

ULTIMATE JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES (ULJLS)

Journal homepage: https://talenta.usu.ac.id/ulils



Effectiveness of Acting Regional Heads After Simultaneous Regional **Head Elections in Indonesia**

Cynthia Hadita*

Faculty of Law Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara, Medan, 20255, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: cynthiahadita@umsu.ac.id

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: Dec 29, 2024 Revised: Apr 26, 2025 Accepted: May 29, 2025 Available online May 31, 2025.

E-ISSN: 3026-0477

P-ISSN:

How to cite:

Hadita, Cynthia. (2025).Effectiveness of Acting Regional Heads After Simultaneous Regional Head Elections in Indonesia. Ultimate Journal of Legal Studies, 3(1), 173-180.

ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the effectiveness of acting regional heads in carrying out government duties after the simultaneous regional head elections (Pilkada) in Indonesia. The research method used is the socio-legal method, which combines a normative and empirical approach to examine the laws and regulations that govern the mechanism for the appointment of acting regional heads and their implementation in practice. Data were collected through document studies, indepth interviews with relevant stakeholders, in several regions that experienced the appointment of Acting Regional Heads. The results of the study showed that the effectiveness of Acting Regional Heads was influenced by several factors, including the personal competence of the Acting Regional Head, local bureaucratic support, and political legitimacy provided by the community and political parties. Although normatively the Acting Regional Head has the same authority as the definitive regional head, in practice there are often obstacles such as limited authority in strategic decision-making and intervention from the central government and political parties. This study recommends improving regulations and strengthening the supervision mechanism to increase the effectiveness of the implementation of the duties of the Acting Regional Head in maintaining the sustainability of the regional government after the simultaneous Regional Elections.

Keyword: Effectiveness, Officials, Regional, Strategic.

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis efektivitas pelaksana tugas (Pelaksana Tugas) kepala daerah dalam menjalankan tugas pemerintahan pasca pemilihan kepala daerah (Pilkada) serentak di Indonesia. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode sosio-legal, yang menggabungkan pendekatan normatif dan empiris untuk mengkaji peraturan perundang-undangan yang mengatur mekanisme penunjukan Pelaksana Tugas kepala daerah serta implementasinya dalam praktik. Data dikumpulkan melalui studi dokumen, wawancara mendalam dengan para pemangku kepentingan terkait, di beberapa daerah yang mengalami penunjukan Pelaksana Tugas. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa efektivitas Pelaksana Tugas kepala daerah dipengaruhi oleh beberapa faktor, termasuk kompetensi personal Pelaksana Tugas, dukungan birokrasi lokal, serta legitimasi politik yang diberikan oleh masyarakat dan partai politik. Meskipun secara normatif Pelaksana Tugas memiliki kewenangan yang sama dengan kepala daerah definitif, dalam praktiknya sering terjadi hambatan seperti keterbatasan wewenang dalam pengambilan keputusan strategis dan intervensi dari pemerintah pusat maupun



This work is licensed under a **Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International.** 10.32734/uljls.v3i1.19588

partai politik. Penelitian ini merekomendasikan perbaikan regulasi dan penguatan mekanisme pengawasan untuk meningkatkan efektivitas pelaksanaan tugas Pelaksana Tugas kepala daerah dalam menjaga keberlanjutan pemerintahan daerah pasca Pilkada serentak.

Keyword: Daerah, Efektivitas, Penjabat, Strategis.

1. Introduction

The large number of Acting Regional Heads after the 2024 simultaneous regional head elections in Indonesia, based on data The number of Acting Governors, Regents and Mayors throughout Indonesia to date is 28 people for Acting Governors, Acting Regents 189 people and Mayors 56 people. This needs to be studied with sociolegal research methods related to problems and limitations of the authority of the Acting Regional Head due to the simultaneous election of regional heads one of them is by using organizational theory, to examine the extent of the authority of the Acting Officer in the local government organization and whether his leadership is as effective as the definitive regional head.

