

The Factors Contributing to the Decline in Community Trust in the Jokowi Administration's Government (2019-2024)

Marjan Miharja¹, Yastuty Handalya², Gunawan Nahrawi³, Rahmat Dwi Putranto⁴, Ryan Hidayat⁵

^{1,2,3,4,5}Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Hukum IBLAM, Indonesia

marjan@iblam.ac.id, rdp@ibalm.ac.id, gunawan.n@iblam.ac.id, handalkuw@gmail.com,

hidayatryan369@gmail.com

Abstract

This study investigates the discrepancy between what should have happened during the development of the omnibus law on the work of the work and the policies relating to the Covid-19 epidemic in Indonesia and what really occurred. When the Omnibus Law and policies in the Pandemic Covid-19 are supposed to be a powerful solution to the problem, reality transforms into a field of new issues that generate a flood of negative comments from diverse individuals, resulting in a loss of faith in the government. The Omnibus Law and Covid-19 policies, which the Government and Parliament interpret as a progressive breakthrough for resolving multisectoral problems during the presidency of President Joko Widodo, are interpreted differently by some community circles and academics as laws and disabled policies, both formal and material. As a result, the aim of this study is to investigate the essence of Omnibus Law and Covid-19 policies, which have created a challenge for the Indonesian country by eroding community faith in the government.

Keywords

omnibus law; policy; COVID-19 pandemic; society; and government



I. Introduction

Corruption, collusion, and nepotism have fostered popular suspicion of government institutions, which reflects the image of a bad government that existed before to the reform era, throughout the reform era, and to the present day. Good Governance is one of the reforms being implemented by government stakeholders. (Nawawi, 2012)

Public trust/ society has a significant impact on the government's numerous policy items and regulations. The high level of public trust/ society demonstrates that all products spent can be accepted by the community if all policy products are adhered to. However, public trust/ society does not automatically rise; there are still consequences of public distrust/ society toward the government. The numerous policies and legislation that do not reflect the objectives of society and are of poor quality might contribute to a decline in public trust/ community (Andhika, 2018). Public policy as a government action in achieving the goals or objectives that have been set (Ellyana and Ismail, 2020). Unnamed policies and legislation indicate a lack of investment, socioeconomic development, low bureaucratic service quality, and a lack of legal justice, which leads people to believe that the law is only sharp down but blunt and blunt up, despite the fact that the fundamental purpose is community welfare.

Certain circles evaluate the Work Creating (Omnibus Law) Law's deliberative process and substance. This work does not provide clarity or a sense of justice regarding the process of drafting the law until it is stipulated, as if there are several details concerning the substance of the Cipta Law of the Work that are concealed from the public

(Joko, 2016). Thus, the Work Creating (Omnibus Law) Law is believed to violate not only formation standards, but also the country's fundamental principles as stated in the 1945 Constitution, as well as the constitution's ethics or morals and Pancasila's philosophy, because all content material for laws and regulations should be consistent with Pancasila's values. The mandate is extensive, as Pancasila People serve as a yardstick for the path in which the Indonesian state travels (Miharja, 2020). This is where the community loses respect for the government's ratification of the Work Creating (Omnibus Law) Law, because the community is too blinded by everything that contradicts the Work Creating (Omnibus Law) Law mission to apply uniformly to the entire community.

When various regulations were implemented in response to the Pandemic form of Covid-19, Indonesia was still grappling with the Pandemic Corona or Covid-19 virus. The Indonesian government has implemented a number of policy measures aimed at halting the Covid-19 viral chain. When certain countries, such as Spain, France, Germany, and Italy, impose limitations on entire regions, this is referred to as Lockdown (Wang *et al*, 2020). The Indonesian government actually employs a variety of measures in response to the Covid-19 pandemic, each with its own set of terms.

In comparison to PSBB measures, the PPKM policy is believed to be significantly more effective at containing the spread of the Covid-19 virus. Beginning with Volume I and Volume II PPKM, then micro-based PPKM, and presently Emergency PPKM (Infocorona.Baliprov.Go.Id, 2020). The government has experimented with available policies selectively, but from some of the execution of policies deemed ineffectual and even causing unrest in the community, which boosts the community's confidence in the government.

