MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION THROUGH ONLINE CHANNELS IN LEGISLATION MAKING IN INDONESIA VIA DPR.GO.ID PAGE

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Abstract

Public participation in the legislative process is essential in any democratic nation. Transparency and openness are vital for state administrators to facilitate community involvement in shaping government policies. The regulatory framework for community participation is established in Law No. 13 of 2022 as a direct consequence of Constitutional Court Decision No. 91/PUU-XVIII/2020, using the term "meaningful participation." Meaningful participation takes two forms: offline and online. This discussion focuses solely on the online aspect, specifically on utilising the official website of the People's Representative Council (DPR), dpr.go.id. The assessment of the dpr.go.id page indicates the DPR's commitment to fostering meaningful online participation. This study employs normative juridical research methods, utilising a statutory and conceptual approach. The findings suggest that while meaningful participation has been normatively regulated in constitutional court decisions and laws, the technical implementation to actualise these norms is lacking in practice. In the future, the DPR needs to carry out uniform terminology used by the DPR, both in-laws and on the DPR go.id page, by following the terms used in the court decision so that meaningful online participation can be realised for the public to be able to participate more meaningfully.

Keywords: Meaningful participation, online channel, legislation making

Introduction

In a democratic country, public engagement is required to establish the rule of law.¹ The public's engagement in influencing the authorities' policies through various stages of legislation making is one of the primary precepts of democracy, as democracy claims that government is created by the people, for the people, and in their best interests.² Community engagement is a method of determining

¹ Odkhuu Khaltar, "Tax Evasion and Governance Quality: The Moderating Role of Adopting Open Government," *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 90, no. 1 (March 14, 2024): 276–94, https://doi.org/10.1177/00208523231197317.

² Edward J. Miller, "Lawmaking and Public Administration," in *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 7311, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66252-3_1122.

governmental policy regarding the country's future direction.³ In Indonesia, the state determines the form and technique of community participation.⁴

Democracy requires transparency and openness for state administrators,⁵ which thus has implications for community participation in influencing state policy.⁶ Community participation is normatively regulated in Law No. 13 of 2022,⁷ which is a consequence of the Constitutional Court Decision No. 91/PUU-XVIII/2020 using the term "meaningful participation".⁸ Indeed, neither the Constitutional Court's decision nor the law in question provides a meaning for what is meant by meaningful participation. Still, the court's decision offers prerequisites when there is meaningful participation, namely, first, the right to have one's opinion heard (right to be heard), second, the right to have one's opinion considered (right to be considered); and third, the right to receive an explanation or answer to the idea given (right to be explained).⁹

Unfortunately, Law No. 13 of 2022 does not regulate the prerequisite norms for meaningful participation as stated in the court decision above. However, the forms of activities to accommodate meaningful participation (the Law uses the term "public participation") are regulated as intended in paragraph (6), including: a. public hearings; b. work visit, c. seminars, workshops, discussions, and/or, d. other

³ Lu Feng et al., "Decision-Maker-Oriented VS. Collaboration: China's Public Participation in Environmental Decision-Making," *Sustainability* 12, no. 4 (February 12, 2020): 1334, https://doi.org/10.3390/su12041334.

⁴ Bayu Dwi Anggono and Fahmi Ramadhan Firdaus, "Handling of The Covid-19 Pandemic by The Government in View from The Legal Products Formed," *Trunojoyo Law Review* 5, no. 1 (March 20, 2023): 18–40, https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v5i1.19410.

⁵ Luigi Bobbio, "Designing Effective Public Participation," *Policy and Society* 38, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 41–57, https://doi.org/10.1080/14494035.2018.1511193.

⁶ Eugenia Brandao Da Silva and Lin Asyiqoh, "The Idea of Legal Pluralism in Dispute Resolution of Village Head Election in Madura," *Journal of Indonesian Constitutional Law* 1, no. 1 (2024): 61–83, https://doi.org/ejournal.pustakaparawali.com.

⁷ Rian Saputra, M Zaid, and Devi Triasari, "Executability of the Constitutional Court's Formal Testing Decision: Indonesia's Omnibus Law Review," *Journal of Law, Environmental and Justice* 1, no. 3 (November 29, 2023): 244–58, https://doi.org/10.62264/jlej.v1i3.18.

⁸ Sulistina Sulistina et al., "The Pathway of Adopting Omnibus Law in Indonesia's Legislation: Challenges and Opportunities in Legal Reform," *Jurnal Kajian Pembaruan Hukum* 2, no. 2 (August 31, 2022): 155, https://doi.org/10.19184/jkph.v2i2.31524.

