



Promoting Adaptive System to The Current Turbulence within Crisis Environments

Editor:
Sulikah Asmorowati
Probo Darono Yakti

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Crisis Environments

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THE CURRENT TURBULENCE WITHIN CRISIS ENVIRONMENTS**

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FOREWORD

from the Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Universitas Airlangga

Assalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.

Warm greetings to all of us.

On behalf of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Airlangga, we welcome the publication of this book. Through this book, we hope that all the contributions of the authors contained in it can provide new perspectives in the science of public administration and socio-politics in general. By responding to the event's theme, "Promoting Adaptive Systems to the Current Turbulence within Crisis Environments", various writings that carry the background of certain case studies with various methods, both field research and literature, are able to color the discourses that develop during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Along with this, we also highly appreciate the hard work of the authors as well as editors who has arranged this amazing book. Hopefully the pandemic will end quickly and everyone is in good health.

Wassalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.

Warm Regards,
Dean,

Prof. Dr. Bagong Suyanto, Drs., M.Si.



Preface

Dear Authors, Esteemed Readers,

It is with deep satisfaction that I write this Preface for this book.

Despite the global conditions that have not fully recovered from the Covid-19 pandemic, we carry a big theme, namely “Promoting Adaptive Systems to the Current Turbulence within Crisis Environments”. In it, we determine nine sub-themes that are relevant to the state of science and practice of public administration globally.

The extraordinary works and contributions of writers with different backgrounds ranging from academics to bureaucrats make this book rich in treasures to see how far the scientific development of public administration is dealing with global conditions which are currently starting to show signs of revival. At the same time, we can learn from when local to national governments have to work hard to provide public policies in the form of a stimulus to help the country get out of the problems caused by disease outbreaks.

This book is contained of 38 selected writings that can be an excellent literature for for those who seek for reference on public policy. In addition, this book is expected to ignite further discussions within the scientific scope. Apart from the various shortcomings, we apologize profusely and hopefully this book can provide benefits to the wider community. We thank the authors and editors who have contributed their best energy, thoughts, and works.

Sulikah Asmorowati, S.Sos., M.DevSt., Ph.D.

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Prologue

In 2020, the world faced the Covid-19 pandemic which almost changed the entire order and habits of mankind. Various dynamics occur, including in the procedures carried out in bureaucratic practices to the science of Public Administration. Various innovations show that although the Covid-19 pandemic situation is still showing a stage of recovery by various countries from all corners of the world, there is an urgency to promote adaptive systems for the current turbulence with the environmental crisis.

Various studies were disseminated in a panel session consisting of nine sub-themes, including: (1) Fostering the arts of public leadership in governing community resilience and bridging the gaps between the state and society; (2) Strengthening disaster governance with the acts of institutional collaboration, cooperation, and coordination derived from multi-stakeholder engagements; (3) Articulating data-driven policymaking process in the age of big data development to fuel public sector accountability and authenticity; (4) Striking a balance between the catalysts of digital transformation in the public sectors and the challenges associated with the widespread transformation.

In addition, there are: (5) Endorsing agile and versatile strategies within the rigidity of bureaucratic structures for improved crisis-situated organization settlements; (6) Preserving trust and compliance in government policies and interventions amid a disarray of perceived mishandling chaos and conflicts; (7) Ensuring continuity of the delivery of public service provisions by frontline public servants for comprehensive public service capacity development; (8) Documenting best practices, lessons learned, and future directions of COVID-19-related policy implementation at the local, regional, national, or international levels; (9)

Institutionalizing 'service of the self' in realizing state legitimacy and governance credibility for post-pandemic sustainability.

Moreover, the world is going through crisis and turbulence. Apart from the Covid-19 pandemic, there are the concurrent crises of Climate Change and Cold War 2.0. Some lessons from the Covid crisis highlight the paradoxical context for response strategies and policy adaptations. A globalized world means a risk world requiring global cooperation to tackle the risk. In fighting Covid, there are both leaders and laggards varying according to different benchmarks. State intervention is found to be critical. Yet there are inherent tensions between science and politics, and between health objectives and economics in policymaking. All points to the pressing need for more informed discussion on the endgame out of the crisis. Restoring resilience is necessary, but it should not mean taking the pandemic threat lightly. Disruptions should be managed. Nations must work closer together on some common strategies, yet the world risks being dichotomized into the 'co-existence' and 'zero-tolerance' camps. It is clear the world order is open to more conflicts and rivalries. Within a poly-polar, multicultural, and interdependent world, can common pursuits co-exist with diverse economic, cultural, and institutional experiences and preferences, especially in facing up to major global threats like Covid and Climate Change? Within individual national/domestic settings, policy uncertainty is also the new normal amid a turbulent environment. Both the traditional political/bureaucratic regime and Managerialism have assumed a relatively stable governmental system or liberal market, which can no longer be taken for granted. Social trust in institutions is on the decline. A paradoxical context prevails for policymakers and analysts around the world. The specific national or local situation may well vary, but the worrisome undercurrents and volatile global habitat seem equally challenging to all systems. Re-balancing among multifarious interests, aspirations, and perspectives cannot be avoided, which requires facilitation by competent leadership.

After the economic reforms started from the late 1970s, not only the economic sector has experienced marketisation and privatisation as influenced by the global tide of neo-liberalism but also social welfare services and social policy provision have been affected by the market ideas and practices. The introduction of market forces and the adoption of market practices in social policy provision led to social problems, specifically revealed by the marketisation and privatisation of housing, education

and health provisions. Thereafter, Chinese citizens criticised the government for denying its responsibility to provide social policy appropriate for housing, health and education, resulting in the emergence of three new mountains as they need to bear heavy financial burden in these aspects. Hence, the Chinese government under the Hu–Wen leadership (2003–2013) made serious attempts to provide social welfare and protection to address the increasing income gaps, intensifying social inequality and worsening regional disparities. Moreover, the Chinese government has initiated various forms of social protection programmes and expanded social policies focusing on creating social harmony and enhancing its political legitimacy. This paper is conducted in the context of social policy expansion to analyse how and whether Mainland China has developed a new welfare regime, shifting from productive dimension based on economic liberalisation towards the protective aspect of welfare provision characterised by the promotion of social justice and social rights through the redistribution of welfare benefits. Based on the analysis of national and local finance data, this paper shows significant welfare regionalism that commonly exists across the different regions of China. The effects of different types of economic production, diverse development stages confronted by the localities and variations in financial and political capacities on the welfare model(s) across the country in terms of the policy implementation and historical institutionalism perspectives are the main arguments of this chapter. Critical analysis of the Chinese state as adaptive and entrepreneurial state, this paper examines the social policy expansion of Mainland China in the context of the welfare regime debates in East Asia by critically analysing the reasons accounting for welfare regionalism and selective welfare capitalism in the country.