The aim of this study is to investigate the factors that contribute to the decline in community trust in the Jokowi administration's policy and legislative processes. Quality policies are one way to rebuild public trust in a society that has declined and is on the verge of extinction. While public beliefs are more closely linked to political processes, this research article focuses on public/community trust as it is reflected in the policy process and legislation produced. How the Omnibus Law and the Work Creating (Omnibus Law) Law, as well as the Covid-19 Pandemic Management Policies, might erode public confidence in the government.

II. Research Methods

Methodology is a branch of science that teaches researchers how to do research. The term "research" is a translation of the word "research," which literally translates as "efforts to re-search." (Sibuea and Sukartono, 2009). Legal research is a scientific activity based on certain methods, systematics and thoughts that aim to study one or several certain legal phenomena by analyzing them (Soekantoro, 1986).

This study employs normative legal research methods. The method of normative juridical research is to conduct research on the positive law principles embodied in legislation. Normative legal research is a branch of law science concerned with the rule of law. According to Soerjono Soekanto, legal study conducted through the examination of library resources or secondary data may be referred to as normative legal research or literature legal research (Soekanto and Mamudji, 2009).

III. Results and Discussion

3.1 Omnibus Law

Indonesia is a legal state in which everything is regulated by law. Article 1 Paragraph (3) The fourth amendment to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia establishes that "Indonesia is a lawful state." The fundamental concept of Indonesian law cannot be divorced from the fundamental concept of *rechtsstaat* (legal state), which founded legal protection on the principle of legality by establishing laws as positive law (Hardjon, 1994). In contemporary law, legal functions serve not only as a social control mechanism for maintaining public order, but also as instruments for achieving governmental objectives and influencing behavior in desirable directions. This means that the law is the primary vehicle through which public welfare and self-esteem are promoted.

Indonesia, as a legal state, is obligated to ensure the establishment of shared welfare in people's lives through laws enacted by the The House of Representatives (DPR), Leadership of Political Party at Regional Level (DPD), and the Government in areas such as economic, social, cultural, legal, education, and politics. According to the Pancasila Philosophy and the 1945 Constitution, the Indonesian legal system is composed of a succession of written legal aspects that interact, are interconnected, and cannot be separated.

Indonesia's basic objective prior to the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak was to pioneer the notion of omnibus law, which is already well-established in some nations and is gaining traction in countries with a common law background, such as the United States. "Omnibus Law" simply contains the universe's conception about or for everything, and is a comprehensive rule that is not bound to a governing regime, but regulates a variety of things in one rule and takes precedence over other rules. While the Omnibus Law in question has a distinct concept in Indonesia. In Indonesia, Omnibus Law follows the Civil Law System tradition of adopting a fundamental notion of not being identical, more substantially toward modifications / modification of a legislation, and in the treasures of Indonesian legislation, optimal levels of Omnibus Law results are laws (Rio and Kurniawan, 2021).

With the creation of Omnibus Law Law No. 11 of 2020 concerning Omnibus Law, the establishment of legislation based on the concept of omnibus law is the starting point for eroding public trust / society's attitude toward leadership in the age of President Joko Widodo. Work is a government proposal to The House of Representatives (DPR) and a large-scale government project with numerous government rules (Law no 12), and the process is quite short for a law that has very deep quality weight with only 100 working days. Even the government also informs the Act they are proud of will encourage an increase in investment aimed at the prosperity of the community, but implied has the potential to claim the living space of the Indonesian people and people who raise concerns in terms of environmental and social issues (Rizqo, 2021).

Some people, particularly the Indonesian people, believe that the process of deliberation and substance of the Omnibus Law does not provide clarity and a sense of justice throughout the process of its formation to the law, as if there are many details about the substance of the Omnibus Law law that are hidden from the community. Thus, the Omnibus Law Law is regarded to contradict not only formation standards, but also the primary principles of the country's execution outlined in the 1945 Constitution, as well as the constitution's ethics or morals and Pancasila philosophy.

The omnibus law is one of the components of the Law package that has encountered significant criticism during its implementation. From the period of discussion and ratification until the acidity of the Act, the pros and negatives were evident. Numerous strong protests and critical voices were raised in response to this law, and several legal scholars also conveyed formal deficiencies in documents and records of difficult preparation, as well as the fact that parties invited to public hearings were evaluated exclusively from certain groups. The Omnibus Law Act is still far from expectations because the formation is not in accordance with Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning the establishment of legislation and even not in line. The meaning and the role of Pancasila in Law No. 12 of 2011 concerning the establishment of legislation only arrived at Article 2 which stated that Pancasila was a source of all legal sources (Miharja, 2020), And after that there are no more articles governing the role of Pancasila in the form of law. Explanation of Article 2 mandates that the placement of Pancasila as a source of all sources of state law is in accordance with the opening of the 1945 Fourth of the Republic of Indonesia. And also set the Pancasila as the basis and ideology of the country as well as the basis of the philosophical state, so that each material content of the laws and regulations should not conflict with the values contained in the Pancasila and if it is contradictory it will be canceled by law. A very deep mandate because the people made the Pancasila as a benchmark for the direction of the Indonesian state travel.