⁹ Marojahan Panjaitan, "Applicability of Law Number 11 of 2020 Concerning Job Creation After The Constitutional Court Decision Number 91/PUU-XVIII/2020," *Pandecta Research Law Journal* 17, no. 2 (December 30, 2022): 216–28, https://doi.org/10.15294/pandecta.v17i2.36222.

public consultation activities. The results of these public consultation activities are then used as material for consideration in planning, drafting and discussing draft laws (paragraph 7).¹⁰

There are two forms of meaningful participation, namely offline and online. This article is limited to discussing forms of meaningful participation online, namely using the official website of the People's Representative Council (DPR), dpr.go.id, as the object of study. The dpr.go.id page will measure the extent to which the DPR is serious about realising meaningful participation online by using benchmarks for meaningful participation prerequisites as stated in the court decision.¹¹

Many researchers and writers have reviewed the study of meaningful participation. However, they use different terminology as Sherry R. Arnstein (1969)¹² combines several terms for this purpose, namely "citizen participation," "citizen control," and "maximum feasible involvement of the poor," with the main intention of citizen participation in influencing the policies of the authorities. Arnstein expressed the importance of citizen participation in a democratic country as he stated: "... Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy-a revered idea that virtually everyone vigorously applauds...".

Then Arnstein also pointed out that not all citizens can influence the authorities' policies, so he stated that citizen participation forms a pattern of broad level of citizen participation which he called "a ladder of citizen participation". There are eight steps, namely: 1) Manipulation, 2) Therapy, 3) Informing, 4) Consultation, 5) Placation, 6) Partnership, 7) Delegated Power, and 8) Citizen Control. He calls the first and second steps "nonparticipation." He calls the 3rd to fifth steps "degrees of tokenism. "The 6th to eighth steps, he calls "degrees of citizen power." In the

¹⁰ Ibnu Sina Chandranegara and Luthfi Marfungah, "Regulatory Capture on Emergency Due Process of Law-Making," *Cogent Social Sciences* 10, no. 1 (December 31, 2024), https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2356382.

¹¹ Angga Prastyo, "Limitation of Meaningful Participation Requirements in The Indonesian Law-Making Process," *Jurnal Hukum Dan Peradilan* 11, no. 3 (December 1, 2022): 405, https://doi.org/10.25216/jhp.11.3.2022.405-436.

¹² Sherry R. Arnstein, "A Ladder Of Citizen Participation," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35, no. 4 (July 1969): 216–24, https://doi.org/10.1080/01944366908977225.

author's view, what Arnstein stated regarding citizen participation at least represents what is currently called meaningful participation, it is just that the development of human civilisation with its technological level means that participation can be realised in virtual form by utilising internet technology.

Luc J. Wintgens, as quoted by Susi Dwi Harijanti (2020) He also provides views on what public participation means through a paradigm that he calls the "trade-off version." Wintgens presents a new paradigm for seeing relationships. Legitimacy is granted by the public to law-making bodies, including those responsible for creating laws. The social contract hypothesis explains the relationship by granting legislators legitimacy to create laws aligning with the public will.¹³ According to Wintgens, social contract theory has traditionally been viewed as a proxy model in which lawmakers gain legitimacy from the people and then manage public life.¹⁴ Legislators may perceive a one-way relationship as legitimate, leading them to create legislation without attempting to legitimize it.¹⁵ According to Wintgens, the trade-off version of social contracts requires legislators to interact with the public and justify forming laws. This new paradigm aims to create and implement legislation with public participation.¹⁶

In his explanation of meaningful participation, Henny Andriyani (2023)¹⁷ stated the importance of provisions governing the use of participation to be effective and provide legal certainty. Regulations on meaningful participation, which are normatively contained in Law No. 13 of 2022, are considered to guarantee the realisation of community participation still needs to be determined. Henny

¹³ Susi Dwi Harijanti, "Pengujian Formil Undang-Undang Oleh Mahkamah Konstitusi: Urgensi Dan Batu Uji" (Jakarta, 2020), https://doi.org/www.mkri.id/public/content.

¹⁴ Eugenia Brandao Da Silva et al., "A Model of Election Supervision Based on Village Judicial Institutions; A Review of Legal Anthropology in Madura," *Trunojoyo Law Review* 6, no. 1 (February 28, 2024): 96–119, https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v6i1.23230.

¹⁵ Safi' et al., *Bhag-Rembhag Sabhala'an as a Method of Resolving Religious Conflicts in the Madura Legal Tradition, El-Mashlahah*, vol. 14, 2024, https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v14i1.7819.

