

# PROCEEDING

THE 6<sup>TH</sup> INTERNATIONAL STUDENT  
CONFERENCE ON HUMANITY ISSUES  
2020

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF GLOBAL CHALLENGES ON HUMANITY ISSUES

March 17th 2020 (Wednesday)

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*Organized by:*

Master of International Relations  
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**PROCEEDING**  
**THE 6<sup>TH</sup> INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE ON**  
**HUMANITY ISSUES 2020**  
**The Transformation of Global Challenges on Humanity Issues**

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Wassalam,

**Editors**



## FOREWORD

*In the Name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful*

This proceeding provides a thematic issues and challenges in the contemporary social, humanities and international relations issues. The main objective of the International Student Conference on Humanity Issues (ISCOHI) 2020 is to present an integrated analysis of how the discipline of international relations in particular can contribute to our wider understanding of the variety of social and political issues. The 6th ISCOHI 2020 is an academic actualization for graduate students to enhance academic capability to examine and understand as well as offer choices for many humanities issues in the dynamics world to build a human welfare.

This academic conference depart from the point of view that international relations is as applied social sciences can contribute to the development of human life through many perspectives. It is compiled from travelers and knowledge experiences in international conference, talks and forum of researchers, supervisions and other discussion with our academicians. That experiences, together with their personal values and interests were extremely influence to the authors in this compilation papers. We hope that those who engage and read this book will obtain fruitful knowledge. All errors are the authors's responsibility.

Due to the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (Covid-19), this annual conference in 2020 was held by online where the participants sent their video presentations and then responded by the reviewer and the participants. It was for the first time for us to have online conference.

However we guarantee the quality and the result of this conference, mainly the output.

Wassalam.

Head of Department  
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# CIVIL SOCIETY: THE ZAPATISTA/ EJERCITO ZAPATISTA DE LIBERACION NACIONAL (EZLN) MOVEMENT AS A FORM OF HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE IN MEXICO

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## **Abstract**

*A mass movement is an action that is encouraged by community groups whose purpose is to give a strike or enter for a government in a country caused by some problems such as injustice, Insecurities and so on. One of the forms of the Mass movement was the mass movement of Zapatista or Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional (EZLN) which was a mass movement located in Mexico Latin America. This movement is an initiation of a society or citizen in the Mexican region that is a fertile area that generates and donates nearly 70% of revenue for Mexico, but their lives are so devasched due to government policies that Profanity, involving capitalists or neoliberalism without looking at the impact of loss from being produced. This is where it is seen, the movement continues to rise and progress against the Government with a wide range of strategies and one of its strategic by utilizing technology advancements such as the Internet and others nowadays. This paper uses concepts from experts that highlight the government's policies, but that*

*the mass movement is a movement that gives a motivation to other movements for the surrounding countries.*

**Keywords:** *Mass Movements, Zapatista, Mexico, Human Rights, Neoliberalism.*

## **Introduction**

The mass movement is an action undertaken by a group of people who have an interest to fight for the rights of people, or a protest movement committed by the community for the disappointment of the policies governments, both politically, economically, socially, culturally and other aspects. The problem of one gap can also be a trigger for action or mass movements resulting from government policies that can be said to harm the people in a country. That is, the wrong policy, then make chaos in the country of life, which raises the division between the government and the people. And globalization is also the cause of mass actions all over the world in countries.

Globalization that has occurred as a phenomenon of the life of international relations that cannot be unstoppable existence has made the state of life as if no partition or boundaries or in other words have broken the boundaries one of those countries is the market liberalization system in the international world. This phenomenon is one of them with international market liberalization which causes free competition between market participants or the market actors in industry development as well as expanding the market through the mastery of investments and market domination and products in both national and international scale. As for the country, as a government actor, with market liberalization, state existence can be weakened by non-State actors in protecting, controlling, and regulating the course of the domestic economy, because the role of the country will be replaced by international economic regime or transnational corporations (TNC) and multinational companies (MNC), in which their movements to build profit, business and dominance of international markets (Fauzan, 2011).

At the beginning of the year 1994 precisely on January 1, thousands of group troops of about 3000 people from the Geriliya indigenous farmers of the virtual Indians flock out of the forest Lacandon (forests that cross Mexico country borders with Guatemala) with masked Balaclava (a colored mask commonly worn by Indian farm farmers during rainy season) as well as carrying weapons tools besieged and occupied the places of governance of the state military Chiapas San Cristobal de las Casas, Ocosingo, Altamirano, and Las Margaritas are located in the southeast of Mexico. In the attack, most of the attacking commanders were women, and they named his movements called EZLN (Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional) or known as the Zapatista movement. The attacks were as a form of protest against some of the insoluble issues that had been in the years of colonization and exploitation among the Indian community, and not only that, they also declared war on corrupt government, demanding freedom, democracy and justice for all the people of Mexico (Arif, 2007).

In its movement, Zapatista's mass group used varied strategies to stem attacks from the Mexican government and the federal military. Attack after attack is launched with the aim that the government can favor the people, because during this time, the community assesses that the government has been railing people's rights, and the loss of justice in the country. The attacking strategy is to perform weapons attacks as one of Zapatista's strategies. However, it is considered, after a ceasefire with the government of the output is the life-saving civil society, and it is considered very detrimental to society. Along with the development of the situation, the attacks launched by this movement are by utilizing social networks or called using mass information technology or also by using the Internet. And apparently, the strategy was assessed more potent and efficacious, so that, the Zapatista mass movement gained attention from various circles not only within the country or national, but also regional and international (Stahler, 2010).

