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Main Report

The Perspectives of Economic Freedom and Human Capital for Environmental Sustainability in Indonesia

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- Analyzing Aspects of Empowerment in Access to Justice of Indigenous Peoples according to PANEL Parameters
- A Comparative Study of Military Involvement and Participation in Government in Indonesia and the United States of America

Politics

- Women, Peace and Security: The Implementations in the Realm of Interfaith Harmony

Social

- Examining the Quality of Indonesian Education towards a Golden Indonesia 2045
- Overseeing the Indonesian Government's Commitment in Realizing Climate Resilient Development

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FOREWORD

The March 2025 edition of the Indonesia Update presents a major report on the perspectives of economic freedom and human capital for environmental sustainability in Indonesia. This discussion highlights the linkages between economic policies, investments in human resources, and environmental sustainability strategies to ensure inclusive and sustainable development. Through this report, we explore the challenges and opportunities in achieving a balance between economic growth and environmental protection.

In the legal field, Update Indonesia reviews comparative studies on the involvement and participation of the military in the governments of Indonesia and the United States. This analysis aims to understand the dynamics civil-military relations as well as the implications for democracy and political stability in both countries. In addition, we also present a study on the empowerment aspect in the situation of *access to justice* for indigenous peoples in accordance with PANEL parameters. This study highlights the challenges faced by indigenous peoples in obtaining justice and the role of the state in strengthening their access to the legal system.

In the political field, the Indonesian Update raises the topic of women, peace, and security with a focus on implementations in the realm of interfaith harmony. This discussion explores the role of women in promoting peace and social harmony, and how policies and initiatives could strengthen women's participation in efforts to resolve religious-based conflicts. Through this study, we seek to provide insight into the importance of an inclusive approach in creating social and political stability.

In the social field, Update Indonesia examines the quality of Indonesian education ahead of Indonesia Emas 2045. This article shall discuss the readiness of the national education system in producing a competitive and competitive generation in the era of globalization. In addition, we also monitor the commitment of the Indonesian government in realizing climate-resilient development. This analysis examines various policies and strategic steps in facing the challenges of climate change and how the implementations of these policies can support sustainable development.

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.

The Perspectives of Economic Freedom and Human Capital for Environmental Sustainability in Indonesia

Climate change around the world has become more concerning and harmful. Copernicus Climate Change Service (C3S) (January 10, 2025) stated that 2024 was the second year of record-breaking climate change after 2023. Several climate change indicators, such as greenhouse gas (GHG) emission levels, were worsening. For example, in 2024, carbon dioxide and methane concentration levels were 2.9 parts per million (ppm) and three parts per billion (ppb), respectively, higher than the 2023 record based on preliminary satellite data analysis. Climate change in 2024 resulted in extreme disasters in several regions and affected health conditions, ecosystems, and infrastructures (climate.copernicus.eu, January 10, 2025).

The Meteorology, Climatology, and Geophysics Agency of Indonesia (BMKG) (January 3, 2025) announced that 2024 was the hottest year in Indonesia, with a temperature anomaly value of 0.8°C. According to Indonesia's National Agency for Disaster Countermeasure (BNPB) on antarnews.com (January 7, 2025), there were quite a few extreme weather events in 2024, namely 1,432 incidents.

Climate change mitigation and environmental sustainability must be actively promoted and implemented through a robust economic framework driven by economic freedom, which includes competitive human capital. As Stroup (2003) puts it: 'environmental protection and conservation depend upon the incentives provided by private property rights and the exchange of rights through markets.'

It is because economic freedom, driven by crucial elements such as property rights, government integrity, labor market flexibility, business freedom, and so on, can determine incentives (when the elements of economic freedom are present) and disincentives (when there are no elements of economic freedom) for individuals to become skilled and erudite. Tyrrell and Pontifis (January 28, 2019) explained that bolstering education and improving economic freedom was driven by the vast educational choices that emerged through a dynamic and free market.

Competitively skilled and knowledgeable human capital or human resources demonstrate the ability to rapidly adopt or innovate to produce environmentally friendly technology. These can support climate change mitigation policies and environmental sustainability.

Therefore, this article shall aspire to provide a perspective on how economic freedom encourages more advanced human capital to embody environmental sustainability in Indonesia, as well as recommendations for the administration of President Prabowo Subianto. President Prabowo has a vision of environmental sustainability, as stated in the 8th Asta Cita, namely strengthening the harmonious alignment of life with the environment, nature, and culture and increasing tolerance between religious communities to achieve a just and prosperous society.

Economic Freedom, Human Capital, and Environmental Sustainability in the Literature

Economic freedom and human capital have a positive relationship within the theoretical perspective and empirical findings. The Heritage Foundation, in the "Index of Economic Freedom 31st edition" (2025), emphasizes that economic freedom is essential for human dignity and personal empowerment. Economic freedom is beyond a supportive business environment; it provides opportunities and the power to choose and improves people's quality of life on a massive scale. Countries with a high level of economic freedom (free category) have an immense level of human development, measured in the Human Development Index (HDI), with an average of 0.955.

Moreover, King, Montenegro, and Orazem (2012) found that economic freedom was correlated positively with returns to schooling, where a 10% increase in the economic freedom index raised the level of returns to school by 0.45 percentage points. Key elements of economic freedom, such as the role of private enterprise, property rights protection, and openness to trade, were crucial for economic growth and had been shown to significantly enhance the returns to schooling (King, Montenegro & Orazem, 2012).

Then, what is the relationship between human capital and environmental sustainability? Harnani, Widarni, and Bawono (2022) found a negative relationship between human capital and carbon dioxide emissions in Indonesia. They concluded that human capital

played a crucial role in environmental preservation, emphasizing that infrastructure development should be undertaken while minimizing environmental damage. Examining the G7 countries (United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, France, and Japan), Ahmed et al. (2020) found a negative relationship between ecological footprint and human capital. It shows the need to launch programs related to environmental awareness in urban areas.

In addition, policies must also be formulated to encourage the adoption of environmentally friendly technologies to reduce pollution caused by urban industry. Electronic and print media can also be utilized to enhance ecological awareness campaigns effectively. An education system that includes environmental sustainability syllabuses can encourage sustainable use of resources at the individual level. Environmental institutions at national and international levels should be supported and encouraged in targeting businesses to promote energy efficiency and sustainable resource use (Ahmed et al., 2020).

The importance of economic freedom for human capital was also discovered by Feldmann (2017); economic freedom was likely to be a paramount determining factor in investing in human capital or similar to investing in physical capital. He argued that greater economic freedom would increase investors' profits from investments in both types of capital and make it easier for them to make these investments. Feldmann also reported strong evidence that economic freedom was likely to amplify human capital investment from 1972 to 2011 in 109 countries.