The criteria outlined above for the construction of aspirational, participative, and Pancasila-inspired acquites comprise two meanings: processes and substances. The process is a framework for the development of laws that must be conducted honestly in order for the community to have a say in how a problem is regulated. Article 5 of Law No. 12 of 2011 on the establishment of legislation states plainly that the establishment of sound laws and regulations must be based on the principle of establishing legislation, which includes the following:

- a. Clarity of purpose
What is meant by "the concept of clarity" is that each piece of law must have a distinct purpose.
- b. Institutional or the proper organs of formation
The term "institutional principles or proper forming officials" refers to the requirement that each type of legislation and regulation be enacted by state institutions or authorized law and regulation enacting officials. These statutes and regulations may be repealed or amended if they are enacted by state institutions or unauthorized officials.
- c. Conformity of cargo kinds and materials
What "the concept of appropriateness between types, hierarchies, and cargo material" means is that when legislation is drafted, it must pay close attention to the appropriate load material for the kind and hierarchy of legislation.
- d. Things that can be accomplished
What is meant by "principle may be carried out" is that every legislative framework must consider the legislation's success in society, philosophically, sociologically, and legally.
- e. Self-use and use
What "the concept of self-use and the use of" means is that each piece of law is enacted because it is truly necessary and helpful for controlling community life, nationalism, and statehood.
- f. Clarity of the formulation
The "principle of clarity in formulation" means that each piece of legislation must meet technical requirements for its preparation, systematics, and choice of words or terms,

and the legal language must be clear and easy to understand in order to avoid various interpretations during its implementation.

g. Openness

The word "openness principle" refers to the requirement that all stages of the legislative process, including planning, preparation, discussion, ratification or determination, and exploration, be transparent and open. As a result, all levels of society have the greatest potential to contribute to the development of legislation.

And, according to experts, the production of legislation is deemed to be successful if the community learns and comprehends substantially about the process of law formation:

1. According to Abeer Bashier Dababneh and Eid Ahmad Aihusban, a legislation is regarded acceptable if the process of its formulation takes into account and the principle.
2. According to Maria Farida Indrati S., a professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Indonesia (FHUI), at the time, the community argued that the establishment of sound laws and regulations was accomplished through community participation. Along with complying with the provisions of Article 53 of Law No. 10 years. 2004 on the establishment of legislation, as well as several other regulations, the participation of the community in the establishment of legislation serves to uphold the principles of establishing sound laws and regulations, particularly the principle of implementation.
3. Prof. Dr. A.Hamid S. Attamimi argues as follows on the establishment of proper rules and regulations:
 - a. Indonesian legal ideals, which are nothing more than Pancasila (Sila-said here refers to idee (concept), which serve as "guiding lights" and as standards);
 - b. The country's principle is based on the law, and the government's principle is based on the constitutional system;
 - c. Other principles.

According to the opinions of the aforementioned experts, it is abundantly obvious that the development of the No.11 Year Law. 2020 breached the standards of good formation, specifically the principle of openness. Because the legislative concept serves as a guideline or indicator for the development of sound laws and regulations. Throughout the process of developing the Omnibus Law, Government Law never delivered to the community openly, or even appeared to do so discreetly. Susi Dwi Harijanti, a professor of state law at Padjajaran University, stated that the procedure through which the Omnibus Law Bill became a law violated the concept of openness due to its lack of transparency and public engagement (Adtya, 2020).

Community participation in the law-making process should have been incorporated from the start, and the authors believe that omnibus law is an example of this. The omnibus law demonstrates inconsistent norms during its construction, resulting in competing norms that serve as the government's recommendations for community behavior. And the competing norms that result demonstrate that the present standards are ambiguous (bias), implying that laws and regulations cannot effectively serve as a guidance for community behavior, significantly impairing their application and preventing legal clarity (Arif, 2020).