From the explanation described above by the author of this Zapatista movement, the author creates a formula of problems

or question research as follows: How the strategy of the Zapatista movement is capable of gaining attention to the global facing the Mexican government to fight for people's rights? The hypothesis that the authors can take and conclude is, that the Zapatista movement is a mass movement that has long emerged in order to free the Mexican civil society in particular and generally to motivate all International movement that justice for civil society should be given and fought. Later, in a movement in the face of the Mexican government, the Zapatista mass movement used many fickle strategies to smooth its movements in voicing justice. Globalization is a phenomenon that is for them to be afflicted, because there are practices that are corruptive, exploitative, and so on. Thus, they, this movement, came up with a common idea of voicing justice for the Mexican people. This long movement of mass then gained such good attention from the various circles, both from the national community, the Mexican civil society itself and from the regional and international, in this case is Non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and others. When we can see from the strategy used by this Zapatista movement, they use in two ways the movement war and the position war. War positions that can be said as military resistance to the state, while war of positions is a war that is conducted through moral reform and ideology.

### **Theoretical Framework**

There are several formulas and opinions from some experts about the social movement that since ancient times until now where the social movement is still encouraged to achieve the interests of the people. It is like the formulation and the opinions of Henselin arguing that the social movement is a group of people with large numbers that are organized and gathered in an organization whose call to promote and opposition to the most recent changes. In addition, Horton and Hunt also argued that the social movement was a collective effort to refuse and support a change. Later, Kamanto Sunarto arguments about the social movement is an effort that is carried out by the collective

community by having a long-term goal to give a change or maintain a collective group (society and Institutions) in it. From all these opinions, it can be said that the social movement is a pure movement that comes from the awareness of the collective community to go to and or oppose a change in society. Birth and growth of a social movement caused by a symptom that grows in the community organs because of the arbitrary actions of a group (government), or from the other side can be assess, that the emergence of social movements is a reaction from the community because of a policy pattern that is not on the sides and unfair to the people. They want a change from institutional, policy and government side, the government will always be the spotlight of the community because it is judged as the policy body (Yusuf, 2017).

## **Result and Discussion**

### **The Historical Movement Zapatista/Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional (EZLN)**

The Zapatista movement is a movement that has been initiated by civil society in Mexico, this movement is a social movement that is born from a condition where the community has felt harmed by the government, causing disputes between the two camps because of the rights of civilians that were not met. Other factors, as a result of the birth of this Zapatista movement, such as inter-region gap, discriminatory government, centralization of power, and arise marginalization of society due to the existence of equitable injustices only profit to the owner of the capital and landlords. Not only that, the fact that the condition so very concerned is also seen in the indigenous peoples, where Chiapas as a region in Mexico is an area that is very important role as a region that contributes Biggest earnings in Mexico yet they live in poor situations and conditions and shortcomings. As low as the level of education and health services received by the community one of them is due to the massive action of exploitation by entrepreneurs and capital owners, and for indigenous peoples leave only In power and competition (Turner, 2003).

The Zapatista movement is an armed revolutionary mass movement headquartered in Chiapas area, Mexico an area that has a poverty index of up to 70% percent and it is the lowest poverty index in Mexico, as well as the movement is a representation movement of the indigenous peoples, especially the community of Chiapas, which most of the members are indigenous peoples, and not infrequently that they also often have the support of urban areas such as support of the international community. The emergence of the Zapatista movement was an inspiration inspired by a man named Emiliano Zapata who was a revolutionary figure as well as an important figure in having fought for the rights of Mexican people in Redistribute the land, and Zapata was a figure of agrarian renewal in Mexico in the 20th century. With the movements made by Zapata such a resistance against conservative groups and France over the discriminatory treatment of the inhabitants of Morelos caused Zapata to be regarded as a hero in Mexico.

The struggle made by Zapata is not a short and easy struggle, because in his struggle millions of lives have drifted, but, with his struggle, not in vain, that the fruit of his movement is the demand for rights Autonomous to the marginalized and a dream of his firm a democratic space against the Mexican government. It was then that the Zapatista movement gained an ideology basis to continue fighting and defend the rights of the oppressed people. The consistent sense in the struggle and resistance carried out by Zapata remained until the end of his struggle in 1919 to keep the resistance and organization of the poor farmers to continue to fight their agricultural land so as not to Seized and fell to the hands of the Invaders (Candra, 2011).

The Zapatista movement was a movement built from the Mayan Alliance and a Mestizo farmer in southern Mexico between 1950-1990 and then they were relocated to a forest south of Mexico in the Lacandon forest. Following the holding of the Indigenous Congress by the Archdiocese of San Cristobal and Bishop Samuel Ruiz they built a strong network with local communities in 1974. By the inception of these organisations, it was the forerunner of the Zapatista



movement or often called the EZLN which was the military's left wing of the movement. The formation of the movement was a reaction to the policies taken by the Mexican government in this case led by President Salinas to change the constitution of article 27 which aims to withdraw foreign investments to Mexico as well as to support Mexican participation in NAFTA. The membership of the Zapatista movement was mostly of young men and women about 22 years old known as the military organized Insurgent under the leadership of the Commander and spokesperson for Sub comandante Marcos. (Muhammad F. D., 2019).

### **Globalization as a challenge for Zapatista**

It does not come out altogether from the discussion of Zapatista, and it is not hypocritical to say that the mass movement referred to as Zapatista is one of them was born because he wanted to fight for the rights of the people that one cause is globalization, that is through the free market or neoliberalism, capitalism and others all of which is a result of the inclusion of the process of globalization and the result of the needs of the government that finally wrong to take steps in a Policy as described above.

On 1 January 1994 early in the day, thousands of troops of the Zapatista Movement (EZLN) entered invaded and declared war against the federal government of Mexico, they came out of Lacandon forests which they then occupied the city of Chiapas in Mexico. They are comprised of thousands of Indian farmers armed using the Balaclava mask. The attacks that they have triggered are a protest of the government using the article 39 of the Mexican Constitution that reads "The people have the rights that cannot be eliminated, at any time to change or improve the form of government" . The attacks carried out by the movement coincided with the signing of the Mexican state with NAFTA, which later the rebellion gained a response from the Government by giving duty to government militaries to The Movement (Kartika, 2014).