Simple Analysis of Granger Causality Test for Economic Freedom, Human Capital, and Environmental Sustainability with Several Other Variables

The Granger Causality Test, proposed by Clive Granger in 1969, is a statistical hypothesis test to explain whether variable X forecasts variable Y (one-way causation) or two-way causation, where variable Y also predicts variable X (Hamilton, 1994; S&P Global, 2022). Y is said to be Granger-caused by X if X helps in predicting Y, or vice versa; X is Granger-caused by Y if Y helps in forecasting X (S&P Global, 2022)[1]. The results of the Granger Causality Test are presented in Table 1 below.

[1] More details can be seen in "EViews 13 User's Guide I" (2022) by S&P Global. The null hypothesis (H0) is X does not Granger-caused Y and/or Y does not Granger-caused X. In this article, H0 is rejected if the P-value is less than the significance level (α) of 1%, 5%, and 10%.

Table 1. Granger Causality Test Results

Samples range: 1960-2025
Lags: 4
H0: ENCONSCAP does not Granger Cause ECOFPRINT 0,3395 **H0: ECOFPRINT does not Granger Cause ENCONSCAP** **0,0234****
H0: GDPCAP2015 does not Granger Cause ECOFPRINT 0,9707 H0: ECOFPRINT does not Granger Cause GDPCAP2015 0,1080
H0: HC does not Granger CauseECOFPRINT 0,5469 H0: ECOFPRINT does not Granger Cause HC 0,4619
H0: EF does not Granger CauseECOFPRINT 0,7725 **H0: ECOFPRINT does not Granger Cause EF** **0,0180****
H0: LCSE does not Granger Cause ECOFPRINT 0,3310 **H0: ECOFPRINT does not Granger Cause LCSE** **0,0278****
H0: GDPCAP2015 does not Granger CauseENCONSCAP **0,0728*** H0: ENCONSCAP does not Granger Cause GDPCAP2015 0,2667
H0: HC does not Granger Cause ENCONSCAP **0,0862*** H0: ENCONSCAP does not Granger Cause HC 0,1534
H0: EF does not Granger Cause ENCONSCAP 0,3826 **H0: ENCONSCAP does not Granger Cause EF** **0,0011*****

H0: LCSE does not Granger Cause ENCONSCAP 0,8329 **H0: ENCONSCAP does not Granger Cause LCSE** **0,0614***
H0: HC does not Granger CauseGDPCAP2015 0,6452 H0: GDPCAP2015 does not Granger Cause HC 0,8376
H0: EF does not Granger Cause GDPCAP2015 **0,0185**** **H0: GDPCAP2015 does not Granger Cause EF** **0,0002*****
H0: LCSE does not Granger CauseGDPCAP2015 0,8700 **H0: GDPCAP2015 does not Granger Cause LCSE** **0,0106****
H0: EF does not Granger Cause HC 0,1986 **H0: HC does not Granger Cause EF** **0,0956***
H0: LCSE does not Granger Cause HC 0,5203 H0: HC does not Granger CauseLCSE 0,2635
H0: LCSE does not Granger Cause EF 0,4138 H0: EF does not Granger CauseLCSE 0,5317

, **, * are significant at 10%, 5%, and 1 %, respectively. ECOFPRINT is ecological footprint, ENCONSCAP is energy consumption per capita, GDPCAP2015 is Gross Domestic Product US$ 2015, HC is human capital, EF is economic freedom, LCSE is low-carbon source energy.*

The results of the Granger Causality Test above show that most variables tested do not have one-way or two-way causation. Some variables exhibit one-way causation, such as the ecological footprint (ECOFPRINT) of economic freedom (EF). It elucidates that the value of the ecological footprint can predict the value of economic

freedom in Indonesia. In other words, reducing the ecological footprint is expected to support economic freedom in Indonesia.

Moreover, one-way causation is also demonstrated by energy consumption per capita (ENCONSCAP), which can forecast the value of economic freedom (EF), which explains that energy policies play a paramount role in shaping economic freedom, either overall or by its elements, such as a healthy business environment, regulatory efficiency, property rights protection, market openness, and so on.

One-way Granger causality is also further highlighted by human capital (HC) on economic freedom (EF) at the 10% probability level. This arguably exhibits that investment in human capital, such as investment in education, skills, knowledge, and productivity, is fundamental in shaping economic freedom in Indonesia.

According to Table 1, only economic freedom (EF) and GDP per capita (GDPCAP2015) show two-way causation. In other words, economic freedom can anticipate the condition of GDP per capita in the future, and GDP per capita also influences the future condition of Indonesia's economic freedom. These findings imply policy recommendations that must be implemented properly by President Prabowo's administration.

Policy Recommendations

Grounded by the above explanations, the following are policy recommendations for President Prabowo Subianto's administration. First, since ecological footprint can foresee the value of future economic freedom in Indonesia, President Prabowo's administration, in this case, the Ministry of the Environment/Head of the Environmental Control Agency along with the Ministry of Forestry, collaborating with related ministries/agencies, must be able to formulate and implement policies that do not degrade the environment through joint effort with the private sector in balancing environmentally friendly regulations with the practice of protecting property rights, business conditions and entrepreneurship.

This is because the ecological footprint that Granger-caused economic freedom can demonstrate that policies that raise the ecological footprint (weak environmental policies) have the potential to undermine economic freedom in Indonesia in the context of

inefficiency and corruption, such as in environmental-related sectors, which will harm the businesses and make the businesses distrustful of investing in the environmental sector.

Second, since human capital (HC) Granger-caused economic freedom (EF) in Indonesia, which shows that investment in the education sector, skills, and increasing productivity are important in establishing market openness and a good business environment, the Ministry of Manpower in collaboration with relevant ministries/ institutions must develop policies that can improve workforce skills to encourage greater business competition and innovation.

The Ministry of Manpower, with the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology, and the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, must be willing to further develop entrepreneurship programs, provide incentives in research and development (R&D), and partnership with the private sector in providing facilities and infrastructure to improve the skills, knowledge, and competitiveness of Indonesian human resources in the field of sustainability.

Third, since economic freedom (EF) and GDP per capita (GDPCAP2015) demonstrate a two-way causation in which economic freedom can forecast the condition of future GDP per capita and GDP per capita also influences the condition of Indonesia's economic freedom in the future, all elements of President Prabowo's administration must be able to strengthen economic freedom by improving the quality of institutions led by people who are professional, with integrity, uncorrupt and honest, bolstering the property rights protection system for all Indonesian society, and overcoming corruption through correct regulations. For example, passing the Asset Confiscation Bill.

Moreover, all elements of President Prabowo's administration must be able to improve public services in crucial sectors, encourage innovation and entrepreneurship, and use the State Budget as responsibly as possible to create a high-income and prosperous society. It is significant to stimulate better governance and government integrity, which leads to better economic freedom.

