



Review Article

Constitutionality Degree of Indonesia Local Regulation in Political Law Perspective

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ABSTRACT

The Politics of Law holds responsibility to give the surety of all regulations, including Local Regulation, for capable of reflecting the collective will of the public as the owner of the highest sovereignty. Politics of law is always working to bring together the *ius constituendum* and *ius constitutum* at the encounter between realism and idealism. Local Regulation as subsystems of national law, is expected to serve as a guiding instrument and guard direction for development and continuous improvement of Local Government. Therefore the existence of local regulations holds a strategic role for legal certainty, which is a necessary to create a conducive business climate and stability of the country.

Keywords: constitution; decentralization; politics; law; local government.

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ABSTRAK

Politik hukum memegang tanggung jawab untuk memberikan kepastian bagi semua peraturan, termasuk peraturan daerah, untuk mampu mencerminkan kehendak kolektif masyarakat sebagai pemilik kekuasaan tertinggi. Politik hukum selalu bekerja untuk menyatukan ius constituendum dan ius constitutum pada pertemuan antara realisme dan idealisme. Peraturan Daerah sebagai subsystem hukum nasional, diharapkan dapat melayani sebagai alat pembimbing dan penjaga arah pengembangan dan perbaikan terus menerus dari pemerintah daerah. Oleh karena itu keberadaan peraturan daerah memegang peran strategis untuk kepastian hukum, yang diperlukan untuk menciptakan iklim usaha yang kondusif dan stabilitas negara.

Kata kunci: konstitusi; desentralisasi; politik; hukum; pemerintahan daerah.

1. Introduction

The conceptual debate between organ-forming law in a plenary session always runs. It not only occurs at the level of Central Government, but also occurs at the level of local governance. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the substance of the charge material from most of the laws that they form, it was not able to answer the demands of the people. The condition shows the essence of the law as the personification of the collective will of the people has not yet been achieved.

Legislature should be more creative in fulfilling the wishes of the people as well as the constructive attitude towards government policy that assessed people's unfavorable.

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Harmonious process of checks and balances between the legislative and Executive intensively allows the occurrence of hijacking the rights of sovereignty of the people by the organizers of the State can be avoided.

According to John Locke, the importance of the position of the Parliament in the exercise of the legislative function, causing the resulting legal products of the Parliament cannot be contested. In addition, the judiciary is only in charge of running what was listed in the law. This is known as the principle of "*the law cannot be contested*", or in the Kant¹ version, *la bouche de la lois* (the judge is the mouth of the law). The task of the judge is only applying the law created by a legislature, even judges must obey literally what legislation says (*Les jugs suivent la lettre de la lois*). In the Trias Politica, the people positioned as holder of State power. Through his legislative powers with Parliament, the people's interests can be represented well. Therefore, the separation in the Trias Politica, purely for the sake of the realization of political freedom of citizens.

Montesquieu² argues that a strict separation of powers between the three powers is a prerequisite of legal political methods simultaneously to achieve the intended purpose. i.e. the existence of guarantees of political freedom for citizens. To realize the ideal goal, then the presence of the legislature either in the centre or in an area that is truly representative is an inevitability which should not be ignored. How could they afford to run legislation, budgets, and control, without sufficient knowledge and experience of politics?

The presence of a strong legislature and consists of people who meet the ideal qualifications, are not only necessary for Governments at the central level, but also to the Government at the level of the region. The implementation of decentralization and regional autonomy by itself provides the organization of the autonomous Government Affairs arrangements autonomously as well. through the establishment of local regulations and other related regulations based on constitution and the law.

Indonesia State administration system in the constitution, it is unique and distinctive, as stated by Mahfud³ as a system which is built based on the conception of prismatic, i.e. "*concept that takes faceted-in terms both of the two conflicting concepts which later emerged as a concept of its own so that it can always be updated with the reality of Indonesia society and each of its development*". In the constitution as set forth in Article 1 Paragraph (1)

¹ Bernard L. Tanya, *Politik Hukum Agenda Kepentingan Bersama* (Yogyakarta: Genta Publishing, 2011). p. 59. [View Item](#).

² Ibid. p. 60.