This book contains of 38 selected writings that can be an excellent reference book. *First*, the work of Fachmi Wibawa & Hanif Nurcholis from the Faculty of Economics and Business, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta and the Open University entitled *Encouraging Adaptive System to The Current Socio-Economic Turbulence Through Smart City: Developing Model of Collaborative Governance for Tangerang Raya*. This work tries to discuss the application of the smart city concept within the framework of collaborative governance between the central level under the Ministry of Communication and Informatics to the regions with the existence of the Communication and Informatics Service at the provincial and district/city levels throughout Tangerang Raya.

Second, the work *Public Policy Orientation on Ecosystem Restoration in Sumenep Regency, Indonesia* written by Wilda Rasaili, Irma Irawati Puspaningrum, Dwi Listia Rika Tini & Nur Inna Alfiyah from Wiraraja University. It dissects the impact of industrialization on environmental damage that it seeks to map out within the framework of public policy relating to regional autonomy and decentralized governance. From the research conducted, there are loopholes that make local governments in Sumenep Regency lose control of their territories due to administrative negligence.

Third, the work written by Lady Grace Jane Girotha, Jeffry Sonny Junus Lengkong, Harol Refly Lumapow, Roos Marie Stella Tuerah, Shely Deity Meity Sumual, Tellma Mona Tiwa & Viktory Nicodemus Joufree Rotty entitled *Implementation of Digitalization Education Policy in Indonesia in the Era of Pandemic: Literature Review*. It was written by academics from the University of Technology of North Sulawesi and Manado State University, is in the form of a literature review that discusses the digitization of education in the pandemic era. Especially it concerns policies that are able to answer the challenges of the times.

Fourth, a work entitled *Governance Leverage Development Agile Adaptive Tourism Village Design in Kemumu* written by Jatmiko Yogopriyatno, Nursanty & Yorry Hardayani from Bengkulu University. This work analyzes the development of agile adaptive tourism village governance leverage in Kemumu. With a series of mapping the needs of tourism villages, workshop and training programs can be compiled for local residents to further advance the tourism villages that are built.

Fifth, the work entitled *Services Evaluation of Regional Drinking Water Companies in The Provision of Clean Water at Kutai Kartanegara Regency: Case Study in Tenggarong Sub District* written by Nico Ramadhani & Daryono from Mulawarman University. The two academics from different scientific backgrounds tried to identify and describe the evaluation of the procurement of clean water from PDAM Kabupaten Kutai Kartanegara. From a case study conducted in Tenggarong sub-district, it was found that the local drinking water company was able to provide clean water installation assistance to disadvantaged communities over the past year.

Sixth, a work written by Ayurisya Dominata, Marthin Hadi Juliansah, Maharani Mufti Rahajeng & Debby Lellyana from the National Research and Innovation Agency. entitled *Policy Urgence of Indonesian National Working Competency Standards for Researchers in Indonesia*, there is a study in the competency

standards for researchers in Indonesia to regulate knowledge, skills, and expertise from certain fields needed by researchers. In the end, it tries to dig deeper into the relevant policies carried out by the Indonesian government to raise the standard of living of researchers.

Seventh, the work entitled *Nudge on Choice Architecture: Effectiveness of Economic Recovery Policy and Irrational Behavior Predictions in Top Up Cash Direct Assistance (BLT) Program of Brebes District Village 2021* written by academics of Muhadi Setiabudi University including Titi Rahmawati, Nur Aisyah, Syariefful Ikhwan & Hilda Kumala Wulandari. It discusses economic recovery policies in low-income communities in the Brebes region. Using the Kendall W Test, the analysis later found that there was a positive and insignificant influence on the effectiveness of BLT policies.

Eighth, the work entitled *The Dissemination of Forest and Land Fire Control Policies based on Local Wisdom Indigenous Peoples in Kenegerian Kampā, Riau* written by Afni Z & Dian Rianita from Lancang Kuning University. It discusses the control policy for land and forest fires in Kampar Regency, Riau Province, in which there are two study forests, namely Ghimbo Bonca Lida and Ghimbo Pomuan. Fire control policies are carried out by prioritizing the values of local wisdom, money is evaluated using CIPP (context, input, process, and product parameters).

Ninth, the work by M. Nur Iman Ridwan & Sugiannor from Lambung Mangkurat University entitled: *Responses of Prospective Hajj Pilgrims to Cancellation Policy: Hajj Departure in 2021 During the Covid-19 Pandemic*. This article discusses the socialization of the cancellation of Hajj departures in 2021 due to the Covid-19 Pandemic. The massive hoax news on social media related to the cancellation of hajj departures has made the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Religious Affairs actively involved in socializing the intended policies.

Tenth, the work entitled *Patient-Centered Communication in the Era of Telemedicine and Online Consultation Policy* written by Maya Arina Pramudita, Andre Rahmanto, Ign. & Agung Satyawan from Sebelas Maret University. It explains the acceleration of handling the pandemic in public policy regarding the health sector with the existence of telemedicine. Furthermore, the article tries to examine the Patient-Centered Communication policy based on its loopholes and weaknesses which consist of: quality-of-service access, service quality, communication skills of health workers, and patient data security.

Eleventh, the work entitled *Implementation of the Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2020 During The 2019 Coronavirus Disease in Bali Province* written by Wahyu Sri Handono, Ida Ayu Putu Sri Widnyani & Nyoman Diah Utari Dewi from Ngurah Rai University. This article discusses the implementation of Bali Provincial Bylaw Number 5 of 2020 concerning Bali Cultural Tourism Implementation Standards. There are interesting findings from research that in order to bring attractions to tourists visiting Bali during the Covid-19 pandemic, the budget is not ready so it is necessary to collaborate across sectors with academia, society, media, and companies.

Twelfth, the work written by Lesli Citra Pertiwi entitled *Indonesian Government Policies and Strategies in Handling Cultural Affairs during the Covid-19 Pandemic*. In the article written by Universitas Airlangga students, there is a thorny problem when looking at the activities of traditional art that have been sluggish due to the Covid-19 Pandemic. Furthermore, it tries to further explore the accuracy of the public policies formulated by the government to preserve art and culture from extinction while fulfilling the lives of artists who have been severely affected by the pandemic.