From the conditions outlined above, criticism of the Omnibus Law continues to be expressed by a variety of community groups. Not only is the Omnibus Law Act viewed as a significant issue, but it is also viewed as having formal faults connected to the creation process (Kompas.Com, 2020). The absence of government involvement in the development of this legislation regulations makes people curious about the extent to which the stages of existing legislation are formed, because all levels of society have the greatest opportunity to contribute to the development of these laws and regulations.

Verbal and/or written input can be provided during a public hearing meeting, a work visit, socialization, and/or seminars, workshops, and/or discussion (Law number 12 of 2011, Article 96), even to facilitate the community in providing oral input and / or written every draft laws and regulations must be easily accessible by the community, in reality it is inversely proportional to the people difficult to get valid and correct information. The government seemed to kill the community's role in the formation of the Act, stating that the government has ventured and disseminated which means that it has binded the public to know the Omnibus Law.

With a binding and sitting law affecting the entire Indonesian society, it means that the community must obey and run Sesau, which is listed in the Omnibus Law Act. This is one of the reasons why people lack respect for and belief in the government, because if a law covers the community, how about other aspects of this country? Allow these people and citizens to continue to exist without a country.

In the future, the country can act as a guardian of its residents' safety, rather than as a threat to their safety. As Italian philosopher Marcus Tullius Cicero put it, "Populi Salus Suprema Lex Esto" (the safety of the people is the highest law for a country).

3.2 Covid-19 Pandemic Policies

Simultaneously with the crowding of the omnibus law in Indonesia, the Pandemic Covid-19 outbreak began. The entire world is facing the same thing, namely shuttering, durability, and uncertainty as a result of the Covid-19 outbreak, or more often known as Corona virus, including Indonesia, which has been undergoing a Covid-19 outbreak for nearly three years.

With the existing state / government situations, they must create legislative laws that can be utilized to manage their inhabitants in order to improve their quality of life in the event of a Covid-19 epidemic. The process of drafting rules and regulations must be adapted to the changing situations and circumstances in society. And the government has the authority to enact legislation; laws are enacted by the DPR and the President, while other government rules are enacted by the President and his staff or executives.

When a country's situation is normal and fine, the state of emergency grants extraordinary powers to countries that are not owned; this is generally referred to as emergency power. The danger is that the authority will be used to silence critics, violate private rights, obstruct transparency, erode the system of checks and balances, or infiltrate political interests. Leaving aside the disturbance, we should have begun reflecting on the Indonesian government's approach to the Covid-19 health emergency situation thus far. Allowing the government to exercise exclusive control through Emergency Power is not designed to restore normalcy; rather, it is a "repressive" tool for smoothing out political interests, which, of course, violates democratic and human rights norms (Arsil, 2020).

It cannot be denied that the implementation of the Emergency Power will put aside the constitution for the effectiveness of the resolution of emergency conditions, but there needs to be restriction so that the government owned by the government is not used freely. The State of Emergency is a situation that has an exception because the situation cannot be controlled by legal norms, then in this situation the ruler is given the authority to do anything to ensure public safety in an emergency. Because constitutional regulation or norms will not be effective in resolving the situation. In laws known several categories of emergencies, including public health emergencies governed by Law Number 6 of 2018 concerning Health; Civil and Civil Arrest Governed by Government Regulations Substitute Law Number 23 of 1959; And disaster emergencies arranged by Law Number 24 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management.

According to Presidential Decree No. 11 of 2020, the president has proclaimed that the current emergency is a public health emergency. The reference in the law refers to a Health Convention Law. In Article 1, it is defined as a public health emergency when infectious diseases and/or events induced by nuclear radiation, biological pollution, chemical contamination, bioterrorism, and food pose health risks and have the potential to spread cross-regionally or cross-country.

The time went on the government finally issued several policies to overcome this Covid-19 pandemic. And the current policy of running is PPKM whose implementation is divided into several stages, among others; PPKM volume I and II, Micro PPKM, and Emergency PPKM. PPKM volume I started from January 11, 2021 to January 25, 2021, in accordance with the instructions of the Minister of Home Affairs No. 1 year 2021 and regions consisting of 7 provinces (DKI Jakarta, West Java, Banten, Central Java, Yogyakarta, East Java, Bali). Volume II PPKM starts from January 26, 2021 to February 8, 2021, in accordance with the Minister of Home Affairs Instruction No. 2 of 2021 consisting of 7 provinces (DKI Jakarta, West Java, Banten, Central Java, Yogyakarta, East Java, Bali). PPKM was held for two volumes and it turned out that the results were ineffective, the PPKM was converted into micro-based PPKM.

