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MECHANISMS AND CHALLENGES OF LEGISLATIVE CARRY OVER IN INDONESIA: INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN AND NORMATIVE FORMATION ISSUES

Rengga Kusuma Putra,[1]* Geofani Milthree Saragih,[2] Bagus Hermanto[3], Dian Ratu Ayu Uswatun Khasanah[4], Fablli Yusof[5]

[1]Universitas Sains dan Teknologi Komputer, Indonesia
[2]Universitas Udayana, Indonesia
[3]Universitas Terbuka, Indonesia
[4]Universitas Sumatera Utara, Indonesia
[5]Universiti Islam Antarabangsa, Malaysia

*Correspondence: *renggakusuma@stekom.ac.id*

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Abstract: This study explores the legislative Carry Over mechanism within the Indonesian legal framework, with particular attention to its institutional design, implementation challenges, and procedural dimensions. Employing a normative juridical method complemented by a comparative legal approach, the research analyzes how the Carry Over mechanism functions in practice and its implications for legislative continuity across parliamentary terms. The findings suggest that while the Carry Over concept offers a pathway for sustaining legislative deliberation beyond a single legislative period, its application in Indonesia remains hindered by a number of structural and technical obstacles. These include persistent legal uncertainty, shifts in political direction following changes in parliamentary composition, and questions regarding the democratic legitimacy of continuing draft laws without renewed public or legislative scrutiny. In response to these concerns, the study proposes a set of policy reforms, including the establishment of clearer regulatory frameworks, enhanced procedural accountability, and stronger inter-institutional coordination—each aimed at reinforcing the effectiveness and legitimacy of the Carry Over mechanism within Indonesia's legislative process.

Studi ini mengkaji mekanisme Carry Over dalam kerangka hukum Indonesia, dengan fokus khusus pada desain institusionalnya, tantangan implementasi, dan dimensi proseduralnya. Menggunakan metode yuridis normatif yang dilengkapi dengan pendekatan hukum komparatif, penelitian ini menganalisis bagaimana mekanisme Carry Over berfungsi dalam praktik dan implikasinya terhadap kelanjutan legislatif antar periode parlemen. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa meskipun konsep Carry Over menawarkan jalur untuk

mempertahankan pembahasan legislatif melampaui satu periode legislatif, implementasinya di Indonesia masih terhambat oleh sejumlah hambatan struktural dan teknis. Hambatan tersebut meliputi ketidakpastian hukum yang persisten, pergeseran arah politik setelah perubahan komposisi parlemen, dan pertanyaan mengenai legitimasi demokratis melanjutkan rancangan undang-undang tanpa pengawasan publik atau legislatif yang diperbarui. Sebagai tanggapan atas kekhawatiran ini, studi ini mengusulkan serangkaian reformasi kebijakan, termasuk pembentukan kerangka regulasi yang lebih jelas, peningkatan akuntabilitas prosedural, dan koordinasi antar lembaga yang lebih kuat–masing-masing bertujuan untuk memperkuat efektivitas dan legitimasi mekanisme Carry Over dalam proses legislatif Indonesia.

Keywords: Carry Over; Legislation; Indonesian laws and regulations.

INTRODUCTION

The dynamics in the process of forming legislation in Indonesia continue to experience complex challenges, especially in maintaining the continuity of legislation when there is a change in leadership in legislative institutions (Mochtar and Afkar 2022). The legislative process is not only influenced by internal factors of the national legal system, but also by various social, political, and economic changes that require a quick response and adaptation in the preparation of regulations (Astariyani et al. 2023)

Since the reform era, there has been a paradigm shift in the Indonesian legal system which has given birth to various new phenomena in the legislative mechanism (Samudra and Wijiningsih 2024). The reform brought significant changes in the state structure, which had an impact on the legal system, including in aspects of planning, discussion, and implementation of a regulation. An increasingly democratic legal system demands a more transparent, inclusive, and participatory legislative process so that the formation of laws and regulations must reflect the aspirations of the community and answer the ever-growing legal needs.

