

## Legal and Political Analysis of the Red and White Cabinet Reshuffle Based on Good Governance Principles

Rizki Mubarok

Universitas Islam Indonesia, Indonesia

Corresponding Author: [24912079@students.uii.ac.id](mailto:24912079@students.uii.ac.id)

### ARTICLE INFO

**Keywords:**

Reshuffle;  
Cabinet;  
Good Governance.

**Article History:**

Received: Oct 27, 2025  
Revised: Nov 14, 2025  
Accepted: Nov 15, 2025  
Published: Nov 16, 2025



Copyright: © 2025 by the authors. Submitted for possible open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY SA) license

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>

### ABSTRACT

*This study examines the design and dynamics of cabinet reshuffles within Indonesia's presidential system, focusing on the Kabinet Merah Putih under President Prabowo Subianto. The president's constitutional authority to appoint and dismiss ministers, as stipulated in the 1945 Constitution and the Law on State Ministries, has generated political and legal challenges, particularly due to the influence of the multiparty system and coalition interests. Using a qualitative method with a normative juridical approach, the study finds that cabinet reshuffles are primarily driven by political stabilization rather than performance evaluation. Principles of good governance such as transparency, participation, accountability, and meritocracy have not been fully realized. The amendment through Law No. 61 of 2024, which removes the limit on the number of ministries, further reinforces transactional politics and an oversized cabinet. This research recommends reformulating ministerial evaluation mechanisms based on performance indicators, strengthening meritocratic and technocratic systems in public office appointments, and enhancing civil society oversight to ensure that reshuffles serve as instruments for democratic, effective, and responsive governance.*

## 1. Introduction

Every country develops its constitutional system in accordance with its needs and national character. In the practice of constitutional democracy, there are three main models: presidential, parliamentary, and mixed. Indonesia adheres to a presidential system as stipulated in the 1945 Constitution, in which the president acts as both head of state and head of government. Based on Article 4 paragraph (1) and Article 17, the president holds executive power and has the authority to form and appoint ministers to assist in running the government. Ministries have positions and

functions that are further regulated in legislation to support the stability and effectiveness of government administration.<sup>1</sup>

State institutions or government institutions are an important part of the constitutional structure that functions to run the government. These institutions include both departmental and non-departmental agencies. Non-departmental institutions include agencies that are not directly under the ministries but have specific duties and functions, including independent institutions that play a role in oversight or law enforcement. The existence of these institutions is strategically important in maintaining the smooth running of state administration while ensuring that governance is effective, transparent, and accountable.<sup>2</sup>

As a country with abundant natural resources and a cultural heritage rich in philosophical values, Indonesia needs a competent and ethical government apparatus. Public officials appointed by the president should have professional competence, ethics, and good public communication skills. The nation's ideological values need to be realized in concrete policies that prioritize the welfare of the people. Constitutionally, Indonesia affirms itself as a country based on the rule of law as stated in Article 1 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution, which places the supremacy of law as the basis for governance. This principle aims to prevent the abuse of power in a constitutional democracy. However, in practice, the principle of the rule of law often shifts to rule by law, when the law is used to legitimize power rather than limit it. As a result, the implementation of governance deviates from the ideals of constitutional democracy envisioned by the nation's founders.<sup>3</sup>

Constitutionally, Article 17 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia grants the president the prerogative to appoint and dismiss ministers. However, in practice, this right is often not exercised purely due to political pressure and compromise with supporting parties.<sup>4</sup> As a result, considerations in the formation of the cabinet are not only based on competence, but also on political interests. This situation has given rise to various problems, such as an enlarged cabinet structure, a decline in government effectiveness due to ministers' loyalty to their parties, and weak checks and balances mechanisms because the House of Representatives does not have the authority to vet ministerial candidates. Thus, the president's prerogative is caught between legal idealism and the political reality of power compromises.<sup>5</sup>

From the New Order era to the present, the dynamics of cabinet reshuffles have revealed a pattern of pragmatic governance. As the holder of executive power, the president has the constitutional prerogative to replace ministers. However, in practice, reshuffle policies often emphasize political compromise and electoral interests. Ministerial replacements are often used as a strategy to

---

<sup>1</sup> Mahesa Rannie, "Hak Prerogatif Presiden di Indonesia Pasca Perubahan UUD 1945," *Simbur Cahaya* 27, no. 2 (Januari 2021): 98–117, <https://doi.org/10.28946/sc.v27i2.1040>.

<sup>2</sup> Selvy Anugrah Maharani, "Kedudukan Lembaga Kepresidenan untuk Mewujudkan Sistem Pemerintahan yang Demokratis Berdasarkan UUD NRI 1945," *Mahkamah: Jurnal Riset Ilmu Hukum* 2, no. 2 (April 2025): 45–53, <https://doi.org/10.62383/mahkamah.v2i2.541>.

<sup>3</sup> Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Konstitusi dan Konstitusionalisme Indonesia*, 2 ed. (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> Pemerintah Pusat Indonesia, "Undang-undang Dasar (UUD) Tahun 1945 dan Amandemen Nomor - tentang UUD 1945 dan Amandemen," Lembaran Negara, 1945.

<sup>5</sup> Jacoba F X Kelbulan, Saartje Sarah Alfons, dan Hendry John Piris, *Hak Prerogatif Presiden dalam Pengangkatan Menteri*, 2, no. 7 (2022).

strengthen majority support in parliament or maintain the stability of political coalitions, which ultimately benefits the political elite rather than strengthening the principles of good governance. Nevertheless, it is not uncommon for reshuffles to also be carried out due to violations of the law or state ethics by ministry officials, although the most dominant pattern remains related to pragmatic interests in the distribution of power.<sup>6</sup>

In the presidential system designed by Indonesia, the executive branch of power held by the president to manage the government is always closely related to the dynamics of political law. The issue of cabinet reshuffles needs to be analyzed in greater depth, not only as a practical political instrument, but also in relation to the principles of good governance and cooperative and participatory political law. This has become increasingly relevant during the administration of President Prabowo Subianto, whose cabinet is known to be quite large and has undergone several reshuffles, especially after a wave of mass protests. This situation confirms that the issue of cabinet reshuffles is not merely a technical matter of government, but also concerns the direction of political law and the quality of governance in Indonesia.