The implementation of simultaneous Regional Head Elections in Indonesia is part of democratic reforms that aim to create efficiency, consistency, and simultaneity in the implementation of local government. However, the political dynamics after the Regional Elections often present new challenges, one of which is filling the vacancy of the position of regional head before the inauguration of the elected regional head. To maintain the continuity of local government, the government appoints an Acting Regional Head who is on temporary duty in carrying out government functions.

This position is vital to ensure the stability of administration and public services during the transition period. Although legally the Acting Regional Head has the authority regulated in the law, its implementation in the field does not always run smoothly. There are a number of challenges that affect the effectiveness of the role of the Task Operator, such as limitations in taking strategic policies, a less supportive bureaucracy, and weak political legitimacy. In addition, intervention from certain parties, both from the central government and political parties, is often an obstacle for the Acting Officer to carry out his duties independently and optimally. This situation can disrupt the stability of the local government, especially if the Acting Officer is considered incapable of meeting the expectations of the community.

From the perspective of constitutional law, the existence of the Acting Regional Head is an administrative solution to overcome the vacancy of the position. However, in practice, the effectiveness of the Task Implementer is not only determined by the legal framework alone, but also by the social and political factors that surround the area. The relationship between the Task Executor and the local bureaucracy, the level of public trust, and political support from stakeholders greatly determine the success of the implementation of the Task Operator's duties. Therefore, a multidimensional approach that includes legal, political, and social aspects is important in analyzing the effectiveness of the Acting Regional Head. In addition, the appointment of the Acting Regional Head also raises issues related to accountability and transparency.

In some cases, the Acting Officer is considered more vulnerable to political pressure than the definitive regional head, so strategic decision-making is often influenced by the interests of certain parties. This creates a potential conflict of interest that is detrimental to the community. Therefore, it is important to further examine how regulations and mechanisms for appointing Task Executors can be improved so that their role is truly oriented to the public interest and not just a political tool. With the various challenges faced, the study of the effectiveness of the Acting Regional Heads after the simultaneous Regional Elections is relevant to ensure that

¹ Mendagri Tito on https://babelprov.go.id/.

the leadership transition runs well without sacrificing the quality of local government. This research is expected to provide a comprehensive understanding of the factors that affect the effectiveness of Task Implementers, as well as provide policy recommendations that can strengthen the government transition mechanism in Indonesia.

2. Method

S Wheeler and PA Thomas argue that socio-legal research is an interdisciplinary research that contains various scientific fields, not only legal science. As S Wheeler and P.A. Thomas argue:²

"Socio-legal studies in the UK, which provides the context of the discussions here, in chapter 1 and in the final section of the book, has grown mainly out of law schools' interest in promoting interdisciplinary studies of law. Whether socio-legal studies is regarded as an emerging discipline, subdiscipline or a methodological approach, it is often viewed in the light of its relationship to, and oppositional role within, law"

Whatever the reason for the 'anomaly', there is at least one important implication for socio-legal research. The absence of a textual method means that the experience of researching the law gained by one generation is not systematically available to the next. This makes teaching socio-legal research difficult, and can interfere with efforts to develop a strong or cumulative scientific tradition.³ According to Sulistiyowati et al., the importance of cooperation in legal development (multidisciplinary) through a socio-legal approach to review government performance: *good governance* or *bad governance*. What is required is humility, in-depth knowledge and engagement measured over a span of years. It is also demanded, *last but not least*, to conduct a multidisciplinary study of law and legal institutions.⁴ The method use on this paper is socio legal research, one of the social theories used in this study is organizational theory to examine the effectiveness of Task Executors in local government organizations.

3. Result and Discussion.

The word official has a meaning, namely a person who has a position or a person who holds a position or rank, so it can be understood that a person who is holding a position is called an official. Meanwhile, people who only hold temporary positions because they are unable to carry out their duties and functions are called acting or better known as Acting Duties (Executing Duties). Acting Officers in state administration are officials who occupy temporary positions because officials who occupy previous positions are obstructed or affected by legal problems so that they cannot carry out their duties from their positions. Executors are appointed by officials at a higher level and generally occupy structural positions in state administration, such as the head of a government institution. However, this term is also used for public positions such as Governor, or Regent/Mayor.