¹⁶ Muwaffiq Jufri, *Hukum Dan Hak Asasi Manusia; Dasar Teori Dan Praktiknya* (Depok: Rajawali Pers, 2023), https://www.rajagrafindo.co.id/produk/hukum-dan-hak-asasi-manusia-dasar-teori-dan-praktiknya-muwaffiq-jufri/.

¹⁷ Henny Andriyani, "Partisipasi Bermakna Sebagai Wujud Asas Keterbukaan Dalam Pembentukan Undang-Undang," *UNNES Journal of Swara Justitia* 7, no. 1 (2023): 306–18, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31933/ujsj.v7il.

Andriyani offers the RIA (Regulatory Impact Assessment) method to realise meaningful participation effectively. With this explanation, the author agrees that as long as it is related to the regulations in Law No. 13 of 2022, which normatively has yet to provide the expected participation results required for meaningful participation. Regarding using the RIA method to realise meaningful participation, there is still a general explanation, namely, the RIA criteria and how to achieve them. In contrast to this article, apart from not using the RIA method, this article focuses on using online participation channels through the DPR's official website. Then, the results of research on community participation on this page will be concluded based on the prerequisites as intended in the court decision.¹⁸

Angga Prastyo (2022)¹⁹ In his article, he outlines the theoretical arguments behind the importance of meaningful participation as well as alternative efforts that can be made to make it happen. The first thing, namely theoretical arguments, is different from the focus of the discussion of this writing. However, the second thing, namely efforts to realise meaningful participation, has similarities with the focus of this writing. The difference is that Angga Prastyo describes alternative efforts of a general nature, mainly when he describes the media of participation, which can be online or offline. This writing focuses more on online media channels, which are more specific to the DPR's official website.

The study of community participation carried out using online methods was written by Bani Pamungkas and Maulana Yusuf (2023).²⁰ In the article, both stated that the discussion of the job creation law did not involve public participation, so the DPR should be able to maximise the use of information technology and virtual meetings during the Covid 19 restriction period. Law no. 13 of 2022, a response to the constitutional court's decision, has accommodated forms of public participation

¹⁸ Dian Agung Wicaksono, "Quo Vadis Pengaturan Regulatory Impact Analysis (RIA) Dalam Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan," *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia* 20, no. 2 (2023): 44–60, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.54629/jli.v20i2.1012.

¹⁹ Prastyo, "Limitation of Meaningful Participation Requirements in The Indonesian Law-Making Process."

²⁰ Bani Pamungkas, "Smart-Legislation for Meaningful Participation in Urban Policymaking: An Overview Post-Issuance of Act Number 13 of 2022"," *Journal of Interdiciplinary Law and Legal Issues* 1, no. 1 (2023): 25–42, https://doi.org/journal.ugm.ac.id/v3/JILI/issue/view/463.

using online methods for every stage of forming statutory regulations at both the central and regional levels. However, from all these descriptions, the article written by Bani Pamungkas and Maulana Yusuf limits online community participation to the form of statutory regulations at the regional level.

Then, to provide a brief overview of the emergence of the concept of meaningful participation, it would be good to quote the opinion of Fitriani Ahlan Sjarif in the legal question and answer forum on the Hukumonline.com page, stating that the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia gave the meaning of meaningful participation in its Decision No. 91/PUU-XVII/2020, with three meanings, namely:²¹ 1) the right of the community to have their opinions heard, 2) the community's right to have their opinions considered, and 3) the public's right to obtain an explanation or answer to the opinion given.²²

He added that the concept of meaningful participation was developed in the case of "doctors for life." in 2006 by the South African Constitutional Court.²³ In Indonesia, this concept emerged in reviewing the create-work law by the Constitutional Court in its decision, as mentioned previously. Although Fitriani Ahlan Sjarif explains the types of meaningful participation channels, which can be online and offline, she does not specifically and further define the online channels as will be written in this article, namely on the dpr.go.id page.

Citizen participation in a democratic country is essential (Arstein, 1969; Andriyani, 2023; Harijanti, 2020), including efforts to make it happen. Several authors have different views on this matter, such as Andriyani (2023), who views the RIA method as an effective method, and Arnstein (1969), who uses the "ladder of participation" criteria that he created himself to ensure that participation occurs. Harijanti (2020), citing Wintgens' view, offers a "trade-off version" paradigm

²¹ Fitriani Ahlan Syarif, "Arti Meaningful Participation Dalam Penyusunan Peraturan," *Hukum Online*, July 13, 2022, https://doi.org/https://www.hukumonline.com/klinik.