In practice, the formation of law in Indonesia continues to experience various forms of adjustments that include policy alignment, strengthening of legal structures, and regulatory improvements to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of legislation (Riewanto et al. 2023). However, challenges in regulatory harmonization and the continuity of discussion of draft laws are still obstacles that need to be overcome. The change of legislative members each period can cause irregularities in the priority of forming laws, so a mechanism is needed that can guarantee the continuity of legislation without hindering the dynamics of politics and law that are developing. Therefore, various legal reform strategies and improvements in regulatory governance continue to be pursued so that the legislative system in Indonesia is more responsive, stable, and able to accommodate changes in governance and the needs of society.

One of the persistent challenges in Indonesia's legislative process is the inefficiency in finalizing draft laws (*Rancangan Undang-Undang* or RUU) within a single parliamentary term. This often results in the discontinuation of essential legislative initiatives, even when the urgency of regulation remains high (Rahman et al. 2022). To address this issue, the concept of carry-over legislation has emerged as a potential legal mechanism allowing unfinished legislative discussions to be continued by the next parliament without restarting the process from the beginning. However, the implementation of this mechanism raises substantial legal, procedural, and political questions, particularly in the absence of explicit legal provisions within Indonesia's statutory framework.

One of the strategic issues in the dynamics of legislation is the implementation of the carry-over mechanism, which allows the discussion of a draft law (RUU) to be continued from one parliamentary period to the next without having to start the legislative process from the beginning (Lev-On and Steinfeld 2024). Although this system has the potential to increase the efficiency and continuity of law-making, its implementation still faces fundamental challenges, in terms of regulation, politics, and technicalities. Therefore, the carryover mechanism is a crucial topic that needs to be studied further to ensure that the Indonesian legal system can accommodate changes in legislative leadership without sacrificing the quality and legitimacy of the process of forming laws and regulations (Salim and Sitabuana 2024).

The Carry Over problem began to receive serious attention in the reform era when Indonesia experienced a significant transformation in the state system. The political transition that occurred after 1998 had a substantial impact on the mechanism for the formation of laws and regulations (Saragih, Ishwara, and Putra 2024), including the aspect of continuity in discussing bills between legislative periods. This phenomenon is increasingly relevant considering the complexity of the problems faced in the national legislative process (Hermanto 2023).

The urgency of discussing Carry Over cannot be separated from the empirical reality that shows the high number of bills that are not completed in one legislative period (Farezi 2024). Statistical data shows that an average of 40-50% of bills included in the National Legislation Program cannot be completed in the current period. This condition creates a dilemma between the need to complete the legislative agenda and the demand to start a new process in each legislative period.

The Carry Over concept itself is a manifestation of the principle of efficiency and sustainability in the legislative process. In the international context, various countries have adopted similar mechanisms with variations in implementation adapted to their respective legal and political systems. The United States, for example, applies a limited Carry Over system in the context of a bicameral congress, while the United Kingdom has a more flexible Carry Over mechanism in its parliamentary tradition (Mohammad Raihan, Qurrata Ayuni, and David Aprizon Putra 2024).

In the Indonesian context, the implementation of Carry Over faces significant structural and technical challenges. First, the absence of comprehensive regulations regarding the Carry Over mechanism creates legal uncertainty in its implementation. Second, differences in interpretation regarding the limitations and scope of Carry Over among stakeholders often lead to counterproductive debates. Third, technical aspects such as documentation, archiving, and knowledge transfer between legislative periods do not yet have adequate operational standards.

The Carry Over problem is also closely related to the principle of popular sovereignty and political representation. The argument that is often put forward is that each legislative period has a new mandate from the people, so continuing the discussion of the bill from the previous period can be considered as ignoring the aspirations of current constituents. However, this view needs to be balanced with considerations of efficiency and continuity in the process of forming laws.

From the technical perspective of the formation of legislation, carry-over has significant implications for various aspects. First, the procedural aspect includes the mechanism of discussion, decision-making, and coordination between institutions. Second, the substantial aspect relating to the relevance of the draft law material to actual conditions. Third, the administrative aspect includes the management of documents, archives, and legislative databases.

The implementation of Carry Over must also consider the dynamics of contemporary Indonesian politics. The multi-party system adopted by Indonesia creates complexity in the legislative decision-making process. Changes in the composition of political power between periods can affect legislative priorities and interpretations of the substance of the carried-over bill.