Thirteenth, the work from Novliza Eka Patrisia, Endang Larasati Setianingsih, Kismartini Kismartini & Remy Sinta Dewi entitled *Supply Chain Management of Public Services at a Public Service Mall in Bengkulu City*. It discussed about the supply chain which consists of complex components such as organization, human resources, activities, information, and other resources that support the implementation of public services. In the establishment of the Public Service Mall (MPP) in Bengkulu, 150 services have been served from 23 agencies that are able to serve 5,000 people every day. However, it leaves problems when the community does not make optimal use of these facilities.

Fourteenth, the work entitled *Actor Interventions in Influencing Alcoholic Beverage Policy Formulation: A Case Study of Alcoholic Beverage Policy in the City of Surabaya* written by Muhammad Roisul Basyar, Antun Mardiyanta & Erna Setijaningrum. The work written by lecturers from the Department of Administration, Universitas Airlangga, discusses the policy formulation process of restricting alcoholic beverages in the city of Surabaya. The complexity of the work studied includes non-state actors based on religion including non-governmental organizations that are actively involved in policy formulation.

Fifteenth, the work entitled *Legislative Institutions' Political Preferences and The Policy Process in the Era of President Jokowi* written by Asrinaldi and Tengku Rika Valentina from Andalas University. It discusses the legislative process in the DPR-RI which has a tendency to lean towards oligarchic power. It also describes how the policy formulation in the DPR-RI when dealing with government interests. Some examples that can be taken are the determination of Government Regulations when compared to Government Regulations that Cooperate with Laws in the era of President Jokowi.

Sixteenth, the work entitled *Strengthening Supervision as A Strategy for Accelerating Bureaucratic Reform in Penajam Paser Utara Regency, East Kalimantan, Indonesia (Period of 2015–2019)* written by Daryono, Aji Ratna Kusuma, Enos Paselle, Bayu Hari Purwanto & Agus Aji Hermawan from Mulawarman University and Regional Inspectorate of Penajam Paser Utara Regency. It discusses the Penajam Paser Utara Regency Inspectorate (PPU) which is dominant in the Pillar of the Government Internal Control System (GICS/SPIP). It also recommends several aspects including additions.

Seventeenth, the work titled *Who Owns Big Data? Examine The Policies of Rural Government in Indonesia* by Iffan Gallant El Muhammadiyah, Antun Mardiyanta, Ahmad Suryono & Haressa Lintang Rizkika. It written by cross-expertise academics from Universitas Airlangga and Universitas Jember, discusses technological developments related to policy making. The problem that then arises is that there is still a platform that can accommodate data up to the village government level. In the end, there are difficulties because village policymaking does not rely on adequate facts that are transparent, accountable, valid, and easily accessible.

Eighteenth, the work titled *Utilizing Big Data in Supporting Bureaucracy Reform as A Public Service Development Effort* written by Arip Rahman Sudrajat. It discussed about the use of Big Data in the government sector to improve the quality of public services in Indonesia positively and significantly. The thing that can be used as a reference is the transition from paper-based to electronic-based administration.

Nineteenth, the work entitled *The Role of Stakeholders in the Development of Chocolate Village Tourism During the COVID-19 Pandemic in Plosorejo Village, Blitar*

Regency written by Rustinsyah, A. N. Ratna Azis Prasetyo & Muhammad Adi. It discusses Kampung Coklat that is tourist location which experienced a decrease in visits by up to 50% so that it had an impact on income. It also finds that there is an urgency to support the development of village areas to direct orientation to SDGs programs.

Twentieth, the work entitled *Resistance of Indigenous Communities in East Nusa Tenggara-Oeluan Forest Ecotourism Development Policy* written by Emanuel Kosat, Veronika Ina Assan Boro, and Innosensia EIN Satu from Airlangga University and Widya Mandira Catholic University. It examines the protests of indigenous peoples based on social, cultural, and environmental values in the development of the Oeluan Forest ecotourism in East Nusa Tenggara. This complex and multidimensional problem is tried to be studied using Antonio Gramsci's hegemonic approach and ecofeminism's approach as practically emancipatory.

Twenty-one, the work entitled *The Policy Hegemony of Identity: Study on Pekanbaru Policy as Madani City* written by academics of Andalas University includes: M. Zainuddin, Asrinaldi, Zainal Arifin, and Indah Adi Putri. Furthermore, this article discusses the hegemony of the identity politics policy of the Pekanbaru City Government due to the design as a Madani City that is full of Islamic values. It discussed about the theory of agenda setting and identity politics which contrasts with the concept of a multicultural Pancasila state. As in other cases in Aceh, the effects of pro-identity policies can potentially result in horizontal conflict.

Twenty-second, the work entitled *Policy Manoeuvre in a Turbulent Environment: Bureaucracy and Social Engineering for the Special Region of Aceh* written by academics from Sebelas Maret State University and Andalas University consists of Tuti Kurnia, Ismi Dwi Astuti, Asrinaldi & Roni Ekha Putera. It dissects the design of public policy in Aceh regarding welfare given that poverty is a latent danger in the area. In the VUCA era, optimizing the potential of the region is a way to move the wheels of bureaucracy in an environment full of turbulence based on values that have been inherent for a long time in Aceh.

Twenty-third, the work entitled *Actor Network Model of Wonolopo Tourism Village Recovery Policy, Central Java Province in The Era of Covid-19* written by Rizki Hidayati and Tri Yuniningsih from Diponegoro University. This article tries to examine the policies imposed to restore the economic condition of Wonolopo Tourism Village. In it, an actor network model formed between the Kosa Semarang

Culture and Tourism Office, tourism awareness groups, RT and RW, and the community consisting of the media and academics as accelerators in a quadruple helix manner that can attract investment from the private sector is used.

Twenty-fourth, the work entitled *The Politics of Parliamentary Control in Indonesia (2014–2019): An Analysis of The Oversight Role of The House of The Representatives* written by academics of Bakrie University and MARA University of Technology, namely Muhammad Tri Andika Kurniawan, Suseela Devi & Nasrudin Mohammed. This article discusses the control over the post-reform parliament in 1998. It can be argued that from 2014 to 2019, the level of supervision of the DPR-RI was at its lowest point, this was due to the fact that the governing coalition had shared seats and it was suspected that there was an exclusive relationship between the President, political parties, and legislators.

Twenty-fifth, *The Analysis of Health Services at the Rumah Sehat in Athlete's Guesthouse Jakabaring Sport City (JSC) Palembang* written by Delfiazi Puji Lestaria and Rusdi, academia from Diponegoro University and STIA&P, Annisa Dwi Salfarizi, respectively. It discusses the opening of the COVID-19 Healthy House in the Jakabaring Sport City (JSC) Athletes' Guesthouse as one of the local policies to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic. Using Parasuraman Servqual's theory and qualitative approach, there are a number of positive facts that show the progress of the pandemic prevention policy.