Regional Heads during their leadership period are limited by laws and regulations. Indonesia itself already has a rule that the Regional Head in carrying out his function as the head of the Regional Government, namely for

² S Wheeler dan PA Thomas, 'Socio-Legal Studies' Dalam DJ Hayton, (ed), Law's Future(s) (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2002), hlm. 271. Lihat juga PA Thomas, 'Socio-Legal Studies: The Case of Disappearing Fleas and Bustards' (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1997).

³ R Banakar, *Merging Law and Sociology* (Berlin: Galda & Wilch, 2003)

⁴ Sulistyowati Irianto, Jan Michiel Otto, Sebastiaan Pompe, Adriaan W. Bedner, Jacqueline Vel, Suzan Stoter, Julia Arnscheidt, *Seri Unsur-Unsur Penyusun Bangunan Negara Hukum Kajian Sosial-Legal*, (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia, Universitas Leiden, Universitas Groningen, 2012), hlm. 195

⁵ Firdaus Arifin & Fabian Riza Kurnia. 2019. Penjabat Kepala Daerah, Yogyakarta: Thafa Media, halaman 105.

5 (five) years, after which there will be a vacancy due to the expiration of the term of office that has been determined by laws and regulations and can continue again for the same period. After that, the change of Regional Heads will be carried out simultaneously in all regions in Indonesia which aims to achieve budget efficiency in the implementation of the Regional Head Election (Pilkada). Regional Heads who are unable to carry out their duties and obligations can cause disruption in the implementation of local government. Therefore, to maintain the stability of the implementation of local government, it is necessary to appoint a temporary official (acting officer) of the Regional Head who will carry out the routine duties of defensive officials for a while.⁶

Regional Heads at any time are also unable to carry out their functions as leaders of Regional Governments due to problems in social, political, and legal aspects that can cause vacancies in the position of Regional Heads due to problems from several of these aspects. The condition of the vacancy of the position of the Regional Head caused by the expiration of the term of office and the responsibility of the Regional Head in the government structure and/or related to legal problems so that it is necessary to appoint a replacement official for the Regional Head by the government in accordance with the provisions of laws and regulations, then the filling of the vacancy is given to an official called the acting officer to carry out the authority of the Regional Head to run The wheels of government to continue to run as they should. The authority to carry out duties addressed to the substitute official shows that the executor is not a defensive position so that it has the authority limit that has been determined by laws and regulations. Article 34 of Law Number 30 of 2014 concerning Government Administration explains that the duties of an executor are to carry out duties and determine and/or carry out decisions and/or routine actions that are the authority of his position in accordance with the provisions of laws and regulations.

The appointment of the acting Regional Head can cause problems in the aspect of Constitutional Law, because regarding the power of government (executive), whether it includes organs or functions of government, outside those that are not organs and functions of lawmakers and the judiciary because the acting Regional Head is different from the definitive Regional Head, both in terms of appointment and authority possessed by the acting officer of the Regional Head in running the wheel of Government Area.

Regional heads who are currently unable to carry out their duties in accordance with the provisions of Article 78 of Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, to fill the vacancy of the position in accordance with the provisions of Article 86 paragraph (5) of Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government explained that if the Regional Head and/or Deputy Regional Head is dismissed from their positions, the President shall appoint the acting Governor at the proposal of the Minister, and the Minister appoints the acting Regent/Mayor on the proposal of the Governor as a representative of the central government until there is a court decision that has permanent legal force. Further provisions regarding the requirements and term of office of officials replacing regional heads will be regulated in government regulations.

The provisions in Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors state that Regional Heads and/or deputy regional heads who are still actively serving and advance again in the process of electing Regional Heads for the second term or those who are called incumbent candidates, either with the condition of being nominated and/or running for office, must undergo leave outside of state dependents that cause Regional Heads to be prevented from carrying out their duties and authorities as usually. Based on Article 70 paragraph (3) letter a of Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors for pairs of candidates for Regional Heads who are still actively serving as Governors,

⁶ Nandang Alamsah Deliarnoor, Problematika Pelaksana Tugas (Pelaksana Tugas) Dalam Masa Transisi Pemerintahan (Pra dan Pasca Pilkada Serentak), Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, Volume.1, Nomor 2, Oktober 2018, halaman 324.