In the context of legal reform, carry-over can be seen as an instrument to ensure the continuity of the national legal reform agenda (Hoesein 2012). However, its implementation requires a comprehensive regulatory framework and standardized technical mechanisms. This includes the criteria for bills that can be carried over, further discussion procedures, and an integrated documentation system. The technical aspects of the formation of legislation in the context of Carry Over also involve considerations regarding legal harmonization. Bills that are carried over must remain in line with the development of the national legal system and Indonesia's international commitments. This requires a systematic review and updating mechanism for the substance of the bill whose discussion is continued.

The Carry Over problem is also related to institutional capacity in managing the ongoing legislative process. This includes supporting infrastructure, human resources, and adequate information systems. Strengthening institutional capacity is an important prerequisite for effective carry-over implementation. In the context of good governance, carryover can be seen as a manifestation of the principles of efficiency and accountability in the legislative process. However, its implementation must still pay attention to aspects of

transparency and public participation. The Carry Over mechanism must not reduce the space for public participation in the formation of legislation.

The prospect of developing a Carry Over system in Indonesia requires a comprehensive approach that considers legal, political, and technical aspects. Regulatory reform regarding Carry Over must be directed at creating a clear and applicable legal framework, taking into account the characteristics of the Indonesian constitutional system.

This study aims to examine the design and normative basis of the carry-over mechanism in Indonesia's legislative system (Hermanto and Aryani 2021). The urgency of the research lies in the need to provide a legal and institutional design that ensures the continuity of law-making while maintaining legal certainty, democratic accountability, and the legitimacy of the legislature (Rodiyah, Idris, and Smith 2023). Currently, Indonesia's Law No. 12 of 2011 on the Formation of Legislation, as amended by Law No. 13 of 2022, does not explicitly regulate the procedural standards for carry-over legislation (Saragih 2022). Nonetheless, certain cases such as the deliberation of the Criminal Code Bill and the Mother and Child Welfare Bill have demonstrated implicit applications of the mechanism without a formal legal foundation.

This research employs a normative juridical method combined with a comparative approach. It analyzes the relevant legal norms in Indonesian experience with carry-over practices. The study draws from legal documents, legislative transcripts, and regulatory texts to assess both theoretical and practical dimensions of the mechanism. The findings reveal that while the carry-over mechanism holds the potential to ensure legislative continuity and efficiency, it faces structural and legal barriers. These include a lack of legal certainty due to the absence of procedural clarity, the risk of shifting policy direction owing to changes in parliamentary composition, and questions of political legitimacy concerning whether newly elected representatives should continue deliberating draft laws initiated by their predecessors. Additionally, the study identifies a need for clearer institutional responsibilities and procedural safeguards to prevent misuse or selective application of the carry-over provision for political interests.

This research contributes to the body of legal scholarship by offering a normative and institutional framework for regulating legislative carry-over in Indonesia. It expands existing knowledge in constitutional and legislative studies by providing comparative insights and identifying technical and legal gaps in the current system. More importantly, it proposes a model of policy reform grounded in legal certainty and democratic legitimacy, which can serve as a reference for lawmakers, legal scholars, and public policy experts aiming to improve the effectiveness and accountability of Indonesia's legislative process.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a normative legal approach with a combination of qualitative analysis methods. Data collection was conducted through comprehensive library research (Hutchinson 2015), including studies of laws and regulations, legal literature, and

documents related to the carry-over mechanism in Indonesia and various countries(R. Hirschl 2013). Data analysis was conducted using legal interpretation methods, both grammatically, systematically, and teleologically (Sudiarawan, Tanaya, and Hermanto 2020). A comparative approach was also applied to compare carry-over practices in various legal systems, with a focus on countries that have characteristics of a constitutional system that are relevant to Indonesia. To validate the research findings, data triangulation was conducted through in-depth interviews with constitutional law experts, legislative practitioners, and relevant stakeholders. The analysis process includes three main stages: data reduction, data presentation, and concluding (Hirschl 2005).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Development of the Carry-Over System

The concept of carry-over in the legislative system is a mechanism that allows the discussion of a draft law (RUU) that has not been completed in one parliamentary period to be continued in the next period without having to repeat the legislative process from the beginning (Butt 2019). This mechanism developed as a solution to the problem of time constraints in the formation of laws, especially in parliamentary systems that have limited terms of office. Many countries have implemented this system to ensure the continuity of legislation and avoid delays in the discussion of regulations that are considered crucial.

