

CHAPTER II

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF KPK

2.1 Overview of KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission)

2.1.1 A Brief History of the KPK

Indonesia has one legal institution that serves as a prevention and eradication of corruption. The institution is known as KPK or stands for Corruption Eradication Commission. This institution scares the corrupt and many corruption cases have been exposed since the establishment of the KPK. The establishment of this institution cannot be separated from the many cases of corruption in Indonesia. The rise of corruption itself has been going on for a very long time and has its own history. Taken from data from the official website of the KPK, if this institution was formed based on Law Number 30 of 2002 concerning the Corruption Eradication Commission. Through this regulation, the KPK is mandated to eradicate corruption professionally, intensively, and continuously. At the beginning of its formation, the KPK was an independent state institution that in carrying out its duties and authorities was free from any power. The KPK was formed not to take over the task of eradication from pre-existing institutions, but as an encouragement or stimulus so that efforts to eradicate corruption by existing institutions become more effective (Welianto, 2020).

As mentioned earlier, Indonesia has a long history of combating corruption. Resistance to corruption was visible even since the beginning of Indonesia's independence in 1945. Juridical eradication of corruption began in 1957 with the issuance of Military Ruler Regulation Number 6 of 1957 or PRT / PM / 06/1957 concerning Steps to Eradicate Corruption. The focus of these regulations is on investigating politicians who amass suspicious assets by examining their personal accounts. The army was also authorized to confiscate the assets of suspects but limited to perpetrators of corruption after April 9, 1957. In those days, some politicians were interrogated and even arrested. This step to eradicate corruption finally shook many parties, but in the end General AH Nasution admitted that it was difficult to eradicate corruption. Various things became a shaky factor in the steps to eradicate corruption at that time, including corruption in the Army itself (Issha Harruma., 2022).

In 1959, President Soekarno established the State Apparatus Activities Supervisory Board (Bapekan) which was tasked with supervising every activity of the state apparatus and conducting research. This institution turned out to get an overwhelming response at the beginning of its presence. By July 1960, there were 912 reports of corruption reported by the public, of which 400 were processed. The second institution named Paran or the State Apparatus Retooling Committee was established in 1960 in January with Sukarno's approval. The institute was initiated and chaired by AH Nasution. However, the existence of these two institutions ended with overlapping roles. Bapekan then agreed to focus on supervising and researching the activities of the state apparatus, while Paran focused on cracking down on corruption. Bapekan was disbanded in May 1962. Paran was disbanded when it handled only 10 percent of the cases it had in May 1964 (Suraji, 2015).

Entering the New Order era, the eradication of corruption in the New Order was not much different from the Old Order (Purwaningsih, 2015, p. 231). In fact, corruption is said to be increasingly rampant and evenly distributed to all lines of life and government. The president at that time, Suharto, continued to be required to show his seriousness in eradicating corruption. The DPR finally passed Law Number 3 of 1971 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption. However, in the law found several weaknesses where these weaknesses are laws that do not apply retroactively or laws that are newly made now, will not punish actions committed in the past (Asmana, 2019) and did not place the army under civilian jurisdiction. Over time, this law has proven to be ineffective in eradicating corruption. The New Order was the era of the regime that issued the most regulations because of its long reign, but the regulations that were remade did not work effectively. Entering the era of reform born from the national movement to save Indonesia from Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism which is expected to show seriousness in eradicating corruption during the leadership of President B.J in 1999. In this era, Law Number 28 of 1999 concerning the Implementation of a Clean and Free State from KKN or Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism was born. Based on this law, a number of anti-corruption institutions were formed, such as the State Official Wealth Supervisory Commission (KPKPN). In the same era, Law Number 31 of 1999 concerning the Eradication of Corruption did not produce significant results (Juwono, 1945-2014).