Micro-based PPKM starts from 9 to 5 July 2021, in accordance with the Minister of Home Affairs Instruction No. 2-14 years 2021. As previously stated, Micro PPKM is applicable in a number of places throughout seven provinces. Unlike the PPKM, however, the micro PPKM includes a setting for the establishment of the Covid-19 handling post at the village and village level. Shopping centers/malls operate on a more flexible schedule, which is until 21.00 WIB, and on a more flexible schedule, which is 50 percent work from the office and 50 percent work from home. Micro PPKM was extended numerous times by the government after being held for two weeks. On June 7, 2021, in response to a high increase of Covid-19 cases in Kudus, the authorities maintained this PPKM effort as an emergency PPKM. Micro PPKM implementation is "confusing and counterproductive." The government that continues to impose restrictions on the RT and RW scales notwithstanding their ineffectiveness (Mela, 2021).

The restrictions on emergency public activity restrictions (PPKM) in the Java and Bali regions went into effect on July 3 and will last until July 20, 2021. Based on the Minister of Home Affairs's instructions number 15 of 2021 concerning the implementation of restrictions on Corona Emergency Community Activities Corona Virus Disease 2019 in the Java and Bali regions, which was signed the day before by the Interior Minister Tito Karnavian and Public Relations of the Ministry of Home Affairs and explained officially that the Minister of Interior's instructions was issued to follow up on the direction of the President who instructed the Emergency PPKM in the Java and Bali regions according to the criteria for the level of the Pandemic situation based on the assessment. Which was signed by the day before the Interior Minister Tito Karnavian and Public Relations of the Ministry of Home Affairs and Explained Officially That The Minister of Interior's Instructions was issued to follow up on the direction of the President of the President of the Emergency PPKM In The Java and Bali Regions According to the Criteria For The Level Of The Pandemic Situation Based On The Assessment (CNN Indonesia, 2021). Through these instructions, the interior minister directed the mechanism for determining the region as referred to as referred to in the indicators of adjusting public health efforts and social restrictions in the Covid-19 pandemic prevention set. The Minister of Home Affairs instructions also regulate several things such as strengthening the implementation of testing, tracing, and treatment (3T) in each region (JPPN.com, 2021).

Application of emergency PPKM is carried out in line with the World Health Organization Zoning System (Mahatama, 2020). The PPKM framework specifies specific specifics for regulating movement and activity, hence restricting numerous sectors of community activity. Things that provide benefits and drawbacks, eliciting a range of positive or negative responses from the community. Certain sections of existing community activities are even temporarily closed due to their insignificance to constraints. One of the most sensitive sectors of society is the place of worship, as a place of worship is a public activity through which the public communicates with the creator (Domestic Instruction Number 15 of 2021). Every citizen's right to the Creator of God Almighty is included in the category of human rights known as civil and political rights, which must be protected by the state (Law Number 12 of 2005).

The PPKM implementation rules lack clarity and are perceived as troubling the community. The treatment of the Covid-19 Task Force Team, which is slightly anarchist and inhuman in nature and should be the protector of the community, does not do anything but create anxiety and feelings of oppression, thereby creating a schism between the Covid Task Team 19 and society (Putri, 2021). PPKM is a similar activity with activities such as new normal activities (Ahmad and Edy, 2020) and PSBB (Muhyidin, 2020). which had been implemented by the government some time ago was to minimize the spread of Covid-19 disease which increases the number of cases of spread by conducting regional quarantine. The government took a policy with the enactment of restrictions on community activities (PPKM) in handling the Corona virus (Covid-19) pandemic. In the PPKM Procedure Quarantine activity is part of its implementation so that the government is responsible by providing basic life, namely eating to society and livestock, this is regulated in Law 6/2018. However, given the circumstances, public policy observer Agus Pambagio criticized the handling of Covid-19 as being inconsistent with Law 6/2018 on health crisis, implying that the PPKM carried out is now deemed to lack legal force, implying that the state is weak in the field (Masitoh, 2021).