Lately, globalization has become a discourse in the world of an endless political economy to be talked about globally and universally, even globalization is regarded as an era or civilization capable of breaking down the walls unauthorized country. Many of the purposing of globalization, some of them as a powerful spell that gives a freedom, and others have given it as a curse and as the devil of the inhabitants of hell. From some of the above, there are two understandings about globalization that can be taken, first is the understanding of the globalist group, which sees that globalization is an event or a process where technology has been cannot be avoided anymore and has influenced human social life, the understanding has entered into human civilization and could not be rejected, his coming naturally, he came to force man to not be unadaptable. Globalization comes to encourage communities to be competitive, adaptive, innovative, automobile, efficient and effective. As for the opposite side, diametrically, the understanding of globalization is another, that globalization is a concept that is contested and fought, its return is not natural and does not originate from construction But is present within the community and state entities or so-called political intervention. This was the case in Mexico, where the role and function of the State had become a facilitator creating a conducive and accommodating condition for the inclusion of capital and rising market dominance. The function and role of the country has been weakened and eliminated as a guarantor for the welfare of its citizens and authorized its mechanisms to the market (Filho, 2017).

The impact of globalization through neoliberalism and free trade in Mexico has provided a loss within the country in Mexico itself. It is quite different from what the Mexican President Salinas has promised that will ensure the development of the country, realizing a wealthy and more prosperous Mexico. This gives such significant problems as in farming issues such as community land ownership and agricultural subsidies. With the conditions of the backward community, eventually they were impacted by the implementation of the agreement which

then made the gap between the relationship between the community and the Government (Ronfeldt, 1998).

The impact of neoliberalism was exacerbated by the government by adopting a system given by international finance, namely the IMF and the World Bank. The programs recommended by the two institutions is to cut costs for health, education and other subsidies, reduce public expenditure, free trade and product prices to encourage domestic industry, as well as privatization of companies where state-owned enterprises become private companies. Finally, the impact is the nature of state dependence on foreign investment and the higher the economic gap between capital owners and the public. The other impact is, many people have difficulty in access to health and education, many citizens died because of the cost of health is too high, so it cannot reach the cost of health is so expensive. The field of education is the same, many children who do not pursue their education to a higher level due to the reduction of subsidies (Kushindarti, 2015).

### **Strategy Against the Zapatista Movement Against the Mexican Government**

It has been widely explained about the Zapatista movement above, ranging from the history movement, to the problem of globalization that causes the community in Mexico to be in poverty and loss. It was then that triggered a conflict between the community movement and the Mexican government. However, with the continued conflict between the community movement and the distribution, of course, there must be a need to be in the matter, but it must be done with maturity so as not to continue to occur conflict among citizens in Mexico. After this, it is described to describe what strategies are designed by the Zapatista movement to tap government concerns.

Some of the strategies waged by the Zapatista movement in the holding of the Mexican government are as follows:

a. **Fourth Generation War (4GW)**

The main form of this warfare strategy is to engage and use all existing and available resources, ranging from politics, economics to the military. They strive to convince the enemy that their strategic goal is so difficult to achieve and has such a huge loss than the benefits. The war through such strategies is not merely an eye for defeating the enemy's military forces, but rather leveraging the existing network, because what they want to attack is the minds of policy makers, who can then destroy their political will anyway. If we can briefly explain about this 4GW war strategy is a strategy to influence the mind of the enemy policy makers who dotted the press on the use of networking and information. In this strategy, a movement has networks to develop and support from other parties such as internal and external network usage. Internally it means the strategy used by establishing a political base in the masses of people and using the political power by slowly destroying the enormous power of the enemy military. While externally is by the action of Propaganda and Diplomacy (Gunawan, 2019).

b. **Strategy War Position**

In the Gramsci view, the resistance is divided into two parts, namely the resistance in the form of a movement war strategy is by attacking in a frontal manner using military power to the apparatus of state or government, while war with strategy war position is a struggle through moral reform and ideology.

In this position war, the strategy undertaken by this movement is to build collective awareness of indigenous peoples as a base of resistance then fight ideologically in the realm of national and international civil society. What is done in this war of positions is like building a collective awareness of indigenous peoples meaning that the resistance is a movement of collective nature or social movement, with its there are actors who participated perform consciously, rationally and to a certain degree, and are members

of an organized community. They are not a faceless crowd that eliminates the identity of an actor in a collective action. Then, from the second strategy of the position war is to activate national and international civil society meaning, after successfully forming the collective consciousness of indigenous peoples, the movement began to increase its movements or support by stepping into civil society. This is where the Zapatista movement gave a doctrine and sought support by involving civil society in the conflict in Chiapas which then continued by calling for civil society also to be involved in policy formulation Socio-economic. The power of civil society is encouraged to fight neoliberal globalization and is active in submitting alternative ideas and practices. While the activation of international civilians is by means of discussions about the conflict in Chiapas held in major places such as Mexico City, Austin, Texas, and the University of California Los Angeles. And this also, supported by the development of the internet that encourages the involvement of many parties both international and national. And then is revitalizing the pattern of reciprocity and redistribution in economic practice, meaning here that the movement of EZLN or Zapatista makes an economic movement to build and enrich its citizens by building fair trade. Fair Trade is a model developed in the city of Chiapas, where it is the largest producer of coffee in Mexico with a total export of 700 million dollars in revenues in Mexico. One of its long-term goals is the determination of the indigenous community is the direct development of products for the people of the village. Fair Trade emphasizes the humanitarian value of the profit (Muhammad, 2004).

## **Conclusion**

From all the explanation above about the mass movement certainly have humanitarian values that we cannot avoid, especially about human rights, justice, welfare and so forth. In its movement, Zapatista or later referred to as EZLN which is a motion that was born from

the consciousness of the act of being carried out by the government itself and also the consequences of globalization events that invite the free market. And the neoliberal struggle is very heavy and long, not short, and requires the blood bleeding and to trigger the community to continue to produce ideas as well as strategies that are very sure-fire in order to create a fair society, and have the law.