Twenty-sixth, the work entitled *Social Media as a Practice of Digital Public Relations* was written by Universitas Airlangga academia, Zike Martha. It discusses the analysis of the use of social media as a means for digital public relations practices with the development of communication technology. In particular, the use of digital PR in mining companies that helps a lot to bridge with society at large.

Twenty-seventh, the work *The Effect of Sustainable Food Agricultural Land Determination (LP2B) On Poverty in Kapanewon Seyegan, Sleman Regency* written by academics of Aisyiyah University Yogyakarta: Nur Faidati, Muhammad Khozin & Suci Iriani Sinuraya. This article contains an analysis of the LP2B policy applied to Kapanewon Seyegan, Sleman Regency in order to alleviate poverty due to a very drastic increase in the population. This is done to reduce the number of land needs that will reduce limited agricultural land to residential and industrial areas.

Twenty-eighth, the work entitled *Resilience: Public Services in Disaster Management in Kupang City: Case Study on the Seroja Natural Disaster* written by

Nursalam¹ from Nusa Cendana University. It discusses the resilience of kupang city organizations and communities since the great storm that occurred in 2020. It focuses on organizational and community capabilities; it was found that the level of resilience is still low in dealing with natural disasters so that there is an urgency to continue to be improved.

Twenty-ninth, the work entitled *Political Institution Capacity: Legislature Roles with Handling Covid-19 Pandemic in Indonesia* by Sitti Aminah, Mohammad Mulyadi, Joko Sutrisno & Siti Maemunah from the National Research Agency. It further examines the capacity of legislators to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic. Furthermore, the study that took cases in four provinces, including West Java, Central Java, DKI Jakarta, and Banten, statistically tested the performance of the task force working in each province. It was found that the aspirations of the community were not fully channeled because there was a budget function that was not optimal.

Thirtieth, the work entitled *Strategy on Implementation for Policy of Learning Independent: Independent Campus at Faculty of Engineering, Udayana University*, it is in line with the policies regulated in the Regulation of the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No. 3 2020. It conducted by academics from Ngurah Rai University, including I Ketut Suardita, Ida Ayu Putu Sri Widnyani, Nyoman Diah Utari Dewi & I Made Sumartana, tried to examine the implementation of the MBKM policy using a theory from Edward III related to four public policy indicators, namely: communication, resources, and disposition/ attitude, also bureaucratic structure. Research has found that the implementation of MBKM still cannot be said to be optimal.

Thirty-first, the work entitled *Efforts of the Pekanbaru City Government to Increase Regional Original Income (PAD) Through the Tourism Policy* written by Afrinaldy Rustam, an academic from the Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau State Islamic University. This article emphasizes the tourism activity of Pekanbaru City which relies on the APBD is ineffective considering that the programs offered do not also touch 5 aspects, including: effort, cost efficiency, results, cost effectiveness and impact. This research suggests that the Pekanbaru City Government should look for alternative funding other than PAD and APBD, for example private involvement.

Thirty-second, the work entitled *Adaptive Policy in the Implementation of Covid-19 Era Education Policies in Makassar*. It was written by Safaruddin, Riskasari & Masyitah who are academia of STIA Al Gazali Barru and Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar who tried to describe adaptive policy settings for education along with its supervision in Makassar City during the Covid-19 pandemic era. There are scenarios and stages that must be carried out to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic in the education sector in Makassar City.

Legislative Institutions' Political Preferences and The Policy Process in the Era of President Jokowi

Asrinaldi & Tengku Rika Valentina

INTRODUCTION

The process of making public policy in Indonesia sometimes uses an abnormal process. Public policies that are made do not go through the stages of the policymaking process as they should. For example, the issuance of several Government Regulations instead of Law (Perppu) during the Jokowi administration is a form of abnormality in the birth of a public policy that prioritizes the political process rather than through a rational policy formulation process. A rational policy process goes through several stages, such as the contestation of issues in the public sphere, the agenda-setting process, the involvement of formal and non-formal actors, decision making, policy formulation, policy implementation, and evaluation (Barberio, 2014; Anderson, 2003). The lengthy stages of the policymaking process that must be carried out have caused the political elite to abolish the policy process for their short-term interests.

The trick is to dominate the policy process by determining what policy agenda is discussed with policy actors through the compromises they make. Compromise is possible due to competition and even leads to political conflict between policy actors. Green-Pederson & Walgrave (2014) explains that the choice of issues that become the political agenda of each actor describes the political conflicts that arise. In authoritarian countries, policy issues tend to be dominated by the ruling elite as the leading actor. Meanwhile, the representation of public interests that representative institutions from political parties must carry out has not been appropriately implemented (Dalton, Farrell, & McAlister, 2011). Likewise, as the primary policy actor, the government is more concerned with how the administration runs smoothly without interference from opposition groups in parliament or civil society opposition groups that can hinder its development program (Nadyatama, 2021).

Usually, in many autocratic governments, the government chooses not to follow the stages of policymaking as is commonly done in democratic countries. Democratic governments choose a systematic and rational policy process with clear and standard procedures (Dror, 1989). Even in policy formulation, the government involves many political actors through bargaining and compromise to produce quality policies. Because in the process, the interests of each actor, opposition group, and constituent are taken into consideration in making a common agenda to produce democratic policies (Gerston, 2015). However, policy formulation involving many actors has gone through a long debate, a long time, and an agreement that is not necessarily easy to agree on. Therefore, it is not surprising that if this stage of policymaking can be passed well, then the resulting policies will usually last longer and be easier to implement.

The transition to democracy after the fall of Suharto through the reform movement in 1998 made Indonesia a democratic country in Southeast Asia. However, the last decade has seen a decline in democracy in Indonesia (Mujani & Liddle, 2021; Power & Warburton, 2020; Slater, 2018; Aspinall & Mietzner, 2019). For example, the use of law for the benefit of the rulers, a dysfunctional middle class, and the government dominates policymaking without involving the community.

