

# The Indonesian Update

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



## Main Report:

Women's Representation in Politics and How We Can Learn from the British Labour Party

## The Economics

The Importance of Institutional Quality for Economic Growth in the Prabowo-Gibran Regime ■

The Responsibilities of the Prabowo-Gibran Government for Five Years ■

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2024 and the Intimidation against the Academic World ■

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Building a Mental Health Policy Framework Comprehensive and Inclusive ■

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# FOREWORD

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The October 2024 edition of the Indonesian Update features a major report on women's representation in Indonesian politics, which still faces challenges even though the 30% quota has been formally implemented. Many political parties only fulfill this requirement symbolically without substantial support, such as cadreship and coaching. A strategy is needed to increase women's participation in politics, including incentives for parties that truly support women's involvement in politics.

In the economic sector, the Indonesian Update highlights the importance of improving the quality of institutions for economic growth, as well as policy recommendations for the Prabowo-Gibran government. Furthermore, we also discuss the tasks of the Prabowo-Gibran government amidst global economic uncertainty. The Prabowo-Gibran government must be able to maintain purchasing power and increase the number of the middle class, both those working in the formal and informal sectors.

In the legal sector, the Indonesian Update highlights the importance of the DPR, DPD, together with the government, to prioritize bills that are directly related to human rights to guarantee basic rights and individual freedoms. Furthermore, we also discuss the challenges to academic freedom in Indonesia today. The rampant intimidation of academic activities will create an environment that is afraid of different views, which will ultimately hinder the development of the quality of Indonesia's human resources.

In the political field, the Indonesian Update discusses the optimization of the role and function of government in order to create and implement appropriate policies for the people. This is not just about increasing the number of ministries/institutions in the Prabowo-Gibran Government. Optimization of the role and function of ministries/institutions must be carried out by improving the planning and formulation of development policies based on evidence and data and strengthening community participation in the policy process.

In the social field, the Indonesian Update discusses the analysis of the challenges of implementing poverty alleviation policies after the transition of the Joko Widodo Government to Prabowo Subianto. Furthermore, we also discuss the challenges and obstacles faced by the Government in building a mental health policy framework in Indonesia. Therefore, it is important to build a comprehensive and inclusive mental health policy framework.

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

**Happy reading.**

## Women's Representation in Politics and How We Can Learn from the British Labour Party

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The latest data from the General Election Commission (KPU) 2024 revealed a decline in the number of female candidates from 40% in 2019 to 37% this year. This shows that despite affirmative action policies, the structure and culture within political parties have not fully supported women's involvement consistently and significantly. In addition, although the number of women's seats in the Parliament has increased (CSIS, 2024), around 45% of women who were elected are still related to dynastic political practices, indicating that women's access to the political stage is still determined more by family ties than through recruitment mechanisms based on competence and meritocracy.

Mona Lena Krook, in her book *Quotas for Women in Politics* (2009), highlights the importance of institutionalizing affirmative action policies for women's representation within political parties, including internal regulations that support women's equal participation. However, in Indonesia, many political parties have yet to fully adopt these measures, and the practice of women's representation is often more symbolic than substantive. This paper shall explore the extent to which political parties in Indonesia have incorporated affirmative action policies for women's representation into their internal regulations, and identify the challenges that hinder the achievement of a more inclusive and meritocratic political recruitment system.

### Learning from the Labour Party in the UK

The topic of women's representation in politics is always closely related to political party cadre formation. Ideally, this cadre formation is the main path for women to be ready and have the capacity to lead. However, the cadre formation process in many Indonesian political parties is still not optimal. Parties tend to prioritize cadres who have financial capital, extensive networks, or high popularity in order to gain as many votes as possible. When

parties are forced to develop women, the process is often instant or “instant”, without providing adequate training and support to form strong female leaders.

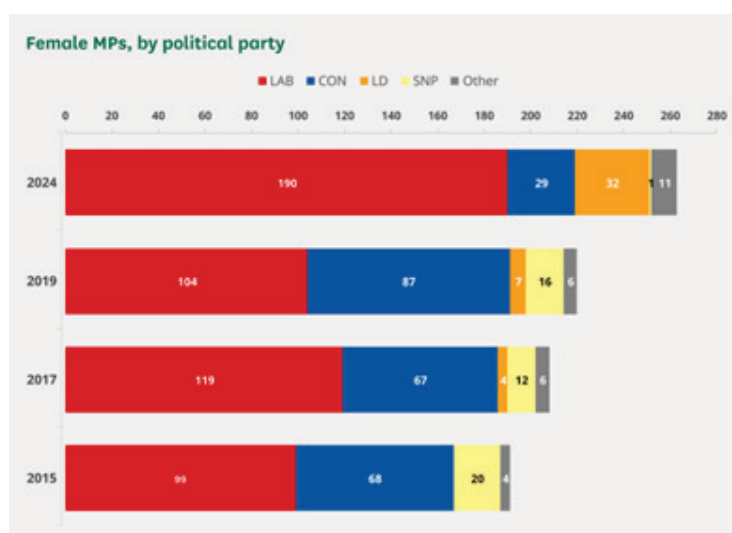
One factor that may be the main cause of this phenomenon is the lack of real support from political parties for women’s involvement. This lack of support is often exacerbated by the absence of formal legitimacy from internal party rules, such as those stated in the Articles of Association and Bylaws (AD/ART). In fact, formal support in the form of internal rules is very important to strengthen the party’s commitment to encouraging women’s representation.

Krook (2009), as mentioned earlier, argues that recognition of women’s representation should not only be accommodated through external laws or regulations. These regulations need to be implemented more technically in the form of internal party policies, which ensure that their implementation runs according to the initial objectives. These technical regulations are not only in the form of general instructions but can also include more specific clauses, such as providing positive incentives for parties that succeed in increasing women’s participation and providing negative sanctions for those who fail to achieve these targets. This approach will provide structural pressure and real motivation for parties to be more serious about mainstreaming women’s involvement in politics, ensuring that changes occur not only at the symbolic level, but also in the daily practices of political parties.

In the 2024 UK General Election, the Labour Party won a landslide victory by winning 412 seats out of 650 in parliament. This figure represents a significant increase of 211 seats compared to the previous election, representing an increase of around 50% in their political power (Statista, 2024). This increase can be attributed to several factors, such as a more focused campaign, handling of important issues such as health and education, and the Conservative Party’s failure to maintain public trust on a number of crucial issues.

However, what is more striking about Labor’s victory this time is the representation of women in the Parliament. Of the 412 seats won, around 190 of them were filled by women, meaning that 46% of the total Labor Party representatives are women. This figure is an increase of 6% from 2019, when only 40% of Labor Party MPs were women (<https://labourlist.org>, 6 June 2024). This increase in female representation is highlighted because it shows the party’s commitment to improving gender equality in politics and encouraging more women to be involved in political decision-making.

While female representation has increased in the Labour Party, this trend has not been fully reflected in other parties. The Liberal Democrats, who have traditionally supported gender equality, saw their percentage of female MPs fall from 58% in 2019 to 44% in 2024. The Conservatives also saw a decline with just 24% of MPs being female, down from 27% at the previous election. This reflected significant differences in the parties' policies and commitments to female representation in the UK parliament (<https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/>, 6 August 2024). However, overall, female representation in the UK parliament, particularly in 2024, is at its highest and continues to increase year on year, as can be seen in the chart below.



Source: UK Parliamentary Library translated. (2024). Retrieved from [commonslibrary.parliament.uk](https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/), 6 August 2024, 10.30 WIB.