Therefore, this study will explore: (1) How the configuration of legal politics shapes the practice of cabinet reshuffles in Indonesia's presidential system and (2) How the dynamics of the Red and White Cabinet reshuffle reflect the principles of good governance in Indonesia.

## **2. Research Methods**

This research model falls under normative legal research, using a conceptual approach and a statute approach. The statute approach was chosen to analyze the norms contained in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and its derivative regulations, namely Law No. 61 of 2024 Jo Law No. 39 of 2008 concerning State Ministries, which form the legal basis for the administration of the cabinet in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the conceptual approach is used to examine the concept of cabinet reshuffle in legal politics and the framework of the good governance system, so that the analysis is not only limited to written norms, but also to legal politics and considers the values based on the principles of good governance.

The data collection technique used is library research. The secondary sources used consist of primary and secondary legal materials. Primary legal materials consist of laws and regulations concerning the Ministry of State. Meanwhile, secondary legal materials come from documents such as books, scientific journals, research reports, credible media articles, and official documents relevant to the research. Data from research sources were critically analyzed in order to form an understanding of how legal politics in cabinet reshuffles work in Indonesia's presidential system, both in terms of constitutional norms and political practices that have developed based on the principles of good governance.

## **3. Result and Discussion**

### **3.1. Legal Policy in the Dynamics of Cabinet Reshuffle under the Presidential System in Indonesia**

---

<sup>6</sup> Maulana Arfidata Reyhan dkk., "Sejarah Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia: (Constitutional Law History in Indonesia)," *Indonesian Journal of Law and Justice* 1, no. 4 (Mei 2024): 9, <https://doi.org/10.47134/ijl.v1i4.2588>.

Indonesian constitutional law throughout its history, from the early days of independence to the reform era and the contemporary period, has undergone dynamic development. This journey can be mapped into several important periods, namely the early days of independence with the 1945 Constitution (August 18, 1945 - December 27, 1949), the period of the United States of Indonesia (December 27, 1949 - August 17, 1950), the period of the Provisional Constitution (August 17, 1950 – July 5, 1959), the period of returning to the 1945 Constitution (July 5, 1959 – 1999), and the period after the amendment of the 1945 Constitution (1999–2002). These constitutional changes show that the form of government is always dynamic, because the constitution serves to shape the character of a dynamic state system based on the development of the state and the prevailing political direction. In addition, the leadership style of each president also influences the character of democracy and the political direction of the law during their term.<sup>7</sup>

Within the framework of a presidential system, a cabinet reshuffle is a normal practice in a democracy. The president, based on his authority, appoints and dismisses ministers who serve as aides in the government. This is in accordance with Article 17 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which states that:

- a. The president is assisted by state ministers.
- b. Ministers are appointed and dismissed by the president.
- c. Each minister is responsible for specific affairs and government administration.
- d. The establishment, modification, and dissolution of state ministries are regulated by law.

The cabinet is essentially an executive body formed by the president to assist him in running the government. In constitutional practice, the term cabinet is often equated with the Council of Ministers or the Executive Council, depending on the system of government in place. The composition of the cabinet varies from country to country, but generally ranges from 10 to 20 ministers. Several studies have shown a correlation between the size of the cabinet and the quality of a country's governance, with small cabinets tending to be more efficient and stable than large ones.<sup>8</sup>

Presidential leadership styles have varied over time. Some presidents have formed cabinets with simple and proportional compositions, while others have formed large (bloated) cabinets.<sup>9</sup> The dynamics regarding the composition of ministers in each presidential administration from the era of independence to the present day show how political dynamics and political configurations often influence policy-making, especially in determining the number of ministers in the government

---

<sup>7</sup> Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Perkembangan dan Konsolidasi Lembaga Negara Pasca Reformasi*, 2 ed. (Jakarta: Konstitusi Press, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> Ari Wibowo, Asep Rochman Dimiyati, dan Eni Dasuki Suhardini, "Dinamika Pembentukan Kabinet Merah Putih dalam Mewujudkan Good Governance: Zaken Kabinet Vs Kabinet Pragmatis," *Jurnal Realitas Hukum* 1, no. 1 (2025), <https://jurnal.prestasiku.org/index.php/jrh/article/view/4>.

<sup>9</sup> Abd Hannan dan Busahwi Busahwi, "Problem Politik Kabinet Koalisi; Konflik Kepentingan hingga Konflik Internal Partai Politik," *Kabillah: Journal of Social Community* 6, no. 2 (2021): 49–69, <https://doi.org/10.35127/kabillah.v6i2.151>.

system. The following is a breakdown of the number of ministers in the cabinet from the era of President Soekarno to the present day.