In addition, it is said that in the abdication of Zapatista in the fight against the government has also been conducted using Internet access as a medium to make domestic civil society and Global to unite human rights strengthening especially in Mexico. With the use of modern sophistication available like the intent, the Zapatista movement is called as a movement that first introduced a new strategy that is by means of Internet use as a global civil resistance. The function of the internet use in the resistance of the movement is as the transnational advocacy network and the media is the implementation of netwar (Aryani, 2015).

Another conclusion in this movement resistance is that in addition to the assault on neoliberalization and prosecute the national Democratic Daam, that other demands are the existence of a claim of local autonomy where they run the government Independently with a participatory democracy base and customary traditions. However, in his journey to autonomous communities, the movement gained some obstacles and challenges or resistance from the government, but despite this, the movement in its development was capable and can be said that the relic succeeded in advancing the local autonomy agenda by driving such a number of issues such as the San Andres agreement, namely the rights and culture of indigenous peoples, and unilateral autonomy, that is Junta good governance (Gunawan Lestari Elake, 2017). And in the end, with a variety of strategies launched, not just indigenous peoples who then defend the movement, but then civil society both national and international also contribute to the aid of liberation-exemption from Shackles of government hypocrisy.

The lesson that can be taken from this mass movement is, that justice should be given to the people by the government, prosperity

must be the government to strive for the prosperity of the citizens in a way that is not detrimental to society, but must contributing to citizens.

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# COUNTER RADICALISM ON MILLENNIALS (CASE STUDY: COUNTER RADICALISM IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DARUSSALAM GONTOR THROUGH REGULAR STUDY BY CIOS)

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## **Abstract**

*Radicalism is the cause of the terror problems in Indonesia. This can be seen from the destruction of millennial behavior that is infected with radical ideology. Which is caused by the lack of the interpretation al-Qur'an especially the interpretation of Jihad. Colleges have considerable influence in the effort to counter extreme and radical ideology. The University of Darussalam Gontor as a pesantren-based education institution is trying to ward off radicalism, one of them through the study of Friday Night Lecture and Monday Night Discussion under CIOS (Central for Islamic and Occidental Study). This article aims to analyze the efforts undertaken by the University of Darussalam Gontor in denying the current radical ideology. This research uses qualitative methods with a descriptive approach. The data collection techniques used are literature studies both references are secondary and primary. The results showed that the efforts undertaken by the University of Darussalam*

*Gontor by conducting FNL and MND could reduce the spread of radicalism among millennials.*

**Keyword:** CIOS, Friday Night Lecture and Night Discussion, Radicalism

## **Introduction**

In the current era of digitalization, millennial generation is very vulnerable to being the target of the spread of radical ideology (Fajri, 2020). The rapid flow of information circulating on social media also makes them difficult in sorting out various kinds of information that deserves to be received. Because not a little of the information currently circulating contains radical notions. Thus, millennial generation must be taught subject matter that is in accordance with social reality so that radical ideas do not damage the ideology that can endanger the survival and unity of the country's life.

Radicalism is understood as radical religious (Islamic) movements among millennials who aspire to make major changes in state politics by changing the form of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia to the Islamic State of Indonesia (Saifuddin, 2011). They commit acts of radicalism because they feel that there is unfair, discriminatory treatment, political and cultural marginalization, as well as belief in the support of religious texts / propositions that justify acts of radicalism (Qodir, 2016). The radicalism movements that are emerging at this time create a new breakthrough by recruiting students from educated circles who can eliminate the impression of radicalism only found in ordinary people fade by themselves.

One of the factors causing the spread of radicalism among millennials is influenced by educational factors that emphasize the aspect of indoctrination and do not provide opportunities for discussion. Jean Piaget in his theory of cognitive development states that education must be in accordance with human development. That is, education must always pay attention to two things at once, namely

the development or ability of every human being and pay attention to the dynamics that develop in a society that includes science, technology, and culture. Along with the dynamics of life that develops in the midst of these societies, millennial generation is required to have the ability to sort out information that is spread so that it is not exposed to the spread of radical notions (Muchith, 2016).

Darussalam University of Gontor as a pesantren-based educational institution educates its students to not to be infected with the understanding that can damage ideologies such as radical understandings. Through an institution called CIOS (Central of Islamic and Occidental Studies), Darussalam Gontor University conducts various routine weekly studies to prevent the entry of radical understanding into the university environment. This paper was written to educate its readers about the dangers of radicalism and its prevention efforts, especially at Darussalam Gontor University. The research question in this study is how is the efforts of Darussalam Gontor University as an Islamic-based educational institution in tackling radicalism and the extent to which FNL and MND studies can counteract radicalism among students? The purpose of this study is to identify the role of CIOS as the center of Islamic studies in overcoming the understanding of radicalism among millennial generations. Then we explain and draw conclusions. The existence of this paper is expected to counteract the understanding of radicalism that spread among students and foster awareness of the dangers of radicalism.

## **Literature Review**

The author conducted previous research by reading some of the results of the research and thesis related to the research theme to be discussed, as follows: According to Abu Rokhmat in his article entitled: Islamic Radicalism and Deradicalization attempts to explain that radical issues have spread widely among young people, especially learning who are still attending school or lectures, therefore the involvement of various parties is needed for efforts to overcome this

radical understanding. In the previous research, they only focused on Islamic Education teachers in handling the impact of radicalism. But in our research, we will not only discuss the role of teacher but the role of organizations in the universities as well as the role of students in the denial of radical ideas that can damage the ideology of millennial generation.

According to Syaifuddin (2011) in his article entitled *Islamic Radicalism among Students (A New Metamorphosis)*, it was explained that the spread of radical Islamic groups among students was inseparable from the efforts to regenerate intellectual groups with Islamic fundamentalists with the strategy of making students difficult to separate from this group. From previous research, it is said that one of the reasons for the inclusion of radical understanding among female students is because of the campus policy that does not provide space for students to express their ideas. Then from our research we will discuss an activity that can be made a place for students to express ideas by discussing together.