To promote the 8th Asta Cita, President Prabowo's administration must strengthen economic freedom, such as improving the quality of institutions, bolstering the property rights protection system for all Indonesian people, and overcoming corruption through correct regulations. President Prabowo must also promote human capital through education, such as R&D incentives, and partnership with the private sector to improve the skills and competitiveness of Indonesian human resources in the field of sustainability.

-Putu Rusta Adijaya-

Analyzing Aspects of Empowerment in Access to Justice of Indigenous Peoples according to PANEL Parameters

In 2024, indigenous peoples' communities were being enlivened by the criminalization case against Sorbatua Siallagan. In this case, Sorbatua was sentenced to two years in prison and a fine of one billion rupiah in lieu of six months imprisonment for occupying a forest area that became the concession of PT Toba Pulp Lestari, according to a decision from the Simalungun District Court (aman.or.id, 21/10/2024). This was not the first time that part of the indigenous community had been dragged into legal action for managing land and resources that were part of the lives of indigenous peoples.

According to documentation from the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) (2024), during 2024, there were several cases of criminalization against the community; for example, the arrest and detention of several Sihaporas Indigenous Peoples who were not based on applicable legal procedures. Also the arrest of eight members of the Soge and Goban Indigenous Peoples due to their protest and rejection of PT Krisrama as the holder of the Cultivation Rights Title on land in the area of Nangahale Village, Talibura Subdistrict and Runut Village, Waigete Subdistrict, and around 925 other community members who were criminalized (AMAN, 2024: 29-32; walhi.or.id, 12/10/2024).

Considering the cases of criminalization of indigenous peoples in Indonesia, it is important for these communities to arm themselves with knowledge of the law and access to justice. Access to justice is a fundamental right that is often not fulfilled for people in general, especially indigenous peoples in Indonesia who tend to be marginalized.

In this paper, the author shall try to analyze the condition of access to justice through empowerment parameters from PANEL parameters which are part of the application of human rights based approach (HRBA). PANEL consists of Participation, Accountability, Non-discrimination, Empowerment, and Legality. It is important to look at the level of empowerment because empowerment is

directly related to increasing the capacity of indigenous peoples in understanding their constitutionally recognized rights. Thus, indigenous peoples are not only beneficiaries, but also active actors in fighting for justice.

Empowerment in Access to Justice

In the empowerment aspect of the PANEL parameters, all people need to understand their rights and fully support participation in shaping policies that affect their lives. When needed, all people should be able to obtain their rights (Scottish Human Rights Commission, 2018: 6). Thus, in the context of indigenous peoples' access to justice, empowerment means knowledge and awareness of the law, access to legal aid, and the capacity to resolve disputes independently or through available legal mechanisms.

First, knowledge and awareness of the law. This component could be fulfilled by means of information dissemination in written or oral form conducted by the government and civil society. From the government side, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham, 2024) has a target in 2024 to increase public legal awareness. One of them is the establishment of law-aware villages in each region. This program is not a new program because it has been running since 1993 (Widati, 2023).

According to Circular Letter Number PHN-HN.04.04-01/2022 concerning Guidelines for the Establishment and Development of Law-Aware Villages/Kelurahan, Law-Aware Families or Groups target members of the general public, community leaders, traditional leaders, community officials, and other community elements. Guidance is carried out by means of direct or indirect legal counseling at least twice a year at the village hall or other places.

Data from the National Law Development Agency (BPHN) of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights recorded that there were around 5,744 Law-Aware Villages or Villages as of June 17, 2020 (bphn.go.id, 17/7/2020). This number continued to grow until in 2024, so there would be an additional 100 Law-Aware Villages/ Regency to 3,306 out of a total of 5,957 in West Java alone (jdih. jabarprov.go.id, 3/12/2024). Normatively, the presence of the government has been realized to provide efforts to increase legal awareness. However, more massive efforts are needed considering that the number of villages/sub-districts in Indonesia as of December 10, 2024 according to the Central Statistics Agency (2024) was

75,753 villages and 8,486 sub-districts. We should not forget to also consider customary territories that have not been recognized and included in certain parts of the kelurahan administratively.

According to the Indigenous Territory Registration Agency as of August 2024 (2024), there are 249 maps of unrecognized indigenous territories with an area of 3,050,861 hectares. This shows that there are still many areas that need to be reached by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, which is now separated into the Ministry of Law and the Ministry of Human Rights, to provide more legal counseling to indigenous communities.

However, efforts to raise legal awareness are consistently made by civil society. One of the most consistent organizations in disseminating information on the law to its members is the AMAN, which holds events such as congresses, consolidations, and the like to discuss laws and policies that affect the lives of indigenous peoples. AMAN's events are not only attended by its indigenous members, but also by the public. An example is the International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples, which discusses the situation of laws and policies related to indigenous peoples in Indonesia and the world (AMAN, 2024).

The second and *third* are easy access to legal aid and non-litigation dispute resolution. In improving access to legal aid, the public has long received free legal aid services from institutions such as the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation and other *pro-bono* advocates across Indonesia called Legal Aid Organizations (OBH). OBH must first obtain accreditation in order to operate. According to data from BPHN, there are currently 777 OBH spread throughout Indonesia (bphn.go.id, 12/3/2025). This makes access to legal aid easier, including for indigenous peoples.

However, in its development, access to justice for indigenous peoples will be more achievable with non-litigation mechanisms that could be carried out by indigenous peoples themselves, both according to state law and indigenous/*adat* law. This is where *adat* law is recognized by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In this case, the *adat* Court is one of the main players in the non-litigation mechanism. In various studies, the people of Java, Bali, South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, West Sumatra, Dayak, South Sumatra, Lampung, Lombok, Irian Java, and Toraja have a culture of peaceful dispute resolution (Hasan, 2007; Rahmadi & Romsan, 1998; Lev, 1990; Ohorela & Salle, 1995; Hadikusuma, 1992; Ihromi, 1984; Muhlizi, 2013).

adat justice mechanisms are one solution to the difficulties of indigenous peoples who tend to have limited access to the formal legal system, are isolated, still prioritize traditional law, different views and inadequate national law, and inadequate infrastructure and resources owned by formal law itself which hinders the adaptability of the needs of indigenous peoples' sense of justice (Dinnen, 2010). However, some of the weaknesses of this system are (Zulfa, 2010):

a. biases of the elders who hold the reins of customary justice, as well as ways of thinking that many do not reflect the needs of the younger generation;

b. the potential for nepotism;

c. the force of law whose bindingness is in doubt;

d. principles and objectives of punishment that are different from the formal system; and

e. customary justice which still tends to be effective for homogeneous communities only.

Therefore, based on PANEL's parameter empowerment analysis, indigenous peoples' legal awareness is emerging but not yet massive. The utilization of existing customary law mechanisms also tends to require further study as an effective alternative to formal legal settlements.