The increasing political support from coalition parties in the middle of President Jokowi's leadership period provides a sizeable political space for the government to formulate the desired policies. The domination of the government

as the leading actor in making public policies ignores public participation as an indicator in the formulation of democratic policies. Even the opposition parties in the House of Representatives (DPR) can also not balance the government's role and its supporting parties in the policymaking process. The inability of the DPR to participate in discussing important policy issues for the community and the government explains its marginalized role due to the strength of the government as a dominant actor in public policymaking. Not only that, the government has ignored the political preference of the DPR as a legislative body because it is not following the interests of the ruling regime. Does this article focus on the political preferences of the DPR in making public policies in the Jokowi era? Why is the DPR in such a weak position when dealing with the government? What are the consequences of not getting the DPR involved in this policy process on the decline of democracy in Indonesia? This article uses secondary data from official government agency websites, previous research articles, journalistic reports, and relevant public documents.

POLITICS AND POLICY PROCESS

Much has escaped the attention of scientists when understanding the process of public policymaking in an immature democratic country. The fact is that not all community representative institutions play a role that adequately represents the interests of their constituents because they clash with the agenda of the larger party. Although political parties in the legislature have the task of fighting for the political interests of the people they represent, parties also have agendas for their power (Hilton, 2021). Furthermore, what also needs attention is that government institutions as the main actors in the policy process are formed by political parties or coalitions of political parties to strengthen the legitimacy of power and maintain their power. Often the government is trapped in its efforts to maintain power won with political parties. As a result, the government and coalition parties are more focused on developing their common policy agenda rather than paying attention to the policy agenda for the community. In addition, in the agenda-setting process, there is the interaction between political actors in the form of bargaining and compromising for their interests even though they must conflict with the more significant public interest. In countries that are just experiencing

a democratic transition, including Indonesia, this collaboration between political elites is necessary to lead to political cartels limiting those involved in making public policies. The spirit of competition for quality policies is avoided so that what emerges are agreements for the interests of each cartel group which has also become a new oligarchic group (Robison & Hadiz, 2004). The existence of these cartels and oligarchs strengthens their position by influencing the policymaking process.

Gerston (2010) explains that making public policy is a rational process with clear stages. Although the result of a public policymaking process is solving community problems, the stages in each of these policies require rational consideration from policy actors. This consideration includes the interests of the actors involved and the interests of the community for which the policy is intended (Wu, Ramesh, Howlet & Fritzen, 2018). Policymaking actors already have an initial picture of their problems and must be resolved by setting the policy agenda. Under normal circumstances, policymaking is a process of identifying some alternative approaches to solving existing problems. Therefore, it is demanded how policy actors design it into specific policy tools (Sydney, 2007:79).

Howlet & Ramesh (2003:11-13) describe the stages of policy-making through a process that tends to be orderly and systematic. Public policy generally follows a policy circle model with a series of predefined stages (Carney, 2016:14). For example, gathering information forms the basis for policymakers to find out the problem to be solved. Next is the stage of involving actors and calculating the resources owned by policymakers, including the costs used and the risks faced if the policy is made. The actors involved will choose the available alternatives to maximize policy achievements at the next stage, namely the implementation stage. Another stage that is also part of this policy process is the evaluation stage of the implemented policies. Is the implementation of the policy following the objectives of making the policy by the actors involved? In this stage, in addition to producing recommendations for improvements to policies, it is also the termination of policies that policy actors decide.

Unfortunately, this kind of process is not suitable for political elites who want to produce policies quickly by accommodating their interests. In contrast to this rigid policy stage, it turns out that the policy-making process in countries that are just undergoing a democratic transition is required to be made quickly. Many reasons were put forward, such as the government needed a quick decision because

of the urgency. In addition, the government's political considerations for short-term interests strengthen its power from attacks by political opponents. The government submitted a draft law to justify this action. The most logical way for policy actors is to trim the policy process so that it is faster, simpler, and according to their interests.

For example, the Covid-19 pandemic, which is declared a non-natural national disaster in Indonesia, then its handling must have a robust legal basis and be expedited. Policy actors in the government prefer to issue Government Regulations instead of Laws (Perppu) quickly rather than forming laws (UU) that go through a long political process as is done in normal circumstances. The issuance of Perppu No. 1 of 2020 concerning state financial policies and financial system stability for handling the 2019 Corona Virus Disease (Covid-19) pandemic is proof that the policymaking process can be reduced through political intervention. There are no steps followed as the policy process is made in a normal situation. However, the question is, how can policy actors in the government determine that the situation at hand is an emergency so that the stages of policymaking can be reduced? What often happens is that policy actors determine the emergency themselves based on their political interests.

Generally, the main actors in the policy process in autocratic countries think that the state is always an emergency to make policies according to their political interests. With this situation, they can make policies without following the ideal policy stages. Even competition and contestation of policy issues in determining the policy agenda among policy actors does not occur. In contrast to democratic countries, the main actors in their policies always provide competition space for other actors in making public policies, including political parties (Klüver & Sagarzazu, 2016). This situation further emphasizes that the political process in making policies is very dominant with the actors' interests. Although there was contestation between these actors in the policy process, in the end, what happened was a political agreement on what policy agenda was formulated as public policy.

THE POLICY PROCESS IN INDONESIA: THE NEW ORDER AND THE REFORM ORDER

Public policymaking in Indonesia during the reformation period underwent significant changes compared to the New Order era. During the New Order era, the

dominance of the presidential institution tended to be robust, powerful, and tended to be feudal under the control of President Soeharto (Habibie, 2006:57). All policy designs in this institution tend to ignore other actors in the political system. The presidential institution became Suharto's power to make policies according to his interests. Almost all Suharto's government policies stemmed from the presidential institution (Gaffar, 1999). Political and legal issues and economic, social, cultural, defense, and security issues. In addition to involving the military elite, the presidential institution during the New Order was also filled by professional groups and technocrats whom President Suharto trusted. It is not surprising that this presidential institution has become dominant in the policymaking process with its resources. For more than four decades, this presidential institution has dominated policymaking without opposition forces, either outside the government or in the DPR. The membership of the DPR, which is majority controlled by Golkar, has only become a "stamp" for policies made by the New Order government (Tomsa, 2008; Subekti, 2015).

At this time, public policymaking also did not go through a rational process involving many other policy actors as in a democratic country. The policy process, which was made in secret, only involved people whom President Suharto trusted. In addition, the policy of mass depoliticization has distanced society from the political process. The government tends to mobilize the public to support the policies that are made and legitimize Golkar as a party that has government support. Golkar always wins the general election and gets a majority in the legislature with this strategy. However, the New Order government needed Golkar's support in the DPR to balance the debates and policy objections made by President Suharto from the opposition parties in the DPR.