During the administration of President Abdurrahman Wahid or commonly known as Gus Dur, a Joint Team for the Eradication of Corruption (TGTPK) was formed in 2000 and law enforcement officials and civil society elements were targeted by the team. Gus Dur even issued Government Regulation (PP) Number 71 of 2000 concerning Procedures for Implementing Community Participation and Awarding in the Prevention and Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption. The issuance of this PP aims to increase the active role of the community in eradicating corruption. The KPK institution that stands independently and cannot be influenced by any power makes the KPK at the beginning of its establishment feared by officials. This also makes the KPK still being maintained by SBY. Not stopping there, SBY also made a new breakthrough for the KPK by forming a Corruption Eradication Team or referred to as TimTas Tipikor based on Presidential Decree Number 61 of 2005. This team is assigned and directly responsible by the president. Although the existence of this team did not last long because it was disbanded in mid-2007, the KPK continued to work with the disclosure of corruption from small to the largest. With this phenomenon, the KPK is the only legal institution that has won the hearts of the public (Pusat, 2005).

2.1.2 KPK Conditions for the 2019-2023 Period

According to a book written by Denny Indrayana entitled “Don't Kill the KPK”, the birth of the KPK was indeed caused by three crises that occurred in Indonesia. The three crises in question are legal stagnation, the inability of the government to maintain the peace of the people or regions, and stagnant economic growth, as a result of economic policy failures and the collapse of government bureaucratic capacity. It should be admitted that the source of the various crises that occurred did come from the corrupt behavior of government officials supported by some businessmen and the community itself. The corruption process that used to occur until now starts from the nomination period of officials. In fact, it continued in the next political recruitment process, including in the nomination of legislative members, both at the regional and national levels. This is evidenced by one of the phenomena that occurred in 2009 during the political oligarchy in which there was a filling of legislative candidates in the 2009 election, allegedly to protect the inner circle of political party figures or businessmen as well as parties that perpetuate corruption. This is also supported by the statement that political parties are one

of the most corrupt institutions in Indonesia from TII or Transparency International Indonesia (Indrayana, 2009, pp. 21-22).

Since the inauguration of 5 KPK commissioners for the 2019-2023 period with all forms of controversy until now, many political observers already know that the challenge for the KPK will be more difficult in the future, because the vision and mission formed are no longer about eradicating corruption but political interests that enter legal institutions including the KPK (Solichah, 2019). ICW, which is also serving as a corruption monitoring organization in Indonesia, stated that ICW doubted the five leaders of the Corruption Eradication Commission from the beginning. This is based on political issues related to the election of KPK leaders. The reason is, according to the ICW website, Commission III of the House of Representatives in charge of legal issues clearly did not choose according to the criteria that had been set for prospective KPK leaders. Firli Bahuri was proven to have committed ethical violations when he was Deputy Enforcement, but in this period he was made the leader of the KPK. The conclusion of this fact was obtained after the Internal Supervision Directorate of the KPK completed an examination conducted since September 21, 2018, in which a number of violations had been committed by Firli Bahuri such as meeting twice with the Governor of NTB, namely Tuan Guru Bajang or Zainul Majdi. This is supported by KPK data when investigating allegations of corruption related to local government shareholding in PT Newmont in 2009-2016. Firli also never asked permission to have a meeting with parties related to the case and never reported the matter to the leader (Wardah, 2019).

Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) researcher Kurnia Ramadhana explained that her agency had predicted that Commission III of the DPR would choose a candidate for KPK leadership that suits their political tastes, although it had to ignore negative notes related to certain KPK leadership candidates. Under these conditions, the eradication of corruption in Indonesia is moving further away from its initial hope, which is to create a government that is completely clean and free from KKN. Kurnia added that the doubts expressed by his institution were also encouraged by the passing of the new KPK Law and the creation of the Supervisory Board (Risalah, 2019).

In the 2019-2023 period, political researchers often state that the worst KPK period is at this time. According to Arif Susanto, a political observer of strategy exposits,

the KPK Selection Committee for the 2019-2023 period is the worst Pansel. During the election process, Arif said that the consideration in the selection of KPK commissioners was not based on scientific aspects balanced with the professionalism of the leadership candidates, because the KPK Pansel only focused on the technical capabilities of law enforcement. The law enforcers who have been passed by the KPK Pansel 2019-2023 are the police, prosecutors, and judiciary. Thus, Arif emphasized that the quality of the KPK became worse because it started from the unbalanced quality of elections during a discussion with the Indonesian Parliamentary Community Care Forum (Formappi), East Jakarta (Qanita, 2019).