According to Muhammad Faiz (2000) in his article entitled *The Concept of Deradicalization and Counter Terrorism* according to Said Nursi explained that overcoming Radicalism must be based on science (al-ilm), knowledge (al-ma'rifah), da'wah (at-tabligh), qanaah (al-iqna'), love (al-wudd), and compassion (al-shafaqah) between people. From this research it is explained that in order to reduce radicalism and anarchist actions it is necessary to fix the education system fundamentally, strengthen positive values in people's lives (especially unity, affection and sense of responsibility). We focus our research on reforming the education system by including the curriculum of the Islamization of science through Friday Night Lecture activities which are then discussed in the Monday Night Discussion at Darussalam Gontor University.

According to Abdul Munip (2012) in his article entitled *Preventing Religious Radicalism in Schools* explains that the tendency of students to support acts of radicalism from various leading universities in

Indonesia. If the support is allowed, it can result in having a violent personality to achieve his goals. So, the de-radicalization effort was carried out in many ways, including through the publication of books, magazines, re-mastering the mosque, etc. Our paper minimizes the focus of research on the efforts of Darussalam Gontor University to counter radicalism among students.

From 4 different previous literatures, this paper focuses on the efforts of Darussalam Gontor University in the effort to counter radicalism through Friday Night Lecture and Monday Night Discussion.

### **Research Methodology**

This research is qualitative research with descriptive approach. It was a collaborative action research to answer the formulation of the problem above the method used in this study is a qualitative method. This approach aims to make the reader understand the symptoms under study, so that this research is carried out on intact or real agenda, namely Friday Night Lecture and Monday Night by Central of Islamic and Occidental Studies Discussion that describe by Syamsuddin Arif. In addition, the descriptive historical approach was also used in this study.

Data collection techniques used are literature studies from various literatures with library materials can be divided into two section: primary data and secondary data. Basic data using observations step are made to get references. Secondary data can be obtained from data sources obtained through publications issued from organization or institution related to get a good journal reference can answer the formulation of the problem.

Studies on data used in the process analysis and synthesis, which includes source or literature of the study objecting the form of Group Discussion, as well regarding discussion that will accommodated and millennial people in rethinking radicalism. The final stage is to conclude all the results that have been done before.

## Result and Discussion

### Radicalism Discourse

The radical itself comes from the Latin *radix* which means root. While radicals are the derivation of radicals, it means that it is related to the root, to the root and to the root (Ro'uf, 2007). Thus, radical people are people who want a change in the existing situation by acting sporadically to the roots (Faiz, 2017). The phenomenon of radicalism is reflected in the destructive-anarchist actions in the name of the religion of a group of people against groups of followers of other religions (Munip, 2012).

According to its history, the radical term used in England was born out of an accident known as the French Revolution where the last King (Louis) was successfully overthrown and the system of government was changed from a kingdom into a republic. King Louis and his wife and children were brought to the square, witnessed by thousands of people, and beheaded by a giant razor blade. Because the events turned revolution into a fever, a scourge for kings around France including the Queen of England. British politicians were split into two - there were those who wanted Britain to evolve (radical) and stick to its (conservative) royal system. And since then radicals have been interpreted as extremists (people who want enormous change). After political radicalism, the term radical appeared at the level of religion (religious radicalism) which was attached to a German theologian named Martin Luther. Because of his efforts to change the structure of church institutions.

After initially having negative connotations the term radical also had a neutral meaning. Radicals no longer use violence. In the hands of Descartes, the term radical changes meaning into an effort to revolutionize epistemology, namely a change in the orientation of science. From negative connotations, then radical neutral connotations were also used for pride. Dr Samsyudin gave an example of a figure named Thomas- the right of men who fled to America because he was

considered anti the Queen of England and wanted Britain to turn into a republic in America. He was a hero because of his radicalism. (Ayomi & Dzunnuraini, 2018).

Radicalism can be understood as an attitude that craves change to sovereign government by destroying it and replacing it with something new. Usually this change is revolutionary in drastic ways through violence and extreme behavior (Rais, 1999). According to Emna Laisa's study, radicalism does not necessarily become synonymous with extreme actions and always lead to violence. Because it can have a positive meaning if it is carried out with a comprehensive understanding of religion and is practiced in the private sphere (Laisa, 2014).

The rise of radical movements in Muslim societies raises an old image about Islam that religion is intolerant. This is based on the argument that; First, in its interaction with external (non-Muslim) forces, Islam has succeeded in spreading its wings through military expansion far from the geographical point of its birth. Historical evidence shows the expansion carried out to European land in the West and India in the East. Secondly, the internal relations between Muslims that took place between the opposition groups and the authorities since the murder of the third caliph, 'Uthman bin Affan, until now, have always been colored by violence. This style is for some orientalists interpreted as the concept of jihad in the political life of Islam (Shihab, 1998).

Jihad in the terminology of the Qur'an is divided into two. First, Jihad fi Sabilillah, which is intended as a serious effort in taking the path of Allah. This includes the sacrifice of property and lives. Second, jihad fillah or efforts (facing Allah) to deepen the spiritual aspects (Shihab, 1998). Thus, it can be understood that the concept of jihad in the sense of defending religion does exist in Islam. But of course, the notion of jihad is not only meaningful but also has another meaning which is serious. This second understanding is often overlooked in the minds of most people (Ruslan, 2015).

Counter radicalism is an effort to overcome the misdirection of religious understanding that puts forward irrational, rigid, and oppressive actions and often uses violence. This effort requires a long time because it includes the de-idealization of the understanding that has been developed before. Therefore, efforts to counter radicalism must be carried out using various positive approaches both in terms of psychological, religious, economic, educational, and political in a long time. The rise of radicalism actions to date reinforces the urgency of counter-radicalism efforts by encouraging all parties to continue to actively participate in reducing the ways of violence as citizens who love the integrity of the nation and state. (Faiz, 2017).