The policy process during the New Order was confined to President Suharto's circle of confidants. They came from military groups, technocrats, and business people close to Suharto. This good interaction within President Soeharto's circle of power resulted in policies as desired by the New Order regime. There is no public participation and debate regarding the policies made. All policies are oriented to what the ruling regime wants. As a result, the policy process was oriented towards the "As long as you are happy" policy, namely the jargon that was known during the New Order era. This reality confirms that all policies are centered on President Suharto to make policies as he wants following developing issues.

Meanwhile, policymaking and decisions involve their trusted group. For example, economic development issues were handed over to the “Barkley mafia,” and legal, political, and security issues were handed over to Ali Moertopo with military support (Vatikiotis, 1998). Everything is perfected in the presidential institution and formulate ways to implement these policies.

One of the reasons for the collapse of the New Order’s power was the ongoing political reforms driven by students at the end of 1997. The global financial crisis impacted the collapse of Indonesia’s economic foundations and had successive effects on other fields, especially politics. On May 21, 1998, Peakon President Soeharto declared his resignation from the power, which marked the start of the democratic transition in Indonesia. There has been a change in the policymaking process in the power circle of the political elite. BJ Habibie, who was president at that time, acted accommodatively with the political elite in their circle to make strategic policies for the community. President Habibie realized the importance of the involvement of many parties in formulating policies to be implemented to gain public support. Moreover, during this democratic transition period, many strategic issues must be managed into policies following the community’s interests.

One fundamental change from the reforms that occurred after the fall of the New Order was the emergence of many political actors who also became a force in policymaking. The pluralism of these actors also influenced the agenda-setting process at that time. President Habibie opened a vast space for the political elite as actors in policymaking. President Habibie successfully made several policies because they became a common agenda for realizing democracy in Indonesia. Habibie wrote, “All appropriate and quality policies and actions must take place neatly, transparently, and consistently with the intention and intention to quickly resolve the problems encountered, along with changes that continue to develop every second” (Habibie, 2006:58).

One of the weaknesses of the involvement of many actors in making this policy is the occurrence of conflicts of interest in managing relevant issues to be made into the policy agenda. President Habibie also felt the same phenomenon, contestation, and competition in setting the policy agenda. For example, regarding the demands of the people of East Timor to separate from Indonesia, which marked the failure of President Habibie to consolidate the policy agenda of the elite groups who were also policy actors in deciding the resolution of the East Timor problem.

During the time of President Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), there was a balance in the policy process between the Presidential Institution and the DPR. Agenda setting related to policy issues comes from these two institutions. Likewise, in policy formulation, there is quite a tight competition between these institutions to produce policies that follow the interests of these two institutions. For example, this can be seen from the case of Bulog Gate and Brunei Gate, which became the entrance for the DPR to impeach Abdurrahman Wahid as president. The legislature seems to dominate the policymaking process because of its interest in removing President Abdurrahman Wahid. Although the political decision to dismiss Abdurrahman Wahid as president drew criticism because it was considered controversial, the legislature's policy process became very dominant and filled with political interests (Barton, 2002). During Abdurrahman Wahid's leadership, almost all public policies made were dominated by the elite of political parties that controlled the DPR. The impact on government administration under President Abdurrahman Wahid. Although, on the other hand, Gus Dur tried to "resist" the policies made by the DPR, President Gus Dur was unable to overcome the strong dominance of the political party elite in the DPR.

The appointment of Megawati Soekarnoputri to replace Abdurrahman Wahid as president gave a new direction in the policy process. Megawati tried to play a role in the policy process that was made together with the DPR. Through an accommodative strategy related to the interests of political party elites in the DPR, President Megawati feels safe in administering the government. President Megawati's accommodative strategy has also impacted a balanced policy process. No polemic leads to the DPR's desire to impeach Megawati due to her policies. In addition to the presidential institution that helped President Megawati in formulating strategic policies, there was also a strengthening of the commitment of the political party elite in the DPR to support Megawati (Soesastro, 2003).

It was different during President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), who made the presidential institution an essential part of policymaking in the government. President SBY made the Presidential Work Unit for Development Supervision and Control (UKP4) an essential institution in policymaking. This institution becomes the eyes and ears of the president and an institution that initiates policies relevant to the ruling regime's interests. In addition, President SBY also has other units such as the State Secretariat and the Cabinet Secretariat, which

are led by a minister each. The existence of these three institutions is quite effective in producing democratic policies. President SBY made the Presidential Work Unit for Development Supervision and Control (UKP4) a strategic institution in the policy process within the government. For example, in the case of a conflict between the KPK vs. Polri institutions, known as Cicak vs. Buaya, SBY tried to mediate the conflict between these institutions by listening to the aspirations of the people who tended to defend the KPK (Siahaan, 2015).

THE POLICY PROCESS UNDER JOKOWI

During President Joko Widodo (Jokowi), there were significant changes in the policymaking process. There are several strategies used in making these policies. First, to facilitate coordination of government administration and policymaking, President Jokowi has expanded the presidential institution and strengthened it to assist him in making strategic policies (Dwipayana & Hasibuan, 2019). Although still using the State Secretariat and Cabinet Secretariat as in the previous President SBY, President Jokowi has removed the Presidential Work Unit for Development Supervision and Control (UKP4) which existed during President SBY's reign. President Jokowi replaced him with the Presidential Staff Office by appointing a Presidential Chief of Staff with a military background such as Luhut Binsar Panjaitan and was subsequently replaced by Teten Masduki with a civilian background with a short tenure. Then this position was again handed over to the chief of staff with a military background, namely Moeldoko. The appointment of the two chiefs of staff with military backgrounds is very strategic for President Jokowi, especially in dominating the policymaking process.

The strong position of the Presidential Staff Office can be seen from the tasks carried out, namely controlling, accelerating monitoring, and evaluating the resolution of national priority program problems and strategic issues. Five deputies cover the implementation of each task, such as Deputy I covering infrastructure, energy, and investment. Deputy II covers the field of human development. Deputy III covers the economy, Deputy IV covers information and political communication, and Deputy V covers politics, law, defense, and security. The broad scope of the Presidential Staff Office makes this institution strategic in making essential policies in the Jokowi administration.

Second, Jokowi's government policies also receive input from the coalition of political parties that support him. Although political party elites become ministers in President Jokowi's cabinet, the actual policy actors come from political party leaders who are always in contact with Jokowi. Indirectly, government policies also benefit this coalition of political parties. For example, related to the policy of the party coalition to stipulate the Election Law by imposing the presidential threshold and the parliamentary threshold, it is the agreement of the main actors in the policy of this political party. It is unavoidable that this mutually beneficial cooperation between policy actors strengthens their position as a political cartel. Not only in the cabinet, but the power relations of these policy actors reach out to members of political parties in the DPR. The hierarchical power relations between the political party elites who support Jokowi and their members in the DPR eliminate their critical attitude towards the policies made by the government. It can be said that almost none of the Jokowi administration's policies were hotly debated in the DPR and rejected the proposed laws by the government. Moreover, the absence of party power as a balancing force for policies proposed by the government causes the policy formulation process to no longer to comply with a series of rational and logical stages in policy formulation. The power of the opposition in the DPR only leaves the Democratic Party and PKS, whose strength is not comparable to the party supporting the government in parliament, which controls two-thirds of the seats in the DPR.