³ Moh. Mahfud MD, *Perdebatan Hukum Tata Negara Pasca Amandemen Konstitusi* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2007). p. 6. [View Item](#).

confirms the "*Indonesia is a unitary State in the form of a Republic*". Theoretically, in a familiar State of unity, the Organization of the powers of control of the Government is entirely in the hands of the President as the personification of the Central Government. While the Government only positioned as operator of the entire policy outlined in the implementation by the Central Government.

State administration systems Indonesia is a combination of the best elements of the principle of the unity of the country and the best elements of the federal State system. On the one hand the state constitution confirms that Indonesia is a unitary State, but at the same time also give authority to local governments to regulate and organize the Affairs of the household of his reign autonomously. This is reflected in the 1945 Constitution of The Republic of Indonesia (UUD 45) Article 18 Paragraph (5) "*local governance run autonomy Government Affairs, except the existence of the prescribed by law as the Affairs of the Central Government*". The next paragraph (6) states "*the Government has the right to establish local regulations and other regulations to implement the autonomy and tugas pembantuan*".

Statement of UUD 45 Article 18 Paragraph (6) increasingly expresses the constitutionality degree of Local Regulation in the national law system. Authority to establish local regulations is not limited to the *delegatif* authority granted by legislation on it, but as a constitutional right of local governance that is given directly by the Constitution through settings that poured in one chapter in particular.

Juridical consequences as a State law is Government policies in any field should always based on law. In this context the existence of local regulations as legal instruments implementing autonomous region has a strategic role. Local regulations as the personification of the collective will of the community area, expected to be guiding the direction of regional development, for the creation of regional prosperity and welfare of the community itself.

Regional development plays an important role to create the target of national development in general. National development will fail if it is not supported by the regional development and advertising. Hence, decentralization is very helpful and supportive to development nationally⁴. The purpose of national development itself is in fact to bring about economic justice for the creation of even distribution of people's welfare. In addition, authorizes the region to set up and organize the Affairs of the household of his reign autonomously, will spur the creativity of local governments to find and exploit the potential of the resources at their disposal for the progress of development in the regions. If each

⁴Koirudin, *Sketsa Kebijakan Desentralisasi Di Indonesia, Format Masa Depan Otonomi Menuju Kemandirian Daerah* (Malang: Averroes Press, 2005). p. 23. [View Item](#).

region advancing development encouraged regions respectively, then the effort of realizing the creation of even distribution of people's welfare will actually become a reality.

2. Discussion

2.1 Essence of Local Regulation As a Product of The Politics of Law

Political law as defined by Mahfud MD⁵, is "*the legal policy or the direction of a law that will put in place by countries to achieve the goals of the State which forms can be the making of a new law and replacement of old law*". In the contrary, Bernard⁶ states, that equates political law granted with legal policy, is a pretty serious error. He thinks the law is a "*political question of the achievement of the common goal. There are destinations (ideal) delegated and attached on the laws to be realized*",⁷.

political law is basically the development policy of the national legal system. It emerged from the process of a thorough evaluation of the system and content of law that has been in force (*ius constitutum*) to find the format and content of the new legal system according to which aspired (*ius constituendum*). Political law always are ideal, and the departure of idealism. Political law not being passivity of "what exists", but actively looking for "what it should be"⁸. Thus not all the steps of the formation of a new law or replacement of old laws with new legislation can be categorized as an act of political law.

The area of the political orientation of the law are always trying to find the principle and legal norms which are more ideal for the sake of the country's goal, as set forth in the preamble to the UUD 45. Local regulations which was born through the political process in the Parliament, is also a political product of the law. It is the crystallization of the political thought struggle involved in it. As a product of the law, the possibility of the political interests inclusion in the formulation of regulatory regions of charge material is very difficult to avoid. To maintain legal neutrality and independence from the political party interests influence, then the Constitution provides power to the Supreme Court to perform judicial review material charges and regulations under the Law against the Law, as contained in Article 24A UUD 45.

In accordance with Law No. 12 Year 2011, Article 7 Paragraph (1), the existence of local regulations is one of the regulations that are hierarchically based under the Law (UU). Thus the authority to test, assess, and decide whether conflicting or not with legislation above

⁵ Moh. Mahfud MD, *Membangun Politik Hukum, Menegakkan Konstitusi* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2011). p. 5. [View Item](#).