²² Ainun Najib et al., "Regulation on Freedom of Expression on Social Media in Indonesia and Malaysia," *Journal of Indonesian Constitutional Law* 1, no. 1 (2024): 46–60, https://doi.org/https://ejournal.pustakaparawali.com/index.php/jicl/article.

²³ Hanne Jensen Haricharan, Maria Stuttaford, and Leslie London, "Effective and Meaningful Participation or Limited Participation? A Study of South African Health Committee Legislation," *Primary Health Care Research & Development* 22 (June 10, 2021): e28, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1463423621000323.

emphasizing that legislators must interact with community members before forming laws. The use of technology in bridging community participation was revealed by Prastyo (2022) and Pamungkas and Yusuf (2023). However, Prastyo only generally revealed both online and offline, compared to Pamungkas and Yusuf, who emphasized participation in online interaction in the form of virtual meetings. This writing is here to make it more specific regarding the use of online media, namely, the official channel owned by the DPR on its website, dpr.go.id. The use of online channels via the dpr.go.id page is applied by entering written comments on a draft law that has been registered on that page. In contrast to Pamungkas and Yusuf, online channels on the dpr.go.id page do not use virtual meetings. This writing also aims to measure the extent to which the DPR is serious about realizing meaningful participation online in dpr.go.id.

As previously mentioned, this article focuses on the online meaningful participation channel found on the DPR's official website (dpr.go.id), so that legal issues arise: 1) There is a gap between the normative provisions in the Law and the Court Decision and the practice of online meaningful participation channels on the DPR's official website (dpr.go.id); 2) The implications of the gap between normative provisions and practice on meaningful participation online channels on the DPR's official website (dpr.go.id); 2).

Methods

This article uses a normative juridical method, a statutory approach, a case approach, and a conceptual approach.²⁴ The statutory approach is Law Number 13 of 2022. The case approach is Constitutional Court Decision No. 91/PUU-XVII/2020, and a conceptual approach, namely the concept of "meaningful participation" in several literatures. The legal materials used include primary legal materials in the form of statutory regulations and constitutional court decisions; secondary legal materials are various literature to clarify the term "meaningful participation". The

²⁴ Pradeep M.D., "Legal Research- Descriptive Analysis on Doctrinal Methodology," *International Journal of Management, Technology, and Social Sciences* 4, no. 2 (2019): 95–103, https://doi.org/10.47992/ijmts.2581.6012.0075.

author uses the collected legal materials to assess the consistency of the use of the terms "meaningful participation", "partisipasi masyarakat" and "partisipasi".

Discussion

There is a gap between the normative provisions, both in the Law and the Court Decision, and the practice of online meaningful participation channels on the DPR's official website (dpr.go.id)

Constitutional Court Decision No. 91/PUU-XVII/2020 regarding the review of the Job Creation Law uses the term "meaningful participation" to elaborate on forms of participation different from those carried out in the formation of the Job Creation Law, or, in this case, the current law.²⁵ Requested to be tested by the constitutional court, which contains the prerequisites for meaningful participation as considered by the court with the following editorial:²⁶

"Oleh karena itu, ..., partisipasi masyarakat perlu dilakukan secara bermakna (meaningful participation) sehingga tercipta/terwujud partisipasi dan keterlibatan publik secara sungguh-sungguh. Partisipasi masyarakat yang lebih bermakna tersebut setidaknya memenuhi tiga prasyarat, yaitu: pertama, hak untuk didengarkan pendapatnya (right to be heard); kedua, hak untuk dipertimbangkan pendapatnya (right to be considered); dan ketiga, hak untuk mendapatkan penjelasan atau jawaban atas pendapat yang diberikan (right to be explained)" ('Therefore, ..., public participation needs to be carried out in a meaningful manner so as to create/realise real public participation and involvement. More meaningful public participation fulfils at least three prerequisites, namely: firstly, the right to be heard; secondly, the right to be considered; and thirdly, the right to receive explanations or answers to the opinions given)"

The editorial consideration of the court decision above is translated as follows, "Therefore, ...community participation needs to be carried out meaningfully (meaningful participation) so that serious public participation and involvement are created/realized. This more meaningful community participation fulfils at least

²⁵ Habib Al Huda et al., "The Reformulation of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law: Constitutional Court's Decision Perspective," *Jurnal Kajian Pembaruan Hukum* 3, no. 2 (November 30, 2023): 251, https://doi.org/10.19184/jkph.v3i2.43422.