In Indonesia, the concept of carry-over has begun to receive more serious attention in recent years, along with the increasing demands for efficiency in the formation of legislation (Arsil, Ayuni, and Mauleny 2022). In practice, the replacement of members of the House of Representatives (DPR) every five years often hampers the continuation of discussions on unfinished bills. As a result, many bills that have gone through a long process must be discussed again from the beginning in the next period, which not only hinders the effectiveness of legislation but also wastes state resources. In this context, carry-over is seen as an important instrument to ensure that policies that have been discussed in depth are not stopped simply because of changes in the composition of parliament.

The implementation of the carryover concept in various countries shows variations in its arrangements and mechanisms. Several countries with modern parliamentary systems have adopted carry-over in various forms. In the UK, for example, this mechanism has been implemented systematically with clear rules, so that unfinished bills can be continued directly in the next period without having to go through a repeated initial process (Dobbs, Hamill, and Hickey 2023). Likewise, in the United States, the legislative system allows for the continuation of discussion of certain bills, especially those considered urgent or having a strategic impact on national interests. Comparative studies of the implementation of carry-over in other countries can be a reference for Indonesia in formulating clearer and more effective regulations related to this mechanism.

Despite its great potential to increase the efficiency of law-making, the implementation of carryover in Indonesia faces several challenges. One of the main issues is

the aspect of political legitimacy, where newly elected members of parliament may have different views or policy priorities than their predecessors (Butt and Murharjanti 2022). This can give rise to resistance to the draft law being carried over, especially if the previous discussion process was considered less inclusive or did not represent the interests of the wider public. In addition, from a technical perspective, regulations related to carryover still need strengthening, both in the form of more detailed laws and regulations and in the coordination mechanism between institutions involved in the legislative process (Rahmat et al. 2024).

To ensure the successful implementation of carry-over in the Indonesian legal system, strategic steps are needed that include policy reform, increasing transparency in the legislative process, and strengthening the oversight mechanism to prevent misuse of this system. In addition, there needs to be more specific regulations regarding the types of bills that can be carried over and certain limitations to maintain the quality and accountability of the resulting regulations. By optimizing the carry-over concept, it is hoped that the formation of legislation in Indonesia can be more effective, efficient, and responsive to the dynamics of legal and community needs.

The concept of carryover in the formation of legislation has become the focus of study by various constitutional law experts. Asshiddiqie in Kartikawati (2024) defines carry-over as a mechanism for continuing legislative discussions between parliamentary periods (Kartikawati and Saleh 2024). Meanwhile, Soeprapto (2010) analyzes the technical aspects of the implementation of carry-over in the context of the Indonesian legal system. The development of studies on carry-over in the context of the formation of legislation has undergone significant evolution.

Three main dimensions of carryover: procedural, substantial, and political aspects. The procedural dimension relates to the technical mechanism of carrying over, the substantial dimension concerns the material of the legislation that is continued, while the political dimension includes the dynamics of interests in the legislative process. Ekayanta in his research explored the practice of Carry Over in various countries and its relevance to the Indonesian legal system. This comparative study shows that countries with a Westminster parliamentary system tend to have a more structured carry-over mechanism compared to countries that adopt a presidential system. However, the adaptation of this mechanism still requires adjustment to the characteristics of the constitutional system of each country (Ekayanta 2024).

From the perspective of legislative efficiency analyzed the impact of Carry Over on the productivity of lawmaking. His findings showed a positive correlation between the implementation of Carry Over and the level of completion of the legislative agenda (Becker and Bauer 2021). However, this effectiveness is highly dependent on the availability of supporting infrastructure and adequate institutional capacity.

The constitutional aspect of Carry Over is the focus of the study, which analyzes the suitability of the mechanism with the basic principles of the 1945 Constitution. The

research concludes that Carry Over does not conflict with the Constitution as long as its implementation continues to pay attention to the principles of popular sovereignty and political representation (Ibrahim 2020).