After further examinations, the British Labour Party's Articles of Association (AD/ART) document contains at least three specific rules. First, this document emphasizes the importance of gender parity in the selection of committee officials within the party. At least half of the elected officials must be women. This shows that the party has an explicit commitment to ensuring women's representation in the decision-making structure within the party. Second, the position of women's officials in the party executive, where the executive committee structure has a special position for a Women's Officer who is responsible for advocating for women's interests in the party. This position is part of the party's core leadership. Third, the quota for women's representation in delegations. This is done when the party sends delegates to conferences or other party bodies, the party stipulates that 50% of



the delegates must be women. This shows that there is a real policy to increase women's representation in important forums ( <https://www.britannica.com> , 2024).

In addition, All-Women Shortlists (AWS ) is a policy adopted by the Labour Party in the UK to increase women's representation in the Parliament. AWS was first introduced in 1993 as a response to the lack of women in British politics, especially in parliament. This policy exclusively stipulates that in some constituencies, only women can be candidates for the Parliament from the Labour Party. In the AWS system, the party determines which constituencies will be filled by female candidates. In elections in these areas, men are not allowed to run as candidates. This process aims to overcome structural and cultural barriers that make it difficult for women to compete with men in politics, such as lack of support, resources, or access to strong political networks. The AWS policy has proven effective in increasing the number of women in the British parliament, especially from the Labour Party. With 46% of women among Labour Party MPs ( [www.lwn.org.uk](http://www.lwn.org.uk) , 2022).

### **How about Indonesia?**

In the context of political party regulations in Indonesia, women's representation is regulated through minimum quota requirements for female candidates, usually 30%. Although this regulation aims to increase women's participation in politics, its implementation is often a formality. Many political parties simply fulfill quotas without providing sufficient support for women to play a role in decision-making or offering adequate resources. In fact, women are often placed in electoral districts that have little chance of winning, indicating that their representation is more symbolic than substantial.

Challenges to achieving substantive representation of women in Indonesian politics include patriarchal norms, financial constraints, and limited access to internal party networks. Despite regulations, women's empowerment in politics is highly dependent on internal party dynamics and support structures. Therefore, political parties need to do more than just meet quotas; they must ensure a change in political culture and provide adequate leadership training and development for women.

The Indonesian context shows stagnation in women's representation. In the 2024 election, the number of female candidates dropped from 40% in 2019 to 37%, indicating that the implementations of quota

policies are still facing structural and cultural challenges. As seen in the UK through the Labour Party's All-Women Shortlists (AWS) policy, there needs to be an internal party commitment to support women substantially, which is currently not seen in political parties in Indonesia.

One of the main problems is the lack of systematic cadreship for women. Strong dynasty politics often prevent women with competence from advancing, while women who are related to family networks or political figures have easier access. As analyzed by Krook (2009), institutionalizing affirmative action policies within parties is an important step to ensure that women's representation is more than just a symbol.

In addition, instant cadre formation without adequate training, which is common in Indonesia, hinders the creation of strong female leaders. Indonesia can learn from the UK in terms of mechanisms such as AWS, which have proven effective in increasing the number of women in parliament. In Indonesia, similar mechanisms have not been adopted concretely within political parties, reinforcing the impression that women's representation is still superficial.

## Recommendations

Referring to the above explanations, here are some recommendations that can be offered:

1. Political parties need to carry out institutional reforms, especially related to internal political party rules and strengthening affirmative regulation. Incentives for parties that increase women's representation and sanctions for those who fail can be the first step. However, the biggest challenge is changing the orientation of parties that are currently still dominated by financial interests and dynastic politics, as well as transactional politics .

Structural institutional reform and commitment to increasing women's representation are expected to help realize substantive women's representation in politics in Indonesia.

2. The policy of women's representation quota for political parties must be increased not only in the number of female candidates, but also ensuring that they are placed in strategic positions and have the potential to win in strong electoral districts (dapil). Political parties must also prepare their female cadres thoroughly and support them in political contests to show the

party's seriousness in supporting affirmative policies.

It is also expected to minimize the practice of placing women in areas that are difficult to win. For that, clear and firm rules such as those related to the requirements for participating in political contests, as well as governance in representative institutions, for example, must be applied consistently.

3. Election organizers need to provide realistic rewards or incentives that have the potential to provide added value for electoral interests to political parties that succeed in increasing women's representation substantively. This can encourage other political parties to follow suit. Conversely, political contest organizers also need to provide sanctions for those who do not implement it.

**- Felia Primaresti -**

*Women's representation in Indonesian politics are still facing challenges even though the 30% quota has been formally implemented. Many political parties only fulfill this requirement symbolically without substantial support, such as cadre formation and coaching. This paper shall explore the strategies needed to increase women's participation in politics, including incentives for political parties that truly support women's involvement in politics.*

## The Importance of Institutional Quality for Economic Growth in the Prabowo-Gibran Regime

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President and Vice President-elect Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka (Prabowo-Gibran) will lead Indonesia for the next five years. Prabowo-Gibran has also clearly described eight missions called Asta Cita, 17 priority programs and eight best results programs in the document “Together Indonesia Progressing towards a Golden Indonesia 2045”. The eight Asta Cita missions include:

1. Strengthening the ideology of Pancasila, democracy and human rights (HAM);
2. Strengthening the country’s defense and security system and encouraging national independence through self-sufficiency in food, energy, water, creative economy, green economy and blue economy;
3. Increasing quality employment opportunities, encourage entrepreneurship, develop creative industries, and continue infrastructure development;
4. Strengthening the development of human resources (HR), science, technology, education, health, sports achievements, gender equality, as well as strengthening the role of women, youth and people with disabilities;
5. Continuing downstreaming and industrialization to increase added value in the country;
6. Building from the village and from below for economic equality and poverty eradication;
7. Strengthening political, legal and bureaucratic reforms, as well as strengthen the prevention and eradication of corruption and drugs; as well as
8. Strengthening harmonious alignment of life with the environment, nature and culture, as well as increasing tolerance between religious communities to achieve a just and prosperous society.

In order to realize the eight Asta Cita missions, there is at least one main indicator that must be the main priority of the Prabowo-Gibran government; namely, improving the quality of institutions.

This is because institutions are based on theory and have been empirically proven to be able to increase economic growth. Therefore, this paper shall analyze the reasons for the importance of institutions for economic growth, as well as policy recommendations for the Prabowo-Gibran government.

### **The Importance of Quality Institutions for Economic Growth**

According to North (1991), institutions are “humanly designed boundaries that structure political, economic, and social interactions.” These limits can be in the form of informal limits, such as sanctions, customs, and codes of ethics, while formal limits, such as the constitution, laws, or property rights. As institutional structures develop that also provide incentives for the economy, these incentives can bring about changes in the economy, both positive changes leading to growth, and negative changes such as stagnation or even economic decline.

This was also expressed by Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2001) who argues that the hypothesis underlying economic institutions, which influence the economy through economic incentives, is the society’s efforts to organize its society that will determine and decide the prosperity or lack of prosperity of that the society. For example, by saving for the future and investing, educating yourself, and finding solutions to problems through collective action and providing public goods. It can be said that the society is also a group of individuals with self-interest and economic-interest, each of whom has a personal choice to become an economically independent individual.

Apart from that, Martínez (27 September 2024) in his article entitled “How Institutional Quality Shapes Our World” maintains that inclusive institutions that have good quality will be able to provide clear and predictable rules of the game. This is because inclusive institutions guarantee protection for individual property rights and uphold voluntary contracts, thus giving individuals confidence to carry out economic activities both in terms of innovation, risk management, and efficient productivity, which ultimately leads to economic growth (Martínez, 27 September 2024).

On the other hand, unstable institutions, such as extractive institutions based on coercion and human rights violations as stated by Acemoglu and Robinson (2012), create uncertainty and even pre-

vent individuals from carrying out economic activities. The absence of security of property rights reduces individuals from engaging in economic activities. As a result, economic freedom that is driven by personal choice and based on property rights is reduced and can reduce economic growth.

