



The Role of Law In Rice Scarcity Mitigation

Maria G. S. Soetopo

Universitas Pelita Harapan, Tangerang, Indonesia, maria.soetopo@lecturer.uph.edu

Corresponding Author: maria.soetopo@lecturer.uph.edu

Abstract: In support of national food security, the government issued Presidential Instruction No. 6 year 2025 concerning the Procurement and Management of Domestic Grain/Rice and the Distribution of Government Rice Reserves (Presidential Instruction No. 6 year 2025). However, Indonesia continues to face rice scarcity and rising prices due to policy inefficiencies. In fact, the government has issued various policies to ensure the availability and affordability of rice prices in the community. This article evaluates the authority of Ministries and Institutions in making policies to mitigate rice scarcity. This article uses normative legal research methods supported by economic analysis. The results of the study show that there is a lack of institutional coordination that results in society's reduced purchasing power.

Keywords: Law, Policy Making, Rice Scarcity

INTRODUCTION

In an effort to increase food security and generate rice self-sufficiency, Presidential Instruction Number 6 of 2025 concerning the Procurement and Management of Domestic Grain/Rice and the Distribution of Government Rice Reserves (Presidential Instruction No. 6 of 2025) was issued. Through this policy, the President instructed the implementation of domestic rice procurement to be carried out with several provisions, which includes the following:¹

- 1) The target for domestic rice procurement is 3,000,000 tons of rice derived from harvested dry grain, milled dry grain, or rice; and
- 2) The government's purchase price is Rp 6,500 per kilogram for harvested dry grain with all qualities at the farmer level;

Domestic rice procurement based on the above provisions is carried out by Perum BULOG based on assignments from the National Food Agency (Bapanas).² Although national self-sufficiency is nearing and the national rice stock has reached more than 4,000,000 tons by

¹ Second Dictum Number 1 of Presidential Instruction No. 6 of 2025.

² Second Dictum Number 2 of Presidential Instruction No. 6 of 2025.

June 2025³, people are currently faced with the phenomenon of rice scarcity⁴ followed by an increase in its price⁵. Such a condition shows an anomaly because the increase in inventory is not followed by the stable price of rice in the community.

It must be acknowledged that, in the context of medium grade and premium rice⁶, the Government, through Bapanas, has stipulated the Maximum Retail Price (*Harga Eceran Tertinggi* - HET) for both categories pursuant to National Food Agency Regulation Number 5 of 2024 concerning Amendments to the National Food Agency Regulation Number 7 of 2023 on the Maximum Retail Price of Rice (hereinafter Bapanas Regulation No. 5 of 2024). Under this policy, the retail price of medium and premium-grade rice at the consumer level is prohibited from exceeding the prescribed HET. The law further prescribes sanctions for violations, as provided under:

- 1) Article 62 Paragraph (1) of Law Number 8 of 1999 concerning Consumer Protection⁷ (Consumer Protection Law); and
- 2) Article 5 of the National Food Agency Regulation Number 7 of 2023 concerning the Highest Retail Price of Rice (Bapanas Regulation No. 7 of 2023).

However, these policies have proven ineffective in mitigating price surges, despite the accumulation of rice stocks in the warehouses of Perum BULOG's, which, as of the end of August 2025, still amounted to 3.91 million tons.⁸

This issue has ultimately affected not only the implementation of Presidential Instruction No.6 of 2025 but also the entirety of government policies aimed at promoting national rice production to meet public demand. Policy inefficiency has ensued, with direct repercussions on household expenditure particularly among low-income groups, whose daily spending is allocated almost 60% to food purchases. The population within this category reaches approximately 23.85 million people, of whom 1.3 million are still of school age.