Saldi Isra in Putri (2024) where his study on the institutional aspects of Carry Over emphasizes the importance of harmonization between institutions in implementing the mechanism. Coordination between the DPR, DPD, and the Government is the key to the success of the implementation of carry-over, especially in the context of discussing bills involving regional interests (Putri, Ibrahim, and Hidayat 2024). From a legal sociology perspective, Hadjar examines stakeholders' responses to the carry-over mechanism. His findings show that there are varying views among academics, legal practitioners, and civil society regarding the urgency and effectiveness of Carry Over in the Indonesian legislative system (Stange and Patock 2010).

Maulida & Umar's study specifically examines the connection between carry-over in legislative planning in the Prolegnas instrument but has not yet deeply linked it as research in this article (Maulida and Umar 2022), regarding its relevance and problems from the perspective of the practice of forming laws or legislative practices in Indonesia, however, there are remaining studies that have not been able to be examined regarding the problems faced in underpinning the importance of carry over in legislative practice in Indonesia.

Through the three previous studies, this article is compiled with careful attention to the technical study on the implementation of Carry Over, which identified various operational challenges in implementing the mechanism. The aspects of documentation, archiving, and knowledge transfer are the main focus that requires standardization and an integrated management system.

Implementation of Carry Over in the System of Formation of Legislation

Analysis of the implementation of carry-over in the system of forming laws and regulations in Indonesia has produced several significant findings. First, there is a regulatory gap that hinders the effectiveness of the implementation of carry-over. Although Law No. 12 of 2011 concerning the Formation of Laws and Regulations has provided a general basis, there is no comprehensive technical regulation regarding the carryover mechanism(Hermanto, Ibrahim Nur, and Subawa 2024).

The procedural aspects of Carry Over require clear standardization, including the criteria for bills that can be continued, discussion mechanisms, and documentation systems. Empirical experience shows that the absence of standard operating procedures often leads to different interpretations among stakeholders, which in turn hinders the effectiveness of the legislative process (Arifin 2024). In the institutional context, the implementation of Carry Over faces challenges in inter-institutional coordination. Differences in perspective between the DPR, DPD, and the Government regarding legislative priorities often become obstacles in determining which bills will be carried over. This is exacerbated by the absence of a formal mechanism to align views between institutions in the carryover process.

The substantial aspect of Carry Over is closely related to the relevance of the Bill's material to the development of the legal needs of the community. Analysis shows that several Bills that were carried over experienced a substance expiration due to significant changes in social, economic, or political conditions. This emphasizes the importance of a periodic review mechanism for the substance of the Bill whose discussion is continued.

The political dimension of Carry Over cannot be separated from the dynamics of interests in the legislative process. Changes in the composition of political power in parliament between periods often affect the continuation of discussions on carried-over bills. This phenomenon shows that the effectiveness of Carry Over depends not only on technical aspects but also on the political will of stakeholders (Hicks 2021). From an efficiency perspective, the implementation of Carry Over shows significant potential in optimizing the legislative process. Empirical data shows that bills carried over have a higher completion rate than new bills, especially because some of the discussion process has been carried out in the previous period.

The aspects of transparency and public participation in the context of Carry Over also require special attention(Xanthaki 2010). The analysis shows that the Carry Over mechanism often reduces the space for public participation, especially when discussions are continued without adequate socialization with relevant stakeholders. The implementation of Carry Over also has implications for administrative and documentation aspects. Research shows that the archiving and transfer system of knowledge between legislative periods is still not optimal. This results in the loss of continuity of discussion and unnecessary duplication of work.

In the context of legal harmonization, Carry Over requires a mechanism that ensures the consistency of the Bill with the national legal system and Indonesia's international commitments (Putra and Saragih 2025). Analysis shows that several Bills that were carried over experienced harmonization constraints due to changes in related regulations during the discussion process. A comparative study of carry-over practices in various countries provides an important perspective for system development in Indonesia. In the United States, for example, the Carry Over mechanism is applied in a limited manner with strict criteria, especially for Bills that have reached a certain stage of discussion. Meanwhile, practices in Commonwealth countries such as the United Kingdom and Australia show greater flexibility in the application of carry-over, with an emphasis on the efficiency of the legislative process (Westerman 2017).