⁶ Tanya, *Politik Hukum Agenda Kepentingan Bersama*. p. 6.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid. p. 3.

him, is into territory Supreme Court. Evaluation, revision, or even cancellation of the Local Regulation by the President or a Governor for any reason is unconstitutional, because it exceeds the limit of authority or power who has outlined in the UUD 45⁹.

Hierarchy of legislation is not simply meant as permissibility for arbitrarily revoking and repeal Local Regulation by the power structure on it, because it required a strong reason for revoking over local regulations that in fact in the process requires that the existence of the involvement of many parties, including the community and academics who represent the interests of the region¹⁰¹¹.

As the product of political law, the existence of local regulations not only serves as the translator of the work of legislation. She must come across as guards at once ardent local wisdom values that have been rooted in the life of the Community. In this context, it is necessary for the members of the legislative district using their creativity and intuitive intelligence in articulating the aspirations of the public. In other words, the ideal Area Regulations is that the substance of the matter is the existence of public participation space by placing the people as subjects of development and actively get involved in any planning process and implementation of the development in the regions.

Constitution Article 18 Paragraph (2) affirmed "*the Government of provinces, districts, regions and cities to organize and take care of his own Government Affairs according to the principle of autonomy and tugas pembantuan*". The next paragraph (5) confirms the "local governance run autonomous existence, except matters specified by law as the Affairs of the Central Government". Affirmation of the legal basis for the Government to be able to run the Government (including setting local regulations and other regulations) are more freely and free as well as compliance with the requirements, conditions, and characteristics of their respective regions, except for the Affairs of governance declared by law as the Affairs of the Central Government¹².

In the context of a unitary state, autonomous authority that belongs to the organizers of local governance, is in fact the *delegatif* authority from the president as the holder of the power of Government. Thus granting constitutional rights to the Government of the region to

⁹ Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Konstitusi Dan Konstitusionalisme Indonesia*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Kostitusi Press, 2006). pp. 288-289. [View Item](#).

¹⁰ Irsan, Meria Utama, and Iza Rumesten MS, *Pengaturan, Fungsi Pengawasan DPRD Terhadap Implementasi Peraturan Daerah* (Palembang, Penelitian Dosen Pemula: Universitas Sriwijaya, December 9, 2011). [View Item](#).

¹¹ Asshiddiqie, *Konstitusi Dan Konstitusionalisme Indonesia*.

¹² Sekretaris Jenderal MPR Republik Indonesia, *Panduan Pemasyarakatan Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945, Hal 81* (Sekretaris Jenderal MPR Republik Indonesia, 2006). p. 81. [View Item](#).

establish local regulations, should be aligned with the principle of the unitary State. One of the principle is the hierarchy, i.e. to put local regulations in accordance with the position of the law and other regulations which are above it. The position of this principle becomes important because local governance in running his administration prosecuted always in accordance with the law¹³.

In other contexts, the State law of Indonesia has placed Pancasila as the highest source of law that controls, animates, encompassing and underlying the existence and validity of the overall motion of the system of law and Government in Indonesia. In the context of regulatory product area or enforceability of legislation under other laws, cannot be cancelled only for reasons contrary to legislation, without any clarity related infringement of the values of Pancasila. Enforceability of legislation as an instrument of assessment of local regulations, requires substantially over the alignment of the value and principle of Pancasila. Moreover, this is the strategic role of political the law in the ideal national legal system construction.

Politics and law, although both have characteristics and different orientation area, yet mutually influence each other. The legal system will bear the primary responsibility to ensure the rights and obligations that arise. While the political system has a primary goal to satisfy the interests of the individual and the collective. On the other hand, legal acts regulating the traffic of political life for the community politics were either located on the superstructure as well as its political infrastructure¹⁴.

Legal products are always evolving in accordance with the development of the political configuration, because basically the law in the form of a law born from the political configuration in the House. Although varied, democratic political configurations are always followed by the emergence of a legal product that is responsive or autonomous, while the authoritarian political configurations are always followed by the emergence of the laws that conservative or Orthodox character products with the nature of force¹⁵. The law gives competence to the holders of political power in the form of offices held and legitimate authority to undertake political actions when needed, therefore Maurice Duverger stated "*Law is defined by power, he composed of the body of act and procedure that is made or acknowledged by the political power*". The law is also one of the many "*political tools*"

¹³ Ibid. p. 83.

¹⁴ Ahmad Muliadi, *Politik Hukum* (Padang: Akademia Permata, 2013). p. 15. View Item.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 14.