It is almost impossible for the opposition party to win a vote in determining the policy agenda in the DPR because there are only a few. For example, in the case of the stipulation of Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, the articles are dominated by the government and parties supporting the government when discussing it (Saputri, 2017). Previously, the Gerindra Party and PAN were opposing parties to President Jokowi prior to the 2019 General Election. However, after Prabowo Subianto's second defeat against Jokowi in the 2019 Presidential Election, Prabowo was willing to become Defense Minister in Jokowi's cabinet. Automatically the position of the Gerindra Party became a party supporting the government. Likewise, PAN tends to approach President Jokowi even though no ministerial position has been offered to PAN. This condition makes it difficult for the Democratic Party and PKS to compete in submitting policy issues needed by the community.

Another example is when the government and the coalition party proposed a draft bill on job creation supported by the coalition party ratifying it into Law No. 11 of 2020. The DPR still stipulates the job creation bill despite rejection from civil society and workers. This bill became law on October 5, 2020. This ratification also met resistance from opposition parties, especially the Democratic Party and PKS, who walked out because they opposed the law's ratification (Mukaromah, 2020). The involvement of the opposition parties in discussing the policies proposed by the government is not significant in changing the substance of the issues discussed in each of the policies proposed by the government.

Third, the control of media networks from the Jokowi government, from the office to the unofficial, helps the Jokowi government's policy-making process. This media network is used to build positive perceptions of the agenda-setting related to political and strategic issues. This media network is intended to gain support from civil society and can oppose policy issues that will become public policy—for example, related to issues regarding the revision of Law No. 30 of 2002 concerning the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). Despite resistance from civil society, the government's reasonable control over issues has succeeded in changing this law. The government also received support from the government coalition political parties and succeeded in issuing Law No. 19 of 2019, replacing Law No. 30 of 2002.

This success is also inseparable from the media network built by the government, especially the Presidential Staff Office, which controls many political and strategic issues. The Presidential Staff Office has a significant role in communicating policy issues made by President Jokowi so that they can be understood and accepted by the public. The success of this institution in conveying important information and data to the public through its mass media network (Wisnuwardana & Raharjo, 2019: 6-12. Through this media network, the Presidential Staff Office can play a role in supporting the policy process under Jokowi. This presidency also has informal networks with influencers to shape and influence public opinion (Sari, 2020). The utilization of these influencers is a strategy for how the government control's public opinion to get support so that the policies can be implemented.

The dominance of policymaking during the Jokowi regime has been seen since the management of issues in public has become agenda-setting that only involves policy actors from the Presidential Staff Office and his cabinet. These

managed issues also get support from members of the legislature who come from the government coalition political parties. Meanwhile, issues originating from civil society have received less attention in the policymaking process. For example, public issues regarding the need for the KPK to become an independent and independent institution, including the status of its employees, have not received the government's attention. Why is this being highlighted by the public? Because when KPK employees become part of the management of state personnel, it can weaken their independence and independence as an anti-corruption institution (Nuralam, 2021). Even until this revised law is passed, the government and the DPR will stick with their policies.

POLITICAL PREFERENCES OF LEGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS IN THE POLICY PROCESS

Consolidation of democracy in Indonesia faces a complicated problem when the DPR as a balancing actor has not maximized its role in policymaking. Members of the DPR are actually in a weak position in the debate in the process of agenda-setting and policy formulation in this legislative body. Solidity in managing policy issues in the DPR is low, and the number of DPR members who support the government's agenda-setting because they come from a coalition of political parties that support the government impacts the political preferences of the DPR. Even the opposition groups in parliament cannot balance the government's role as the leading policy actor in the framework of checks and balances. The weakness of the DPR institution in balancing the government's role in making public policies stems from the strong coalition of the government of Joko Widodo (Jokowi) that formed the government. In addition, this government coalition party is the party that won the 2019 General Election. In addition, this government coalition party is the party that won the 2019 General Election, which always maintains government policies in the DPR. As a result, the DPR as a legislative body cannot carry out its functions properly.

The election-winning parties in the DPR are generally part of the supporters of Jokowi's government, such as the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), the Golkar Party, the Gerindra Party, the Nasdem Party, the National Awakening Party (PKB), the United Development Party (PPP) with 427 seats

or 74.26%. Thus, it is difficult for opposition parties to balance the legislative function in the DPR because only the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and the Democratic Party (PD) have 104 seats in the DPR or 18.08%. Meanwhile, the National Mandate Party (PAN) prefers to be in the middle with 44 seats or 7.65% (KPURI, 2019). The decision-making process in the policy formulation process makes it difficult for opposition party groups to criticize the policies made by the government. With a small number of seats, the opposition parties cannot keep up with the coalition of parties supporting the government in making decisions related to the policy agenda in the DPR. Moreover, the DPR failed to provide an alternative political preference to the government because there was no dialectic discussing the policy agenda.

It can be said that the DPR does not have a political preference that can be used as an alternative policy by the government, except only to complement it. For example, in the Job Creation Law policymaking process, the government's dominance over the DPR is seen. Debates and criticisms of opposition members tend to be ignored by the government and its supporting parties. Several versions of the draft law have emerged, which have caused the public to be confused by this condition. From the CNN Indonesia (2021) records alone, there are five versions of the job creation law approved by the DPR, namely the version of 1,028 pages, 905 pages, 1,052 pages, 1,035 pages, and finally, 812 pages. For example, as Damarjati (2021) wrote

"[In] Article 24 of the Job Creation Law in 'Paragraph 3: Environmental Approval, there is paragraph (5) that has been changed. Article 24 paragraph (5) states that the decision on environmental feasibility is used for requirements for issuing business permits, approval from the central government, or local governments. In the previous draft version, the approval of the central government and local governments was not mentioned. It was only since the October 9, 2020 draft version, which contained 1,052 pages that the central government and local governments began to be mentioned. The Job Creation Law has been ratified since October 5."