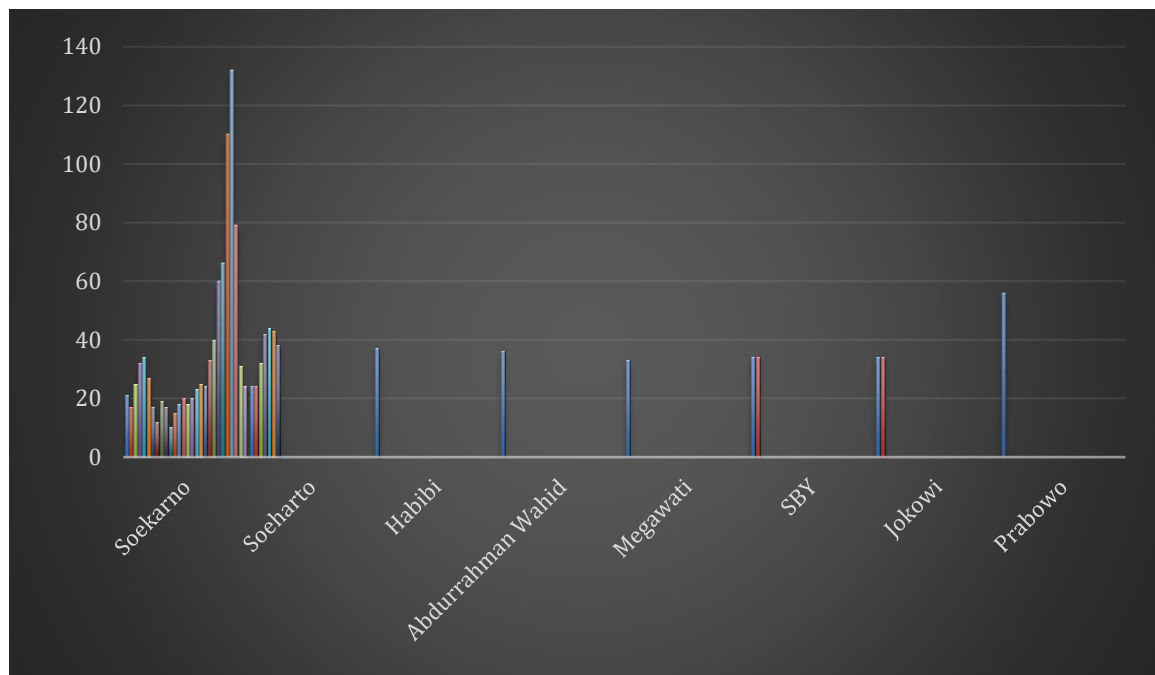


Figure 1. Cabinet Composition Over Time

The public expects the cabinet to be filled with professional figures who are free from narrow political interests. However, constitutionally, the president cannot completely escape the influence of his supporting political party. As a result, the formation of the cabinet often becomes an arena for compromise between political interests and the need for effective governance. The design of the cabinet in Indonesia, which combines ministers from political parties and non-partisans, reflects this form of compromise in a multiparty presidential system.<sup>10</sup>

Theoretically, a cabinet based on expertise is considered more ideal because it is more oriented towards performance and public policy. However, since the 1971 elections, all Indonesian presidents have come from political parties as stipulated in Article 6A of the 1945 Constitution, which requires presidential candidates to be nominated by a party. This situation creates a dilemma: the president gains direct legitimacy from the people, but remains dependent on political support in parliament. Therefore, cabinet reshuffles often reflect not only performance evaluations, but also strategies to maintain political balance within the governing coalition.<sup>11</sup>

In a multiparty presidential system, as explained by Scott Mainwaring and Juan J. Linz, the formation of coalitions is necessary to maintain political stability and legislative support. Consequently, reshuffles are often carried out as a mechanism to reorganize power relations

<sup>10</sup> Syahdina Diva Azahwa dkk., “Implikasi Sistem Presidensial dengan Konsep multipartai Terhadap Stabilitas Politik di Indonesia Pada Pemilu 2024: Indonesia,” *Indonesian Journal of Law and Justice* 2, no. 4 (Juni 2025): 13, <https://doi.org/10.47134/ijlj.v2i4.4420>.

<sup>11</sup> Reja Fahlevi dan Darul Huda Mustaqim, “Kolaborasi Kabinet Zaken dan Kabinet Koalisi dalam Pembentukan Kabinet Efektif,” *Jurnal Ilmiah Mimbar Demokrasi* 19, no. 02 (2020): 48–54, <https://doi.org/10.21009/jimd.v19i02.14939>.

between supporting parties.<sup>12</sup> This phenomenon is related to Richard Katz and Peter Mair's concept of “political party cartelization,” in which large parties tend to collaborate to form a “power cartel” in order to maintain access to state resources and strategic positions in government.<sup>13</sup>

In the context of political law, the theories of Philippe Nonet & Philip Selznick and Mahfud MD emphasize that the character of law is largely determined by political configuration. When politics is democratic and open, the resulting laws tend to be responsive; conversely, when power is elitist or authoritarian, the laws become repressive. Thus, politics and law have a reciprocal relationship: politics determines the direction of law, while law helps shape political practices in the constitutional system.<sup>14</sup>