(political instruments) with a tool where the ruler of the society and the State can manifest his virtues¹⁶.

At the level of local governance, commonly has political interests accompanying the process of formation of local regulations. In contrast to the configuration at the Center Government, at the level of local governance initiative the establishment of more dominated by the law among executives. The planning and preparation of the draft of the *Raperda* (bill) conducted by Executive, legislative role as does more than just as a rubber stamp for any Executive without a willingness to criticize, whether the draft Regulations proposed by the Regional Executive is really the core of the charge material responsive to the demands of the people they represent or not. In addition, they even more busy securing the interests of the House of the people's rather than society welfare.

Political law as a legal policy, will be able to play its role productively to bear a valid legal instrument, legitimate, and responsive, while the entire process it works based on contemplative and constructive frame of mind. I.e. critically dissect the anatomy of the existing law while carefully evaluate legal formats that are currently in force, to discover the principles, norms, and new legal norms that are more ideal for harmonious desirable legal format.

2.2 Local Regulation Existence in The National Law System

To be able to give birth to a legal product with qualifications as outlined previously, required national legal system as a foothold of political frameworks and national law. As for Indonesia's national legal system may be meant as "*a legal system that applies across Indonesia that includes all the elements of the law (such as the content, structure, culture, facility, and all sub elemental) that between one another are mutually dependent and are sourced from the preamble and the articles of Constitution,*"¹⁷.

Strategic positioning local regulations both in his position as part of the hierarchy of national legislation as well as a legal instrument of organizing decentralized and autonomous region, at least can viewable from two things, namely: First, the Local Regulation has no longer requires preventive supervision like in the time of the new order, but rather only as repressive surveillance with specific time limits, thus no more local regulations are undone. However, in another perspective, the absence of preventive supervision increased the number of potential local regulation who get Central Government of repression, as evidenced 3,143

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 15.

¹⁷ MD, *Membangun Politik Hukum, Menegakkan Konstitusi*. p. 21.

problematic Local Regulations canceled by central government¹⁸. Second, there is content in Local Regulation are previously forbidden are allowed recently. Even Law No. 12 year 2011, open the space to set up criminal penalties in the local regulation¹⁹²⁰²¹.

The content of local regulations, for both levels of Provinces Government or City, set forth in Article 14 of the Law No.12 Year 2011. contains the assertion that the existence of Local Regulation not merely outlining the mandate of higher legislation, but also contains legal provisions as safety instrument to ensure the preservation of the rights of local wisdom values. From here, it is understood that local regulations as part of the national legal system, has a very respectable degrees of constitutionality, because it has equivalent powers to the Law (UU), though only in a certain boundaries with coverage limited in effect.

Local regulations as part of national legal systems, are also expected to display his true identity as a futuristic legal instrument, in terms of not only serves as an instrument of the present regulator but also able to be a solution for the various possibilities of the future.

As part of the legislation system, local regulations obey on one common principle i.e. must not be contrary to the higher legislation, unless a higher legislation regulating something outside his authority²².

As a legal product of the legislature, Local Regulation has a more legitimate constitutionality degrees compared to other *delegatif* regulation, arguing: First, the establishment of local regulations through a number of procedural stages are not much different from the applicable procedural stages in the process of formation of the Law (UU).. Second, the process of discussion and endorsement of the regulation Area is carried out jointly by the institutions of the legislature and the Executive, while government regulations established subjectively/unilateral by executive agencies without involving the legislative institutions. Third, the material charge government regulation contains the elaboration of operational technical mandate of law and serve only as an instrument of the law to enforce the law properly²³. While the material charge of local regulations, in addition to contain

¹⁸ Fabian Januarius Kuwado, "Jokowi: 3.143 Perda Bermasalah Telah Dibatalkan," *Www.kompas.com*, June 13, 2016. [View Item](#).

¹⁹ Indonesia, *UU No. 12 Tahun 2011 Tentang Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan* (Law Number 12: SG No. 82, 2011). Article 15 Paragraph (1) and (3). [View Item](#).

²⁰ Similarly on Indonesia, *UU No. 23 Tahun 2014 Tentang Pemerintahan Daerah* (Law Number 23: SG No. 244, 2014). Article 238. [View Item](#).