The condition of the KPK in this period went through many debates from various parties, such as political observers, academics, the public, corruption observer institutions, and so on. This happened because many things became a source of controversy and were realized to bring down the KPK even from within the institution itself. First, the inauguration of KPK leaders who were not in accordance with the requirements. Second, the decision of a new KPK Law with 26 points of controversy that is completely unfavorable to the KPK. Until the decision delivered by the Constitutional Court (MK) regarding the extension of the term of office of the KPK leadership to five years which made pros and cons. These statements were also conveyed by an academic and political observer, Rocky Gerung during the National Talk Show at the State Islamic University (UIN) Walisongo Semarang, Central Java. Rocky explained that specifically the issue of extending the term of office is a dilemma because it can be a tool to protect corruptors or even extended to process corruption cases that have not been completed or that are still hidden. The existence of the decision will determine whether the KPK will side with power or side with civil society. According to him, the extension bonus must be utilized. If the increased time in office is not used to pursue corruptors, it means that the KPK should be suspected of being a tool of power to increase the burden on civil society (Muchammad Dafi Yusuf., 2023).

Seeing the increasingly uncontrolled condition of the KPK, hundreds of activists, civil figures, and anti-corruption Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) urged President Joko Widodo to immediately form a selection committee for the KPK leadership. This request was contained in a declaration which was later confirmed by the former Chairman of the KPK, Abraham Samad. The existence of this information is a

form of reflection to make the KPK a more qualified legal institution in the future. The reason is, activists, civil figures, and so on argue that the current KPK leadership is full of controversy and has committed many ethical violations, so that all bodies in the KPK are also polluted. In the proclamation there is also a writing “Do not use law enforcement agencies both the KPK, the Attorney General's Office, and the Police as a tool of political thudding”. Muhammad Ridwan, a journalist from JawaPos.com explained that the edict in question requested that President Joko Widodo not intervene either directly or indirectly in influencing the judiciary. This is stated in the article because academics and activists consider that President Jokowi is ignorant and silent about all conditions that occur within the KPK today. The public also concluded that the stalling of anti-corruption eradication and silencing of democracy had reached its peak, namely during the administration of President Jokowi (Ridwan, 2023).

Based on the book entitled “Reform Dicorruption KPK Killed: A Critical Note” written by Bambang Widjojanto and Abdul Fickar Hadjar stated that the current condition of the KPK is concluded to be worsening with the many interventions of other parties that are not in line with the KPK's vision and mission so far. Then, the end of this institution was felt to be really compact and lost at the same time.

2.1.3 KPK Institutions and Systems

The law enforcement agency, the KPK, has a vision that reads “Together with elements of the nation, realizing an Indonesia that is clean from corruption” and a mission that reads “Increase the efficiency and effectiveness of law enforcement and reduce the level of corruption in Indonesia through coordination, supervision, monitoring, prevention, and enforcement with the participation of all elements of the nation” (KPK, 2023, p. 28). The legal basis for the establishment of the KPK is Law Number 30 of 2002 concerning the Corruption Eradication Commission which is mandated to carry out intensive, professional, and sustainable corruption combat. The establishment of the KPK was not to take over the duties of previous legal institutions. The KPK has a system that is guided by five principles, namely: legal certainty, openness, accountability, public interest, and proportionality. This legal institution is fully responsible to the public and submits its reports openly and periodically to the President, DPR, and BPK. This anti-corruption institution is headed by 5 commissioners. Filled with one chairman and four vice chairmen. The five KPK leaders come from government and community elements.

KPK commissioners are supposed to hold office for four years and can be re-elected for one term. This institution is collegial collective on decision-making by the KPK's leader (KPK, 2023, p. 29).