Analysis of institutional capacity shows that the supporting infrastructure for Carry Over in Indonesia still requires significant strengthening. The existing legislative information system has not been optimally integrated, causing difficulties in tracking and monitoring carry-over bills (Asrinaldi, Yusoff, and Karim 2022). In addition, the capacity of human resources to manage the Carry Over process also requires improvement through a structured competency development program.

The accountability aspect in the implementation of Carry Over is also an important concern. Research shows that the accountability mechanism in the Carry Over process has not been adequately developed. A systematic monitoring and evaluation system is needed to ensure that Carry Over does not become a loophole for delaying the discussion of the bill without clear justification.

In the context of deliberative democracy, Carry Over must be able to accommodate the dynamics of developing public interests (Hadi, Hamdani, and Roziqin 2023). Analysis shows that several bills that were carried over experienced public resistance because their substance was no longer relevant to the needs of the community. This emphasizes the importance of a participatory review mechanism in the carryover process (Zulfahmi and Agustanti 2024).

The implementation of Carry Over is also closely related to the quality of legislative products (Safik 2021). Research shows that Bills that are carried over tend to have better quality when the discussion process involves a systematic review and substance update mechanism. However, this requires the support of an adequate documentation and analysis system. The cost aspect in the implementation of Carry Over also needs attention. Analysis shows that although Carry Over has the potential to save resources in the long term, its implementation requires significant investment in the development of supporting systems and infrastructure. A comprehensive cost-benefit study is needed to optimize carry-over efficiency (Wijaya and Ali 2021).

To provide a comprehensive empirical perspective on the Carry Over mechanism in the legislative process in Indonesia, this study collects comparative data from various official and academic sources. The following table illustrates the characteristics of carry-over implementation in Indonesia by comparing legislative periods, the number of bills carried over, the level of completion, and the factors that influence them.

Table 1. Implementation of Carry Over in the Indonesian Legislative Process

Period	Number of Bills Proposed	Number of Carry Over Bills	Carry Over Percentage	Dominant Factor	Completion Level	Data source
2009-2014	246	87	35,4%	Change of Leadership4	62%	Secretariat of the Indonesian House of Representatives, 2014
2014-2019	303	126	41,6%	Complexity of Matter	54%	DPR Legislative Body, 2019
2019-2024	278	112	40,3%	Political Dynamics	58%	UI Legal Study Center, 2024

The table above reveals the complex dynamics of Carry Over implementation in the Indonesian legislative process over three consecutive periods. First, the carry-over rate ranging from 35-42% shows the significance of this mechanism in the continuity of the legislative process. The figure indicates that almost half of the draft laws require continued discussion across periods, reflecting the complexity of regulation-making in Indonesia.

The dominant factors influencing Carry Over vary between periods. In the 2009-2014 period, the change of legislative leadership was the main determinant, while the 2014-2019 period was dominated by the complexity of the bill material. The 2019-2024 period shows political dynamics as the main driving factor of carryover, which underlines the importance of the political context in the legislative process. The completion rate of Bills carried over shows fluctuations between 54-62%, indicating that although the carry-over mechanism provides continuity, not all Bills can be completed optimally. This indicates the need for systematic evaluation and improvement in the implementation of carry-over.

The comparison between periods reveals an interesting trend. The number of proposed bills tends to be stable with a range of 246-303 bills, but the proportion of Carry Over shows a significant increase from 35.4% to 40.3%. This phenomenon can be interpreted as an indication of the increasing complexity of the legislative process and the need for a more effective continuity mechanism. The implication of these findings is the need to develop a more comprehensive regulatory framework to optimize the carryover mechanism. A systematic approach is needed that considers institutional, political, and technical factors in designing a carry over model that is efficient and responsive to the dynamics of Indonesian legislation.

Basically, the carryover mechanism in the system of forming legislation in Indonesia is a relatively new concept and is still in the development stage in national legislative regulations (Maulida and Umar 2022). This mechanism aims to ensure the continuation of the discussion of draft laws that have not been completed in one parliamentary period so that they do not need to be repeated from the beginning of the next period. In a democratic system with limited legislative term limits, carryover is a solution to increase legislative efficiency and ensure the continuity of legal policies that have been designed by the previous parliament.

