This problem is also complicated, especially in breaking down and managing it according to the type of waste.

According to data from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry's National Waste Management Information System (SIPSN), Indonesia would generate 19.45 million tonnes of waste by 2022. By province, the highest waste generation came from Central Java (4.25 million tonnes or 21.85% of the total national waste generation last year). DKI Jakarta was ranked second with a waste generation volume of 3.11 million tonnes (15.98%) (databoks.katadata.co.id, 13/03/2023). The following data ranked the provinces with the highest waste generation in 2022:



**Table 1. Data of the top 10 waste generation provinces in Indonesia (2022)**

Rank	Province	Waste Volume
1	Central Java	4,25 million tonnes
2	DKI Jakarta	3,11 million tonnes
3	East Java	1,63 million tonnes
4	West Java	1,11 million tonnes
5	Riau	1,05 million tonnes
6	South Sumatera	886,63 thousand tonnes
7	North Sumatera	882,03 thousand tonnes
8	South Kalimantan	726,56 thousand tonnes
9	West Sumatera	668,5 thousand tonnes
10	South Sulawesi	588,35 thousand tonnes

Source: databoks.katadata.co.id, 2022.

In addition, if referring to the performance of management results from data input by 112 districts/cities throughout Indonesia in 2023 by SIPSAN, it was known that the amount of waste managed is only 66.92% or 12,099,672.13 (tonnes/year) of the total waste generation of 18,081,278.88 (tonnes/year).

If disaggregated by type, the majority of national waste in 2022 would be food waste (41.55%), followed by plastic waste with a proportion of 18.55%. In addition, there would also be waste of natural origin such as wood/brings (13.27%), paper/cardboard (11.04%), metal (2.86%), fabric (2.54%), glass (1.96%), rubber/leather (1.68%), and other types of waste (6.55%). Such segregation of waste types should make it easier for the government and the community to manage and utilise waste into recycled products with high economic value.

Article 3 of Law Number 18/2008 on Waste Management states that “*Waste management is organised in accordance with the principle*



*of responsibility, the principle of sustainability, the principle of benefits, the principle of justice, the principle of awareness, the principle of togetherness, the principle of safety, the principle of security, and the principle of economic value.*" The article means that waste management needs to be carried out based on the principles of sustainability, safety and security, and benefits, including economic value.

According to Environment Geography Student Association Universitas Gadjah Mada (Egsa UGM), waste management in Indonesia has not been in accordance with environmentally sound waste management methods. Most landfill waste management in Indonesia uses open dumping and landfill methods. However, there are also other methods; namely, composting, burning, sorting, and recycling although they are not widely used (Winahyu et al., 2013).

The open dumping method is the simplest method where waste is dumped in a landfill without further treatment. Meanwhile, the landfill method is a method that levelled the waste and compacted with heavy equipment and covered with soil. Both methods are considered less environmentally friendly because they have the potential to cause pollution to water, soil, as well as air pollution (egsa.geo.ugm.ac.id, 19/10/2019).

In general, waste management in Indonesia is still mostly done traditionally/conventionally. Limited technology and space/land is one of the reasons why modern waste management is still difficult. As a result, most of the waste accumulates in landfills. It is not uncommon for the accumulated waste to be overloaded. Therefore, it is necessary to improve a more modern waste management system by looking at economic opportunities and also considering sustainable safety and environmental aspects.

One of the good practices of waste management can be seen from the DKI Jakarta City Government, which has developed maggot cultivation to help decompose waste. Maggot is the larva of Black Soldier Flies (BSF) insects that can break down waste by eating organic material. Maggot larvae are not a medium for disease, and their life cycle is only 40 days. Therefore, these larvae can be economically valuable because they can be sold as animal feed. Animals that consume maggot will produce tastier and more tender meat (Brin.go.id, 30/5/2022).

### **Towards Indonesia Clean Waste 2025**

The declaration of Indonesia Clean Waste in 2025 was initiated through Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 97/2017 concerning National Policy and Strategy for the Management of Household Waste and Waste Similar to Household Waste. This regulation is the basis for each region to jointly achieve the target mission; namely, Clean Indonesia 2025. Each region in Indonesia is expected to be able to design or adapt their own model plan (Regional Strategy Policy - Jakstrada), especially in managing waste creatively and being able to be carried out by all levels of society.

Quoting from Waste4Change.com (10/10/2023), there are several laws and policies in Indonesia regarding waste management that have been initiated before, such as DKI Jakarta Regional Regulation Number 3/2013 concerning Waste Management from the Source. In addition, there is the Indonesian Presidential Regulation Number 81 of 2012 concerning Waste Sorting and Waste Management. However because Presidential Regulation No. 97/2017 is a National Strategic Policy, it requires full support from all ministries/state agencies in Indonesia (not just the MoEF and other environmental agencies).

Although the declaration of Indonesia Bersih Sampah 2025 has been echoed since 2017, the implementations of the policy still face challenges, such as for the reduction of plastic waste in the ocean by 70 percent. Until 2021, the reduction of plastic waste in the ocean had reached 28.5 percent. With the number of achievements in that year, Indonesia needs maximum efforts (including the use of appropriate technology) in meeting the target of reducing plastic waste, especially in the oceans. (mongabay.co.id, 22/7/2022).

In addition, to achieve this goal, the Government through the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) formed a partnership. Collaborative activities through partnerships are formed to tackle plastic pollution in the oceans and land.

The partnership comes from various backgrounds, such as business people, civil society groups, and local stakeholders who are members of the Global Action Plastic Partnership (GPAP). The Government also involves the Plastic Recovery Organisation (PRO), which involves six major companies in Indonesia (mongabay.co.id, 10/5/2019).

### Recommendations

WRI Indonesia (2023) mentions five important approaches in managing plastic waste; namely, reduction, substitution/redesign, collection, disposal management, and recycling. However, the implementations still face challenges, such as the absence of special processing land areas, the high cost of substitute materials, and the lack of appropriate technology used in processing plastic waste in managing plastic waste as a whole, including the difficulty of changing people's lifestyles.

Therefore, to achieve the plastic reduction target in order to achieve Indonesia Clean Waste 2025, here are some things that can be done:

1. To increase public awareness about the dangers of using plastic waste to the environment, which can be started from the households.
2. The Government can increase the tax value of plastic utilization for all sectors. This policy is expected to reduce the use of plastic and encourage the use of alternative product use options other than plastic.
3. Increase economic incentives, such as taxes and others, to the Plastic Recovery Organisation (PRO) and economic actors who participate in implementing activities that pay attention to environmental aspects, including in terms of waste management such as plastic, and support the Indonesia Bebas Sampah 2025 policy.
4. To encourage and support the community economy through community-based community empowerment activities that are oriented towards sustainability and environmental preservation. The support is also expected to encourage community activities that utilise plastic waste as a source for recycling according to community needs and economic value.

*Policy implementations for Indonesia Bersih Sampah 2025 still face challenges, including in reducing plastic waste. It requires increased awareness of all parties and joint efforts, as well as support through community-based work with economic value and economic incentives for businesses that are committed to contributing to this. In addition, the use of appropriate technology is also important to meet the target of reducing plastic waste, especially in the oceans.*

**- Dewi Rahmawati Nur Aulia -**

**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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