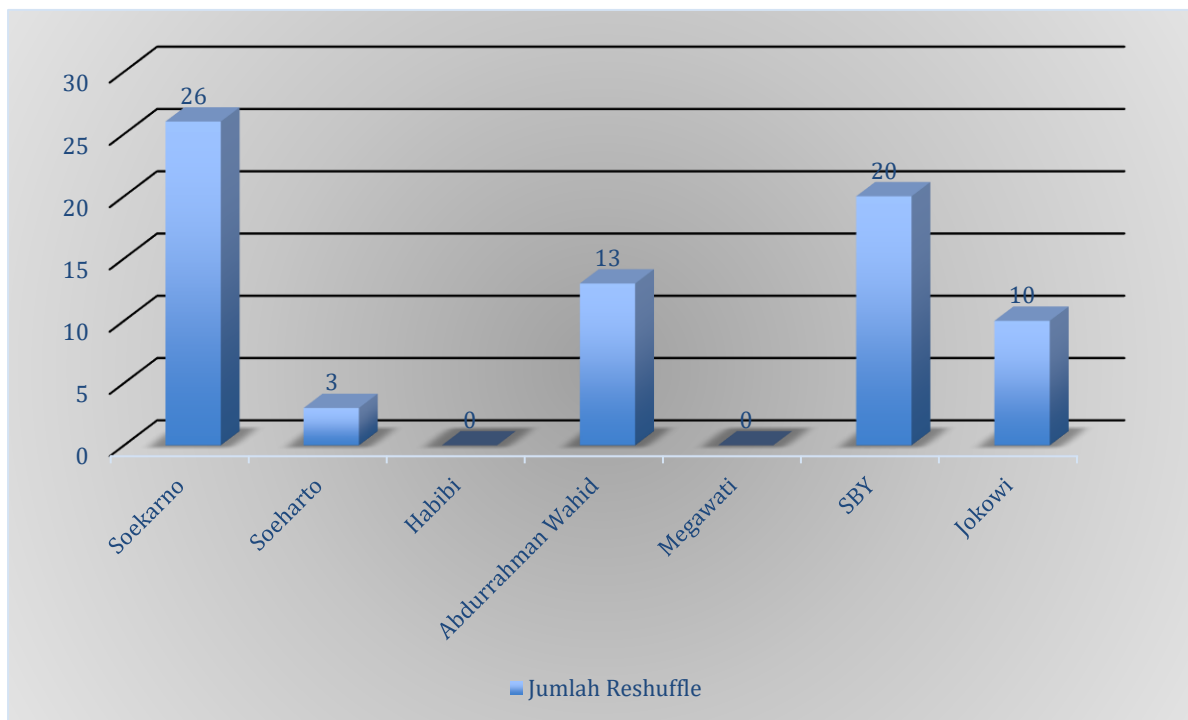


Figure 2. Reshuffle of the cabinet from time to time

Since the era of President Soekarno, cabinet reshuffles have been part of Indonesia's political dynamics. During the era of Liberal Democracy to Guided Democracy, cabinet reshuffles often occurred due to political pressure, inter-party conflicts, and changes in ideological direction. Sukarno is recorded as the president who most frequently carried out reshuffles, such as the change from the First Working Cabinet to the Second (1960) and from the First Dwikora Cabinet to the Second (1966). This pattern shows that reshuffles during that period were more reactive to the domestic political situation and the need to expand the representation of power.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Juan J. (Juan José) Linz, “The Perils of Presidentialism,” *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 1 (Desember 1990): 51–69, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2005.0026>.

<sup>13</sup> Wynne Frederica, “Ketika Politik Menjadi Kartel : Praktik dan Penyebab Suburnya Kartelisasi di Indonesia,” *Socio-political Communication and Policy Review* 2, no. 4 (Juni 2025), <https://doi.org/10.61292/shkr.264>.

<sup>14</sup> Moh Mahfud MD, *Politik Hukum di Indonesia*, 10 ed. (Depok: Rajawali Press, 2020).

<sup>15</sup> Putri Nurul Hikmah, “Dinamika Pergantian Kabinet Masa Demokrasi Liberal: Dampak terhadap Stabilitas Politik 1950-1959,” *Sajaratun: Jurnal Sejarah dan Pembelajaran Sejarah* 8, no. 2 (2023): 32–48, <https://doi.org/10.37478/sajaratun.v8i2.3182>.

In contrast, President Suharto's era saw relatively high cabinet stability. During the New Order, ministerial replacements were limited and more administrative in nature. The centralization of power meant that Suharto was not dependent on pressure from political parties, so reshuffles were not a major political instrument, but merely technocratic adjustments to maintain government stability.<sup>16</sup>

Entering the Reformation era, reshuffles once again became an important phenomenon in Indonesian presidential politics. President Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) often reshuffled his cabinet in response to political dynamics and tensions with coalition parties. Megawati Soekarnoputri was more selective, using reshuffles as a means of maintaining political balance. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) carried out several reshuffles with the aim of improving government performance. Meanwhile, Joko Widodo (Jokowi) used reshuffles as a strategy to respond to public criticism and improve the performance of ministries, both in the Working Cabinet and the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, the frequency of cabinet reshuffles can be used as an important indicator to understand the relationship between the president, political parties, and the stability of the presidential system in Indonesia. The higher the intensity of reshuffles, the greater the political dynamics and pressure faced by the president in maintaining the balance of power in a multiparty system.

### **3.2. The Reshuffling of the Indonesian Cabinet in Accordance with Good Governance System Principles**

The administration of President Prabowo Subianto shows characteristics that differ from previous administrations, influenced by his background and long experience in politics. In the context of modern politics, which is heavily influenced by social media, the public is now more critical and active in assessing government policies. To realize the ambitious Asta Cita program, Prabowo requires strong institutional support and inter-ministerial coordination. Given the program's ambitious scale and significant budgetary requirements, Prabowo's cabinet was formed with a large structure comprising 42 ministers, 10 minister-level officials, and 57 deputy ministers, reflecting a strategy to expand bureaucratic effectiveness and ensure the success of the government's agenda.<sup>18</sup>

The emergence of a very large cabinet design began when regulations regarding the number of ministries underwent fundamental and legally legitimized changes. The new norms set forth in Law No. 61 of 2024 Jo Law No. 39 of 2008 on State Ministries, passed on September 19, 2024, removed the previous restrictions on the number of ministries. With the enactment of this law, the formation of ministries is entirely left to the president, who is the executive power, in order to realize effective governance. This means that the president now has the discretion to determine

---

<sup>16</sup> Defa Akhdan Naufal, "Supersemar dan Stabilitas Politik: Analisis Transformasi Kekuasaan dari Soekarno ke Soeharto Berdasarkan Perspektif Samuel P. Huntington," *Socius: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 2, no. 5 (2024): 15–19, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.14327837>.

<sup>17</sup> Zainal Arifin, Emi Puasa Handayani, dan Saivol Virdaus, "Quo Vadis Kebijakan Penyusunan Kabinet Koalisi Jokowi Tinjauan Filosofis, Historis, Teoritis dan Yuridis," *Khazanah Hukum* 2, no. 1 (2020): 10–23, <https://doi.org/10.15575/kh.v2i1.8282>.