### **Factors Triggering the Growth of Radicalism**

Radical understanding that is rife at this time can be seen by the many factors that trigger this understanding, among these factors include: First, Religious Factors as a form of purification of Islamic teachings and the application of the Islamic caliphate on earth (Laisa, 2014) in the name of religious solidarity for friends who are oppressed by certain powers. Usually this group appears during the community in the name of religion to reject leaders or groups that are considered to have been far from religion. This group usually knows about their religion a little bit, especially in their understanding of the interpretation of the Qur'an.

Secondly, the Socio-Political Factor which is mistakenly considered by the West as Islamic radicalism is more precisely seen from the root of the problem from the point of socio-political context in the historical framework of human society (Thooyib, 2018). According to Azyumardi Azra that Muslims do not benefit from global civilization, so that it causes resistance to dominating forces. Deviations and social inequality that harm the Muslim community, causing the movement of radicalism that is supported by religious sentiment and emotions.

Third, the culture factor. This factor also has a considerable influence on the background of the emergence of radicalism. The West



is considered by Muslims to have deliberately carried out the process of marginalization of all the joints of Muslim life so that Muslims become backward and oppressed. The West with its secularism, has been considered as a nation that drives the cultures of the eastern nations and Islam, is also considered the greatest danger of the continuity of Islamic morality (Ash'arie, 1992). Cultural factors here are anti-thesis of Western secular culture. Secularism regards religion as the privatization of individuals who must not experience intervention from others. Therefore, for groups acting in the name of religion try to break the cultural trap that is not in accordance with Islamic religious values.

Fourth, the Anti-Westernization Ideological Factor. Westernization is a thought that endangers Muslims in applying Islamic sharia so that western symbols must be destroyed for the sake of Islamic sharia enforcement. The ideology of fundamentalism as an anti-westernizes ideology.

Fifth, Educational Factor. The many countries that have a majority Muslim population are developing countries with minimal education. The lack of education results in the lack of information gained knowledge, coupled with a lack of religious basis makes it easy for someone to receive religious information from the wrong person who can become a boomerang for young people.

Sixth, Economic Factors. This factor is a domestic factor because someone feels marginalized, does not get justice in his environment due to belonging to the poor, causing a sense of disappointment with the government. The community becomes radicalized if the government takes repressive measures against the protests and aspirations of the community when the government fails to provide decent employment and economic growth for all its people (Nurjannah, 2013). When viewed from economic factors, the root of this radicalism arises due to a class struggle between the "moderate" and "pro-government" bourgeois classes against the marginalized (Umar, 2010).

The emergence of various factors behind this radicalism has one goal that is often the same, namely as a symbol of dissatisfaction or

distrust of the regime that is leading and often silencing the voice of the people.

### **Central of Islamic and Occidental Studies (CIOS)**

Central Islamic and Occidental Studies (CIOS) is one of the centers of study at the University of Darussalam Gontor which was founded based on the idea that Islam is a religion and civilization which is currently facing challenges from other civilizations, especially the West. This is caused by two things, namely the weakening of mastery of important concepts in the Islamic intellectual tradition and the magnitude of the influence of foreign concepts in Muslim thought. It should be noted that in the past before the scholars were confronted with foreign civilizations. Their understanding of the basic concepts of Islam is quite strong, so that when faced with foreign concepts from India, Persia, Greece they can adopt these concepts to be developed within the framework of Islamic thought. This process is called “Islamization of Scientific Knowledge” (Admin, 2018).

CIOS often conducts routine activities and studies, especially for UNIDA Gontor students to ward off extreme ideas that can damage ideology. Activities for internal students of UNIDA Gontor include: studies of the Islamization of science, symposiums, national and international seminars, publishing books on scientific studies, seminars on heretical sects in Indonesia and holding regular discussions every week on contemporary issues known as called Friday Night Lecture (FNL) and Monday Night Discussion (MND). FNL is the delivery of material by experts such as lecturers and post-graduate students who were previously provided with the sciences of Islamization. While MND is a forum where students are invited to exchange ideas that will produce a solution or prevention on contemporary issues that have been explained at the time of FNL. As for the external, CIOS held the Ulama Cadre Program (PKU) which is usually attended by various Non-UNIDA students for several weeks.

The Friday Night Lecture (FNL) is a study held every Friday night which is one of the platforms to increase students' scientific knowledge in the field of islamization of science using Islamic worldview aimed at the leadership prospects of all UNIDA Gontor students (Kartika, 2019). In the study, all students were divided into several groups that have been formed by the markaz Islamization with graduate students as presenters who deliver material in accordance with predetermined themes.

This study aims to broaden students' insights on the Islamization of Science, the History of Islamic Civilization, and to form appropriate views and mindsets that are in accordance with Islamic worldview in looking at several issues in society. (Wulan, Opening of Friday Night Lecture Academic Year 2018-2019 Darussalam Gondor University, 2018) This study focuses on contemporary issues, classical studies, knowledge of Islamization and other scholarship. The formation of Leadership for UNIDA Gontor students, which is one of the missions of this study, is not only to improve intellectual insight, but must cover all aspects so that this study can proceed to achieve its main goal. According to Dr. Nur Hadi Ihsan, MIRKH as the Dean of the Kuliatul-Banat University of Gontor Universities, said that this activity was a group to improve themselves in conveying ideas about something that was sometimes mistaken by most people. Knowledge that underlies the attitude and mindset of a person must always be in the Islamic worldview as a view of life based on the Qur'an and Hadith.