⁷ Dewi Triwahyuni & Fuqoha, Efektivitas Jabatan Pejabat Pelaksana Tugas (PELAKSANA TUGAS) Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemerintahan, Jurnal Administrasi Negara, Volume 3, Nomor 2, Januari – April 2019, halaman 35

Regents, and Mayors who participate in re-nominating, during the Regional Head election process or the campaign period must meet the provisions for taking leave outside of state dependents.

Other conditions that cause the Regional Head to be unable to carry out their duties continuously or are in an obstacle are still regulated in Article 78 of Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, namely:

1. The regional head and/or deputy regional head quit because: a. Die; b. Own request; c. Dismissed. 2. Regional heads and/or deputy regional heads are dismissed as intended in paragraph (1) c because: a. End of his term of office; b. Unable to carry out duties continuously or permanently unable to perform their duties continuously for 6 (six) months in a row; c. Declared to have violated the oath/promise of the position of regional head/deputy regional head; d. Failing to carry out the obligations of regional heads and deputy regional heads as intended in article 67 letter b; e. Violating the prohibition for regional heads and deputy regional heads as referred to in Article 76 paragraph (1), except for letters c, i, and j; f. Committing a reprehensible act; g. Given duties for a certain term of office by the President which are prohibited from being concurrently held by the provisions of laws and regulations; Using false documents and/or information as required at the time of nomination of regional heads/deputy regional heads based on evidence from the institution authorized to issue documents; i. Obtaining sanctions for dismissal.

The Acting Officer is an official who occupies a temporary position because the official who occupied the previous position was obstructed or affected by legal problems so that he could not carry out his duties from his position. Executors are appointed by officials at a higher level and generally occupy structural positions in state administration, such as the head of a government institution. However, this term is also used for public positions such as Governor, or Regent/Mayor. If the defensive official is unable to perform his duties, the government official has the right to use his authority in making decisions or actions, namely appointing a government official who fulfills the mandate as a daily executor or executor to carry out the duties of the official who is in permanent absence.

The term "duty executor" refers to Article 14 paragraph (1) and paragraph (2) of Law Number 30 of 2014 concerning Government Administration, this provision states that government agencies and/or officials obtain a mandate if they are assigned by the agency and/or government officials above them and are routine duty performers. The routine duty implementers in question are daily implementers who carry out the duties of defensive officials who are temporarily disabled and duty implementers who carry out the duties of defensive officials who are permanently disabled. Based on Article 4 paragraph (1) of the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 1 of 2018 2018 concerning Amendments to the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 74 of 2016 concerning Leave Outside the State Dependents which in substance contains that as long as the Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent, as well as the Mayor and Deputy Mayor are unable to carry out their duties due to Leave Outside the State Dependent, a temporary acting or Acting Governor is appointed, Acting Regent, and Acting Mayor until the completion of the campaign period in the Regional Head election process.

The mechanism is as meaning in Article 5 paragraph (3) of the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 1 of 2018 concerning Leave Outside the State Dependents which stipulates that the Acting Governor as referred to in Article 4 paragraph (2) will be appointed by the Minister. The Acting Regent/Mayor as referred to in article 4 paragraph (3) will be appointed by the Minister at the proposal of the Governor. The explanation of the high-ranking officials can refer to Article 19 concerning the State Civil Apparatus (Law Number 5 of 2014. The interim official or Acting Governor will be appointed by the minister and the interim official or Acting Regent/Mayor will be appointed by the minister through the governor's proposal except in the case of carrying out national strategic interests, the temporary official or the Acting Regent/Mayor can be appointed by the minister without the governor's proposal. The appointment of officials to replace governors, regents, and mayors is determined based on the Ministerial Decree (Article 7 paragraph (1) of the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 1 of 2018 concerning Leave Outside State Dependents).