<sup>18</sup> Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, "Kabinet Pemerintahan Indonesia," 2025, <https://setkab.go.id/profil-kabinet/>. Diakses 13 November 2025.

the number and types of ministries that are considered relevant, based solely on considerations of effectiveness and good governance.<sup>19</sup>

This pattern has in fact led to the formation of a very large government coalition with almost no opposition, thereby weakening the legislature's function as a check on the executive. Parliament tends to reflect the power of the executive, which has the potential to obscure the principles of good governance such as accountability, transparency, and control of power. Although the amendment to the law aims to improve the effectiveness of the government, its impact has actually caused problems in maintaining the balance of power and the quality of democracy. From the perspective of good governance, a large cabinet has two sides: it can strengthen the implementation of priority programs through a clear division of tasks, but it also causes inefficiency, overlapping authority, and a high budget burden. Furthermore, the dominance of political parties in the formation of the cabinet creates a dilemma between professionalism and political favors. Therefore, the success of Prabowo's administration will greatly depend on the implementation of the principles of accountability, effectiveness, transparency, and professionalism in the governance of his administration.<sup>20</sup>

One example of political turmoil at the local level can be seen in Pati Regency, where the community protested against a 250 percent increase in the Rural and Urban Land and Building Tax (PBB-P2). The local government justified this policy as a means of increasing stagnant local revenue (PAD). However, the demonstrations showed that the main issue was not simply the size of the tax increase, but rather poor communication and minimal public participation in the policy-making process. The lack of community involvement highlighted the weak implementation of the principles of good governance, which emphasize participation, transparency, and accountability.<sup>21</sup>

This wave of protests spread nationwide through social media, reinforcing the awareness that constitutional democracy is often controlled by the political elite. The large-scale demonstrations on August 25–31 reflected the public's crisis of confidence in the government, which was seen as focusing more on suppressing unrest than on solving the root causes of the problems. This demonstrated the government's lack of responsiveness and accountability.<sup>22</sup>

A few days after the protests subsided, new issues arose, such as accusations of treason, labeling activists as provocateurs, and allegations of forced disappearances and criminalization of democracy activists. Amidst this situation, President Prabowo reshuffled the Red and White Cabinet, replacing a number of ministers and adding new figures. This reshuffle created a new political configuration, and the public hoped that this move was not merely a political maneuver,

---

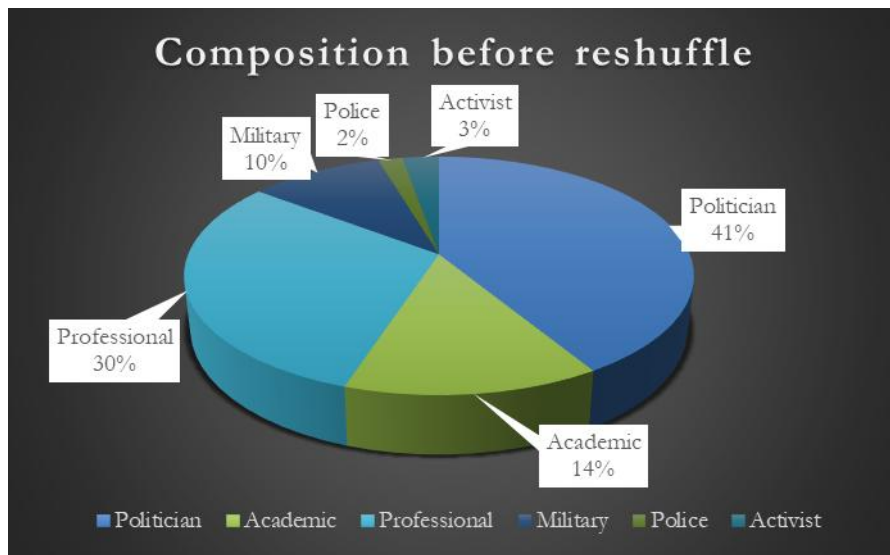
<sup>19</sup> Undang-undang (UU) Nomor 61 Tahun 2024 tentang Perubahan atas Undang-Undang Nomor 39 Tahun 2008 tentang Kementerian Negara.

<sup>20</sup> Idul Rishan, "Risiko Koalisi Gemuk dalam Sistem Presidensial di Indonesia", *Jurnal Hukum Ius Quia Iustum* 27, no. 2 (Mei 2020), <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol27.iss2.art1>.

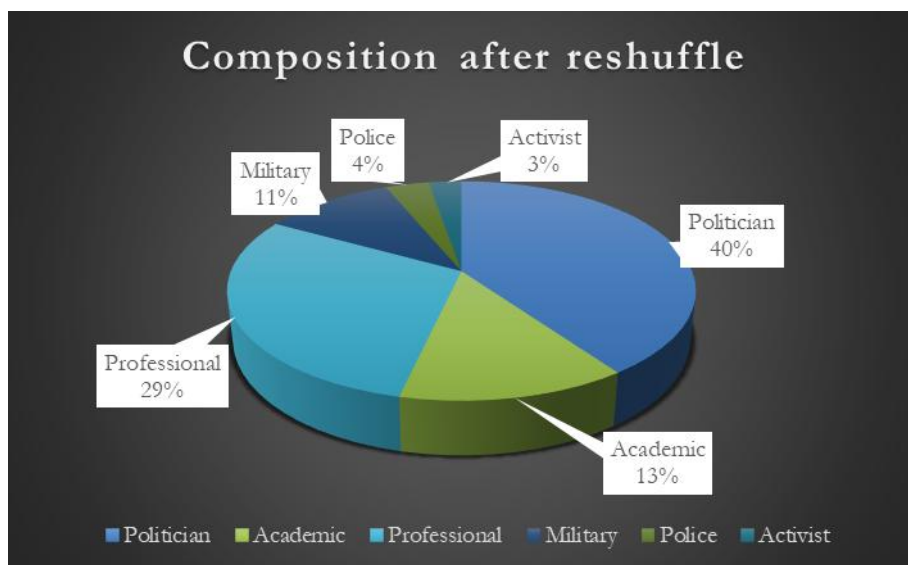
<sup>21</sup> Felia Primaresti dkk., "Update Indonesia: Tinjauan Bulanan Ekonomi, Hukum, Keamanan, Politik, Sosial," *The Indonesian Institute* 19, no. 9 (September 2025): 44.