In practice, before the regulation on carry over, each change of parliamentary period often caused many bills that had been discussed in depth to have to be repeated from scratch if they were not successfully passed before the end of the DPR's term. This had an impact on the effectiveness of legislative work, where many bills that had gone through a long process were ultimately hampered by changes in the composition of DPR members. Therefore, the concept of carry-over was adopted to prevent wasting time and resources in the process of forming legislation.

The implementation of carry-over in the Indonesian legislative system first received a legal basis in Law Number 15 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning the Formation of Legislation. In this revision, the carryover mechanism is

explicitly regulated as an effort to ensure that unfinished bills can be discussed in the next legislative period. However, this regulation is still limited and requires strengthening in the form of more detailed implementing regulations so that its implementation does not cause new problems, especially in terms of political legitimacy and legal certainty.

One of the main challenges in implementing carryover is the difference in priorities between old and newly elected members of parliament. Each legislative period has its own political dynamics, including changes in the composition of factions in the DPR, which can affect the direction of policy and legislative priorities (Barokah et al. 2022). Bills carried over from the previous period may no longer be considered relevant by new members of parliament or may not receive enough political support to be continued. In some cases, this can lead to stagnation in the legislative process and lead to the cancellation of discussions on bills that have previously reached a certain stage.

In addition, technical challenges are also a concern in the implementation of carry-over. Not all bills can be immediately continued to be discussed without considering changes in social, economic, and political conditions that occur during the transition period of parliament. Therefore, there needs to be an evaluation mechanism for bills that are carried over to ensure that the regulations discussed remain relevant and in accordance with the needs of the community. In this context, it is necessary to strengthen coordination between the DPR, the government, and related institutions so that the carry-over mechanism runs effectively and does not cause legal problems in the future.

To improve the effectiveness of the implementation of carry-over, several strategic steps can be taken, such as clarifying the criteria for bills that can be carried over, strengthening the monitoring mechanism for further discussion of unfinished bills, and building a more flexible legislative system but still based on the principles of transparency and accountability. In addition, it is necessary to increase the capacity of legislators in understanding the importance of legislative continuity and a strong political commitment to support the carryover mechanism for the effectiveness of the legal system in Indonesia.

The implementation of carry-over in the system of forming legislation in Indonesia is a progressive step in an effort to increase the efficiency and continuity of legislation. However, in order for this mechanism to run optimally, it requires strengthening of regulations, adjustment of procedures, and commitment from all parties involved in the legislative process. Thus, carry-over is not only an instrument to ensure the continuity of the discussion of laws but also becomes part of the reform of the legal system that is more responsive to political dynamics and the needs of society.

CONCLUSION

The implementation of the carryover mechanism in the system of forming legislation in Indonesia still faces various obstacles that require comprehensive improvement. The current regulations have not fully provided a strong legal basis to ensure the implementation of effective and sustainable carryover. Ambiguity in procedural, substantial

aspects, and political dynamics are the main factors that hinder the optimization of this mechanism in the national legislative system. Therefore, standardization and harmonization efforts are needed in its implementation so that carry-over can function as an instrument that increases the efficiency of legislation without sacrificing the principles of democracy and legal certainty. The success of carry-over in accelerating and ensuring the continuity of discussion of draft laws is highly dependent on strengthening the capacity of legislative institutions and synergistic coordination between various stakeholders, including the government and the community. Reforming the legislative system is a must to ensure that this mechanism can be implemented optimally, both in terms of regulations, institutions, and operational techniques. Policy updates must be directed at strengthening more structured legislative governance, while still considering the principles of accountability and effectiveness in the process of forming laws and regulations. In addition, transparency in the implementation of carry-over must be a primary concern so that this mechanism is not only an administrative tool but also contributes to improving the quality of the resulting legal products. Wider public participation in every stage of the discussion of the carried-over bill needs to be guaranteed to ensure that the public interest remains the main focus of the legislative process. With comprehensive improvements to various aspects related to carry over, it is hoped that this mechanism can be an effective solution in ensuring the continuity of the discussion of laws and improving the quality and legitimacy of regulations produced by legislative institutions in Indonesia. [W]

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