The normative economic approach where good quality institutions will create good economic growth has been widely tested empirically. For example, Siddiqui and Ahmed (2013) using dynamic panel difference estimation and ordinary least squares (OLS) panel estimation conclude that institutions have a significant positive effect on economic growth. They argue that Institutional and Policy Rents factors have a significant effect on economic growth in the long term. The same thing was also found by Tashtamirov (2023) with a panel data regression that tested the influence of institutions on economic development in the United States, England, Germany, Turkey, Russia and China. He says that that quality institutions as proxied by the existence of the rule of law, the government's ability to eradicate corruption, and the effectiveness of the regulatory framework have a significant positive impact on economic growth in the six countries.

Therefore, seeing that inclusive or quality institutions have a significant influence on economic growth, the Prabowo-Gibran government, which will later be assisted by ministers and heads of institutions, must be able to strengthen and encourage improvements in the quality of institutions. The Central Government, ministries and non-ministerial institutions must be able to become examples and benchmarks for regional governments and institutions in the regions. Inclusive institutions with transparency, accountability, fair and strong rule of law, meaningful participation and efficient governance must be the foundation of the next Prabowo-Gibran government so that the goals of *Asta Cita* and sustainable economic growth can be achieved and not become a 'dream in broad daylight'.

### **Policy Recommendations**

Considering the explanations above, the following are policy recommendations for the Prabowo-Gibran government. First, the Prabowo-Gibran government must choose a Minister who has integrity, competence, understanding and a humane frame of mind to be assigned responsibility for the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. The Minister must be able to strengthen the rule of law and become the main actor in improving the quality of institutions in Indonesia. Judicial independence, the capacity and quality of law enforcement officials down to the village level must be encouraged

and given a deep understanding regarding the protection of property. This is because an effective legal system also builds trust in economic transactions and encourages entrepreneurship.

Second, all elements of the Prabowo-Gibran government must have a framework for bureaucratic efficiency, such as reducing excessive regulations that do not provide benefits for the wider community and actually curb individual economic freedom, as well as utilizing and encouraging digitalization in government services so that policies start from discussion, formulation, determination, socialization, implementation, monitoring and evaluation can be known by all Indonesian people.

Third, all elements of the Prabowo-Gibran government must be willing to collaborate with elements of civil society, NGOs, think tanks in every element of public policy to ensure checks and balances and meaningful public participation in the policy process optimally.

**- Putu Rusta Adijaya -**

*Improving the quality of institutions must be encouraged by Prabowo-Gibran in order to realize the eight missions of Asta Cita. Ministers and heads of institutions must be able to strengthen and encourage improvements in the quality of institutions. The Central Government, ministries and non-ministerial institutions must be able to become examples and benchmarks for regional governments and institutions in the regions.*

## The Responsibilities of the Prabowo-Gibran Government for Five Years

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The year 2025 marks an important moment for Indonesia, as the start of a new government led by President Prabowo Subianto and Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka. Their leadership has promised to overcome various challenges, ranging from economic, political, legal and social which are clearly described in the document “Together Indonesia will Progress towards a Golden Indonesia 2045”. However, there are at least several responsibilities that this Government must pay attention to in the next five years.

First, in the midst of conditions of global economic uncertainty, the Prabowo-Gibran government must be able to maintain purchasing power and increase the number of the middle class working in both the formal and informal sectors. This is because the majority of Indonesia’s economic growth is still supported by household consumption (RT). The average contribution to economic growth is 54.7 percent during the 2019-2023 period (Adijaya, June 2024). The Central Statistics Agency (BPS) noted that the distribution according to expenditure for economic growth in the second quarter of 2024 was still largest in household consumption with a value of 54.53% (BPS, 5 August 2024).

Apart from that, the argument for the importance of the middle class for economic growth is also explained in the report by the Institute for Research on Economics and Society, Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Indonesia (LPEM FEB UI) (2024). The middle class plays a significant role in state revenue with a contribution of 50.7 percent of tax revenue. The importance of the middle class was also conveyed by Birdsall, Graham, and Pettinato (2000) in LPEM FEB UI (2024) who said that the backbone of the economy and democracy in advanced societies is the middle class. Acemoglu and Zilibotti (1997) in LPEM FEB UI (2024) argue that entrepreneurial sources originating from the middle class can create jobs and increase productivity for other communities.



Moreover, Doepke and Zilibotti (2005) in LPEM FEB UI (2024) argue that human resources (HR) and savings to accelerate capital accumulation and wealth creation are provided by the middle class. While Murphy et al. (1989) in LPEM FEB UI (2024) explains that the middle class is willing to pay more for quality goods which encourage product differentiation, investment and innovation in production activities, thereby increasing income for everyone.

The Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs (27 August 2024) also confirmed this, where middle class consumption has grown by around 12 percent every year since 2002, representing almost half of total household consumption in Indonesia. The number of middle class and prospective middle class is around 167.7 million people or 64 percent of Indonesia's total population. If the total consumption of these two groups is combined, the total consumption will be 82.3 percent in 2023, where the middle class group contributes 36.8 percent and the middle class candidate group accounts for 45.5 percent (LPEM FEB UI, 2024).

Apart from maintaining purchasing power and increasing the number of the middle class, the Prabowo-Gibran government is also responsible for improving democratic values in Indonesia. According to the Electoral Democracy Index by V-Dem and the Democracy Index by The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) in ourworldindata.org (22 May 2024), the Electoral Democracy Index in Indonesia by V-Dem was 0.54 in 2023 or a decrease of 0,02 from 2022, which was 0.56, where the Indonesian Democracy Index by the EIU was 0.65 in 2023, which was also down from the previous year. As explained by Adijaya (January 2024), a conducive business environment can be created if the Government can maintain a democratic system and institutions that respect human rights, where the conducive business environment is a signal of trust for investors to invest capital.

The third responsibility is improving economic complexity. This is because the economic complexity index is still lower than those in other ASEAN countries, such as Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam. Economic complexity is a measure that looks at the sophistication of a country's economy, where the more complex a country's economy is, such as having a variety of productive knowledge, the more diverse and more complex the goods produced (World Bank, 1 August 2024). Therefore, improvements in economic complexity must be carried out considering that this is

intertwined with the development of technology, innovation and more productive capabilities, as well as economic diversification, which leads to opening employment opportunities and increasing the human development index (Adijaya, August 2024).

The fourth responsibility is to eradicate corruption because the causes of corruption in Indonesia are very diverse, such as a corrupt political system and more corrupt political parties because the majority of political parties are managed by a certain group of people or families (Syarif & Faisal, 2019), corrupt government officials (Ibrahim, Yusoff, & Koling, 2018), as well as poor leaderships (Prabowo, 2016).

### **Policy Recommendations**

Against the background above, the following are recommendations for the Prabowo-Gibran government. First, to maintain purchasing power and increase the number of the middle class, the Prabowo-Gibran government needs to carry out labor reforms that include the middle class who work in the informal sector. These reforms can be carried out through expanding social security, such as BPJS Employment, providing skills training for informal workers so that they can prepare themselves to enter the informal sector for industrial needs and competitiveness. Apart from that, the Prabowo-Gibran government also did not implement taxes on the middle class amidst a decline in their purchasing power and reviewed the tax percentage for high-income groups.

Second, to improve democratic values, the Prabowo-Gibran government must be able to encourage meaningful community participation, which encourages the involvement of all levels of society in public policy, including vulnerable groups, women's groups, indigenous groups and local communities. Apart from that, institutional strengthening through transparency in the Government, such as openness in decision making, implementation and results, must be encouraged to continue to be encouraged so that the public can know and monitor future policies.

Third, to improve economic complexity, the Prabowo-Gibran government needs to carry out 'learning by doing' policies that have been successfully implemented by countries with high economic complexity. The Prabowo-Gibran government also needs to develop the capabilities of experts in Indonesia by investing in increased research and development (R&D). Fourth, related to eradicating corruption, the Prabowo-Gibran government needs to encourage

digitalized services through providing infrastructure, increasing the capacity of government human resources.