Political preferences in the policy process are strategic issues in every stage carried out by the DPR in policymaking. Strategic issues are an essential part of the DPR in the early stages of the policy process, namely agenda setting, decision

making, and policy formulation. This stage involves the battle of ideas, ideas, and thoughts related to policy design. If the DPR is unable to provide alternative offers related to policy issues at this stage, then it can be said that the DPR has decreased its function as a legislative body. The division of the DPR into two groups, namely the government support groups and the opposition groups, impacts the DPR's political preferences as a political institution that carries out its supervisory function on the government. Preferences in political institutions are built based on developing political values that involve customs, traditions, culture, and interests that exist in these institutions (Laitin & Wildavsky, 1988). This habit in the DPR has become a political culture that is formed because of the interaction between members of the DPR from various values of political ideology originating from political parties. The ideology of political parties is mixed with the habits of members of political parties in the DPR in fighting for their respective interests. These values and habits are the basis for the legitimacy of policies made by the DPR, whether they support or oppose government policies.

The policy choices made depend on the dynamics between the parties supporting the government and the opposition parties in the DPR. The policy choices made are no longer based on the issues that develop in society which they debate in the agenda-setting stage. Policy issues tend to be dominated by the government, which has the support of parties supporting the government in the DPR. With this position, the government is powerful in making policies without going through a rational policy process, as is known in the public policymaking process. For example, when the government made Government Regulation instead of Law (Perppu) No. 1 of 2020 concerning State Financial Policy and Financial System Stability for Handling the Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19), Pandemic looks very dominant. There is not even a debate in the DPR in making this policy.

All political party factions in the DPR supported this Perppu to become a bill, and only one political party, namely PKS, rejected this Perppu into a law. The government is seen as the dominant law-making institution, thus eliminating the function of the DPR in implementing the principle of checks and balances (Maharani, 2020). Although from the government's perspective, the existence of this Perppu is essential because it becomes the basis for the government to establish policies and implement extraordinary measures in order to deal with the health,

humanitarian, economic and financial crises as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic (DPR, 2020).

This political preference is also not seen in the policy formulation process, especially in making decisions. The crucial issues that were decided, especially regarding the articles governing financial stability in handling Covid-19, were left entirely to the government. For example, regarding providing social assistance to the community, economic stimulation to MSMEs and cooperatives, and anticipation of financial stability. The unclear position of the DPR in this Law because it does not provide space in discussing this policy has implications for the control of the government as a vital institution in implementing the Covid-19 handling program. On the other hand, the strength of the government weakens the DPR to oversee how this policy is implemented. This phenomenon began because the DPR was not allowed to position its functions in each of the Perppu and this Law articles.

From this process, it can be seen that the DPR's position is relatively weak before the government is discussing the laws proposed by the government. The Ministry of Finance is a quasi-legislative institution, thus denying the existence of the DPR. The reason for dealing with Covid-19, which threatens people's health and economic conditions, has made the Jokowi government dominant in the policy-making process, thus ignoring democratic principles in policy-making. The absence of supervision involving the DPR in terms of the use of finance in dealing with Covid-19 is a severe problem in implementing this law. The room for corruption is very open because the existing ministries fully exercise power possessed by the government. For example, the case occurred at the Ministry of Social Affairs in distributing aid to people affected by Covid-19. Without supervision in the implementation of policies made by the ministry, this resulted in Minister of Social Affairs Juliari P. Batubara being accused of accepting bribes in social assistance funds for people affected by Covid-19, amounting to Rp32 billion (BBC, 2021). This dominance stems from the policy process, which tends to be closed, without involving other policy institutions and actors who also have a role in the policy process.

The weak role of the DPR in the policy process in Indonesia affects the quality of democracy in Indonesia. The DPR is no longer an institution that represents the political interests of the community in the process of making public policies. The dominance of the oligarchs in policymaking in the legislature affects the

performance of the DPR in policy formulation (Asrinaldi, Yusoff & Karim, 2021). The DPR's political preferences tend to be dictated by a coalition of political parties supporting the government at every policy stage. As a result, the government's policies and the DPR did not generate debates related to the substance of the policies for the public interest. Democracy in this policy process loses its substance because every agreement made has been decided at the elite level of political parties through political lobbies. Everything is for the benefit of the Jokowi government. Likewise, the DPR is no longer directly involved in the policy implementation process, so the government becomes the leading actor. Indeed, the DPR oversees how these policies are implemented, but as an actor, the roles they carry out are not too many. Meanwhile, at the evaluation stage, bureaucratic actors with their experience control the evaluation process and exclude members of the DPR, especially those from the government opposition. From the policy process, it can be seen how the policy process in President Jokowi tended to be hegemonic and seemed undemocratic.

CONCLUSION

This article highlights how the Jokowi administration's political policies were in the policy process for two periods. The dominance of groups in Jokowi's circle of power implies strengthening cartels and oligarchs in his government. Supporters formed the cartel and oligarchy from many circles who benefited from the power held by President Jokowi. In government administration, cartels and political oligarchs also influence the policy-making process. The DPR, which should play monitoring and balancing role in the legislative body, is powerless. Even the DPR's political preference as a political institution looks weak before the government in formulating the policy agenda. DPR members have no alternative in offering policy issues as agenda-setting. Not only that, but the elite of the coalition party supporting the government also has a strategic position, namely being a minister in Jokowi's Cabinet. This position makes it easier for them to consolidate their policy agenda with their party in the DPR.

Moreover, the power of the coalition party supporting Jokowi, who is dominant in the DPR, makes it easier for the government to control the policy agenda

according to their interests. Policy actors around President Jokowi dominate the public policy-making process in the DPR because of their full access to the DPR. Although a policy must be discussed with the DPR, generally, the policies made are well received by political parties that support the government. As a result of the lack of political preference, the DPR becomes an alternative in the policy process, which impacts the quality of democracy implemented in Indonesia.

On the other hand, the small number of seats for opposition parties such as the Democrat Party and PKS could not balance the role of the government-supported by opposition parties in the public policy-making process. The policy model under Jokowi was very dependent on the policy issues that made up his agenda. Suppose they are in direct contact with more extensive interests and have a political impact. In that case, they tend not to follow the model of a series of policy stages known in policy formulation. However, suppose the policy issues designed by the government are considered to have only a tiny impact on government power. In that case, the policy model adopted is through a rational process following cyclical policy stages. The existence of opposition groups in the legislature is also not significant in offering policy preferences because of their small number. The existence of opposition groups in the legislature is also not significant in offering policy preferences because of their small number. Even most DPR members support the direct government decision-making through voting. There is no opportunity for opposition parties to express political preferences on behalf.

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