Recommendations

This paper shall provide the following recommendations:

a. The need for more Law-Aware Villages by the National Law Development Agency that specifically target indigenous communities and legal counseling that impacts indigenous peoples' lives directly;

b. Information dissemination and involvement of indigenous peoples in the formation of laws in all sectors by Ministries and other institutions need to be improved;

c. Further studies related to the dualism of dispute resolution laws need to be carried out at all times by academics, research institutions, civil society organizations, as well as law

enforcement officials to provide better access to justice for indigenous peoples, and

d. The need to create easy access to law based on affirmation for indigenous peoples within the Police and Judiciary that is non-discriminatory, reflects human rights, and responds to indigenous justice.

It is necessary to increase legal awareness, participation, research, and fair legal access for indigenous peoples.

-Christina Clarissa Intania-

A Comparative Study of Military Involvement and Participation in Government in Indonesia and the United States of America

Law No. 34/2004 on the Indonesian National Army (TNI Law) has been discussed to be amended from time to time. During the Second Session of the House of Representatives (DPR) in 2025, it was reported that the TNI Bill was discussed as part of the 2025 Priority National Legislation Program (Prolegnas) to amend the current TNI Law) ..." (tempo.co, 28/2/2025). A Public Hearing Meeting was held on March 2, 2025, which invited three experts to its discussion (antaranews.com, 2/3/2025).

In every discourse of the TNI Bill, there are several revision provisions that always become the concern of civil society. Among them are the provision that active TNI members can occupy civilian positions in the government, changes in the retirement period of soldiers, the elimination of provisions prohibiting soldiers from doing business, the status of the relationship between the TNI and the Ministry of Defense, and the issue of TNI budgeting (Fitri, 2024: 7; tempo.co, 31/5/2024; cnnindonesia.com, 18/2/2025; ugm.ac.id, 18/2/2025).

The discourse on active TNI being able to serve in civilian positions in the government was briefly listed in the version of the TNI Bill issued by the DPR Legislation Department in 2024, which wrote a change in Article 47 paragraph (2) which reads, "Active soldiers can occupy positions in the office ..., as well as other ministries / institutions that require the energy and expertise of active Soldiers in accordance with the President's policy" (dpr.go.id, 28/5/2024).

The provisions in the TNI Bill above have raised concerns from civil society. Andri Yunus (2025), Head of the Legal Division of the Commission for Missing Persons and Violence (KontraS) said that KontraS rejected the discussion of the TNI Bill because substantially, it could not answer cultural problems in TNI institutions. In addition, provisions related to the expansion of the ability of active soldiers to be involved in civilian positions are problematic and have the potential to return the government to the New Order regime (Orba) (national.kompas.com, 3/3/2025).

However, in contrast to this, Khairul Fahmi (2025), a military observer at the Institute for Security and Strategic Studies, argues that this provision is not to bring back the Army Dual Function *(Dwifungsi ABRI)* but to provide legal certainty for active soldiers who are serving in civilian positions (indonesiadefense.com, 20/2/2025).

As a democratic country with sovereignty in the hands of the people, what about the discourse in the TNI Bill? In this paper, perspectives from other countries that have similar arrangements and policies to Indonesia in terms of the involvement of military members in civilian positions or other political activities shall be discussed; namely, the United States (US). This discussion is expected to enrich considerations in making decisions on discourses in the TNI Bill.

Military Involvement and Participation in the Indonesian Government

In this section, the author shall compare the regulatory aspects of military involvement and participation in government and other political activities in Indonesia and the US in terms of their regulatory and historical underpinnings. Recalling back to the time of independence, the leadership of the People's Security Army was asked to enter the government on the grounds of defending the country from foreign domination and uniting the "45 Generation", which saw General Sudirman appointed as the Commander-in-Chief of the TNI (Singh, 1996).

The Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia during the New Order felt an urgency to be in government due to four factors; namely, it saw itself as having as much right as any other force in the country to determine the course of society; it saw itself as a freedom fighter that if the political leadership was ready to surrender, then the armed approach would be stronger than the civilian approach; that civilian politicians tended to be divided and carry mere party interests, whereas the military was the only form of power that reflected a national nature, and that the military could separate itself from civilian relations in the sense that it would not be subservient and could challenge the political leadership when deemed ineffective (Singh, 1996). Subsequently, this attitude gave rise to the role of *Dwifungsi ABRI* that people know today, where the military not only has a role in the military field but also in the socio-political field.

However, ABRI also often violated human rights during the New Order era. Its involvement was also used to perpetuate President Soeharto's power at that time (Bagus, Thobary, Mahmudah & Maulidah, 2021: 112). Thus, ABRI's role was questioned and challenged during the 1998 Reform period, which called for the revocation of ABRI's *Dwifungsi* (Azwar & Suryana, 2021: 168). This is reflected in the legal product Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly Number VII/MPR/2000 of 2000, regulated in Article 5, where in paragraph (2), the TNI is neutral in political life and does not involve itself in practical political activities.

In Law Number 34/2004 on the TNI itself, it is stipulated in Article 2 that the identity of the TNI as a professional army is an army that does not engage in practical politics. In the explanations of Article 2, the Military only follows state politics by prioritizing the principles of democracy, civilian supremacy, human rights, provisions of national law, and provisions of ratified international law. Civilian supremacy is explained as political power owned or attached to state leaders elected by the people through general elections in accordance with the principles of democracy. Thus, the TNI is subject to policies and political decisions made by the President through the constitutional mechanism process.

Article 39 of the TNI Law stipulates that soldiers are prohibited from engaging in activities to become members of political parties, practical political activities, business activities, and activities to be elected as legislative members in general elections and other political positions. Article 47 paragraph (1) stipulates that soldiers can only occupy civilian positions after resigning or retiring from active military service and in Article 55 paragraph (1), soldiers are honorably discharged from military service due to, among other things, changing status to civil servants.

According to Article 47 paragraph (2) of the TNI Law, it is clearly stipulated that active soldiers can hold positions in offices in charge of coordinating the fields of State Politics and Security, State Defense, Presidential Military Secretary, State Intelligence, State Signals, National Defense Institute, National Defense Council, National Search and Rescue (SAR), National Narcotics, and the Supreme Court. This is in line with the regulation in Article 19 paragraph (3) of Law Number 20/2023 concerning the State Civil Apparatus (ASN Law). These positions that can be filled are at the central level based on Government Regulation Number 11/2017 concerning Civil Servant Management (PP PNS Management) as

amended in PP Number 17/2020. The technicalities of appointing TNI to enter civilian positions are also regulated in the PP on Civil Servant Management.

Positions that can be occupied by the TNI are classified as high positions because their scope is at the central government level (Bagus, Thobary, Mahmudah & Maulidah, 2021: 112). ASN positions should be filled by ASN itself (Sutjipto, 2019). Historically, before the regulation of which positions can be occupied by the TNI, the formulation of provisions for TNI who are no longer active can fill civilian positions also makes too broad an opportunity for the TNI to enter the realm of civilian positions (Bagus, Thobary, Mahmudah & Maulidah, 2021: 117).