The above issue ultimately not only affects the implementation of Presidential Instruction No. 6 of 2025, but also effects other government policies that encourage the national rice production to meet the needs of the community. Policy inefficiencies hence occurs and impacts public spending, especially the poor, where almost 60% of their daily expenditure is spent on food consumption⁹. In fact, the number of people in this group reached 23.85 million

³ Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, "Mentan Laporkan Swasembada Beras Lebih Cepat dari Target Presiden," <https://setkab.go.id/mentan-laporkan-swasembada-beras-lebih-cepat-dari-target-presiden/>, accessed August 28, 2025.

⁴ See Merinda Faradianti, "Tak Cuma Mahal, Beras Premium Kini Juga Langka," <https://www.bloombergtechnoz.com/detail-news/81895/tak-cuma-mahal-beras-premium-kini-juga-langka>, accessed August 28, 2025.

⁵ See Lidia Pratama Febrian, Akhdi Martin Pratama, "Harga Beras Merangkak Naik, Kini Mencapai Rp 15.000 per Kg," <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2025/08/27/11024101/harga-beras-merangkak-naik-kini-capai-rp-15000-per-kg?page=1>, accessed August 28, 2025.

⁶ Medium-grade and premium-grade rice are classifications of rice quality determined based on several criteria, including milling degree, moisture content, the proportion of broken grains, immature grains, other rice grains, chalky grains, and foreign matter. For detailed specifications, refer to Annex II of the National Food Agency Regulation No. 2 of 2023 concerning Rice Quality and Labeling Requirements.

⁷ Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia No. 22 of 1999; Supplement to Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia No. 3821.

⁸ Martyasari Rizky, "Stok Beras di Bulog Numpuk 3,91 Juta Ton, Hasil Gabah Petani Segini," <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/2025082511143-4-661026/stok-beras-di-bulog-numpuk-391-juta-ton-hasil-gabah-petani-segini>, accessed August 28, 2025.

⁹ Based on BPS data which states that the expenditure of poor families per day is Rp 20,000, assuming the price of one kilogram of rice is Rp 13,000,-. Central Statistics Agency, "Tingkat Kemiskinan Kembali Menurun," <https://www.bps.go.id/id/news/2025/07/25/731/tingkat-kemiskinan-kembali-menurun.html>, accessed August 28, 2025; Maria G.S. Soetopo, "Kepastian Hukum dalam Mendukung Manfaat Program Makan Bergizi Gratis bagi Masyarakat," *Investor Daily*, August 25, 2025, p. 4.

people¹⁰, with 1.3 million of them being school students¹¹. To address this situation, the law is called upon to play a role in responding to changing circumstances¹², forming the basis for this article, which seeks to examine the rice shortage problem from the perspective of policy-making. This legal research is prepared with the following research questions:

- 1) How is the legal framework governing the authority of Ministries and State Institutions in formulating rice procurement policies to meet public needs?
- 2) What are the impacts of rice procurement policies on society?

To answer these questions, this article employs Gustav Radbruch's theory of the three fundamental values of law and Thomas Robert Malthus's theory of food economics as the primary analysis. Through the theory of the three fundamental values of law initiated by Gustav Radbruch, this research will examine the problem with the understanding that law is an instrument to realize objectives¹³ which consist of justice, legal certainty, and utility¹⁴. Meanwhile, the theory of food economics initiated by Thomas Robert Malthus is used to look at the rice shortage problem based on the imbalance between demand and supply in society¹⁵.

METHOD

This article employs a normative legal research method¹⁶, complemented by economic analysis in the process. The implementation of normative legal research methods in this study is carried out by applying a statutory approach as well as a conceptual approach¹⁷. The incorporation of economic analysis is evident in the use of a descriptive-quantitative approach to address the second research problem¹⁸.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Regulation on the Authority of Ministries and State Institutions in Making Rice Procurement Policies to Meet the Consumption Needs of the Community

As part of the Government's efforts to realize food security as mandated by Law by Law number 18 of 2012 on Food¹⁹ (Food Law), ²⁰the issuance of Presidential Instruction No. 6 of 2025 aims to achieve several goals, namely:²¹

- 1) Enhancing the capacity for independent food production;
- 2) Providing a diverse range of food that meets standards of safety, quality, and nutrition for consumption needs;

¹⁰ Badan Pusat Statistik, *Ibid.*, retrieved 28 August 2025.