<sup>22</sup> Firyalfatin, "Gelombang Demo Akhir Agustus: Suara Keprihatinan Kampus hingga Tuntutan Reformasi Aparat," *hukumonline.com*, 1 September 2025, <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/gelombang-demo-akhir-agustus--suara-keprihatinan-kampus-hingga-tuntutan-reformasi-aparat-1t68b5031aacdc1/>. Diakses 13 November 2025.

but part of the government's serious efforts to resolve various national issues.<sup>23</sup> The following is an overview of the composition of the Red and White Cabinet before and after the reshuffle.



Source: edited by the Author



Source: edited by the Author

The composition of the cabinet and the inauguration of new officials show that the filling of public positions in Indonesia still does not reflect the principles of good governance. Transparency, public participation, and a meritocracy system have not been the main basis for the cabinet reshuffle process. In fact, meritocracy is important to open up space for competent individuals who are capable of bringing professional change to the government. The latest reshuffle was also carried out without clear reasons, only under the pretext of “stabilizing the government.” In

<sup>23</sup> Hussein Abri Dongoran, “Reshuffle Kabinet: Orang Prabowo ‘In’, Orang Jokowi ‘Out’ | tempo.co,” Politik: Taji Kekuasaan, Tempo, 14 September 2025, <https://www.tempo.co/politik/orang-jokowi-reshuffle-kabinet-prabowo-2069556>. Diakses 13 November 2025.

addition, many of the new ministers come from the coalition parties, indicating that political considerations are more dominant than performance evaluations or governance needs.<sup>24</sup>

This phenomenon is evident in the dismissal of non-coalition figures such as Budi Gunawan and Hendrar Prihadi, and the inclusion of new figures close to the circle of power such as Ahmad Qodari and Angga Raka. This shows the dominance of coalition politics in the cabinet reshuffle. From an ethical and constitutional perspective, this practice raises serious issues. Although reshuffles are the prerogative of the president, they should be based on the principles of accountability, transparency, and public interest. Without the principles of good governance, cabinet reshuffles become nothing more than a short-term political strategy to maintain power, rather than a means of improving governance and addressing national issues.<sup>25</sup>

Good governance refers to a system of government that emphasizes transparent, accountable, responsive, and people-oriented administration of state power. This concept was developed to improve government practices that tend to be bureaucratic, closed, and prone to abuse of power.<sup>26</sup> According to UNDP (United Nations Development Programme)<sup>27</sup>, there are several key principles of good governance:

<b>The Principle of Good Governance</b>	<b>Implementation in the Reshuffle of the Red and White Cabinet</b>
<b>Participation</b>	The public was not involved in the decision-making process; there was no public dialogue and the basis for the reshuffle was not disclosed openly.
<b>Rule of Law (Supremacy of Law)</b>	Prabowo's administration still has a lot to prove when it comes to law enforcement; his command-style leadership often obscures the principle of the rule of law.
<b>Transparency</b>	The reshuffle process was conducted without transparency; several ministers who were deemed incompetent were retained, while replacements were based more on political proximity.
<b>Responsiveness</b>	The government is considered unresponsive; officials often use repressive approaches in handling mass actions.

<sup>24</sup> Ahmad Wildan Sukhoyya, “Dampak Pengesahan UU No 61 Tahun 2024 tentang Perubahan UU No 39 Tahun 2008 Tentang Kementerian Negara Terhadap Stabilitas Keuangan Negara,” *Proceeding APHTN-HAN* 2, no. 1 (2024): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.55292/dhnewa92>.

<sup>25</sup> Ni'matul Huda, “Hak Prerogatif Presiden dalam Perspektif Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia,” *Articles, Jurnal Hukum IUS QUIA IUSTUM* 8, no. 18 (Juni 2016): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol8.iss18.art1>.

<sup>26</sup> Asna Rohmatun Nur Azizah dan Fatma Ulfatun Najicha, “Pengoimalan E-Government di Indonesia Berdasarkan Prinsip-Prinsip Good Government,” *Law, Development and Justice Review* 5, no. 2 (Oktober 2022): 237–47, <https://doi.org/10.14710/ldjr.v5i2.17225>.

<sup>27</sup> United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), “Governance for People & Planet: Global Programme Project Document,” UNDP, April 2023, <https://www.undp.org/governance/publications/global-programme-project-document-governance-people-and-planet>.

<b>Consensus</b>	The deliberative mechanism is not effective because the legislature and executive branches are more interested in pragmatic coalitions than in exercising oversight functions.
<b>Justice and Inclusiveness</b>	Equality of rights has not been realized; criminalization occurs against those who oppose government policies.
<b>Efficiency and Effectiveness</b>	Budget management is not yet efficient; large programs such as Free Nutritious Meals (MBG) absorb a large portion of the education budget.
<b>Accountability</b>	Accountability mechanisms are not yet optimal; policies reflect political interests and power sharing.
<b>Strategic Vision</b>	The government has a good vision, but implementation in the field is not in line with the planned policy direction.