Military Involvement and Participation in the US Government

The US Founders had in mind to avoid military power threatening democracy from the time of independence. Thus, the principle of civilian control was adopted, whereby the military is under the leadership of civilians by promoting the separation of powers and checks and balances. The advantage of this principle is that the elected president, who comes from civilian society, can be a check on the military and provide unity of command for the military. President George Washington, in the early days of US independence, applied the principle of civilian control by ensuring the fulfillment of civil rights based on the rule of law when resolving the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794 (McInnis, 2020).

According to Federalist Papers 46 and 59, it is important that the military operates in a way that reflects the will of the people (Hamilton, 1788). Therefore, much of the decision-making is vested in the US Congress. This is reflected in Article 1 Section 8 of the US Constitution, in which, Congress has the authority to provide and maintain the US Navy (Preble, 2010). Over time, one of the important components that maintain the principle of civilian control is a military that is also non-partisan, so that it can maintain US democracy without military intervention that is driven by certain party decisions (McInnis, 2020).

Next, Title 18, US Code, Section 1385, known as the Posse Comitatus Act of 1878, stipulates that anyone who uses any part of the military or Air Force as part of a "posse comitatus" or to execute the law, except under circumstances and conditions authorized

by the US Constitution or an Act of Congress, shall be fined or imprisoned for a maximum of two years or both. Subsequently, the law has been extended to all military forces at the federal level except the Marine Guard. In practice, however, many other rules collided with this provision allowing the military to enforce the law in different situations (Nunn, 2024).

In relation to political activities, the prohibition of US military involvement is reinforced in the Ministry of Defense Instruction No. 1344.10/2008, where US military members are allowed to register and vote in elections as individuals. Even attend political events or groups and donate to political causes, but without representing the institution such as wearing a military uniform. Active US military members are prohibited from participating in political fundraisers, conventions, campaigns, or debates with more than spectator involvement. They are also prohibited from using their influence to intervene in elections and there are many other provisions that govern the prohibitions and allowances of the US military in political activities.

To be a candidate for a civil office, an active member, or a retired member, or a Reserve Component that still has more than 270 days of active service may not be a candidate, unless authorized by the relevant ministry. Similar to civilian office holders, members of the military under the previous conditions may not be involved. If they are active members, it must be at the request of the Ministry with the condition that they must not intervene in the duties of the military. This is one of the provisions according to Joseph Nunn that shows exceptions in other legal instruments.

It is this understanding of the principle of civilian control and the military's non-partisan culture that makes the US military one of the most trusted institutions by US citizens. In a 2019 Gallup Survey, 73% of US citizens were categorized as "very trusting" or "trusting" of the US military as an institution (Gallup, 2019; McInnis, 2020). However, over time, experts have raised concerns about the erosion of this nonpartisan stance, especially considering the attitudes of service members on social media, the increasing participation of retirees in presidential elections, and the US Department of Defense beginning to take control away from its civilian leaders (McInnis, 2020).

Lessons from the US and Indonesia Comparative Study

Historically, Indonesia and the US have different rationales, with the US firmly rejecting military control in the civilian sphere, and Indonesia still utilizing military personnel in its government. As two countries that both gained independence from colonialism, this divergence of views is interesting as the US was quicker to understand the importance of civilian control to uphold democracy. Considering the early process of forming the Indonesian constitution according to the Minutes of the Meeting of the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Investigation Board (BPUPKI), democracy was still considered by some members as a Western notion attached to liberalism, such as Muhammad Yamin (State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 1995).

It could be argued that despite their different backgrounds, the US with its assertive civilian control since independence and Indonesia's crawling democracy, both countries are currently facing the same challenges. Both countries prohibit military involvement in civilian positions in principle, but there are some exceptions and legal loopholes that can be exploited.

Normatively, the US is fairly open about arrangements that allow members of its military to engage in political activities as individuals while not reflecting institutional involvement. This is due to the awareness of fulfilling the political rights of all citizens as a strong freedom in the US. However, given the concerns about the attitudes of military members on social media described earlier, it is certainly a difficulty in terms of internal control so that all members can remain impartial.

Indonesia is different, as it does not give soldiers access to political activities and civilian positions, except for designated civilian positions. However, the civilian positions that can be occupied by the military are relatively high because they are at the central level, not regional. Thus, the influence exerted in their positions will also be fairly large.

Regarding civilian positions, the US also prohibits its active members from filling civilian positions, but there are still exceptions. The US exceptions are less stringent than Indonesia's where only a request and approval from the relevant minister is required and does not interfere with military duties.

Recommendations

Referring to this comparative study, here are some recommendations to strengthen democracy against military intervention:

a. Within TNI institutions, an understanding of civilian control and the prioritization of democracy and human rights in operations must be instilled through internal TNI education;

b. The government, in this case the President, must prioritize civilian control in running the government and not misuse TNI personnel in running the government outside the provisions in the 1945 Constitution and related laws and regulations;

c. The need for all elements of the state to consider and establish accountability mechanisms for active TNI soldiers who occupy civilian positions and related laws and regulations, as well as the President or Vice President or related executive apparatus who abuse the placement of active TNI soldiers in civilian positions outside the provisions of the 1945 Constitution, and

d. The DPR and the Government must prioritize civilian control, democracy, and human rights in following up the revision of the TNI Bill to avoid military intervention in the government.

The DPR and the Government must prioritize civilian control, democracy, and human rights in following up on the revision of the TNI Bill to prevent and follow up on military intervention in government.

-Christina Clarissa Intania-

Women, Peace and Security: The Implementations in the Realm of Interfaith Harmony

Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 18/2014 concerning the Protection and Empowerment of Women and Children in Social Conflict is a real form of the seriousness of the Indonesian government in adopting UNSC Resolution Number 1325/2000 concerning Women, Peace, and Protection. This is interesting because the word "protection", which is interpreted from the word security in English, is always closely associated with masculine activities. Protection is also often connoted as an activity to protect the weak, in this case the weak group is associated with women and children, while the protective group is associated with men.

Referring to the official website of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia (KemenPPPA) (11/21/2024), women are not only objects of protection, but also play an active role in protection and security efforts. The involvement of women in various sectors, including security institutions and public services related to security, has been proven to strengthen regional stability, economic growth, and social synergy. With the participation of women, policies produced in the security and civil protection sectors can be more inclusive, consider gender aspects, and be more effective in resolving social conflicts.