Under current PPKM conditions, the government is obligated to satisfy the community's fundamental necessities, particularly food. This requirement is a necessary component of the work of forming the state into a legal entity that is more than a night watchman (*nachtwachteratta*). (Ridwan HR, 2016). However, it was also required to prosper the community to be carried out by the government as a result of the economic crisis of Pandemi Covid-19. In the legal approach of *sociale rechtsstaat* (community law), the government has 2 (two) positions that are more directed at the main function of the government. First, the government as authority rulers made rules that must be obeyed by the community to create order and peace of society. Second, the government as a public servant is also required to carry out public services (Marthen, 2021). The position of Sociale Rechtsstaat put forward legal protection for the community because the essence of the Sociale Rechtsstaat government must pay attention to "The Right to Receive". This is where the position of the government as a servant and community as the party is served (Dwiyanto, 2004).

According to the description above, the government's primary objective in a regular government is to maintain the community toward a more favorable and conducive environment and legal protection for the community. This is automatically connected to the people rights in a government (Sadi, 2017). Every citizen has the right and obligation to a reasonable standard of living, but many citizens have not experienced the actual meaning of life. At the moment, the community is being dictated by the economy, the welfare issue, and the ministry crisis. If it is true that rules are meant to be broken, perhaps this is the time because the community has begun to develop doubts about the government

as a result of the current crisis. And thus far, the execution of the PPKM has plainly violated human rights while interacting with the nation's ideology, especially Pancasila.

The author attempts to analyze the outcome of the PPKM's implementation, which is inconsistent with the rules, namely the presence of several PPKM policy regulations that result in human rights violations that harm people, resulting in a decline in community trust in the government, and the arrogance of the Covid-19 Task Force in implementing the PPKM. Individuals who do not uphold the highest values of the nation's ideology, specifically Pancasila.

IV. Conclusion

The author concluded various points, including that during the development of the Omnibus Law, numerous standards and regulations were overlooked and failed to be applied, resulting in regulations that should not have restricted openness and public engagement to the government or the House of Representatives (DPR). Because material and labor resources are reliant on specific entities, the room for public participation becomes limited, if not eliminated entirely. Even though the principle of transparency and public participation in the legislative process is the guiding spirit of a democratic country, this violation is undoubtedly concerning, as the consequences of the flow are not required by Law No. 12 years. 2011 on the establishment of legislation, and the content of the Omnibus Law Act can also be changed without going through the process. This is one of the elements contributing to the community's declining trust in government, which results in the refusal crisis that happens when the Omnibus Law is officially authorized. And what has to be protected by legislation's content must not conflict with the Pancasila's principles, and if it does, it will be repealed by law. A broad mandate, because the people established the Pancasila as the barometer for the direction in which the Indonesian state should proceed.

And it is not simply the omnibus law that contributes to a decline in public trust/society's attitude toward the government. The scenario of health emergencies in Indonesia as a result of the Covid-19 epidemic also was one of the causes contributing to the public's/society's declining trust in the government. Certain violations that occur as a result of the community becoming an object of PPKM regulations/policies in this country must be subjected to punishments that prevent them from living. Trust in the government gradually eroded as a result of the administration's arbitrariness, which campaigned for the sake of the people yet failed to implement any of its plans. According to the author, this situation is extremely unjust to the people because their rights are violated and the government blatantly breaks the regulations they created. We do not fight invaders, but rather against ourselves. Allow these people and citizens to continue to exist without a country.

The author is hoping that in the future, the country can act as a guardian of its residents' safety, rather than as a threat to their safety. As Italian philosopher Marcus Tullius Cicero put it, "*Populi Salus Suprema Lex Esto*" (the safety of the people is the highest law for a country).