The basis for the creation of this institution is written in full in Law Number 30 of 2002 which contains the mandate to eradicate corruption professionally. At the beginning of its establishment, the KPK was formed with an independent nature in carrying out its duties and authorities and free from any power. The KPK was established as a legal institution to perfect other legal institutions. In this institution, the initial organizational composition of the KPK consists of the Head to General Secretariat to Deputy for Information and Data to Deputy for Internal Control and Community Complaints to the Advisory Team then to the Leadership Secretariat (Korupsi, 2018, p. 6). Meanwhile, the new organizational structure and published in 2023 initially states the Annex to the Regulations of the Corruption Eradication Commission of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2020 concerning the Organization of the KPK starting with the Supervisory Board – Leaders to Special Staff – Secretariat General to Inspectorate – Center for Strategic Planning for Corruption Eradication to Secretariat of the Board of Supervisors – Spokesperson – Secretariat of the Leadership to the Deputy for Education and Community Participation – Deputy for Affairs; Prevention and Monitoring – Deputy for Enforcement and Execution – Deputy for Coordination and Supervision – Deputy for Information and Data (KPK, 2023) along with its ranks which can be seen in the chart below:

Organizational Structure of KPK 2023

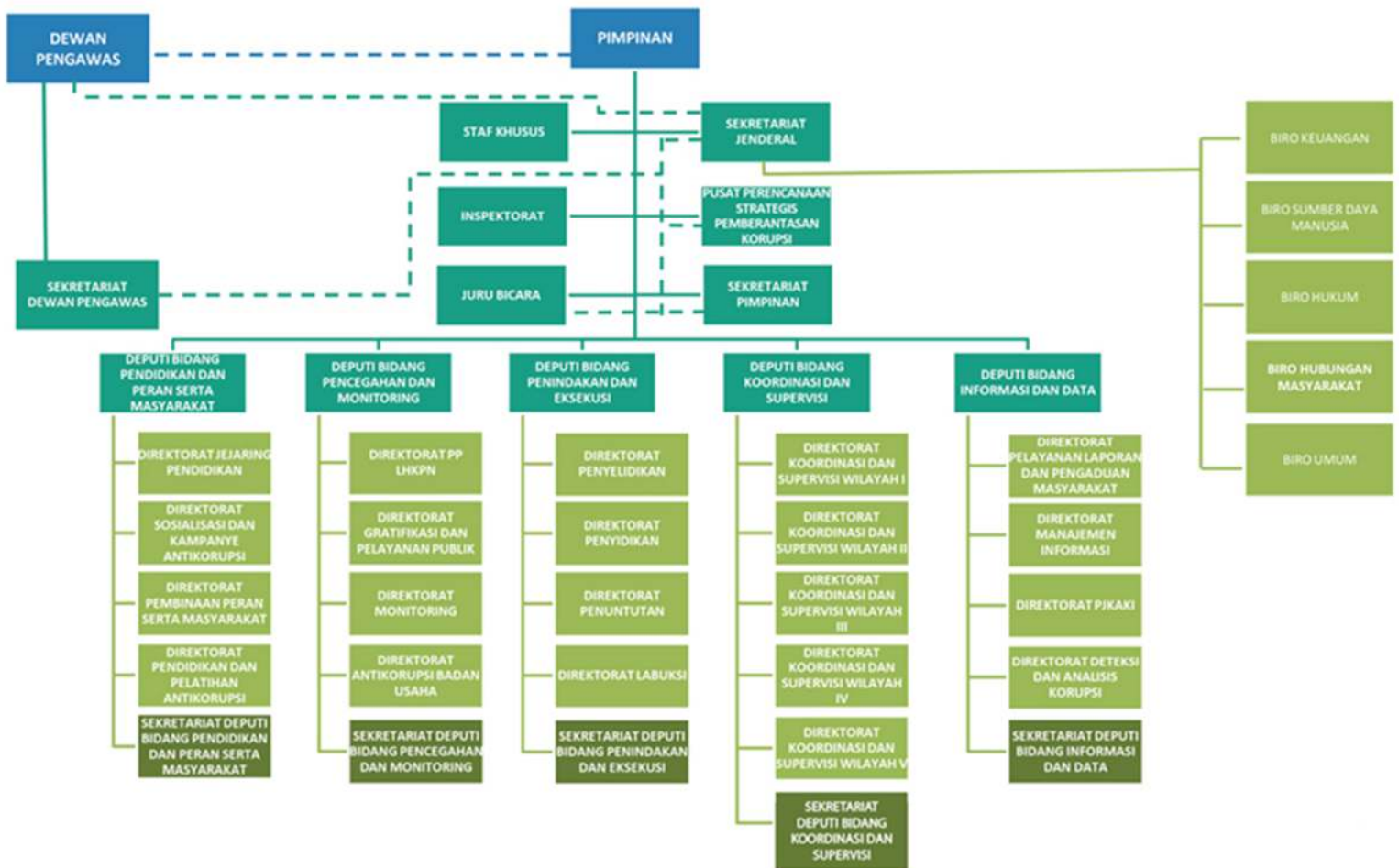


Figure 1. Organizational Structure of KPK 2023
(Source : kpk.co.id)