Table 1. The Principle of Good Governance in the Reshuffle of the Red and White Cabinet

In modern government, the formation of an ideal cabinet should be based on the principles of meritocracy and technocracy. Meritocracy demands that public office be given based on competence, integrity, and professionalism, not because of political affiliations or closeness to the president. With this approach, strategic positions are filled by individuals who are truly capable of working effectively and efficiently. Meanwhile, technocracy emphasizes the importance of the role of experts in formulating evidence-based policy, so that government policy is more rational, objective, and long-term oriented. The combination of the two will strengthen the quality of the cabinet because ministers are selected not only based on personal abilities, but also on expertise relevant to their field, for example, economists leading the finance ministry or health experts leading the health ministry.<sup>28</sup>

This approach is in line with the principles of good governance, particularly in terms of accountability, effectiveness, efficiency, and responsiveness. However, its implementation in Indonesia faces obstacles in the form of a multiparty presidential system that often results in cabinets formed through political compromise. As a result, the principles of meritocracy and technocracy often clash with the interests of coalition parties that demand power sharing. Several proposed reforms in response to the dynamics of government require the following formulations:

<b>Proposal form</b>	<b>Explanation of the proposal</b>
<b>Regulatory reform</b>	Establishing a ministerial evaluation mechanism based on performance indicators and a code of ethics for state administration, so that reshuffles become an instrument of accountability, rather than merely a political decision.

<sup>28</sup> Muhammad Haqiqi, Erland Ferdinansyah, dan Kahlil Rida, "Meritokrasi dan Pengaruh Partai Politik dalam Jabatan di Kementerian: Studi Analisis Kementerian Kabinet Merah Putih 2024-2029," *JAPHTN-HAN* 3, no. 2 (2024): 149–66, <https://doi.org/10.55292/japhtnhan.v3i2.163>.

<b>Strengthening the meritocracy system</b>	Political parties must treat cabinet positions as a public trust, not as a “share of power.” Integrity pacts between coalitions can serve as an ethical basis for reducing pragmatic interests.
<b>The ethics of coalition politics</b>	The principle of meritocracy needs to be strengthened, for example through a mechanism of <i>fit and proper tests</i> for ministerial candidates by independent institutions or expert panels, so that the cabinet is more accountable.
<b>Public transparency</b>	The reshuffle process must be conducted transparently, including the reasons for dismissing or appointing new ministers, in order to maintain public trust.
<b>The role of civil society and academics</b>	Public oversight through civil society, the media, and academics is essential to ensure that the president prioritizes professionalism and integrity in determining the composition of the cabinet.

Table 2. Policy proposal

Therefore, political reformulation needs to be directed towards strategic measures that emphasize substantive work, so that the reshuffle truly serves as a means of strengthening the responsiveness and effectiveness of the government. The reshuffle process should not merely be a political instrument, but rather a means of strengthening democratic and efficient governance and guaranteeing the rights of the people.

#### 4. Conclusion

The dynamics of the *reshuffle* of the Red and White Cabinet in President Prabowo Subianto's administration show that political practices in Indonesia are still heavily influenced by elitist political configurations. Constitutionally, the president does have the prerogative to form and reshuffle the cabinet as stipulated in Article 17 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the Law on State Ministries. However, in practice, the reshuffle process is more often influenced by coalition political interests than by the principles of meritocracy and technocracy. The results of this study show that the principles of good governance, such as transparency, participation, accountability, and effectiveness, have not been fully implemented. The reshuffle process was not accompanied by open reasons and measurable performance evaluations, but rather emphasized the distribution of cabinet seats to maintain coalition stability. This can be seen from the inclusion of a number of figures from supporting political parties and the removal of ministers affiliated with the opposition, such as PDIP figures. This situation shows that the cabinet is still treated as an instrument of political compromise, rather than solely as an instrument of public service.

In addition, the revision of Law No. 39 of 2008 through Law No. 61 of 2024, which removes the limit on the number of ministries, actually reinforces the practice of “bloated cabinets.” This policy gives the president the freedom to expand the number of ministries, but it has implications for the deterioration of governance quality because it increases the potential for transactional politics. This phenomenon further distances state practices from the spirit of good governance. Thus, the reshuffle of the Red and White Cabinet reflects a tactical political strategy rather than a substantive

effort to strengthen a responsive and professional government. Going forward, it is important for the government to strengthen the basis of meritocracy in filling public positions, using the reshuffle as a momentum for improving governance, and ensuring that the principle of good governance is not just a slogan, but is actually implemented in the practice of state administration.