¹¹ Sandra Desi Caesaria, Mahar Pratiwi, "Data Kemendikbud: 1,3 Juta Siswa dari Kelompok Termiskin Tidak Sekolah," <https://www.kompas.com/edu/read/2024/10/30/105038871/data-kemendikbud-13-juta-siswa-dari-kelompok-termiskin-tidak-sekolah>, accessed August 28, 2025.

¹² It is based on responsive legal theory that emphasizes the need for law to adapt to social changes in order to meet the needs of society. Solihan Makruf, *et. al.*, "Teori Hukum dan Filsafat Hukum: Membangun Responsivitas Terhadap Perubahan Ekonomi dan Sosial," *Al-Muamalat*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2025, p. 102.

¹³ See Moh. Mahfud MD, *Legal Politics in Indonesia*, Rajawali Press, Depok, 2018, p. 2.

¹⁴ See Fatma Afifah, Sri Wrjiyati, "Tujuan, Fungsi, dan Kedudukan Hukum," *Wijaya Putra Journal of Law*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2024, pp. 144-145.

¹⁵ Karen Winsdel Dinly Pieris, "Ketahanan dan Krisis Pangan dalam Perspektif Malthus, Dependensi, dan Gender," *Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2015, p. 4.

¹⁶ Regarding normative legal research, see Depri Liber Sonata, "Metode Penelitian Hukum Normatif dan Empiris: Karakteristik Khas dari Metode Meneliti Hukum," *Fiat Justisia*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2014, pp. 15-35.

¹⁷ Regarding the types of approaches in normative legal research, see Suhaimi, "Problem Hukum dan Pendekatan dalam Penelitian Hukum Nasional," *Journal of Justice*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2018, p. 207.

¹⁸ Nazir, *Research Methods*, Ghalia Indonesia, Bogor, 2014, p. 54.

¹⁹ Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia No. 227 of 2012; Supplement to Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5360.

²⁰ See Considerations for Weighing letter b of the Food Law; See also the provisions of Article 1 Number 4 of the Food Law.

²¹ See Article 4 of the Food Law.

- 3) Achieving adequate food availability at reasonable and affordable prices; and
- 4) Facilitating or improving public access to food.

Presidential Instruction No. 6 of 2025 is addressed to 24 Ministers and Heads of State Institutions related to government authority regarding food planning, food availability, food insecurity, food consumption and nutrition, food safety, food labels and advertising, supervision, food information systems, and food research and development²². In relation to the scarcity of rice that the community is currently facing, it is at least related to several ministries and institutions, namely:

- 1) Coordinating Minister for Food Affairs;
- 2) Minister of Agriculture;
- 3) Minister of Trade;
- 4) Chief of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia;
- 5) the National Food Agency; and
- 6) Perum Bulog

Each of these Ministries and State Institutions are established under different legal frameworks. This not only has an impact on the difference in duties and authorities, but also special instructions given by the President under Presidential Instruction No. 6 of 2025. The Coordinating Ministry for Food Affairs, for instance, is specifically regulated through Presidential Regulation Number 147 of 2024 concerning the Coordinating Ministry for Food Affairs²³ (Presidential Regulation No. 147 of 2024). Meanwhile, the duties and authorities of the Ministry of Agriculture are specifically regulated based on Presidential Regulation Number 192 of 2024 concerning the Ministry of Agriculture²⁴ (Presidential Regulation No. 192 of 2024). The duties and authorities of the Ministry of Trade are regulated based on Presidential Regulation Number 168 of 2024 concerning the Ministry of Trade²⁵ (Presidential Regulation No. 168 of 2024). The regulation regarding the duties and authorities of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia (Polri) is based on Law Number 2 of 2002 concerning the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia²⁶ as amended by Law Number 6 of 2023 concerning the Stipulation of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 2 of 2022 concerning Job Creation into Law²⁷ (Police Law). Furthermore, the regulation of Bapanas' duties and authorities is carried out through Presidential Regulation Number 66 of 2021 concerning the National Food Agency²⁸ (Presidential Regulation No. 66 of 2021). While the duties and authorities of Perum BULOG are based on Government Regulation Number 13 of 2016 concerning Public Companies of Perum BULOG²⁹ (PP No. 13 of 2016).