References

- A. Hamid S. Attamimi, *Fungsi Ilmu Perundang-undangan dalam Pembentukan Hukum nasional*, article, Jakarta. 1989. p. 5
- Agus Dwiyanto, et al. “*Reorientasi Ilmu Administrasi Publik: Dari Government ke Governance*” (2004) p. 79
- Al Azhar University Indonesia, Food Technology Study Program, “*Pakar Hukum: Pelanggaran Terhadap PPKM Darurat Dapat Dipidana*” https://tekpang.uai.ac.id/https-uai-ac-id-pakar-hukum-pelanggaran-terhadap-ppkm-darurat-dapat-dipidana-utm_sourcerssutm_mediumrssutm_campaignpakar-hukum-pelanggaran-terhadap-ppkm-darurat-dapat-dipidana/ accessed on July 31, 2021.
- Arnani Mela, “*Gonta-Ganti Istilah PSBB, PPKM Mikro, Darurat Hingga Level 4, Apa Bedanya?*” (2021). Accessed on July 28, 2021. <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2021/07/23/113000465/gonta-ganti-istilah-psbb-ppkm-mikro-darurat-hingga-level-4-apa-bedanya-?page=all>.
- Article 52 Paragraph 1 Law Number 6 of 2018 concerning Chaosity of Health.
- Awangga Arif, *Teknik Perancangan Perundang-Undangan*, ed. Kartika tantri, 1st ed. (DKI Jakarta: CV Cendekia Press, 2020)
- Chryсна Mahatama, “*Lembaga Organisasi Kesehatan Dunia (WHO)*”, (2020), <https://kompaspedia.kompas.id/baca/profil/lembaga/organisasi-kesehatan-dunia-who>. Di akses pada 27 Juli 2021
- CNN Indonesia, “*Arti Status Daerah Level 3 dan 4 pada Penerapan PPKM Darurat*” (2021), <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20210701162157-20-661929/arti-status-daerah-level-3-dan-4-pada-penerapan-ppkm-darurat>. accessed on July 21, 2021.
- Domestic Instruction Number 15 of 2021 concerning Enforcement of Restricting Emergency Community Activities Corona Virus Disease 2019 in the Java and Bali regions.
- Eka Alisa Putri, “*Kesal Lihat Penyemprotan Disinfektan Dipakai untuk Bubarkan Pedagang, dr. Tirta : Mau Mandi?*” (2021), <https://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/bandung-raya/pr-012230130/kesal-lihat-penyemprotan-disinfektan-dipakai-untuk-bubarkan-pedagang-dr-tirta-mau-mandi> Accessed on July 25, 2021.
- Ellyana, C. P., Ismail. (2020). Licensing Services in the Capital Investment Services and Integrated One Door Service (Dpmpst) Banda Aceh City. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal)* Volume 3, No 2, Page: 805-815.
- Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Madrid, the Kingdom of Spain, “*Pemberlakuan Pembatasan Kegiatan Masyarakat (PPKM) Darurat 3-20 Juli 2021*” (2021), <https://kemlu.go.id/madrid/id/news/14339/pemberlakuan-pembatasan-kegiatan-masyarakat-ppkm-darurat-3-20-juli-2021> , Accessed on July 26, 2021.
- Fitra Arsil, Qurrata Ayuni. Model Pengaturan Kedaruratan Dan Pilihan Kedaruratan Indonesia Dalam Menghadapi Pandemi Covid-19. *Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan* 50th year No.2 April-June 2020 : 424-446. p. 425
- Hotma Pardomuan Sibuea and Heryberthus Sukartono, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta, Krakatau Book, 2009, p. 45.
- Hotma Pardomuan Sibuea and Heryberthus Sukartono, Op. Cit., p. 80.
- <https://Infocorona.Baliprov.Go.Id/Wp-Content/Uploads/2021/01/Inmendagri-Nomor-1-Tahun-2021-Tentang-Pemberlakuan-Pembatasan-Kegiatan-Untuk-Pengendalian-Penyebaran-Corona-Virus-Disease-2019-Covid-19.Pdf>. Accessed on July 27, 2021.

- Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 2 of 2021 concerning Enforcement of Restricting Public Activities Level 4 Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) in the Java Dann Bali region.
- Ivan Adtya. *RUU Omnibus Law Dinilai Langgar Asas Keterbukaan*. krjogja.com. 2020. Accessed on July 29, 2021. <https://www.krjogja.com/peristiwa/nasional/ruu-Omnibus-Law-dinilai-langgar-asas-keterbukaan/>. Accessed on July 27, 2021.
- JPPN.com, “*Ini Instruksi Mendagri soal Penguatan 3T dan Target PPKM Darurat*” (2021), <https://www.jpnn.com/news/ini-instruksi-mendagri-soal-penguatan-3t-dan-target-ppkm-darurat>. Accessed on July 25, 2021.
- Juanda Nawawi. Membangun Kepercayaan Dalam Mewujudkan Good Governance, *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan*, Vol. 1 No. 3 June 2012. p. 19
- Kanavino Ahmad Rizqo - DetikNews, “*Jokowi Targetkan Omnibus Law Selesai Sebelum 100 Hari Kerja*,” Detiknews (Jakarta, 2020), <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4859885/jokowi-targetkan-omnibus-law-selesai-sebelum-100-hari-kerja>. Accessed on August 1, 2021.
- Law No. 12 of 2005 concerning Civil and Political Rights.
- Law No. 12 of 2011 concerning the establishment of legislation. Article 1 paragraph (5).
- Law No. 12 of 2011 concerning the establishment of legislation. Article 74.
- Law No. 12 of 2011 concerning the establishment of legislation. Article Instruction Minister of Home Affairs Number 01 Year 2021 concerning Enforcement of Restrictions on Activities for Control of Distribution of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19).
- Lesmana Rian Andhika. *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan: Kajian Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Politik Daerah*, Vol.3(1), April 2018. p 25
- M.Kn DR. Christiawan Rio, S.H.,M.Hum., *Omnibus Law - Teori Dan Penerapannya*, ed. Ahmad Kurniawan, 1st ed. (Jakarta Timur: Sinar Grafika, 2021).p.3
- Marjan Miharja. Dissertation : *Tranformasi Nilai Ketuhanan Dalam Pancasila terhadap Pembentukan Hukum Tertulis Indonesia*. 2020. p 9
- Marjan Miharja. Dissertation : *Tranformasi Nilai Ketuhanan Dalam Pancasila terhadap Pembentukan Hukum Tertulis Indonesia*. 2020. p 15
- Maria Farida Indrati, “*Ilmu Perundang-Undangan (2)*”. Kanisius Publishing. Yogyakarta. 2007.
- Mawaddaturokhmah, Muhamad Muhdar, Rini Apriyani, (2020), “Penerapan Teori Conditio Sine Qua Non Dalam Peristiwa Tumpahan Minyak di Teluk Balikpapan” *Risalah Hukum* 16, no. 1, p. 16-33
- Minister of Home Affairs Instruction No. 1 for the year 2021 on the execution of limitations aimed at containing the spread of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19).
- Minister of Home Affairs Instruction No. 14 of 2021
- Muhamda Sadi Is, “*Pengantar Ilmu Hukum*”, (2017), p. 106.
- Muhyidin, (2020), “Covid-19, New Normal dan Perencanaan Pembangunan di Indonesia” *The Indonesia Journal of Development Planning* 6, no. 2, p. 242.
- Nirahua Salmon Eliazer Marthen, “*Penggunaan Diskresi Dalam Tindakan Pemerintah*” Article of Patimura University Faculty of Law (2012), <https://fhukum.unpatti.ac.id/penggunaan-diskresi-dalam-tindakan-pemerintah/> accessed on July 30, 2021.
- Philipus M. Hardjon, “*Ide Dasar Negara Hukum dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Republik Indonesia*”, Article, 1994, p. 4.
- Preambule Indonesian 1945 Constitution.
- Preambule of the Republic of Indonesia Law in 1945.

- Ridwan HR. "*Hukum Administrasi Negara*" (2016), p. 229
- Riskiyono Joko, "*PARTISIPASI MASYARAKAT DALAM PEMBENTUKAN PERUNDANG-UNDANGAN UNTUK MEWUJUDKAN KESEJAHTERAAN.*" Jalan Tebet Timur IV A Nomor 1, Tebet, South Jakarta. 2016. p. XI
- Rosidi Ahmad dan Nurcahyo Edy, (2020), "Penerapan New Normal (Kenormalan Baru) Dalam Penanganan Covid-19 Sebagai Pandemi Dalam Hukum Positif" *Jurnal Ilmiah Rinjani* 8, no. 2, p. 194.
- Siti Masitoh, "*Penanganan Pandemi Covid-19 tak sesuai UU jadi alasan kritik pengamat*" (2021), <https://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/penanganan-pandemi-covid-19-tak-sesuai-uu-jadi-alasan-kritik-pengamat> accessed on July 31, 2021.
- Soerjono Soekanto, *Pengantar Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta, UI Press, 1986, p. 43.
- Soerjono Soekanto and Sri Mamudji, *Penelitian Hukum Normatif (Suatu Tinjauan Singkat)*, Jakarta, PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2009, p. 13-14.
- Sulitnya Mengakses Dokumen Penyusunan Dan Draf Final UU Omnibus Law...*, Kompas.Com, 2020, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/10/19/08511781/sulitnya-mengakses-dokumen-penyusunan-dan-draf-final-uu-cipta-kerja?page=all>. Accessed on July 25, 2021.