Hereby, the Prabowo-Gibran government of course cannot do it alone. Therefore, the Prabowo-Gibran government must be willing to embrace all elements of the society so that Asta Cita's goals can be achieved and the checks and balances process always runs.

**- Putu Rusta Adijaya -**

*The responsibilities of the Prabowo-Gibran government over the next five years are very heavy. The Prabowo-Gibran government cannot do it alone and must be willing to embrace all elements of society so that Asta Cita's goals can be achieved, and the checks and balances process always runs.*

## 2024 and the Intimidation against the Academic World

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On Saturday, 28 September 2024, there was a forced dispersal of a diaspora discussion organized by Forum Tanah Air at the Grand Kemang Hotel, South Jakarta. The discussion was visited by around 10-15 unknown people, who then forced the dissolution of the event and violently damaged items such as banners on the stage, projector screens, and a number of other properties (bbc.com, 1/10/2024). The latest development from the police is that Regional Police Metro Jaya has arrested one new suspect and his role, identified two different groups involved in the dispersal, and questioned 30 police and 6 citizens (lompas.com, 3/10/2024).

The incident of dissolution or intimidation of an academic forum is not new. Similar incidents have occurred at other events, even those held online. According to the data from the Indonesian Caucus for Academic Freedom (2024), there were around 27 violations of academic freedom that occurred from 2023-2024 as of July 2024. Recorded intimidations include attacks on student movements, problems afflicting academics in terms of public policy advocacy, problems afflicting academics in terms of natural resource advocacy, and academic integrity (national.tempco.co, 16/7/2024).

For a democratic country like Indonesia that upholds academic freedom as part of freedom of speech, this form of attack must be eradicated. Rampant intimidation of academic activities will create an environment that fears different views, which will ultimately hinder the development of the quality of Indonesia's human resources. If the country is serious about achieving the best quality of its citizens in 2045, which is claimed to be the Golden Indonesia (Indonesia Emas), then this should be a priority to be addressed immediately by law enforcement and other relevant institutions.

In this paper, the author seeks to re-emphasize the legal foundations that protect academic freedom in Indonesia, to review previous studies that explain why intimidation of academic freedom still occurs, and to see what can be done in the future.

### **The Legal Basis for the Protection of Academic Freedom**

Academic freedom in the international realm has been regulated in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Article 13 of the ICESCR stipulates that by taking into account human rights, education should enable all people to participate effectively in the society and promote understanding, tolerance and friendship. Indonesia has ratified this instrument in Law Number 11/2005, so Indonesia should be able to enforce this point of academic freedom.

The Indonesian Constitution also guarantees academic freedom in Article 28C(1), Article 28E(2) and (3), and Article 28F of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In its relevance to academic freedom, Article 28C(1) guarantees that everyone has the right to develop themselves and receive education in order to improve their quality of life and for the welfare of mankind. Next, in Article 28E(2) and (3), it is guaranteed that everyone has the right to freedom of expression of thoughts and attitudes in accordance with his/her conscience, as well as the right to freedom of association, assembly, and expression. Finally, Article 28F guarantees everyone's right to communicate and obtain information to develop their personal and social environment, as well as the right to seek, obtain, own, store, process and convey information using all available channels.

Furthermore, in legal instruments, academic freedom is regulated in Article 13 of Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights (Human Rights Law), Article 24 of Law No. 20/2003 on the National Education System (NES Law), and Articles 8 and 9 of Law No. 12/2012 on Higher Education (Higher Education Law). Article 13 of the Human Rights Law guarantees that every person has the right to develop and benefit from science and technology, art and culture in accordance with human dignity for the welfare of his or her person, nation and mankind.

Furthermore, regarding academic freedom, Article 24 of the NES Law explains that in the implementations of education and the development of science in higher education, academic freedom, freedom of academic pulpit, and scientific autonomy apply. Article 24(4) of the NES Law stipulates that provisions regarding the implementation of higher education that applies academic freedom, freedom of academic pulpit, and scientific autonomy are further regulated by government regulations.

The Higher Education Law further explains academic freedom, freedom of academic pulpit, and scientific autonomy. According to Article 9 of the Higher Education Law, academic freedom is the freedom of the academic community in higher education to explore and develop science and technology, and be responsible through the implementations of *Tridharma*. Next, freedom of academic pulpit is the authority of professors and/or lecturers who have scientific authority and prestige to state openly and responsibly about something related to the clumps of science and branches of science. Finally, scientific autonomy is defined as the autonomy of the academic community in a branch of science and/or technology in discovering, developing, expressing, and/or defending scientific truths according to scientific principles, methods, and academic culture. The implementations of these three components is the personal responsibility of the academic community which must be protected and facilitated by the higher education leadership when referring to Article 8 of the Higher Education Law.

In the implementing regulations, academic freedom is further regulated in Government Regulation Number 17/2010 concerning Management and Implementations of Education as amended by Government Regulation Number 66 of 2010 and partially revoked by Government Regulation Number 4 of 2014 (Government Regulation on Management and Implementations of Education). According to Article 91(1) of the Government Regulation on Management and Implementation of Education, it is stipulated that university leaders are obliged to strive for and ensure that every member of the academic community exercises academic freedom and freedom of academic pulpit responsibly in accordance with the provisions of laws and regulations, and is based on ethics and scientific norms/techniques. It should be noted that in exercising academic freedom and freedom of academic pulpit according to Article 91(2), each member of the academic community is personally responsible for the implementation and results, as well as the consequences for themselves or others, doing so in a way that does not conflict with religious values, ethical values, and academic rules, and does not violate the law and does not interfere with public interests.

### **The Causes of Academic Space Intimidation**

It needs to be highlighted why academic intimidation still occurs. Herlambang P. Wiratraman (2022) said that there are several reasons why academic freedom intimidation still occurs.

*First*, the feudal social structure that is still strong in the society. *Second*, limited university autonomy and state political intervention. *Third*, the lack of regulations to protect academic freedom and the low culture of academic freedom. *Fourth*, efforts to limit or control research, publications, and institutions. *Fifth*, policies that limit freedom of expression. *Sixth*, policies that limit and can discipline academics and researchers whose relationships with oligarchic power (Wiratraman, 2022).

Focus on the issue of the lack of regulations and policies that limit academic freedom. Looking back at a series of regulations related to academic freedom in the previous section, overall it regulates the principles that need to be considered in upholding academic freedom and other related elements. Then also signs such as responsibility and ethics that need to be upheld. However, it is yet to be seen how to enforce it if there is a violation of academic freedom. Acts of intimidation and violence in the realm of academic freedom are still included in criminal offenses in general, which are regulated in the Criminal Code. There is nothing that regulates sanctions against violations of academic freedom, which is also part of freedom of expression as a constitutional right of the community. The lack of understanding of the seriousness of academic freedom to be protected is reflected in the lack of regulations.

Next, policies are made along with policy discourses that increasingly do not accommodate freedom of expression as a whole. Law No. 1/2024 on Electronic Information and Transactions is one of them because of the addition of new articles that actually make the provisions for criminalization of expression even more vague (Intania, 2024). Then the discourse of the Broadcasting Bill and the Police Bill. The Broadcasting Bill proposes additional provisions on content that is prohibited from being broadcast on broadcasting platforms (fisipol.ugm.ac.id, 14/7/2024). The Police Bill is also discussed to expand the authority of the Police to conduct wiretapping and cyberspace surveillance (hukumonline.com, 3/7/2024).

The above factors provide conditions that support the criminalization of academic freedom. Thus, this favorable situation needs to be suppressed as best as possible to create an environment that respects academic freedom.