The large number of state institutions involved in supporting the implementation of Presidential Instruction No. 6 of 2025 makes the process of drafting, implementing, and supervising policies not easy. Coordination is further challenged because the process involves ministries and technical institutions under the coordination of the four coordinating ministries³⁰. In addition, the potential for overlap between Ministries and Institutions such as

²² In this regard, see the provisions of Article 5 of the Food Law.

²³ Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia Year 2024 Number 343.

²⁴ Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia Year 2024 Number 389.

²⁵ Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia Year 2024 Number 364.

²⁶ Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia Number 2 of 2002; Supplement to Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia No. 4168.

²⁷ Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia Year 2023 Number 41; Supplement to Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia No. 6856.

²⁸ Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia Year 2021 Number 162.

²⁹ Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia Year 2016 Number 96.

³⁰ The four Coordinating Ministries include: (1) the Coordinating Ministry for Political and Security Affairs; (2) the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs; (3) the Coordinating Ministry for Infrastructure and Regional Development; and (4) the Coordinating Ministry for Food Affairs.

the Coordinating Ministry for Food³¹, Bapanas, and Perum BULOG is also another pressing problem that needs to be mitigated by the government³².

The complexity in inter-ministerial and inter-agency coordination hampers the Government's ability to respond swiftly to policy challenges. The suboptimal nature of these efforts have, in some cases, resulted in law enforcement efforts that have had the opposite outcome to the desired impact of the policy intention. For example, while the Indonesian National Police's actions against rice adulteration deserve recognition for protecting consumers' rights to safe food, such measures have not been accompanied by follow-up efforts to mitigate the risk of rice shortages³³. Instead, these actions have instilled apprehension among the business sectors, prompting many companies to withdraw and refrain from increasing supply. Bureaucratic complexity has also hindered the Government through Perum BULOG from effectively distributing rice stocks to replace lost supply.³⁴ The achievement of national rice self-sufficiency thus reflects the success of government food policy primarily in the production domain, indicating that further refinements are necessary. Ultimately, these findings suggest that the implementation of Presidential Instruction No. 6/2025 continues to face policy challenges stemming from limited understanding and inadequate policy quality.³⁵

The Impact of Rice Procurement Policy on the Society

As a strategic commodity that plays a crucial role in determining national food security, the availability of rice at affordable prices not only ensures household consumption stability, but also influences inflation and overall societal welfare. Rice production in recent years has tended to decline based on the following data:³⁶

³¹ However, until this article was compiled, the Coordinating Ministry for Food recorded that it had never issued a Ministerial Regulation related to the implementation of food in the community.

³² For more information, see Tempo.co, "Bapanas Sebut Akan Ada Harmonisasi agar Tak Tumpang Tindih dengan Bulog," <https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/bapanas-sebut-akan-ada-harmonisasi-agar-tak-tumpang-tindih-dengan-bulog-1170606>, accessed August 28, 2025.