## 5. References

- Abri Dongoran, Hussein. “Reshuffle Kabinet: Orang Prabowo ‘In’, Orang Jokowi ‘Out’ | tempo.co.” Politik: Taji Kekuasaan. Tempo, 14 September 2025. <https://www.tempo.co/politik/orang-jokowi-reshuffle-kabinet-prabowo-2069556>.
- Arifin, Zainal, Emi Puasa Handayani, dan Saivol Virdaus. “Quo Vadis Kebijakan Penyusunan Kabinet Koalisi Jokowi Tinjauan Filosofis, Historis, Teoritis dan Yuridis.” *Khazanah Hukum* 2, no. 1 (2020): 10–23. <https://doi.org/10.15575/kh.v2i1.8282>.
- Asshiddiqie, Jimly. *Konstitusi dan Konstitusionalisme Indonesia*. 2 ed. Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2010.
- . *Perkembangan dan Konsolidasi Lembaga Negara Pasca Reformasi*. 2 ed. Jakarta: Konstitusi Press, 2006.
- Azahwa, Syahdina Diva, Bintang Aura Mayesa, Angelia Stephanie Vadia, Huwayda Rahmania, Fadha Chalisha Adzzahra, dan Restu Rahmawati. “Implikasi Sistem Presidensial dengan Konsep Multipartai Terhadap Stabilitas Politik di Indonesia Pada Pemilu 2024: Indonesia.” *Indonesian Journal of Law and Justice* 2, no. 4 (Juni 2025): 13. <https://doi.org/10.47134/ijlj.v2i4.4420>.
- Fahlevi, Reja, dan Darul Huda Mustaqim. “Kolaborasi Kabinet Zaken dan Kabinet Koalisi dalam Pembentukan Kabinet Efektif.” *Jurnal Ilmiah Mimbar Demokrasi* 19, no. 02 (2020): 48–54. <https://doi.org/10.21009/jimd.v19i02.14939>.
- Firyalfatin. “Gelombang Demo Akhir Agustus: Suara Keprihatinan Kampus hingga Tuntutan Reformasi Aparat.” hukumonline.com, 1 September 2025. <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/gelombang-demo-akhir-agustus--suara-keprihatinan-kampus-hingga-tuntutan-reformasi-aparat-lt68b5031aacdc1/>.
- Frederica, Wynne. “Ketika Politik Menjadi Kartel : Praktik dan Penyebab Suburnya Kartelisasi di Indonesia.” *Socio-political Communication and Policy Review* 2, no. 4 (Juni 2025). <https://doi.org/10.61292/shkr.264>.
- Hannan, Abd, dan Busahwi Busahwi. “Problem Politik Kabinet Koalisi; Konflik Kepentingan Hingga Konflik Internal Partai Politik.” *Kabillah: Journal of Social Community* 6, no. 2 (2021): 49–69. <https://doi.org/10.35127/kabillah.v6i2.151>.
- Haqiqi, Muhammad, Erland Ferdinansyah, dan Kahlil Rida. “Meritokrasi dan Pengaruh Partai Politik dalam Jabatan di Kementerian: Studi Analisis Kementerian Kabinet Merah Putih 2024-2029.” *JAPHTN-HAN* 3, no. 2 (2024): 149–66. <https://doi.org/10.55292/japhtnhan.v3i2.163>.
- Hikmah, Putri Nurul. “Dinamika Pergantian Kabinet Masa Demokrasi Liberal: Dampak terhadap Stabilitas Politik 1950-1959.” *Sajaratun: Jurnal Sejarah dan Pembelajaran Sejarah* 8, no. 2 (2023): 32–48. <https://doi.org/10.37478/sajaratun.v8i2.3182>.
- Huda, Ni'matul. “Hak Prerogatif Presiden dalam Perspektif Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia.” Articles. *Jurnal Hukum IUS QUILA IUSTUM* 8, no. 18 (Juni 2016): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol8.iss18.art1>.

- Kelbulan, Jacoba F X, Saartje Sarah Alfons, dan Hendry John Piris. *Hak Prerogatif Presiden Dalam Pengangkatan Menteri*. 2, no. 7 (2022).
- Linz, Juan J. (Juan José). "The Perils of Presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 1 (Desember 1990): 51–69. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2005.0026>.
- Maharani, Selvy Anugrah. "Kedudukan Lembaga Kepresidenan untuk Mewujudkan Sistem Pemerintahan yang Demokratis Berdasarkan UUD NRI 1945." *Mahkamah: Jurnal Riset Ilmu Hukum* 2, no. 2 (April 2025): 45–53. <https://doi.org/10.62383/mahkamah.v2i2.541>.
- Mahfud MD, Moh. *Politik Hukum di Indonesia*. 10 ed. Depok: Rajawali Press, 2020.
- Naufal, Defa Akhdan. "Supersemar dan Stabilitas Politik: Analisis Transformasi Kekuasaan dari Soekarno ke Soeharto Berdasarkan Perspektif Samuel P. Huntington." *Socius: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 2, no. 5 (2024): 15–19. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.14327837>.
- Nur Azizah, Asna Rohmatun, dan Fatma Ulfatun Najicha. "Pengoptimalan E-Government Di Indonesia Berdasarkan Prinsip-Prinsip Good Government." *Law, Development and Justice Review* 5, no. 2 (Oktober 2022): 237–47. <https://doi.org/10.14710/ldjr.v5i2.17225>.
- Primaresti, Felia, Christina Clarissa Intania, Made Natasya Restu Dewi Pratiwi, Putu Rusta Adijaya, dan Arfianto Purbalaksono. "Update Indonesia: Tinjauan Bulanan Ekonomi, Hukum, Keamanan, Politik, Sosial." *The Indonesian Institute* 19, no. 9 (September 2025): 44.
- Rannie, Mahesa. "Hak Prerogatif Presiden di Indonesia Pasca Perubahan UUD 1945." *Simbur Cahaya* 27, no. 2 (Januari 2021): 98–117. <https://doi.org/10.28946/sc.v27i2.1040>.
- Reyhan, Maulana Arfidata, Leandra Aurelrio Putra Darsono, Muhammad Faqih Al Anshari, dan Irwan Triadi. "Sejarah Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia: (Constitutional Law History in Indonesia)." *Indonesian Journal of Law and Justice* 1, no. 4 (Mei 2024): 9. <https://doi.org/10.47134/ijlj.v1i4.2588>.
- Rishan, Idul. "Risiko Koalisi Gemuk dalam Sistem Presidensial Di Indonesia`." *Jurnal Hukum Ius Quia Iustum* 27, no. 2 (Mei 2020). <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol27.iss2.art1>.
- Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. "Kabinet Pemerintahan Indonesia." 2025. <https://setkab.go.id/profil-kabinet/>.
- Sukhojya, Ahmad Wildan. "Dampak Pengesahan UU No 61 Tahun 2024 tentang Perubahan UU No 39 Tahun 2008 Tentang Kementerian Negara Terhadap Stabilitas Keuangan Negara." *Proceeding APHTN-HAN* 2, no. 1 (2024): 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.55292/dhnewa92>.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). "Governance for People & Planet: Global Programme Project Document." UNDP, April 2023. <https://www.undp.org/governance/publications/global-programme-project-document-governance-people-and-planet>.
- Wibowo, Ari, Asep Rochman Dimiyati, dan Eni Dasuki Suhardini. "Dinamika Pembentukan Kabinet Merah Putih dalam Mewujudkan Good Governance: Zaken Kabinet Vs Kabinet Pragmatis." *Jurnal Realitas Hukum* 1, no. 1 (2025). <https://jurnal.prestasiku.org/index.php/jrh/article/view/4>.