The KPK system has three strategies to eradicate corruption commonly called the trident of eradicating corruption (Informasi, 2022). Deputy Chairman of the Corruption Eradication Commission, Nawawi Pomolango said that the three models of eradicating corruption were carried out through anti-corruption prevention, enforcement and education. Anti-corruption education in the form of instilling anti-corruption values is carried out by the KPK from the age of children. So, when you become an adult and are in the community, there is an awareness not to commit corruption. The second effort is prevention. This prevention is carried out by the KPK to build a system so that there are no more spaces or loopholes to commit criminal acts of corruption. Finally, the strategy carried out by the KPK is through efforts to crack down on perpetrators of corruption crimes (Irfan Kamil., 2021).

2.1.4 Duties and Authorities of the KPK

The Corruption Eradication Commission was created to monitor government and public institutions against corruption and educate the public about integrity. The KPK is also mandated by the Constitution in eradicating corruption cases professionally, intensively, and continuously (Aeni, 2022). The duties of the KPK are regulated in Law Number 30 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption. The tasks entrusted to the KPK are:

1. Supervise the authorized agencies in combating corruption: the supervision in question is an activity of supervision, research, or review of institutions authorized to eradicate corruption in order to accelerate the results of settlement by creating synergy between related institutions (Indonesia P. P., 2020). In the content of Article 6 letter b limited by Article 8 point 1 of the KPK Law explains that in the implementation of supervision as referred to in Article 6 letter b, the KPK is authorized to supervise institutions that carry out their duties related to the eradication of corruption as well as public services (Dewa Gede Agung Wira Saputra., 2019).
2. Take measures to prevent criminal acts of corruption: this prevention is in the form of OTT or Operation Catch Hands which is the best prevention effort according to Laode M. Syarif in the September-October edition of Dandapala Magazine published by the Supreme Court in 2007 (Gultom, 2018).
3. Monitoring the implementation of state government.
4. Conduct investigations and prosecutions of criminal acts of corruption.
5. Coordinating with authorized institutions in combating corruption.

The KPK also has the authority to:

1. Request reports from relevant agencies regarding the prevention of criminal acts of corruption.
2. Conduct meetings or hearings with authorized agencies in combating corruption.
3. Establish a reporting system in corruption eradication activities.
4. Coordinate the investigation and prosecution of criminal acts of corruption.
5. Request information regarding corruption eradication activities to the relevant agencies.

In addition, the KPK also has an important role in the law enforcement process in Indonesia, such as:

1. Supervision of Verdicts: The KPK has a role to monitor the implementation of penalties and the recovery of assets resulting from corruption.
2. Corruption Prevention: The KPK has a role to supervise the government and public institutions to prevent corruption, as well as educate the public about integrity.
3. Court Strengthening: The KPK plays a role in the trial process and provides legal assistance to victims of corruption.
4. Investigation and Investigation: The KPK's role is to investigate cases of corruption, including wiretapping, searches, examinations, and collecting evidence.
5. Prosecution: The KPK's role is to prosecute perpetrators of corruption with the support of a team of expert prosecutors (Sari, 2023).

From all the points listed above, the KPK clearly needs the law in its favor. Starting from the initial process of investigation to the completion of these cases. However, today, the KPK is weakening its performance because it is driven by people who are not as brave as the seniors who have been eradicated in Firli Bahuri's time. Then, the KPK is also led by people who are proven to have violations of the code of ethics and high for conflicts of interest. Therefore, it can be said that this will not work well if one of them is one-sided. That is, the law is not in favor of the KPK or the system is appropriate but the system is run by incompetent people. But what is happening today in the KPK is a bad system, bad leaders, inappropriate laws, and run by incompetent people.