³³ See Antara, "Kasus Beras Oplosan, Polda Jatim Amankan Satu Pelaku di Sidoarjo," <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/5013753/kasus-beras-oplosan-polda-jatim-amankan-satu-pelaku-di-sidoarjo>, accessed August 28, 2025; CNN Indonesia, "212 Merek Beras Kemasan Dioplos, Polri Kembali Periksa 25 Produsen," <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250715165842-12-1250999/212-merek-beras-kemasan-dioplos-polri-kembali-periksa-25-produsen>, accessed August 28, 2025; Irfan Kamil, Ardito Ramadhan, "Bareskrim Tetapkan Tiga Tersangka Kasus Beras Oplosan Merek Sania Hingga Fortune," <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2025/08/05/12173391/bareskrim-tetapkan-tiga-tersangka-kasus-beras-oplosan-merek-sania-hingga>, accessed August 28, 2025; Rumondang Naibaho, "Bareskrim Tetapkan Dirut Food Station Tersangka Kasus Beras Premium Oplosan," <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-8039846/bareskrim-tetapkan-dirut-food-station-tersangka-kasus-beras-premium-oplosan>, accessed August 28, 2025; CNBC Indonesia Editorial Team, "2 Bos Besar Beras RI Ditahan Polisi, Tersandung Kasus Beras Oplosan," <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20250810132044-4-656679/2-bos-besar-beras-ri-ditahan-polisi-tersandung-kasus-beras-oplosan>, accessed August 28, 2025; Tribrata News, "Kasus Beras Oplosan Tiga Petinggi PT PIM Jadi Tersangka," <https://tribrataneews.resgayolues.aceh.polri.go.id/index.php/2025/08/05/kasus-beras-oplosan-tiga-petinggi-pt-pim-jadi-tersangka/>, accessed August 28, 2025; Tribrata News, "Polisi Berhadil Mengungkap Kasus Lain di Balik Pengoplosan Beras di Lombok Barat," <https://tribrataneews.polri.go.id/blog/hukum-4/polisi-berhasil-mengungkap-kasus-lain-di-balik-pengoplosan-beras-di-lombok-barat-90750>, retrieved August 28, 2025.

³⁴ Arief Rahman H., "Beras Langka di Pasar Ritel Modern, Ini Biar Keroknya," <https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/6143260/beras-langka-di-pasar-ritel-modern-ini-biang-keroknya?page=3>, accessed August 28, 2025.

³⁵ See Henry Soelistyo, *Omnibus Discourse in Law Making in Indonesia*, Moeka Publishing Page, Bogor, 2024, p. 7; Ministry of National Development Planning / National Development Planning Agency, *National Strategy for Regulatory Reform: Realizing Simple and Orderly Regulations*, Ministry of National Development Planning / National Development Planning Agency, Jakarta, 2016, p. 15.

³⁶ See Ari Muliarta Ginting, "Menakar Tren Harga Beras di Tengah Kecukupan Stok Nasional: Momentum Optimalisasi Distribusi," *Brief Info*, Vol. XVII, No. 14, 2025, pp. 1-5.



Figure 1. National Rice Production During the 2020-2024 Period

However, production in 2025 demonstrates a pronounced seasonal pattern, with peak output occurring in March and April based on the data below:³⁷

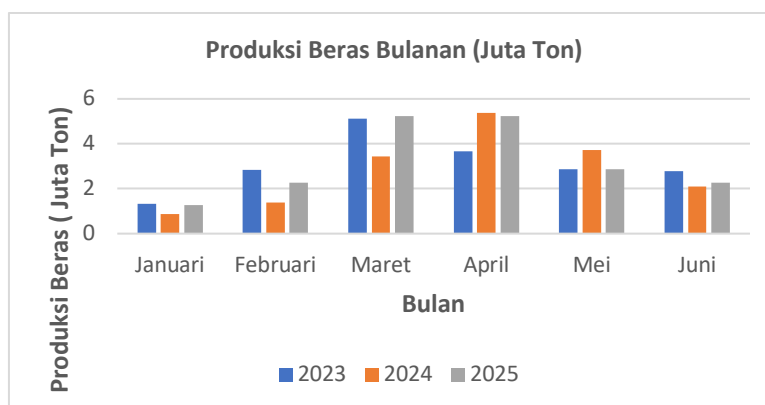


Figure 2. Details of National Rice Production from January - June in 2023-2025

Fluctuations in rice production significantly affect the rice prices in the market. During the observation period, rice prices remained relatively stable around Rp 11,000 to Rp 12,000 per kilogram. Nevertheless, in 2024, rice prices increased by 16.5% reaching Rp 13,588 per kilogram. The highest price of rice recorded during the observation period occurred in April 2024 at Rp 14,258 per kilogram before declining and remain stable until June 2025 at Rp 13,979 per kilogram as shown below.³⁸