²⁶ Hirma Hirma and Syamsir Syamsir, "Kajian Yuridis Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 91/PUU-XVIII/2020 Tentang Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja," *Limbago: Journal of Constitutional Law* 3, no. 1 (February 28, 2023): 22–37, https://doi.org/10.22437/limbago.v3i1.20114.

three prerequisites, namely: first, the right to be heard; second, the right to have one's opinion considered (right to be considered); and third, the right to receive an explanation or answer to the opinion given (right to be explained)."²⁷ The requirements for meaningful participation, outlined in the court's legal considerations, are still a mystery. Whether the concept originates from the teachings of legal experts or practices that have grown and developed in other countries is still a mystery.²⁸

The author's search for the meaning of meaningful participation was found in an article written by Helmi Chandra Sy and Shelvin Putri Irawan (2022),²⁹ citing Marina Apgar and Jodie Thorpe's opinion that meaningful participation depends on people's willingness and ability to participate and express their opinions. It will be a challenge when people feel intimidated, lack the relevant knowledge or language to understand and contribute, or even feel they do not have the right to participate.³⁰

The author's next search regarding the meaning of meaningful participation can be from the article written by Jodie Thorpe, John Gaventa and Evert-jan Quak (2019).³¹ Jodie Thorpe et al. wrote about decision-making involvement in the business world. However, it still has relevance in searching for the meaning of meaningful participation. Although Jodie Thorpe et al. are still looking for the meaning of meaningful participation because there is a lack of literature that can provide a definite understanding of meaningful participation: "Despite this

²⁷ Sri Subekti, "The Importance of The Role of The Community in Amdal For The Goal of Environmentally Sound Sustainable Development," *Jurnal Indonesia Sosial Sains* 5, no. 04 (May 15, 2024): 960–68, https://doi.org/10.59141/jiss.v5i04.1098.

²⁸ Fithriatus Shalihah, "Industrial Relations with Specific Time Work Agreements after the Decision of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia Number 91/PUU-XVIII/2020 in The Perspective of Legal Justice," *Jurnal Hukum Novelty* 13, no. 1 (July 22, 2022): 65, https://doi.org/10.26555/novelty.v13i1.a22545.

²⁹ Helmi Chandra SY and Shelvin Putri Irawan, "Perluasan Makna Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Pembentukan Undang-Undang Pasca Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi," *Jurnal Konstitusi* 19, no. 4 (December 1, 2022): 766–93, https://doi.org/10.31078/jk1942.

³⁰ Fiqih Rizki Artioko, "Pengadopsian Partisipasi Masyarakat Yang Bermakna (Meaningful Participation) Dalam Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2022tentang Perubahan Kedua Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2011 Tentang Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan," *Al-Qisth Law Review* 6, no. 1 (October 6, 2022): 52, https://doi.org/10.24853/al-qisth.6.1.52-83.

³¹ Jodie Thorpe and John Gaventa, "Democratising Economic Power: The Potential for Meaningful Participation in Economic Governance and Decision-Making" (Brighton, 2020), https://doi.org/https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/articles/report/.

literature, we still lack very much evidence on what constitutes meaningful participation...". Nevertheless, they created categories that allow us to understand the meaning of meaningful participation, namely:³²

- a. Alternative business and financing models: These models enable workers, consumers, communities, or farmers, for example, to have a voice in how businesses are run.
- b. Citizen voice in government economic policy-making: In these examples, people are consulted, involved or collaborate in policy-making on issues such as debt, tax and interest rates, resource ownership, economic production or market governance investment decisions are made, and value chains or sectors are governed.
- c. Participatory economic alternatives: These cases involve structures of exchange and ownership rooted in collective autonomy and mutual benefit, including various forms of cooperatives and other alternative ownership models.

As Samuel Uwem Umoh quotes, public participation requires methods and approaches for informing the public and obtaining input, consensus, and agreement. This, in essence, influences the government's decision-making process to reflect the public's will. Thus, the entire participation process helps minimise conflict and improve public decision-making.³³ Law No. 13 of 2022 concerning the Second Amendment to Law No. 12 of 2011 accommodates normative provisions related to deeper community participation in the process of forming laws and regulations because, as stated in the Constitutional Court Decision regarding the review of the Job Creation Law, participation is still a mere formality, one of which is the lack of easy access to obtain the draft law, as stated in the editorial of the decision:³⁴

"Bahwa sementara jika kita melihat proses pembentukan UU Cipta kerja tidak memenuhi syarat partisipasi masyarakat, termasuk akses untuk mudah mendapatkan RUU Cipta Kerja tidak dipenuhi, terlebih dengan beredarnya 5 Naskah RUU Cipta Kerja dengan substansi yang berbeda. lembaran yang

³² Jodie Thorpe and John Gaventa, "Building Participatory and Inclusive Institutions: Bringing Meaningful Participation into Economic Decision-Making Implementing the Sustainable Development Goals: What Role for Social and Solidarity Economy?" (the United Kingdom, 2019), https://knowledgehub.unsse.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/149_Thorpe_Building-participatory-institutions_En_.pdf.