2.2 Policy Framework: Topic Foundation

The policy framework that forms the basis of the topic in this chapter is in the analysis of political interests in the mechanism for electing KPK leaders in the 2019-2023 period. The number of issues and news circulating, makes this topic need to be discussed in depth and detail with diverse answers from targeted sources in fulfilling the information in this paper. Focusing on the beginning, the KPK is highly respected and highly trusted by the public, but since the 2019 period, the KPK has again become the same legal institution as other legal institutions in the eyes of the Indonesian people. Legal

institutions that are even considered very bad and have the lowest level of public trust than other legal institutions today. Things that happened related to the KPK in the past few years made them upset and did not wear. Several corruption-focused NGOs and political observers concerned about combating corruption have predicted that the KPK's deterioration will occur. This has been seen since there were small weakening that had the potential to damage the KPK from within the institution until finally culminating in the phenomenon of the revision of the KPK Law in 2019. At this stage, some believe that the enactment of a new KPK Law is the first tool of all political interests that are being planned or even being carried out to date.

As is known, the process of selecting KPK leaders in the 2019-2023 period is a very crucial and controversial process. Many people wonder about why people with many records were passed? Why does Pansel for the 2019 period look like it doesn't have superior quality? Why is the selection process for this period not getting better than the previous period? Why did the president choose Pansel who were considered poor in selecting and sorting out candidates for anti-corruption institutions that were already known by the Indonesian people as strong and balanced legal institutions? On whose recommendation did the President choose these Pansel? And on whose recommendation did the Pansel actually choose people who should not have passed to enter the next stage or even to be appointed as KPK commissioners? These questions are summarized from the amount of data taken by authors from various media. The process that should prioritize the needs of the KPK and the community is actually considered to prioritize the needs of interested people or people who 'entrust names' to the KPK Pansel in 2019.

By patent, the process of selecting KPK leaders must run in accordance with procedures that have a clear sequence (Kontras, 2019). First, the Selection Committee that has been selected by the President is mandated to find the best candidates who deserve to occupy the position as KPK commissioner. The people who have registered are then selected by Pansel which ones pass the administrative stage. Furthermore, candidates who pass the administrative stage proceed to the stage of the competency test process. In this process, candidates will follow the selection stage of making papers. This malakah is divided into two types, namely papers on self and competency papers. This self-study paper contains the profiles, experiences, and reasons for the candidates to participate in the selection. In this paper, it is expected that all candidates judge

themselves honestly. This paper will also later be clarified by Pansel whether it can be trusted or not.

The candidates will be given a few days to make a paper about themselves. On the day of collection, for example, if reflecting on the process of the KPK leadership election conducted in 2014, when candidates were asked to make papers about themselves from September 7, 2014 and the collection fell on September 11, 2014. On September 11, 2014, after submitting the first paper, candidates were asked to write a competency paper, but this competency paper was carried out directly on the spot. Competency papers are created using handwriting. The theme of the competency paper is also determined by the Selection Committee. Farouk Muhammad, as a member of the KPK Pansel at that time also said that the theme of writing the competency paper would not be far from the concept of thinking about corruption, such as 'what if you become the leader of the KPK? And how to tackle corruption?'. KPK leadership candidates are given several hours to write competency papers. After the time is up, there will be a team of readers who rate all their writings. This team is not allowed to know the name of the author of the paper. This is done to avoid subjective elements in the assessment.

In addition, members of the team reading papers are also not allowed to be published. Later, the selection results at this stage will be announced. If reflecting on the selection stage of KPK leaders by Pansel in 2014, the selection results were announced on September 15, 2014. Then, there is a profile assessment stage conducted on September 18, 2014 and a track record tracing stage on October 26, 2014. However, before the President received the selection report on October 13, 2014, the candidates for KPK leadership had gone through the interview selection stage on October 9, 2014. After the President received the names of the KPK leadership candidates who had been selected by Pansel, the President gave the names to the House of Representatives Commission III. At this stage, the DPR was assigned to select the five best candidates from the 10 names given by the President from the selection results of the Pansel on duty, then with the results of the fit and proper test from Commission III of the House of Representatives, they chose five names with one chairman and four vice chairmen. After agreeing, the names were handed back to the President to be sworn in as KPK commissioners for the next period.