³⁷ See Badan Pusat Statistik, "Luas Panen dan Produksi Padi di Indonesia (Hasil KSA Amatan Mei 2025)," *Official Gazette of Statistics*, No. 61/07/Th. XXVIII, 2025.

³⁸ See Badan Pusat Statistik, "Tabel Dinamis Rata-Rata Harga Beras Bulanan di Tingkat Perdagangan Besar (Grosir) Indonesia (Rupiah), 2025," <https://www.bps.go.id/id/query-builder>, accessed August 28, 2025.

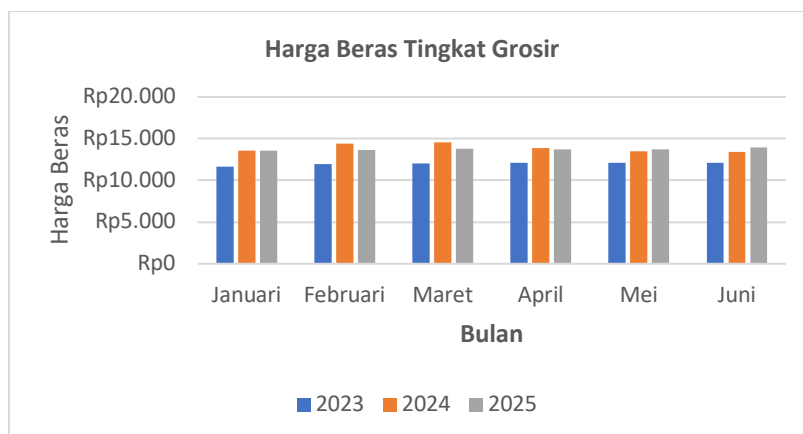


Figure 3. Monthly Rice Prices at Major Trade Levels (Wholesale) in 2023-2025

The data presented in Figure 2 and Figure 3 above reveal an anomaly in the movement of national rice prices. From the perspective of food economics, an increase in rice production should theoretically restrain price escalation or even reduce it. However, although rice production experienced a significant increase in February to March in 2023 and 2025, rice prices are likely to increase. For example in 2023, rice production was recorded to rise from 2.85 million tons to 5.13 million tons. Nevertheless, the price of rice actually increased from Rp 11,900 to Rp 12,042,- per kilogram. A similar pattern also occurred in February to March 2025, when production rose from 2.28 million tons to 5.23 million tons yet the price of rice rose from Rp. 13,604 to Rp. 13,757,- per kilogram. These persistent anomalies occur consistently every year, indicating pressure and potential imbalances between supply and demand. The rise in rice prices has significant implications for low-income households, as the majority of their income is allocated to daily food needs. Consequently, the risk of food insecurity intensifies. Vulnerable groups may experience reduced access to adequate nutrition, potentially triggering malnutrition and other health-related issues.³⁹ Additionally, household purchasing power is likely to diminish due to the increased financial burden.⁴⁰

Optimal Allocation of Authority among Ministries and State Institutions to Enhance the Effectiveness of Rice Procurement Policy Making

To mitigate various challenges that arise in supporting and ensuring the utility of rice procurement policies, it is necessary to strengthen policy-making mechanisms. One approach is to strengthen the obligation to conduct policy impact analyses, as mandated by Law No.12 of 2011 on the Formulation of Laws and Regulations, as amended several times, most recently by Law No.13 of 2022 on the Second Amendment to Law No.12 of 2011 on the Formulation of Laws and Regulations, as amended several times, most recently by Law No.13 of 2022 on the Second Amendment to Law No.12 of 2011 on the Formulation of Laws and Regulations (hereinafter "UU PPP"), as well as implementing a policy impact analysis based on Law

³⁹ Ministry of Agriculture, "Dampak Kenaikan Harga Pangan di Indonesia," <https://upland.psp.pertanian.go.id/public/artikel/1704858527/dampak-kenaikan-harga-pangan-di-indonesia#:~:text=Kenaikan%20harga%20dapat%20mengakibatkan%20kurangnya,pertanian.go.id>, accessed August 28, 2025.