**Recommendations**

In maintaining academic freedom, the following points are proposed:

- a. The Parliament and the Government need to regulate strict sanctions for violations of academic freedom stipulated in laws and regulations related to education and human rights;
- b. The police need to be active and alert in securing acts of intimidation or other types of violations of academic freedom, as this is as important as protecting freedom of speech;
- c. Universities, the Police, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, and the National Human Rights Commission need to actively campaign against violations of academic freedom and educate the public that academic freedom is part of the freedom of expression that is important for everyone to protect; and
- d. The academic community and academic practitioners both inside and outside higher education institutions, both from the state civil apparatus and civil society need to be united and solid to jointly advocate the dangers of violating academic freedom, provide a safe space for each other on academic freedom issues, and increase public understanding of the importance of maintaining academic freedom.

*For a democratic country like Indonesia that upholds academic freedom as part of freedom of speech, violations of academic freedom are a form of attack that must be eradicated.*

**- Christina Clarissa Intania -**



## National Legislations for 2024-2029, Inclusion, and Human Rights

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The members of the new House of Representatives (DPR) and the Regional Representatives Council (DPD) have been inaugurated as on October 1, 2024. This was a new step for future legislation. However, reflecting on the performance of last period's Parliament, Puan Maharani, Chairperson of the DPR for the 2019-2024 period, said that there were 48 laws from the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas) that were passed ([national.tempo.co](http://national.tempo.co), 30/9/2024). Meanwhile, there are still 200 bills that have not been passed, according to DPR Decree Number 46/DPR RI/I/2019-2020 on the National Legislation Program for Draft Laws for 2020-2024. This shows that there is still a lag in the number of laws that should be passed by the DPR.

Many groups have and are again advocating for several laws to be passed immediately in the next period. Some examples are the Indigenous Peoples Bill and the Domestic Workers Protection Bill. The Indigenous Peoples Bill was initially proposed by all indigenous peoples in 2003 at the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago Congress. Then, the Academic Paper was proposed to the DPR in 2010 ([huma.or.id](http://huma.or.id), 11/15/2022). However, until now the bill has not been passed. Likewise, the Domestic Workers Protection Bill has not been passed for 20 years ([voaindonesia.com](http://voaindonesia.com), 27/2/20/2024). Not only these two bills, there are still other bills that have not been mentioned and need the attention of the new DPR and DPD members.

Therefore, it needs to be a public concern regarding the fate of the Prolegnas for this new period of 2024-2029. What attitudes need to be owned by the Parliament in the preparations of the latest Prolegnas, as well as what needs to be prepared in the preparations of Prolegnas needs to be owned by members of the latest Parliament, both DPR and DPD. In this paper, these matters will be discussed to be input and analysis of the public as well as members of the DPR and DPD.

### **Pending Bills, Inclusion, and Human Rights**

Of the bills that have not been completed, there are several bills related to the inclusion and fulfillment of human rights that need more attention in the next Prolegnas. In relation to agrarian issues that intersect with the basic right to life and survival, as well as the right to protection of self and property under their control, there are several bills that need attention. These bills include the Land Bill and the Agrarian Conflict Resolution Bill.

Agrarian conflicts reached 241 cases in 2023 according to the Consortium for Agrarian Reform (2024). If not properly implemented, agrarian conflicts invite other impacts, such as intimidation and violence. In the plantation sector alone, agrarian conflicts caused a total of 252 people to be criminalized, 52 people were persecuted, 6 people were shot, and 3 people were killed (Consortium for Agrarian Reform, 2024). Therefore, it is necessary to regulate materially related to land based on the times and the current situation in the Land Bill. Next, the resolution of agrarian conflicts based on meaningful participation and based on a human rights approach needs to be realized in the Agrarian Conflict Resolution Bill.

Regarding the fulfillment of inclusion aspects in the society and state administration, several bills in the 2020-2024 period need to be considered to be passed in the next period. As a reminder, inclusion means providing opportunities for all people with disabilities to participate in all aspects of daily life, such as education, employment, and social activities (Florian, 1998). However, it does not only target people with disabilities, but also embraces marginalized and vulnerable groups.

The bills related to inclusion that need to be further discussed and stipulated include Indigenous Peoples Bill, State Orphans and Neglected Children Bill, Youth Bill, Gender Equality Bill, Religious Harmony Bill, Domestic Workers Protection Bill, and Agricultural / Plantation Labor Bill. The Indigenous Peoples Bill is one bill whose existence has been awaited by the wider community. Indigenous peoples experience discrimination, especially in terms of property rights, namely to live and manage the land where they live. The bureaucracy has not fully benefited indigenous peoples, especially in recognizing customary territories. The agrarian conflicts that accompany indigenous peoples have been going on for so long. Take the example of customary land conflicts in Seruyan, Kampung Dingin, Rempang, and many more whose resolution is protracted (Consortium for Agrarian Reform, 2024). Therefore, this bill is im-

portant to be present and protect the property rights of indigenous peoples for their survival.

Orphans and abandoned children are a group that needs attention from the Government and the society in general. *First*, given the demographic bonus where the productive age will be higher than the non-productive in 2030 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2022). The demographic bonus includes young people, including orphans and abandoned children. For this reason, it is very important to protect these children so that they can live and develop according to their potential and can live in harmony and blend in with the progress in society.

*Secondly*, because there are many cases that endanger orphans and abandoned children, the absence of guardians or the lack of goodwill of guardians in taking care of orphans and abandoned children, these children are in danger of exploitation and other forms of crime. The most recent example is the mass sexual abuse of approximately 40 children at an orphanage in Tangerang, Banten, which was carried out by orphanage administrators (bbc.com, 10/10/2024). This case reflects the urgency of the state's responsibility in ensuring the safety of orphans and abandoned children.

Still related to the demographic bonus, the Youth Bill is one of the important legal products also to maintain and develop the quality of life of youth in Indonesia. Youth is one of the actors that is vulnerable to being forgotten in the administration of the state. In this new Youth Bill, it is hoped that the role of the state will be readjusted in developing the potential of young people and mechanisms to involve more youth as agents of change. The hope is that youth groups can be more included in decision-making discussions in the formation of public policies and can contribute in their own way for both themselves, as well as for society and the state.

In addition, the Gender Equality Bill is also a product that needs to be stipulated because it is a mandate from international instruments. Indonesia is a country that ratified the Convention on Elimination of All of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); namely, in Law Number 7 of 1984. However, Indonesia's implementations and compliance with CEDAW remains a challenge. According to Titi Eko (2024), Acting Secretary of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, the Gender Equality Bill needs to be pursued because not all women feel the access, participation, control, and benefits provided in the fields of devel-

opment. According to her, Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development has not been effective in advocating gender mainstreaming, because it only applies to state administration in the executive branch ([kemenpppa.go.id](http://kemenpppa.go.id), 11/10/2024). For this reason, a legal product at the UU level is needed to be able to elaborate CEDAW in the implementation of the state for all branches, institutions, and other sectors.

The Religious Harmony Bill is also one of the most anticipated bills in the midst of Indonesia's situation, which still often experiences conflicts between religious communities. There were 217 incidents with 329 acts of violation of freedom of religion and belief in 2023 ([equal-institute.org](http://equal-institute.org), 23/6/2024). Issues related to the construction of houses of worship are also still vulnerable because the regulation of the requirements for houses of worship tends to make it difficult and does not consider the different characters of religions in Indonesia (The Indonesian Institute, 2024). There must be a breakthrough so that cases related to religious harmony do not increase. One of these steps needs to be started with the existence of this Religious Harmony Bill.

The Domestic Workers Protection Bill, as mentioned earlier, has been stalled for 20 years. The absence of a clear law for the working status of domestic workers means that these workers are unaware of their basic rights and are prone to exploitation and even violence. Based on data from the National Network for Advocacy of Domestic Workers/JALA PRT (2024), from 2018 to 2023 there were 2,641 cases of violence against domestic workers in the form of psychological, physical, and economic violence. Treatments such as unpaid wages, being fired, or having wages deducted are also common.