The integration of Natural Sciences and humanity with Islamic sciences in the framework of producing a generation of Indonesians who are highly virtuous, able-bodied, knowledgeable and free-thinking (creative-innovative) is a vision of the Islamization of science at Darussalam Gontor University which is the core of the establishment of this University. (Wulan, Opening of Friday Niget Lecture Academic Year 2018-2019 Darussalam Gontor university, 2018). After delivering the material at the time of the FNL, this activity will be followed by regular discussions held every Monday night. This discussion is known

as MND (Monday Night Discussion) where students are required to share their arguments with each other about material previously discussed at the FNL. This discussion is expected to become a provision in the future. A good argument and full of challenges are a student identity obtained from writing, reading, and discussing activities.

MND (Monday Night Discussion) is a weekly routine discussion conducted at UNIDA Gontor. This study is a forum for students to discuss contemporary issues that have been presented by the speaker during the FNL (Friday Night Lecture) on Friday Night. This activity was also carried out outside of lecture hours under the mark of the Islamization of UNIDA Gontor. The system carried out in this study is by appointing a moderator from each of his groups who will guide the discussion and two presenters who will convey again about what was delivered by the speaker at the time of the FNL. After the presentation of the previous material, the next female students were invited to argue with one another through question and answer sessions related to things that were unclear during the FNL. In this Question and Answer session all female students can present their arguments related to the questions that have been asked to get the most effective results by involving female students from post-graduate level to guide the discussion. (Kartika, 2019).

This weekly study can improve the soft skills of students, so they dare to convey ideas, ideas, and good opinions so that they can improve students' thinking power in expressing their income. The result of this study is to train students in discussing and knowing the rhetoric of good discussion and to increase the role of graduate students in the UNIDA Gontor environment in applying knowledge about the Islamization of the knowledge they have gained. (Wulan, 2018) From routine studies and discussions like this, students can develop and improve insights related to paradigm and to understand extreme understandings, such as radicals that can affect the quality of the younger generation, especially the quality of graduates of UNIDA Gontor.

## Efforts to Counter Radicalism Through CIOS

Radicalism is basically fanaticism towards a belief and attitude that does not want to be official in defending their beliefs, with which they oppose the beliefs of other parties, and it is not uncommon for actors to choose language and violent behavior in “defending” their beliefs. As an understanding, radicalism will easily influence the character of young generation, when the values believed are included in everyday life. (Suryani, 2017) the emergence of various cases of attacks carried out by radical groups in the world can lead to the perception that the de-radicalization program launched by the government has not run optimally. This then gave rise to views on various deradicalization programs, some supporting, others not supporting, some rejecting and some not even understanding.

The real threat that has been faced by society today is an increase in radicalism. This is felt by the fading of values and noble ideals of the Pancasila of the nation's identity, such as increased violence. On the other hand, the idea of radicalism used to tend to be directed towards the lower classes and is now starting to shift to groups of students, even students in tertiary institutions. The campus which has been known as a place for human nursery with critical, open, and intellectual minds, apparently cannot be safe from the influence of radicalism. (Tamtanus, 2018) Government Regulation, Number 37 of 2009, and Presidential Regulation, Number 10 of 2016, states that: “lecturers are professional and scientific educators with the main task of transforming, developing, and disseminating knowledge and technology through education, research and community service. The existence of an educator element becomes very important in transmitting his knowledge. That way Darussalam Gontor University, as a pesantren-based university, teaches its lecturers about the Islamization of knowledge, which is what this science will disseminate to its students.

The implementation of the distribution of Islamic knowledge is carried out with the establishment of CIOS (Central of Islamic and Occidental Studies) as one of the centers of study at UNIDA Gontor

which has many activities in the study of issues relating to Western thought and civilization. In this center of study, lecturers and students can study, understand, and examine wrong thoughts and ideologies. That way you can move away from things that lead to damage. One of the activities of CIOS which is very effective in the eradication of this radical understanding is the FNL and MND which are held every week. Because with a study like this can open the minds of students about the good or bad of an existing ideology and can keep away from thoughts that can damage the ideology of the nation's children.

## **Conclusion**

Radicalism is often one of the causes of rebellions against legitimate governments and results in the disruption of political stability in a country. The university as a tertiary institution plays an important role in influencing the thinking and actions of its students so as not to embrace wrong ideas or ideologies. Darussalam University of Gontor as a pesantren-based tertiary institution established a center for Islamic study studies under the name Central of Islamic and Occidental Studies aimed at counteracting extreme understandings, such as radical understanding among students through routine activities, such as Friday Night Lecture (FNL) which then the material will be discussed on Monday Night Discussion (MND).

Based on data obtained from the field through data analysis, the researchers concluded that the countering radicalism of ideology is an effort that must always be fought primarily for the millennial generation of the nation's successors. There are Friday Night Lectures and Monday Night Discussions as an activity in various efforts to counter radicalism in a simple way. In connection with the results of the research that we have done, it is good that the contribution of the Friday Night Lecture and supported by the Monday Night Discussion. Therefore, it would be nice if further research is related to the role of the Ulama Cadre Program in countering radicalism by CIOS.

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# ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PARTNERSHIP THROUGH HUMANITARIAN AID INDONESIA

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## **Abstract**

*Humanitarian aid is one of the important elements in diplomacy on relations between countries. In addition, humanitarian aid is related to economic and social development. This article aims to identify the impact of cross-border humanitarian aid in Indonesia on the economic and social development of society. To achieve this goal, researchers reviewed the cross-border humanitarian aid literature conducted in Indonesia in the 2015-2019 period. The review produced six previous studies that included evaluating the economic and social development of the community as a result of foreign humanitarian aid. The results show that this long-term impact is difficult to measure except using simple and quantitative indicators, there are real differences between theory and practice regarding humanitarian aid and development aid and the importance of humanitarian aid programs being managed sustainably using stakeholder perspectives and being run organically and professionally.*