⁴⁰ See Udin Suchaini, "Kompensasi dan Dampak Kenaikan Harga Beras," <https://money.kompas.com/read/2024/02/15/153952826/kompensasi-dan-dampak-kenaikan-harga-beras?page=all#:~:text=Dampaknya%2C%20mengurangi%20tingkat%20konsumsi%20di,Ayo%20donasi%20via%20Kitabisa!&text=moga%20pemerintah%20dgn%20upaya%20segera,harga%20beras%20kembali%20normal>, accessed August 28, 2025.

Number 12 of 2011 concerning the Establishment of Laws and Regulations⁴¹ as amended several times⁴², most recently through Law Number 13 of 2022 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning the Establishment of Laws and Regulations⁴³ (PPP Law), as well as Cabinet Secretary Regulation No. 1 of 2018 concerning Guidelines for the Preparation, Implementation, and Follow-up of Cabinet Session Results (Cabinet Regulation No. 1 of 2018) through:

- 1) Preparation of master guidelines for policy impact analysis using *Cost Benefit Analysis* (CBA) and *Regulatory Impact Assessment* (RIA) instruments to support the implementation of the PPP Law⁴⁴; and
- 2) Require all Ministries and State Institutions to carry out policy impact analysis by issuing a Presidential Instruction in lieu of Presidential Instruction No. 7 of 2017 concerning the Taking, Supervision, and Control of Policy Implementation at the Level of State Ministries and Regional Institutions (Presidential Instruction No. 7 of 2017).⁴⁵

These various efforts are needed, considering that the rice procurement policy is a national, important, and strategic policy, and has a wide impact on the community⁴⁶. To mitigate the negative impacts that can arise from the implementation of a policy, an impact analysis is also needed. The goal is to ensure the usefulness and legal certainty aspects of a policy plan in order to realize justice in accordance with the concept of a welfare state based on the Fourth Paragraph of the Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945 (1945 Constitution).

CONCLUSION

Based on the preceding analysis, this study arrives at the following key conclusions:

- 1) The current allocation of legal authority and jurisdiction among Ministries and Institutions in implementing rice procurement policies remains suboptimal in mitigating rice shortages in society. This condition is attributable to inadequate coordination, compounded by limited understanding and the insufficient quality of policy formulation.
- 2) The prevailing rice shortage has already affected the public, particularly low-income groups, thereby posing the risk of continuing the diminishing of household purchasing power.

In light of these findings, the Government should refine the policy-making mechanism by formulating a master guideline for policy impact analysis to support the implementation of the PPP Law. Furthermore, it should issue a new Presidential Instruction in lieu of Presidential Instruction No. 7 of 2017 to require all Ministries and State Institutions to conduct policy impact analysis in decision-making.

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⁴¹ Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia No. 82 of 2011; Supplement to Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia No. 5234,

⁴² Previously, with Law Number 15 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning the Establishment of Laws and Regulations (Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia Number 183 of 2019; Supplement to Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia No. 6398).

⁴³ Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia Number 143 of 2022; Supplement to Statute Book of the Republic of Indonesia No. 6801.

⁴⁴ In this regard, see the section Explanation and Appendices to the PPP Law.

⁴⁵ This is because Presidential Instruction No. 7 of 2017 was only addressed to Ministers and Heads of Institutions in the Kabinet Kerja era.

⁴⁶ It is based on the First Dictum of Presidential Instruction No. 7 of 2017.

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