Similar to the Domestic Workers Protection Bill, the Agricultural / Plantation Labor Bill is also prone to facing the same thing, especially the exploitation of work contracts. According to Slamet Ariyadi, a member of Commission IV of the House of Representatives (2020), workers in plantations, especially oil palm, receive less than minimum work wages and do not get job security guarantees. The most extreme case that has occurred is the case of human cages to become forced laborers in oil palm plantations by the former Langkat Regent Terbit Rencana Perangin Angin ([bbc.com](http://bbc.com), 26/1/2022). This reflects the need for the Agricultural / Plantation Labor Bill, as well as the Domestic Workers Protection Bill.

### Recommendations

Regarding inclusion and human rights issues, here are some recommendations for 2024-2029 parliamentarians regarding future legislation:

- a. DPR, DPD, together with the Government need to prioritize bills that are directly related to human rights to ensure basic rights and individual freedoms. This is one of the duties of state administrators to ensure the protection and survival of all levels of society;
- b. Bills that have been delayed for too long must be discussed and passed immediately, to provide a foundation and legal certainty in their follow-up. Long-delayed bills require readjustment to the current situation and this will take a long time again. Therefore, it is recommended for these bills, such as the Indigenous Peoples Bill, the Domestic Workers Protection Bill, and the Gender Equality Bill to be immediately discussed again and passed immediately to fill the legal vacuum in the relevant fields;
- c. The need for a thorough and participatory impact analysis by DPR, DPD, and the Government to obtain an objective explanation in the preparation of Prolegnas. Cooperation with academics, practitioners, civil society groups, as well as accommodating aspirations from the public is important to be an input and source of information and data that will support impact analysis and parliamentary considerations in preparing Prolegnas, and
- d. The wider community, both individuals and groups, need to actively voice the bill that becomes crucial to be included in the next Prolegnas. DPR, DPD, and the Government also consider the urgency in the community in conducting agenda setting related to the preparation of Prolegnas. If the general public can show the urgency of a bill massively, then the DPR, DPD, and the Government will be more likely to be urged to consider and include the bill in the Prolegnas.

*The DPR, DPD, together with the Government must be prompted to prioritize bills that are directly related to human rights to guarantee basic rights and individual freedoms.*

**- Christina Clarissa Intania -**

## Pushing the Importance of Evidence-Based Policy Implementations by the Prabowo-Gibran Government

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Ahead of the inauguration of the Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka pair as President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia for 2024-2029, the news has been busy discussing the number of ministries under this new government. A reporting from [kompas.com](https://kompas.com) (11/10), Gerindra Daily Chair Sufmi Dasco Ahmad said that the number of ministries in the Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka government was around 46 ministries. This statement was made by Dasco when asked by the media journalists about the truth of the information regarding the list of 46 ministries listed in the draft division of commission partners in the Indonesian House of Representatives.

Dasco explained that the increase in the number of ministries was because a number of ministries were divided into several ministries/institutions to optimize their roles and functions. However, Dasco emphasized that the certainty of the number of ministries during the Prabowo-Gibran administration must still await the final decision ([kompas.com](https://kompas.com), 11/10).

The increasing number of ministries/institutions will certainly make the cabinet 'fatter' compared to the Joko Widodo (Jokowi) government with 30 ministries and 4 coordinating ministries. Even if compared to the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) government period both in the 2004-2009 and in the 2009-2014 periods, the number of ministries/institutions in the Prabowo government will remain greater. In the SBY government in the 2004-2009 period there were 36 ministries and in the 2009-2014 period there were 34 ministries.

However, as Dasco said above, the increase in the number of ministries was expected to optimize the roles and functions of the ministries/institutions. However, the question is that is there a guarantee that each ministry/institution will provide policies that are in accordance with the needs of the community?

### **The Importance of Evidence-Based Policies**

Optimizing the roles and functions of the Government in order to create and implement policies that are right for the people is certainly not just about increasing the number of ministries/institutions. Optimizing the roles and functions of the ministries/institutions in policy must also be seen in the policy system. In the policy system, there is a policy-making cycle consisting of five stages; namely, agenda setting, policy formulation, policy making, policy implementation, and policy evaluation (Howlet and Rames, in Subarsono, 2005).

William N. Dunn (2003) explains that in the policy formulation phase or problem formulation there are stages that include problem search, problem definition, problem specification, and problem sensing. Usually, policy makers fail to formulate problems because they do not find something that is crucial to an issue or public problem. Failure in the problem formulation stage is referred to by Dunn as a “type three” error.

To avoid the “third type” error in the policy formulation process, it is necessary to optimize the policy formulation process by using an evidence-based policy approach. The goal is for policy formulation to produce quality policies that are applicable to public needs.

According to the Institute of Public Administration (2015), evidence-based policy is a policy that is taken based on data and facts. According to The Pew Charitable Trust and the Mac Arthur Foundation (2014), evidence-based policy is a policy that uses the best available research and information on program outcomes to guide decisions at all stages of the policy process and in every branch of government.

However, the absence of valid data is often a problem in the policy-making process. As a result, government policies often reap controversies. These conditions are caused by the chaos of data management so far in Indonesia. This problem is caused by the fact that the existence of data is often ignored in the policy-making process in Indonesia. In fact, the data owned by the government overlaps between one ministry and another. Data management issues cause problems for people who want to access government data. This is because the data has not been managed properly. In addition, there are no clear data standards between government agencies.

In fact, if we look at the regulations, currently there is Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 39/2019 concerning One Data Indonesia. According to Perpres No. 39/2019, One Data Indonesia is a government data management policy to produce accurate, up-to-date, integrated, and accountable data, as well as easy to access and share between central and regional agencies. However, its implementations have not gone well. This is also still visible in the current conditions.

Poor data management causes problems in the formulation and implementation of policies. One illustration of the absence of valid data occurs in the distribution of social assistance to the community during the Covid-19 pandemic. This can be seen from data from the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), which states that the chaotic distribution of social assistance is due to 280 Regional Governments that have not updated the Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) (<https://www.kpk.go.id>, 5/18/2020).

Reflecting on the above problems, if not based on valid data, it is feared that the government as a policy-making actor will find failure in implementing the policy. Problems in implementing policies usually begin with failure in formulating the problem.

As mentioned above, failure in the problem formulation stage is referred to by William N. Dunn (2003) as a “type three” error. The “type three” error is explained by Kimball, as quoted by Mittroff and Betz (1972), as “an error made by giving an answer to the wrong problem”. The “type three” error occurs because of the wrong formulation of the problem and results in the application of a policy to something that is the wrong substantive problem.

As previously stated, to avoid the “third type” error, the policy formulation process requires an evidence-based policy approach. The goal is for policy formulation to produce quality policies that are applicable to public needs. Evidence-based policies require data based on research. In addition, research is also strengthened by good research implementation management. Good data management consists of data management and implementation management.

### **Recommendations**

Considering the above issues, it is hoped that the Prabowo-Gibran Government in the future can prioritize data management improvement programs. Through the Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency (Ministry of



PPN/Bappenas) by involving the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) and the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), this program is important to run so that government data can be managed properly.

With good data management, the Government can provide data openly to the public. Thus, data can be useful for the community to participate in development policies and processes. This is important to encourage openness and transparency of data so that planning and formulation of development policies are created are based on evidence and data.

**- Arfianto Purbolaksono -**

*Optimizing the roles and functions of the Government in order to create and implement policies that are right for the people is not just about increasing the number of ministries/institutions. Optimizing the roles and functions of ministries/institutions in policy must also be encouraged in the policy system.*

## Building a Mental Health Policy Framework Comprehensive and Inclusive

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The mental health situation in Indonesia still faces challenges. However, the increasing awareness of the importance of mental health is also worth considering. The reason is that this increase in public awareness is driven by the large number of death cases due to suicide. According to the data from the National Criminal Information Center (Pusiknas) of the Indonesian National Police (Polri), there were 971 suicides in Indonesia during the period January to October 18, 2023. This figure exceeded the number of suicides throughout 2022, which amounted to 900 cases (databoks.katadata.co.id, 18/10/2023). Increased public awareness of mental health issues should be supported by a discourse on the importance of developing a comprehensive mental health policy framework.