Reporting from Kompas.com, the process of the mechanism for selecting KPK leaders in the 2019-2023 period is briefly similar to that carried out by Pansel who served in 2014. Which in the selection period for KPK leadership candidates opens registration on June 17-July 4, 2019 with two provisions that online registration closes on July 4, 2019, at 24.00 WIB, while via manual or offline closes on July 4, 2019, at 16.00 WIB. After registering, the administrative selection process began on July 5, 2019 and the results were announced on July 11, 2019. For candidates who pass the administrative selection will proceed to the next stage, namely the competency test process which was carried out on July 18, 2019 and the results were announced a week later, namely on July 25, 2019. Continue at the stage of psychological tests and profile assessments for those who pass the previous stage. Then proceed to the public test process. Enter the interview stage and end with the submission of 10 names of KPK leadership candidates to the President.

Based on the KPK leadership selection process carried out mainly by the Selection Committee in 2019, there are still many questions that need to be questioned, because from several stages alone, candidates who have many records should not be passed. This is stated because people who are said to have a lot of records have been screened at the competency test stage or at most cannot proceed to the public test and interview stage, because these names should have been dropped at the profile assessment stage. The stage that contains looking at the track record of the KPK leadership candidates, the stage where Pansel can assess whether the candidate is worthy or not to be retained, and the moment where Pansel can really open the eyes of who the real figure of the leadership candidate is. Moreover, at this stage, Pansel 2019 itself admits that the profile assessment stage carried out by Yenti and friends has been assisted by eight institutions. The announcement of 20 names that passed the profile assessment was considered not concrete by the public, because the public considered that Pansel 2019 was very blind-eyed to the records made by several leadership candidates who did not deserve to be in the top 20.

In addition, regarding the KPK Law and during its revision period, it seemed rushed with results that were considered by the public to have the potential to weaken the function of the KPK itself. Legal institutions that from the beginning had special authority and were free from any power, are now closed access and given a supervisory board on the grounds of overseeing the running of the KPK. Many academics and ICW researchers

stated that this was not in harmony and completely contrasted with the stance taken by the DPR regarding the new KPK Law. Many sources from various media also attached a lot of controversy in the new KPK Law as evidence of the peak of the weakening of the KPK. The weakening of the KPK has many stages and one of the stages is the stage of the mechanism for selecting KPK commissioners which was mentioned earlier in the beginning of this chapter. At this stage of selection of leadership candidates, many assume that this stage is the initial stage or the initial gate for the emergence of political interests. A stage whose validity is widely questioned by the Indonesian people. The reason is, in the 2019-2023 period, the elected KPK commissioners have proven to have many records. Which, if there were many violations of the code of ethics committed by KPK commissioner candidates at that time, Pansel should not choose these names, because this election was a race on the KPK's vision-mission and both technical and non-technical requirements to become KPK leaders.

Therefore, this paper is assembled with the reason that issues related to the KPK and various things that have happened to date need to be carried out more deeply with the answer to the question 'at what stage did the weakening of the KPK begin? And is the mechanism for electing KPK leaders the most politically dimensioned stage that carries political interests and also causes conflicts of interest?'. Answers from various parties related to this paper and driven by clear empirical facts from tracing documents to the results of the author's interviews with several sources as data reinforcement and data validation regarding how the KPK, how the KPK leadership election process itself, what is the main focus in finding candidates for KPK leadership, to major cases that occur in the KPK as well as closely related to the period before and after the KPK Law which newly established by the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia. The last point is also needed to be revealed in this paper, because there is a series or common thread of the whole phenomenon that occurs in the KPK, but still the main focus on the issue of political interest in the mechanism for electing KPK leaders. This focus will later reveal whether the object under study is an entrance to political interests or political interests are found at other stages.

This paper is also prepared on the basis of intelligence related to political science and policy alignment that should be managed properly, so that the system in any institution, especially the KPK institution, can run with a quality system and its functions

can be run better than in previous years to reach the point of success as one of the legal institutions that can deter corruptors and their staff. In addition, this paper strengthens government scholarship that is thick and close to policy alignment and how these policies can be implemented properly without overlapping and wasting roles in a mechanism, as is found in the process of the KPK leadership election mechanism in the 2019-2023 period.