However, security is often defined as an activity related to masculine activities, related to the armed forces such as the TNI and Polri. However, the number of women involved in the TNI and Polri also does not seem significant. Referring to official data from the Indonesian National Army website (tni.mil.id/, 10/3/2025), the number of female armed forces is only around 15% of the total members. Meanwhile, according to data from Women in Law Enforcement ASEAN (2020) quoted by Kompas.com (1/9/2022), the number of female police officers (polwan) is only around 6% of the total police members. This shows how the disparity in the number of members of the armed forces based on gender is still very high. In fact, Fajriyanti (2023) in her research analyzed the development of women's participation in the United States military after the Women, Peace, and Security agenda was adopted.

Through the explanations above, women in the context of peace and security should be seen more broadly. Although the involvement of more women in the armed forces is important, involving women to maintain peace and security in the civilian sphere is equally important. This also includes maintaining religious harmony. In the context of Indonesia, religious harmony is very crucial considering that the diversity of religions and beliefs in the society is often a source of social tension. Throughout its history, Indonesia has had a history of significant inter-religious conflict, such as in Maluku in the late 1990s to early 2000s (Kompas.com, 1/23/2024) and in 2010, the riots in Tarakan, East Kalimantan (BBC.com, 11/24/2021).

In addition, religious conflicts in Indonesia also often involve the establishment of houses of worship. According to research notes by The Indonesian Institute (2023), Joint Ministerial Regulation Number 9 and 8/2006 (PBM 2006) which stipulates requirements for the establishment of houses of worship that are considered burdensome, such as having to obtain 90 signatures from prospective users and 60 signatures from local residents of different religions, is one of the systemic reasons why this can happen. This is then exacerbated by; for example, the Imparsial report (2024, which showed that throughout the year there were 23 cases of violations of freedom of religion and belief in Indonesia. In addition, the Setara Institute (2023) also noted that there were 65 disturbances to places of worship throughout the year.

Still in the research notes of The Indonesian Institute (2023), one of the causes of religious conflict, especially conflicts related to the construction of houses of worship, is the lack of capacity of the Interfaith Harmony Forum (FKUB) in managing conflicts and ensuring protection for affected groups.

FKUB, which should act as a mediator and facilitator in resolving differences related to freedom of worship, often faces limitations in resources, authority, and partisanship. In many cases, FKUB tends to accommodate the interests of the majority rather than providing protection for minority groups who experience obstacles in establishing houses of worship. This is seen in a number of cases where FKUB decisions actually complicate the process of obtaining permits for the construction of houses of worship, rather than being a solution to the tensions that occur in society.

Women's involvement is also still limited in FKUB. FKUB as the main forum for building interfaith dialogue at the regional level is often dominated by male religious figures. Meanwhile, women have not

been widely involved in decision-making or policy formulation related to interfaith harmony. In fact, women's involvement in FKUB can enrich perspectives and ensure that the resulting policies are more inclusive and reflect the needs of all community groups. A study by UN Women (2021) shows that women involved in community-based peace efforts tend to be more successful in creating long-term solutions than repressive or military-based approaches.

Overall, women's involvement in maintaining religious peace in Indonesia is part of a broader strategy in building a harmonious and inclusive society. Therefore, policies that support women's participation in the peace and security process need to be continuously strengthened, both through increasing access to education, affirmative policies in the security sector, and through support for community-based peace initiatives.

Recommendations:

a. FKUB, with the support of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kemenag) and local governments, must increase capacity and ensure women's representation in decision-making structures. FKUB needs to adopt a more inclusive approach to resolving house of worship conflicts, including strengthening women's roles in mediation and interfaith dialogue. Local governments need to facilitate training for FKUB members to improve their conflict resolution skills and support for more inclusive religious freedom.

b. The TNI and Polri, through their recruitment programs and internal policies, need to increase the number and representation of women in security institutions. With the number of female personnel still far below that of men, the TNI and Polri need to implement affirmative policies to increase the number of women in their ranks. This can be done by adjusting selection standards to be more inclusive, as well as creating a more conducive work environment for women to be empowered and develop in the security sector.

c. Local governments, in collaboration with civil society organizations and academics, need to develop community-based peace education and advocacy programs that actively involve women. These programs can take the form of workshops, trainings, or discussion forums at the local level

aimed at raising community awareness of the importance of women's roles in maintaining peace. This community-based approach would help build more inclusive dialogue and reduce the potential for religious-based conflict in the community.

-Felia Primaresti-

Protection and security are still often understood in a masculine framework, while the role of women in peace is often ignored. Although Presidential Regulation 18/2014 emphasizes the importance of women's empowerment in social conflict, its implementations still face challenges. Women's involvement is important to create a more inclusive and sustainable security policy.

Examining the Quality of Indonesian Education towards a Golden Indonesia 2045

The Indonesian government has implemented massive budget cuts through Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 1/2025 to support Prabowo-Gibran's priority programs. However, this policy has sparked criticism as the education sector has also been affected, with a budget reduction of Rp8.03 trillion in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education and Rp14.3 trillion in the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology. Despite that, adequate budget allocation is crucial for improving the quality of education.

The Indonesian education sector has faced several impacts due to efficiency policies. Starting from hampered lecturer salary remuneration, reduced research and community service budgets, hampered teacher certification and teacher welfare programs, to hampered efforts to equalize school facilities. Referring to these issues, this article shall present an overview of the quality of Indonesian education and explore alternative approaches that the government can implement to achieve the vision of Golden Indonesia 2045, despite efficiency measures in the education sector.

Challenges of Improving Education Quality Amidst Budget Efficiency

One of the key aspects that Indonesia needs to develop, according to UNESCO, to create competitive human resources is ensuring competency standards for teaching staff through certification. Based on the 2023 SDGs Indonesia Annual Report, only 31.67% of teachers have been certified as educators (Bappenas, 2023). However, the quality of educators still needs to be improved. In the future, all Indonesian students should have the opportunity to be taught by teachers who have met professional competency standards. Ensuring the equitable distribution of certified teaching staff is a critical follow-up action that the government must prioritize to achieve inclusive and equitable education.

Moreover, the orientation of education development in Indonesia must also adopt a paradigm that prepares students with skills relevant to labor market demands. According to the OECD's Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) report, Indonesian graduates have the lowest skill levels compared to other countries (OECD, 2024). This skills gap among Indonesian graduates contributed to a youth unemployment rate of 13% in 2023, which remained higher than other ASEAN countries such as Malaysia (10%), the Philippines (7%), and Thailand (5%) (OECD, 2023).

This trend continued in 2024, where, according to the 2024 National Labor Force Survey, the unemployment rate across primary, secondary, and higher education levels reached 15.99% (BPS, 2024). According to the 2022 PISA report, Indonesia's digital literacy skills lag behind those of other countries, making technological skill development an ongoing challenge for the nation.