If the regional head is suspected of being affected by a criminal problem. Based on Article 130 paragraph (1) of Government Regulation Number 6 of 2005 concerning the Election, Ratification of Appointment, and

Dismissal of Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads in accordance with the principle of presumption of innocence, the regional head cannot be declared guilty if the judge's verdict has not yet had permanent legal force. Because the legal process takes a long time, and the term of office of the Regional Head is only five years, so to avoid not running the wheels of government in the Regional Government, the Deputy Regional Head is appointed as the acting or Acting Regional Head to replace the Regional Head to carry out the duties of the Regional Head after six months of the legal process being appointed and determined by the Minister of Home Affairs.

Based on Article 14 paragraph (7) of Law Number 30 of 2014 concerning Government Administration, Government Agencies and/or Officials who obtain Authority through Mandate are not authorized to take Decisions and/or Actions of a strategic nature that have an impact on changes in legal status in aspects of organization, personnel, and budget allocation. In the explanation of Article 14 paragraph (7), it is stated that what is meant by "Decisions and/or Actions of a strategic nature" is Decisions and/or Actions that have a major impact such as the determination of changes in strategic plans and government work plans. The change in the legal status of the organization in question is to determine a change in the organizational structure. Changes in the legal status of personnel are the appointment, transfer, and dismissal of employees. A change in budget allocation is a change in the budget that has been allocated. Article 17 paragraph (2) of Law Number 30 of 2014 concerning Government Administration that government officials are prohibited from abusing authority includes prohibitions on exceeding authority, prohibitions on mixing authority, and prohibitions on acting arbitrarily. The authority of the Task Executor is indeed limited to strategic matters because it is only a continuation of the wheels of government, not the definitive regional head.

Acting or Acting Regional Heads who are appointed to fill the vacancy of the position of Regional Head because they resign to nominate/be re-nominated as candidates for Regional Head/Deputy Regional Head, as well as Regional Heads appointed from Deputy Regional Heads who replace regional heads are prohibited: 1. Carry out employee mutations. 2. Canceling permits that have been issued by previous officials and/or issuing permits that are contrary to those issued by previous officials. 3. Making policies on regional expansion that are contrary to the policies of previous officials. 4. Making policies that are contrary to the policies of the previous government administration and official development programs.

An achievement that is planned or set can go well or vice versa. In this case, effectiveness is seen as a result obtained from tasks attached to a person or position. According to Agung Kurniawan, effectiveness is the ability to carry out the tasks and functions (operations, activities, programs or missions) of an organization or the like without any pressure or tension between its implementation.⁸ According to Richard M. Steers, effectiveness is the extent to which an organization carries out all its main tasks or achieves all goals. In order to achieve the goals to be achieved, there must be a leader who has the task of giving direction and being able to solve various problems that arise in achieving the goals and objectives to be achieved. There are several things that must be done by leaders, including: 1. Every leader of a government agency is obliged to apply the principles of coordination, integration and synchronization both within their respective agencies and with other agencies. 2. Each leader of an organizational unit is responsible for leading and coordinating their respective subordinates and guiding and providing instructions for the implementation of their subordinates' duties. 3. Each leader of an organizational unit is obliged to follow the instructions and be responsible to their respective superiors by submitting periodic reports on time. 4. Each organizational leader is obliged to process and utilize further report reports for decision-making materials, preparation of further reports, and provide instructions to subordinates. 5. In submitting a report, each organizational unit is obliged to provide a copy to other organizational units that functionally have a working relationship. 10

 $^{^8}$ Agung Kurniawan. 2015. Transformasi Pelayanan Publik. Yogyakarta: Pembaruan, halaman 109.

⁹ Richard M. Steers. 2015. Efektivitas Organisasi, Jakarta: Erlangga, halaman 46.

Dewi Triwahyuni & Fuqoha, Efektivitas Jabatan Pejabat Pelaksana Tugas (PELAKSANA TUGAS)
Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemerintahan, Jurnal Administrasi Negara, Volume 3, Nomor 2, Januari – April 2019.