³³ Samuel Uwem Umoh, "Dilemmas of Public Participation in Policymaking in South Africa," *Studia z Polityki Publicznej* 9, no. 4(36) (December 4, 2022): 9–27, https://doi.org/10.33119/KSzPP/2022.4.1.

³⁴ Yohanes Suhardin and Henny Saida Flora, "Eksistensi Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Pasca Disahkannya Undang-Undang Penetapan Perpu Cipta Kerja," *Jurnal Usm Law Review* 6, no. 1 (2023): 320, https://doi.org/10.26623/julr.v6i1.6307.

sangat banyak yang semakin membingungkan masyarakat (orang perseorangan atau kelompok orang) untuk memberikan masukan". ('That while if we look at the process of forming the Job Creation Law, it does not fulfil the requirements of public participation, including access to easily obtain the Job Creation Bill, especially with the circulation of 5 Manuscripts of the Job Creation Bill with different substances. very many sheets which further confuse the public (individuals or groups of people) to provide input).

The editorial of the petitioner's argument of the court decision above is translated as follows, "Meanwhile, if we look at the process of forming the Job Creation Law, it does not meet the requirements for public participation, including easy access to the Job Creation Law,³⁵ Which is not fulfilled, especially with the circulation of 5 Job Creation Draft Laws with different substances. There are so many sheets that it becomes increasingly confusing for the public (individuals or groups) to provide input."³⁶

The DPR's official website (https://www.dpr.go.id) also accommodates forms of public participation in the law formation process. When you open the main page, you will not immediately be presented with a menu or participation display. The menu or display containing participation is located behind the submenus "Prolegnas 2020-2024" and "Prolegnas Prioritas."³⁷ It is a good idea to briefly overview what is on this page. When the main page appears, you will find menus consisting of: "menu with a picture of the DPR/MPR Building", "Berita" (News), "Agenda", "Legislasi" (Legislation), "JDIH" (JDIH, an acronym for Jaringan Informasi dan Dokumentasi

³⁵ Saru Arifin, "Illiberal Tendencies in Indonesian Legislation: The Case of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation," *The Theory and Practice of Legislation* 9, no. 3 (September 2, 2021): 386–403, https://doi.org/10.1080/20508840.2021.1942374.

³⁶ Nadila Wati and Fifiana Wisnaeni, "Questioning the Existence of an Urgent Situation in Issuing a Government Regulation in Lieu of the Law on Job Creation," *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* 06, no. 07 (July 29, 2023), https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v6-i7-73.

³⁷ Prolegnas is a guideline and controller for preparing central-level legislative rules binding on organizations authorized to create statutory regulations. The National Legislation Program (Prolegnas) is a planning tool for law formation in its early stages, including planning, drafting, discussing, ratifying, and inviting. This is governed by Law No. 13 of 2022 on the Formation of Legislative Regulations, which states that the formation of statutory regulations is the process of creating statutory regulations, beginning with planning, preparation, drafting techniques, formulation, discussion, ratification, invitation, and dissemination. Operationally, the national legislative program is frequently construed to refer to the material or substance of the plan for developing statutory rules. In this scenario, the national legislative program is a set of plans. This statement is quoted from https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/mengenal-program-legislasinasional-lt630c910480a47.

Hukum, translates to Legal Information and Documentation Network), "Daftar Agenda" (Agenda List), "Alat Kelengkapan" (Equipment), "Tentang DPR" (About the DPR). Each menu consists of a sub-menus. For example, the "Legislation" menu consists of the sub menus "Prolegnas 2020-2024" and "Prolegnas Prioritas" (Priority Prolegnas). "Prolegnas 2020-2024" and "Prolegnas Prioritas" have the same sub-menus but differ in the list of draft laws. Among the same sub-menus, one is the "Feedback" sub-menu in the form of community participation with the tagline "Sampaikan Partisipasi Anda" (Convey Your Participation).³⁸

When accessing the tagline "Sampaikan Partisipasi Anda," a visitor comments page will appear as shown below:





Source: The author's search results on the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia website, https://www.dpr.go.id/.