Reducing income inequality plays a crucial role in ensuring equal access to education. Educational disparities among economic groups may widen further if low-income groups do not receive adequate social protection. In Indonesia, many children drop out of school due to economic factors. As a result, the gross enrollment rate for higher education remained below 40% in 2023, significantly lower than the enrollment rate for primary and secondary education (86%-105%). However, access to higher education is essential for reducing economic inequality and empowering individuals to escape poverty (Elmira & Suryadarma, 2018).

Benefits of Education Investment for Indonesia

World Bank research (2019) showed that education budget allocation was positively correlated with Learning Adjusted Years of Schooling (LAYS), so that countries with higher education budgets tended to have better quality education. The government needs to use these findings as a reference in evaluating post-efficiency education budgets to avoid stagnation or a decline in quality. The PISA 2022 report noted that Indonesia's education budget was still below US$ 19,700 per year, lower than other OECD countries, which had an impact on the low ability of Indonesian students in mathematics, science, and literacy, with scores still below the OECD average (OECD, 2023). These global findings should be the basis for the government to reconsider the design of education budget efficiency so that it does not lead to setbacks.

Ahead of Golden Indonesia 2045, education policy reform is a crucial thing that Indonesia can prepare before it is too late. Even though Indonesia has launched a 12-year compulsory education policy, in fact, according to World Bank research (2020), this policy is ineffective compared to the implementation of pedagogy-based education. Pedagogy-based education is a learning system that encourages quality, productivity, and student understanding through curriculum development that suits student needs and innovative learning.

From the results of this research, it can be concluded that the quality of learning obtained by students is much more effective in improving the quality of education than the length of time students study. In the future, Indonesia can emulate the system implemented by Vietnam, where the Vietnamese government accommodates input from school teachers regarding practical curriculum that has been designed to be relevant to student needs. Vietnam also does not only focus on number-based assessments, but also includes formative assessment reports on student abilities and identification of learning designs that are more suitable for the individual concerned.

Apart from accommodating the aspirations of teachers in schools, Indonesia can develop a dashboard educational index in real time to serve as a reference for policy development. According to research (McAleavy et.al, 2021), this data-based policy design can improve the quality of education more significantly because it can help identify improvements in learning quality based on student characteristics (based on province, student ability level, and indicator achievements). Data collection also needs to represent the needs of vulnerable communities, such as by analyzing school participation rates among girls in the region. Mapping the number of children who have dropped out of school must be followed up by the government to map the causal factors and identify follow-up strategies so that children who have dropped out of school can again access their right to continue their education.

Learning From The Success of Other Countries

To overcome the dynamics of Indonesia's education problems, the government can adapt Finland's success in improving the quality of education, adapted to the local context. Finland upholds efforts

to provide free and equal education for its citizens. This is done by improving school infrastructure so that it can support comfortable learning and stimulate student creativity (Karim, 2021). Regarding the input of the agenda for the revitalization of school and madrasah facilities and infrastructure into the National Strategic Project (PSN), Indonesia needs to adapt Finland's success so that this revitalization is truly beneficial for student development.

Another aspect that Finland maintains quality is the standardization of teacher competency. The competence of Finnish teachers is realized through strong pedagogical training. Indonesia can adapt this by accelerating teacher certification accompanied by real practice on how to carry out pedagogy-based teaching and stimulating student collaboration. Indonesia also needs to accelerate the equal distribution of certified teachers between rural and urban areas so that every Indonesian student gets an equal opportunity to be guided by professional teachers.

In terms of educational curriculum, Finland does not prioritize numbers and rankings as is still common in Indonesia. In contrast, Finland emphasizes the curriculum to encourage the creation of students' skills rather than simply memorizing material (McAleavy et.al, 2021). Therefore, Indonesia's ranking-based teaching approach needs to be reconstructed gradually by prioritizing project-based learning.

Recommendations

According to the description above, the following are recommendations for improving the quality of Indonesian education:

a. The Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology needs to enhance collaboration with the Ministry of Manpower to expand the number of graduates benefiting from workforce training programs with curricula tailored to labor market demands. These training programs should equip participants with digital literacy, problem-solving skills, job vacancy information, and hands-on experience, such as involvement in corporate projects and internships. Thus, graduates are expected to acquire relevant skills, build portfolios, and be prepared for the job recruitment process. Additionally, social protection policies providing financial assistance to students from low-income families should also accommodate workforce training benefits.

b. Optimizing the implementations of social protection policies in Indonesia requires a focus on target accuracy, distribution, and monitoring & evaluation. Various social protection programs contribute to bridging education and income disparities, including the Indonesia Smart Program (PIP), Family Hope Program (PKH), Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT), scholarships, and School Operational Assistance (BOS). Social protection and multi-stakeholder collaboration are crucial solutions to addressing high dropout rates among low-income communities.

c. The revitalization of schools and madrasas, as outlined in Indonesia's National Strategic Projects, should go beyond merely increasing the number of facilities. It should also ensure the provision of high-quality infrastructure that enhances learning systems and skill development. This includes physical or digital books, computers, school-industry collaboration hubs, and the integration of technology into education.

d. Developing evidence-based policies is essential to ensure that Indonesia's education system remains relevant to societal characteristics, current conditions, and future challenges. A thorough assessment is necessary to ensure that all individuals can reclaim their right to education, regardless of their background, with a priority on reintegrating school dropouts into the education system.

Education policies could influence the quality of life of the nation's generations. However, education gaps still exist in Indonesia, starting from the low ability of vulnerable communities to access education, the gap in professional abilities between primary and higher education graduates, to the lack of certification for teaching staff. After budget efficiency, the quality of Indonesian education needs to continue to be improved through the development of evidence-based policies to close the existing gaps. A golden Indonesia will be born from quality education!

-Made Natasya Restu Dewi Pratiwi-

Overseeing the Indonesian Government's Commitment in Realizing Climate Resilient Development

The Indonesian government's commitment to realizing climate resilient development is experiencing major challenges following the implementation of budget efficiency, which also impacts the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK). The amount of the KLHK budget cut in accordance with instructions from the Ministry of Finance is IDR 396.499 billion. Of the total budget, only 2.71% was allocated for climate change mitigation and disaster resilience. The government's focus on implementing an energy transition to encourage a reduction in carbon emissions is also potentially threatened due to post-efficiency reallocation (Nabella, 2025).

Amid controversy over the impact of budget efficiency on climate commitments, Indonesia has also ratified a revision of the Minerba Law which also weakens Indonesia's commitment to realizing responsible management of natural resources. According to Walhi (2025), the ratification of this regulation expands permits for religious organizations to manage mining. If those who are given authority are not equipped with mature capacity and an understanding of the principles of good governance, the management process would be vulnerable to giving rise to uncontrolled mining management practices and causing social and environmental impacts.

These various dynamics contradict Indonesia's commitment to climate mitigation and adaptation as stated in (Enhanced Nationally Determined Contributions/ENDCs) under the 2015 Paris Agreement, which clearly states Indonesia's emissions target for 2030 (World Bank, 2023). In addition, according to a study by Bappenas RI (2022), Indonesia has the potential to experience economic losses of up to IDR 544 trillion during 2020–2024 due to the impact of climate change if there is no serious policy intervention.