²¹ Suharyo, "Pembentukan Peraturan Daerah Dan Penerapan Sanksi Pidana Serta Problematikanya," *Jurnal Rechtsvinding* 4, no. 3 (2015): 431–47. [View Item](#).

²² Bagir Manan, *Teori Dan Politik Konstitusi* (Yogyakarta: FH UII PRESS, 2004). p. 206. [View Item](#).

²³ Muhammad Suharjono, "Pembentukan Peraturan Daerah Yang Responsif Dalam Mendukung Otonomi Daerah," *DIH, Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 10, no. 19 (2014): 21–37. [View Item](#). [Google Scholar](#).

provisions that mandated by law, it also contains the regional development plans and other provisions were sourced from the aspirations of the people.

As one of the sub-systems of national laws, local regulation, holds responsibility to facilitate the legal certainty of the implementation of the regional development and sustainable programme, via a setting in local regulations which include:

1. Long-term Regional development plan abbreviated with RPJP Area
2. Medium-term Regional development plan abbreviated with RPJM Area
3. the load direction RPJM financial policy areas, the regional development strategies, public policies, programs and units of Work Areas, cross-Device unit working device area, and the cantonal program accompanied by a work plan within the framework of regulation and funding frameworks are indicative.
4. Work plan regional development, hereinafter referred to RKPD

To do this development financing, required three components of the Government that was supposed to be the center of attention in the development process including in terms of funding. First, the Government or the State, as a formal institution set out according to the applicable legislation. Second, private sector, as a non-party Government that have the capital to develop a certain business. Third, society, as those who get and execute the development process and enjoy the results he obtained.

These three components above does not stand alone but conduct cooperation of mutual benefit to achieve the well-being of the wider community. These three components are also in force in the development process of the area where the economic policy of the region have confirmed the lack of intervention by the Central Government to determine the conduct of the Local Government.

The availability of the development budget adequately represents something that is necessarily. Development planning as powerful as any, will not be able to walk properly and to fruition as expected, without the support of adequate financing. Financing the construction itself can be sourced from the local government itself through Regional Budget (APBD), also through the participation of the private circles. In this context the regional Government claimed to be able to prepare the legal basis, either in the form of local regulations as well as other appropriate regulations mandate legislation, material core of the charge which gives guarantees legal certainty for the creation of a business climate that is safe and comfortable. Without a guarantee of legal certainty, it would be impossible the investors interested in

participating in advancing development in the region. Again, this is where the strategic layout of the existence of local regulations in the national legal system.

At the operational level, the Local Regulation as an instrument of regional organization of the decentralized and autonomous region, can serve as an effective means of regional development, but in certain circumstances can also be a factor for the achievement of a barrier to regional development goals are aspired. The enforcement system is decentralized and autonomous region wide, which should serve as an opportunity to build a regional community economic independence by inviting private participation of potential abused for the benefit of a certain group of financiers who are on the periphery of power. The condition thus became the source of the problem that made investors reluctant to participate to promote development in the region.

The presence of local regulations, should be supporting elements which complement at the same time strengthen the content of the higher legislation, so it has really effective applied power. For the sake of it, then the drafting of any bill should refer to the establishment of principles and regulations in Article 5 of Law No. 12 of 2011²⁴. The maker of Perda should also ensure and warrant that made was later able to run what became a statutory function, both its internal functions as part of the sub-system of the system of legal rules in General, nor does it do to prosper community life in the region.

3. Conclusions

Local regulations is a subsystem of national law, the process of its formation through a number of procedural stages are not much different from the applicable procedural stages in the process of formation of the Law (UU). Local regulations have degrees of constitutionality are very powerful and respectable, because its existence not only formed on the orders of the Law (UU), but rather based on the mandate of the Constitution of the country. Therefore the presence of local regulations should already be accepted, respected and treated as a product of the law which has binding force applicable in General, according to the range of the territorial area specified by the Law (UU).

Local regulations is unfit to aborted arbitrarily by the Central Government through the related Ministry, with just rationale is contrary to law or regulation upon it, due to the presence of local regulation is the representation of the will of the community, therefore has a sociological and philosophical dimension. Local Regulation in the context of The Unitary

²⁴ Ibid.

State of Law can only be cancelled for reasons contrary to the interests of the local community (aspiration) and philosophically has deviated from the values of Pancasila.

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