Visitors can leave comments after filling in their name and email, ticking "captcha—I'm not a robot," and clicking "submit." The author has searched the official DPR website. The "Feedback" sub-menu is the only channel available to provide comments on draft laws included in the "Legislasi" menu list, both in the sub-sub menu "Prolegnas 2020-2024" and the sub-sub menu "Prolegnas Prioritas."

Regarding easy access to academic manuscripts and draft laws as ordered by Article 96 paragraph (4) of Law no. 13 of 2022, it was found that draft laws and academic manuscripts did not accompany all registered draft laws (RUU). It is easy

³⁸ Bagus Hermanto, Asrul Ibrahim Nur, and Made Subawa, "Indonesia Parliamentary Reform and Legislation Quality Backsliding Phenomenon: Case of Indonesia Post Reformasi," *The Theory and Practice of Legislation* 12, no. 1 (January 2, 2024): 73–99, https://doi.org/10.1080/20508840.2024.2316507.

to conclude this because of what is presented in the "JDIH-Legal Monograph-Legal Draft" menu; the bills presented are bills from 2022 and below. In the "JDIH-Legal Monograph-Academic Manuscript" menu, the text academics starting in 2022 and below are presented.³⁹

The interesting thing regarding academic manuscripts and bills is their placement on the page. Both are placed in the "JDIH" (Legal Information and Documentation Network) menu, the "Monografi Hukum" sub menu.⁴⁰ Both academic manuscripts and bill texts presented in the sub menu do not correlate with the list of bills presented in the "Legislasi" menu, neither the "Prolegnas 2020-2024" sub menu nor the "Prolegnas Prioritas" sub menu. According to the author, what is meant by correlation is the conformity between the list of bills presented in the "Legislasi" menu and "JDIH" or in other words the list of bills presented in the "Legislasi" menu does not necessarily mean that the draft bill and the academic manuscript are found in the "JDIH" menu. At least the page views of the two menus mentioned above illustrate the absence of correlation in the author's opinion.

Figure 2: Display of the submenu "Prolegnas 2020-2024"

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Source: The author's search results on the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia website, https://www.dpr.go.id/.

³⁹ Inna Junaenah, Abd Shukor Mohd Yunus, and Normawati Hashim, "Adequacy of Public Information for Meaningful E-Participation in Policy-Making," *Journal of Southeast Asian Human Rights* 6, no. 2 (December 31, 2022): 153, https://doi.org/10.19184/jseahr.v6i2.32420.

⁴⁰ Aryo Wasisto and Indra Pahlevi, "Institutional Disaffection: The Role of Political Sophistication in Evaluating Parliament in Indonesia," in *Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Social and Political Sciences (ICOSAPS 2020)* (Paris, France: Atlantis Press, 2020), 325, https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.201219.042.

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Figure 3: Display of the submenu "Prolegnas Prioritas"

Source: The author's search results on the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia website, https://www.dpr.go.id/.

Figure 4: Display of the submenu "Monografi Hukum-Rancangan Undang-undang"



Source: The author's search results on the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia website, https://www.dpr.go.id/.

Figure 5: Display of the submenu "Monografi Hukum-Naskah Akademik"

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Source: The author's search results on the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia website, https://www.dpr.go.id/.

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Implications of the gap between normative provisions and practice on meaningful participation online channels on the DPR's official website (dpr.go.id)

Based on the previous description, at least three terms are used in two normative rules and one practice on the DPR's official website, namely "meaningful participation" in the Constitutional Court Decision. Law no. 13 of 2022 uses the term "community participation," and the practice of community participation in the law formation process on the DPR's official website uses the term "partisipasi" (sampaikan partisipasi anda; convey your involvement).⁴¹ The three terms used before have inconsistencies in referring to the same meaning, namely meaningful community participation or participation that is not just a mere formality, which, in the author's view, is a gap in the use of the terms. ⁴²

However, regardless of the reasons behind the differences in terms used, the terms that should be used are normative, namely in statutory regulations and court decisions. Due to the statutory regulations formed to regulate normative provisions in court decisions, Law no. 13 of 2022 uses the term used in the court decision, namely "meaningful participation".⁴³ Then, it does not stop there; the equalisation of terms is accompanied by the substance or material of meaningful participation, outlined in the court's legal considerations, namely the three prerequisites. Thus, Law No. 13 of 2022 should contain implementation norms to realise the three prerequisites for meaningful participation in reality.⁴⁴

Next is the term used on the DPR's official website: "partisipasi" (convey your participation). In the author's view, using such terms has no legal basis because they

⁴¹ Rahendro Jati, "Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Proses Pembentukan Undang-Undang Yang Responsif," *Jurnal Rechts Vinding: Media Pembinaan Hukum Nasional* 1, no. 3 (December 31, 2012): 329, https://doi.org/10.33331/rechtsvinding.v1i3.88.