Due to climate change, Indonesia is also experiencing increased vulnerability to disasters, potentially harming more components of society. One concrete example can be found through research "People Displacement" by the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas in 2023 which found that there are 311

districts/cities, 1,643 sub-districts, and 6,367 villages/sub-districts in Indonesia's coastal areas that are vulnerable to the impacts of climate change.

Departing from the problems above, this article shall aim to analyze the Indonesian government's commitment to realizing climate resilient development as stated in the National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN 2025-2029) and map out follow-up strategies that need to be considered by Indonesia in increasing resilience to climate impacts and disasters.

Through the RPJMN 2025-2029, Indonesia has established a climate resilient development agenda into five development mainstreams. What the government means by climate resilient development is implementing a combination of adaptation efforts, disaster risk management, and increasing development resilience to negative impacts due to climate hazards in social, economic, and ecological aspects.

Commitments that Need to be Maintained

According to an analysis of the impact of the Prabowo government's policies through the media, Indonesian society has experienced negative consequences from the National Strategic Project (PSN). National Strategic Projects (PSN) carried out by the government, especially those carried out on peatlands, have triggered environmental damage, increasing the risk of ecological disasters such as floods and heat waves, crop failure, thereby depriving the affected communities of their source of income (konde.co, 21/02/25). Therefore, PSN, which is run by the government for the good of the society, should be carried out with full commitment, without harming the society, and paying attention to the four priority sectors mentioned in the RPJMN 2025-2029.

First, the government's commitment to increasing coastal and marine climate resilience could be prepared by carrying out sustainable hydrometeorological disaster risk mapping. This is done to prevent more people from being evicted and losing economically. According to a study by Bappenas and the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) in 2023, it was recorded that as many as 30% of the total coastal villages in Indonesia showed the potential for population movement in the last 10 years due to abrasion and hydrometeorological disasters, such as tidal floods. This tidal flood incident needs to be taken seriously considering that recently reclamation and sea fence cases in Indonesia have become

increasingly commonplace. This reclamation could increase sea levels, thereby worsening the risk of tidal flooding in coastal areas.

Not only coastal hydrometeorological disasters, Indonesia also needs to mitigate the risk of these disasters in other regions, considering the increasing potential for hydrometeorological disasters due to extreme weather changes influenced by global climate change. Most recently, West Java Province has experienced more than IDR 3 trillion losses due to floods in the Bekasi, Bogor and Depok areas (JawaPos.com, 12/03/2025).

Ironically, aside from weather factors, the flash floods in the Puncak, Bogor area were also caused by reduced water absorption due to uncontrolled development. If the government remains unclear about regulating development, enforcing Environmental Impact Analysis (AMDAL), and providing adequate water storage facilities for periods of heavy rainfall, the current losses would only be exacerbated in the future.

Second, the commitment to procure climate-adaptive water resources is an agenda that cannot be put aside. *El Niño* phenomenon, the rise of urbanization, reduced green areas for water absorption, contamination of water sources by pollutants, and sea water intrusion have threatened the availability of clean water and proper sanitation (The Global Goals, 2025). The availability of clean water is a primary need for every community to maintain personal hygiene, meet water intake needs, and prevent disease infections. The low level of commitment in this aspect could also affect the achievement of the SDGs, especially the sixth point, namely, clean water and adequate sanitation.

Third, it is important to study the development and implementations of climate-friendly agriculture in Indonesia more carefully so as not to harm local communities. Selection of plant varieties in the project *food estate* needs to be done by preserving local food, on a multicultural basis, to minimize the impact of pests, minimize the impact of environmental damage, and guarantee the protection of the rights of indigenous peoples. It is hoped that the implementations of agriculture that supports the environment could increase Indonesia's food security amidst climate change.

Fourth, aspects of preventing and controlling climate-sensitive diseases could be prepared by Indonesia through disease mapping and vector-based surveillance, recording the impact of climate change on increasing mental health incidents, and prioritizing

efforts to keep the air clean from pollution, which could cause Acute Respiratory Infections (ARI). This fourth aspect could be invested in by Indonesia through collaboration with the pentahelix and preparing integrated data collection, so that the results can be analyzed in depth. The implication of optimizing this fourth aspect is that Indonesia could protect society from the risk of disease so that it is in line with the government's social transformation agenda in its mission to fulfill health.

Finally, governance of supporting activities to achieve development targets could be carried out by empowering the community as agents of change. This effort could be done by increasing community capacity regarding climate change and disaster risk management so that they can be resilient in facing climate change. Strengthening the disaster detection system and measuring climate vulnerability carried out by the government still needs to be maintained even though the budget for maintaining disaster detection equipment is also affected by budget efficiency.

Climate resilient development is implemented to minimize the impact of climate change on the economic, social, and environmental sectors. Therefore, Indonesia needs to be proactive and highly committed to strengthening climate resilience policies. Cross-sectoral policy synergy needs to be maintained through regular monitoring of policy implementation progress. The community as program recipients also needs to know the policies that have been prepared by the government and be involved in the process of preparing them so that space for community participation can be created.

Recommendations

To achieve the goal of climate resilient development, here are several recommendations:

a. The design of climate resilient development policies needs to be adapted to the context of local communities. The government could realize this through partnerships with local communities and civil society in the process of modifying and monitoring policy impacts.

b. The potential for increasing hydrometeorological disasters could be overcome by developing adequate water storage or drainage systems. River watershed conservation, such as sustainably widening river flows, can be an option for the government at the national and regional levels.

c. Strengthening climate and disaster mitigation capacity could be introduced from school level through extracurricular activities, educational curricula, and simulations in collaboration with the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) and BNPB. At the village level, this program could be integrated with "Desa Siaga". These two actions are important to reduce economic losses due to society's lack of preparation in dealing with climate change and disasters.

d. Risk assessment and mapping of climate change and disaster risk indices real time and integration is an important asset for the government in formulating climate policies that have been released so that they are relevant to developments in Indonesia's situation.

e. Confirmation of policies regarding Environmental Impact Analysis (AMDAL) for each ongoing development project. The development licensing process is tightened through objective monitoring and assessment so as not to harm the environment.

f. Evidence-based research needs to be carried out in the process of assessing the impacts experienced by women due to climate change so that it could become material for developing climate resilient policies that uphold gender mainstreaming.

Climate change has significantly harmed the society, starting from social, economic, to environmental aspects. To overcome this problem, Indonesia must maintain its commitment to realizing a climate resilient development agenda. Action plans or climate mitigation policies need to be immediately actualized in order to increase the nation's resilience to climate change and disaster risks.

-Made Natasya Restu Dewi Pratiwi-

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