To commemorate mental health day this October, the World Federation of Mental Health (WFMH) raised the theme “It is Time to Prioritize Mental Health in the Workplace”. This global campaign theme was raised considering that the workplace can be the locus of the source of increasing human mental health disorders. Therefore, the global community needs to encourage creating a healthy balance between the demands of work and the personal needs of employees. This is crucial for employee well-being, which impacts productivity, motivation, and long-term success for both the employee and the company.

In this paper, I shall outline the challenges and barriers faced by the government in building a mental health policy framework in Indonesia.

### **Mental Health Issues in the Workplace.**

In the midst of overwhelming technological disruption, the society still gives a negative stigma to people with mental health issues. In fact, mental health is a problem faced by all levels of the society. Until now, people with mental health problems are limited to clinical meanings such as People with Mental Disorders (ODGJ).

Most of the general public still views ODGJ in Indonesia with a negative stigma. This stigma can be illustrated from the community's perception of their appearance such as an unkempt appearance, unable to take care of themselves, prone to relapse, and due to a lack of faith and spirituality. In fact, people who experience mental disorders are not entirely caused by these factors.

According to Mental Health Gap Action Program (MHGAP) data released by WHO in 2017, the burden of disease due to mental illness was 2,463.29 per 100,000 population while the burden of disease of suicide was 3.4 per 100,000 population. Burden of disease is the overall impact of mental disorders on individuals, families, and the society at large, both in terms of health and economy. This concept involves assessing how much burden is borne by the society and the health system due to mental illness, including lost productivity, health care costs, and reduced quality of life. In addition, basic health research data (Riskesdas) in 2018 showed that the number of severe ODGJ cases was 1.8 per 1000 population or 429,332 severe ODGJ. The target of mental health services for severe ODGJ in 2024 is 100% in accordance with the Minimum Service Standards in the health sector. Severe ODGJ experiencing confinement in stocks amounted to 31.5% of the total number of patients. Meanwhile, ODGJ who regularly take medication is only 48.9% (Directorate of Prevention and Control of Mental Health and Drug Problems, Directorate General of Disease Prevention and Control, Ministry of Health RI, 2020).

Mental health problems do not only focus on those with mental disorders. Everyone can have the same potential to experience this problem.

Law Number 18/2014 concerning Mental Health (Law No. 18/2014) states that ODMK is a person who has physical, mental, social, growth and development problems, and / or quality of life, so has risks of experiencing mental disorders. Individuals/groups with this disorder live around the community.

Many industrialized societies today experience mental health problems in the workplace. However, the challenges of mental health issues can also be found in other sectors of work. Mental health problems in the workplace affect psychological well-being, which impacts motivation and productivity. Factors for the emergence of mental health problems can come from high workloads, unhealthy organizational culture, unhealthy competition, multi-role demands

at work, discrimination / harassment, and lack of appreciation for achievements. Not a few of them live as survivors facing pressure situations in the environment, especially in the workplace, taking certain types of drugs (such as antidepressants). In addition, mental health problems experienced by individuals as workers will increase their vulnerability to relapse. Therefore, the Government and all parties have an important role in creating a conducive work environment.

### **Mental Health Policy Development in Indonesia**

Mental health policies in Indonesia are still facing challenges. These challenges include various aspects such as community stigma, limited service infrastructure, and fragmented treatment interventions.

In the context of mental health service delivery, the Government through the Ministry of Health as the leading sector has included performance targets related to mental health delivery in the Ministry of Health's Strategic Plan 2020-2024. However, in the implementation in the field there are still many first-level health facilities (FKTP) or community health centers (puskesmas) that have not carried out service activities for people with mental disorders evenly. This is considering that apart from the very few reports found in each puskesmas, health care for ODGJ and ODMK is still considered to be the authority of mental hospitals located in each region. The lack of public reporting of family members with this disorder is also rooted in the stigma attached to people with mental disorders. Therefore, increasing public awareness of mental health treatment is important to always be carried out by every party.

Although service activities for people with mental disorders are still limited, innovations in recognizing the mental health situation of individuals continue to be launched. E-Jiwa service, for example. This application-based service launched by the Jakarta Special Region Health Office (DKJ) is a tool for detecting/screening mental health disorders experienced by individuals. Head of the Productive Age, Elderly and Mental Health Section of the DKI Jakarta Health Office Lady Margaretha F. Sirait stated that E-Jiwa was an innovation presented by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government, which was part of mental health screening using the SRQ-29 method and has been patented by the World Health Organization (WHO) (antaranews.com, 5/6/2024). The innovations made by the DKJ Health Office can be a good practice that can be applied to industrialized communities as well as a pilot in efforts to improve mental health services in other regions.

### **The Importance of Collaboration and Party Cooperation in Improving Psychological Wellbeing Efforts**

The Government and all parties need to view the handling of mental health issues as important to be implemented comprehensively and integrated into all aspects of life. Handling mental health issues should not only be done by companies as employers.

Ideally, handling mental health issues should not only focus on treatment and recovery, but also prevention through collaborative programs between the Government and companies as employers.

The implementations of the EWP (Employee Well-being Policy) within the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN), for example. During Erick Thohir's leadership, the Ministry of SOEs has built an Employee Well-being Policy (EWP) system aimed at all SOE boards of commissioners, directors and employees.

The EWP policy is a comprehensive SOE employee welfare program covering physical, mental, social and financial aspects. Erick Thohir explained the importance of the availability of facilities to support the performance of women in the SOE group and people with disabilities such as nursery room facilities, daycare, ramps, guiding blocks, and disabled toilets as well as monitoring and evaluation of EWP implementations. With the spirit of collaboration through optimizing the BUMN ecosystem, the implementations of the EWP program is considered to be more effective and efficient so as to encourage improvement and increase benefits and added value for BUMN (bumn.go.id, 31/1/2024).

The implementations of the EWP policy carried out by the Ministry of SOEs can be one of the good practices that can be emulated by other companies. However, building a healthy and balanced work environment ecosystem requires the collaboration and cooperation of all parties (especially the government and business actors). This can be done by providing tax incentives to all industrial sectors. Tax incentives can be an effective tool to encourage every company to implement mental health policies in the workplace. Providing tax incentives can reduce the company's cost burden and encourage companies to start investing in building employee mental health programs such as Employee Assistance Program (EAP), seminars on mental health, or providing counseling rooms from the tax incentive allocation provided by the government. With the tax incentive policy, companies will feel financially assisted in implementing mental health programs and encourage better employee productivity.

**- Dewi Rahmawati Nur Aulia -**

*Mental health is one of the important things that influence productivity and the creation of a healthy environment in the workplace. In addition, providing tax incentives can reduce the company's cost burden and encourage companies to start investing in building employee mental health programs. With the tax incentive policy, companies will feel financially assisted in implementing mental health programs and encourage better employee productivity.*

## **Analysis of Challenges in Implementing Poverty Alleviation Policies after the Transition of Jokowi to Prabowo's Government**

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The government transition after the election of President Prabowo Subianto for the 2024-2029 period faces tough challenges, especially in efforts to alleviate poverty. According to the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the poverty rate in March 2024 reached its lowest level in the last 10 years. This was conveyed by the Acting Main Secretary of BPS, Imam Machdi, said that the March's poverty rate was 9.03 percent of the total population. The decline was then recorded in the number of poor people, which amounted to 25.22 million people (kompas.com, 2/7/2024).