⁴² Jacqueline VEL, Yando ZAKARIA, and Adriaan BEDNER, "Law-Making as a Strategy for Change: Indonesia's New Village Law," *Asian Journal of Law and Society* 4, no. 2 (November 20, 2017): 447– 71, https://doi.org/10.1017/als.2017.21.

 ⁴³ Dyah Makutaning Dewi and Dewi Widyawati, "The Role of the Internet in Improving Democratic Development in Western Indonesia," *Jurnal Politica Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri Dan Hubungan Internasional* 12, no. 1 (May 31, 2021): 43–66, https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v12i1.2029.
 ⁴⁴ Nor Fadillah, "Penerapan Asas Keterbukaan Dalam Pembentukan Undang-Undang Tentang Cipta Kerja Dan Undang-Undang Tentang Ibu Kota Negara," *Jurnal Lex Renaissance* 7, no. 2 (April 1, 2022):

are not based on existing normative rules, especially court decisions. However, if using such a term is intended to make it easier for the public (lay) to understand when compared with the term "meaningful participation,"⁴⁵ it is certainly not a problem. However, it is necessary to change perspectives and methods so that participation meets the three prerequisites for "meaningful participation".⁴⁶

Judging from the perspective used on the DPR's official website, participation is carried out only as a complement; some people fill in the feedback/participation column, answer it, or even leave it unanswered, and then it's finished. Until this article was written, the feedback/participation column presented on this page was only written two years ago. Many bills have appeared on the "Legislasi" menu, which is currently in process until April 2024. Then, regarding the method, the feedback/participation column does not refer to which bill because feedback/participation between bills is made in a series of question-and-answer processes. It is also unclear at what stage the public comments on a bill. Even though meaningful participation requires participation in every stage of law formation. Then, concerning those who answered comments as a form of participation, they only wrote "Badan Legislasi" (Legislation Body) without mentioning the name of the DPR member/member number/faction or which electoral district.⁴⁷

Considering the various uses of terms that refer to the substance of meaningful participation, it is appropriate that Law No. 13 of 2022 uses the same term as the term used in the Constitutional Court Decision, namely "meaningful participation." The same applies to using terms on the DPR's official website. Equating terms here should not be understood as simply using the same terms but

⁴⁵ Cheryl McEwan, "Bringing Government to the People': Women, Local Governance and Community Participation in South Africa," *Geoforum* 34, no. 4 (November 2003): 469–81, https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(03)00050-2.

⁴⁶ Delfina Gusman and Yunita Syofyan, "Public Participation In Legislation (Legal Comparation Studies In Indonesia, South Africa, And United State)," *Nagari Law Review* 6, no. 2 (May 22, 2023): 133, https://doi.org/10.25077/nalrev.v.6.i.2.p.133-145.2023.

⁴⁷ M Nurul Fajri, "Legitimacy Of Public Participation In The Establishment Of Law In Indonesia," *Jurnal Konstitusi* 20, no. 1 (March 25, 2023): 123–43, https://doi.org/10.31078/jk2017.

also as accompanied by efforts to realize the three prerequisites for meaningful participation in reality. ⁴⁸

Further research needs to be carried out to realize meaningful participation at a normative level, namely the revision of Law No. 13 of 2022 and improvements to the perspective and methods of community participation on the DPR's official website. Revision of Law no. 13 of 2022, especially the concretization of providing online public input as intended in the amendment to Article 96 paragraph (2), also needs to be carried out. The regulations on public participation in this article regulate offline participation, described in the form of public consultation activities as regulated in paragraph (6).

Conclusion

The use of terminology plays an important role in determining the criteria for actions and the consequences to be derived from those actions. The use of the term "meaningful participation" has different action criteria from the use of the term "community participation" or the use of the term "participation." Apart from having different action criteria, using different terminology also has different consequences for different action criteria. Then, there needs to be a similarity in terminology between the terms in the constitutional court's decision, the terms used in the law, and the DPR's official website so that the criteria for actions and their consequences are consistent and collectable. At least this article contributes so that the DPR, both legislators and the owner of the dpr.go.id page, can revise terminology according to the constitutional court's decision.

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⁴⁸ Alda Rifada Rizqi, "Meaningful Participation in Local Regulation Making in Indonesia: A Study of Legislative Law," *Rechtsidee* 10, no. 2 (December 28, 2022), https://doi.org/10.21070/jihr.v11i0.801.

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