Acting Regional Heads are often considered not as effective as definitive regional heads in carrying out government functions because there are certain limitations and prohibitions that hinder their ability to make strategic policies. Based on the regulations that apply in Indonesia, the Acting Officer is only given the authority to carry out routine government duties, such as daily administration and the implementation of policies that have been previously determined. However, the Acting Officer is prohibited from making decisions or strategic actions that have a wide impact, such as the appointment and dismissal of officials, the allocation of budgets for new projects, and major policy changes that require stronger political legitimacy. These restrictions aim to prevent abuse of authority during the transition period, but also result in stagnation in decision-making in strategic sectors. Taskers often only act as "temporary guards" without the ability to innovate or intervene necessary to deal with urgent problems in the region. This is different from definitive regional heads who have political legitimacy from the results of direct elections, so they are more free in making strategic policies and have stronger support from the bureaucracy and the community.

The Acting Officer is also vulnerable to political pressure, both from the central government and political parties with interests in the area. Their dependence on political actors outside the region often reduces the independence of the Acting Officers in running the government. This situation not only weakens the effectiveness of government, but can also create uncertainty and distrust among the community and local bureaucracy. Another limitation is the term of office of the Acting Officer which is usually short. This transition period leaves the Task Operator without enough time to understand local problems in depth or design effective long-term solutions. On the contrary, definitive regional heads have enough time to plan, implement, and evaluate the policies they set, thus allowing the creation of sustainable regional development. With these various obstacles, the Acting Regional Head tends to be less effective than the definitive regional head in maintaining government stability and providing optimal public services. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen regulations that provide certain flexibility for Task Implementers to handle strategic issues without violating the principle of accountability. In addition, there needs to be a better oversight mechanism to ensure that the Executor continues to carry out his duties in a transparent and public interest-oriented manner.

4. Conclusion

The effectiveness of the Acting Regional Heads (Acting Duties) after the simultaneous Regional Head Election (Pilkada) in Indonesia is greatly influenced by a number of factors, both normative and practical. Legally, the Task Executors have adequate authority to run the local government, but in practice there are various challenges that hinder the optimization of their roles. Factors such as limited authority in strategic decision-making, low legitimacy in the eyes of the public and bureaucracy, and political intervention are often the main obstacles. This situation not only affects the stability of local government, but also the quality of public services during the transition period. Therefore, efforts are needed to improve regulations that provide clarity regarding the duties and authority of Task Implementers, as well as strengthening the supervision mechanism to ensure their accountability and independence. Thus, the post-election government transition can run more effectively, regional stability is maintained, and the interests of the community can be well served.

5. Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the Publisher, namely ULJLS University of North Sumatra for being willing to publish this manuscript. The author also expressed his gratitude to the University of Muhammadiyah North Sumatra for supporting the author to continue to work in the field of law, especially constitutional law.

6. Conflict of Interest

There is no conflict of interest in this study.

References

Agung Kurniawan. (2015). Transformasi Pelayanan Publik. Yogyakarta: Pembaruan.

Dewi Triwahyuni & Fuqoha, (2019), Efektivitas Jabatan Pejabat Pelaksana Tugas (PELAKSANA TUGAS)

Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemerintahan, Jurnal Administrasi Negara, Volume 3, Nomor 2, Januari –

April 2019.

Firdaus Arifin & Fabian Riza Kurnia. (2019). Penjabat Kepala Daerah, Yogyakarta: Thafa Media.

Mendagri Tito on https://babelprov.go.id/.

Nandang Alamsah Deliarnoor, (2018), Problematika Pelaksana Tugas (Pelaksana Tugas) Dalam Masa Transisi Pemerintahan (Pra dan Pasca Pilkada Serentak), Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, Volume.1, Nomor 2, Oktober.

PA Thomas, (1997), 'Socio-Legal Studies: The Case of Disappearing Fleas and Bustards, Aldershot: Dartmouth.

R Banakar, (2003), Merging Law and Sociology, Berlin: Galda & Wilch.

Richard M. Steers. (2015). Efektivitas Organisasi, Jakarta: Erlangga.

Sulistyowati Irianto, Jan Michiel Otto, Sebastiaan Pompe, Adriaan W. Bedner, Jacqueline Vel, Suzan Stoter, Julia Arnscheidt, (2012), *Seri Unsur-Unsur Penyusun Bangunan Negara Hukum Kajian Sosial-Legal*, Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia, Universitas Leiden, Universitas Groningen.