In addition, the challenges of poverty alleviation faced are increasingly evident with the increasing number of unemployed due to layoffs. This also has an impact on weakening people's purchasing power. Not only layoffs, a new form of poverty that has been felt over the past few years is the decline in the number of middle-class people. The decline in the number of these groups can be an important sign for all parties that every community in any class group has the vulnerability to becoming entangled in a situation of poverty. This paper shall explore the challenges of implementing poverty alleviation policies after the transition from the Jokowi to Prabowo administration.

### **The Dynamics of Poverty Reduction Policies During Jokowi's Administration**

Poverty reduction policies during the administration of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) focused on reducing economic disparities between communities and improving the welfare of the poor. In addition, the policy programs that were initiated aimed to alleviate poverty through various approaches, both direct (in the form of social assistance, direct cash assistance (BLT), the Family Hope program (PKH), and others) and indirect (such as the development of physical infrastructure and increasing employment opportunities). However, these various programs are still considered insufficient in alleviating poverty in the community. There are many reasons why these programs are considered unable to effectively overcome the

problem of poverty in Indonesia. One of them is BPS's data collection on poverty rates, which tends not to be updated every year. This certainly results in the difficulty of the community as beneficiaries to reach government programs as they should.

In the 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN), the Government targets the poverty rate in Indonesia to be around 6-7% and extreme poverty to be close to 0% by 2024 (cnbcindonesia.com, 15/8/2024).

If you refer to BPS data in March 2014, the number of poor people was recorded at 28.28 million people with a poverty rate of 11.25%. In addition, as of March 2024, the poverty rate continued to decline to 25.22 million people with a poverty rate of 9.03%. This means that the poverty rate is still far above the RPJMN target (cnbcindonesia.com, 15/8/2024). In fact, in 2022, President Jokowi issued Presidential Instruction Number 4 of 2022 on Accelerating the Elimination of Extreme Poverty (setkab.go.id, 14/6/2022).

The Presidential Instruction, which was signed by President Jokowi on June 8, was issued in the context of efforts to eliminate extreme poverty in all regions of Indonesia through program integration and synergy, as well as cooperation between ministries/agencies and local governments by 2024. However, if you refer to the data mentioned, the reduction in the number of poor people is only around 3.06 million people or a decrease of around 2.22 percentage points in the last ten years. On average, the number of poor people has decreased by around 300 thousand people per year (cnbcindonesia.com, 15/8/2024).

Awalil Rizky, an economist from the Bright Institute, on the webinar "10 Years of Poverty in the Jokowi Era" (25/9), said that one of the factors causing the increase in poverty during the Jokowi administration was due to the Covid-19 pandemic which hit the community's economy hard in 2020-2021. In 2020, the poverty rate rose to 9.78 percent and jumped to 10.14 percent in 2021. However, if we refer to the economic situation before the Covid-19 pandemic that attacked Indonesia and the world in 2020, then during the Jokowi administration it can be said that the government still did not succeed in reducing poverty according to the RPJMN target.

### **The Challenges in Implementing Poverty Alleviation Policies after the Transition from Jokowi to Prabowo's Government**

One of the Asta Cita in the economic sector is to build from the

village for economic equality and poverty eradication. This concept refers to a development strategy that focuses on economic growth from the local or grassroots level, especially through villages and small community groups. This is to ensure that economic growth and development are not just concentrated in big cities or areas that already have established development infrastructure. This approach also emphasizes the importance of giving attention and support not only to villages/remote areas, but also to communities so that they can become beneficiaries of development.

Furthermore, the concept of economic equality built from villages is currently known in the form of the village fund policy. This policy, which has been implemented since 2015, has recorded many challenges. One of these challenges is the increasing rate of misuse of village funds by unscrupulous village officials.

According to Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), the increasing trend of corrupt behavior in rural areas has occurred since the distribution of the village fund program. The trend of corrupt behavior has also increased along with the increase in the number of village fund budget allocations disbursed. This was conveyed by ICW in the Report on the Results of Monitoring Trends in Corruption Case Prosecution in 2022 ([databoks.katadata.co.id](http://databoks.katadata.co.id), 3/5/2024).

In ICW's records, in 2016, 17 corruption cases occurred in the village sector. Then in 2022, the number jumped to 155 cases. The increase in the number of cases also had an impact on the potential value of state losses, which also increased dramatically. In 2016, the potential loss was estimated to be around IDR 40.1 billion. Similarly, the loss figure in 2022 reached Rp381 billion ([databoks.katadata.co.id](http://databoks.katadata.co.id), 3/5/2024).

### **The Importance of Practicing Transparency and Accountability Principles in Poverty Alleviation through Village Funds**

In its effort to alleviate poverty in Indonesia, the Government must evaluate and improve existing policies. Regarding the village fund policy, for example. This program is one of the previous government's strategic initiatives that aims to strengthen the rural economy, create jobs, and improve the welfare of rural communities. However, for this to be effective, the management of village funds must be implemented in accordance with the principles of transparency and accountability. The following is an explanation of the recommendations for applying the principles of transparency and accountability in the management of village funds.



The principle of transparency means that the entire process of managing village funds must be conducted openly and accessible to all parties, especially the village community. This can include two things: first, the announcement and access to information related to the planning, allocation, implementation, and results of the use of village funds. Second, the provision of public information boards on budget and expenditure information that can be displayed in strategic places, so that the community can directly oversee village development. With the principle of transparency, the community can participate in monitoring and ensuring that funds are used by the needs and plans that have been agreed upon.

The same applies to other policy implementation principles, such as accountability. The principle of accountability requires clear accountability from the parties involved in managing village funds. Every decision and use of budget allocations should be accountable, both administratively and morally to the budget implementers. This may mean that village officials must prepare periodic financial reports, which must be accessible to the public and authorities. In addition, the importance of audits carried out by auditors as a form of supervision and accountability in the use of the channeled village fund allocations.

Thus, it is expected that the application of good governance principles in the management of village funds, including transparency and accountability, accompanied by inclusion and meaningful participation, continuous monitoring and evaluation, and law enforcement can accelerate efforts to create welfare and comprehensive, empowering, contextual, and relevant development, and alleviate poverty in the village.

**- Dewi Rahmawati Nur Aulia -**

*By increasing sensitivity to gender issues, reducing stigma that revictimizes victims, and ensuring a fairer and more efficient legal process, this training can contribute to a legal system that is more responsive to the needs of victims of gender-based violence. Not only this will have an impact on the provision of better justice for victims but also on the efforts to build public trust in the law enforcement system in Indonesia.*

**THE** **INDONESIAN INSTITUTE**  
C E N T E R F O R P U B L I C P O L I C Y R E S E A R C H

**The Indonesian Institute (TII)** is a Center for Public Policy Research that was established on 21 October 2004 by a group of young, dynamic activists and intellectuals. TII is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit institution, whose main funding stems from grants and contributions from foundations, companies, and individuals.

**TII** has the aim of becoming a main research center in Indonesia for public policy matters and has committed to giving contribution to the debates over public policies and to improving the quality of the planning and results of public policy by promoting good governance principles and public participation in the policy processes in Indonesia.

**TII**'s visions are public policies in Indonesia which highly uphold human rights and rule of law, as well as involve participation of various stakeholders and practice democratic good governance principles.

**TII**'s missions are to conduct reliable research that is independent and non-partisan and to channel the research to the policy-makers, the private sector, and academia in order to improve the quality of Indonesian policy-makers.

**TII** also assumes the role of disseminating ideas to the society so that they are well informed about the policies that will have a good impact on the people's lives. In other words, TII has a position to support the democratization process and the public policy reform, as it will be involved in the process.

The scope of the research and review on public policies undertaken by TII includes economic, social, political, and legal affairs. The main activities which have been conducted by **TII** in order to achieve our vision and mission, are: research, surveys, facilitation and advocacy through training and working groups, public discussions, public education, weekly editorial articles ("Wacana" or Discourses), 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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