**Keywords:** *relations between countries; economic development; humanitarian aid; social development.*

## Introduction

As a country with a high intensity of disasters and health problems due to its unique demographic, geological and geographic profile, Indonesia can be said to be a fertile ground for international humanitarian aid. In line with this, Indonesia itself has also participated in providing humanitarian aid to some countries such as Palestine, Vanuatu, and Bangladesh. In Palestine, Indonesia regularly provides humanitarian aid (Latief, 2013). Finally, formally, Indonesia assisted IDR 106.2 billion (US\$ 7.77 million) (CNN Indonesia, 2018). In Bangladesh, Indonesia is carrying out humanitarian efforts to help the country overcome the problem of Rohingya refugees from Myanmar (Fauzia, 2017; Sinulingga, Halim, & Permata, 2019). In addition to channeling physical aid and establishing hospitals, Indonesia also disbursed funds of IDR 7.5 billion (US\$ 548,807) through the ASEAN secretariat (Verdiana, 2019). In Vanuatu, humanitarian aid to Pam cyclone victims was seen as a gentle diplomacy effort against Vanuatu's support for Free Papua (Wati, Sari, & Sutisna, 2018).

Vanuatu has long been a supporter of the Papuan separatist movement before finally changing opinion (Lawson, 2016). The aid provided is US\$ 2 million (Wati et al, 2018). Several other Melanesian countries also received Indonesian aid with a total aid of \$ 20 million (Carter & Firth, 2015). In fact, in the past year, Indonesia has established the first international aid agency called Indonesian AID with an endowment fund of IDR 10 trillion (US\$ 731.7 million) to accelerate the bureaucracy in assisting other countries (Hasan, 2019). These values are relatively high considering that globally, the world in 2020 needs US\$ 28.8 Billion humanitarian aid to 167.6 million people in need (UN OCHA, 2020). This is in line with the reduction in foreign aid to Indonesia, which has fallen by 44% (US\$ 1.2 Billion) in the last five years (Urquhart, 2019).

The lower level of foreign aid to Indonesia can reflect various aspects of disappointment or success. It is not clear which is true between these two things. Foreign aid can be reduced because the aid

provided so far has not been effective or vice versa, foreign aid has been reduced because aid has been distributed effectively and Indonesia no longer needs humanitarian aid. It is unclear what is the reason for the reduction in foreign aid for Indonesia. Knowledge of this reason requires a review of the long-term impact of humanitarian aid provided by foreigners in Indonesia.

Indeed, the literature appears to be more concerned with the short-term impacts of humanitarian aid (Chudzicka-Strugala et al., 2018). This is reasonable because the short-term impact is more real, direct, and reflects the effectiveness of humanitarian aid. Meanwhile, the long-term impact is more complex and interrelated with various other factors that develop over time. However, to obtain a more comprehensive and basic picture of the effectiveness of humanitarian aid, identification of long-term benefits needs to be done.

Long-term humanitarian aid is a concept that only received global attention after the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. The natural disaster that claimed many victims raised awareness at the global level to provide long-term humanitarian aid in the form of reconstruction and development aid. Long-term aid in the form of reconstruction and development is considered an important aid as it is often the case that countries that are exposed to humanitarian disasters find it difficult to revive after the disaster. In addition, much of the short-term aid provided is often not on target because it is given suddenly and without careful consideration. The lack of understanding of the sender of aid to the needs of disaster victims and the lack of reliable data to determine the quantity needed and whether the quantity has been met also contributes as a factor that causes the inaccuracy of aid targets. With long-term aid, more careful and comprehensive planning can be done.

For Indonesia, long-term humanitarian aid has its challenges. The level of corruption in this country is classified as the highest in Asia, higher than China, India, or Saudi Arabia (Transparency International, 2019). Corruption is a concern in providing long-term humanitarian aid to Indonesia (Daly & Hor, 2013). Indonesia guarantees that

humanitarian aid is unlikely to be corrupted because anti-corruption laws reward perpetrators of humanitarian aid corruption with a maximum sentence of capital punishment. Indeed, there have not been cases of the death penalty for corruptors in Indonesia even though there have been cases of corruption of humanitarian aid at the local level such as humanitarian aid in various earthquake events.

Even though donor countries criticize the potential for corruption and bad governance, still donor countries send humanitarian aid with various justifications. Therefore, even if the donor country is willing to accept the risk of corruption and the Indonesian government can prevent corruption, there are still questions about the impact of humanitarian aid provided to Indonesia on affected communities.

Although there are various obstacles as explained above, humanitarian aid that is well planned and has clear targets should be able to provide the aid needed by the affected communities. This kind of humanitarian aid can be an ideal example to be replicated in other countries. For this reason, this article aims to identify the impact of cross-border humanitarian aid in Indonesia on affected communities.

## **Theoretical Framework**

According to the theory of the disaster management cycle, disaster management consists of four phases: mitigation, preparation, response, and recovery (Coetzee & Van Niekerk, 2012). Humanitarian aid is a form of response to disasters faced by a community. This effort is expected to be able to bring a recovery in the affected communities. This recovery does not mean that the socio-economic situation is recovering as it was before the disaster, but rather an effort to put the community in a stable socio-economic situation (Raschky & Schwindt, 2012).

The stability that occurs can be socio-economic stability which is at a better level and can also be worse than the socio-economic situation before the disaster. However, the priority is that the socio-economic situation is better. If this is achieved, it can be said that there has been

an effect of economic and social development on the people receiving aid (Kusumasari & Alam, 2012). This is what is behind the concept “building back better” (Mannakkara & Wilkinson, 2014).

Even so, whether the socio-economic situation achieved is at a better or worse point than before, requires a long-term study, when the community is completely stable. Even for humanitarian aid that is helpful in non-disaster situations, such as health activities, long-term effects can be expected for individuals who receive health aid, such as increased productivity or more decent life activities than before. That is, they individually are not just recovering, but experiencing socio-economic progress from before.

Research in other countries has given mixed results regarding the impact of humanitarian aid on countries affected by humanitarian disasters. There have been several successful cases such as in New Zealand after the 1931 earthquake (Hill & Gaillard, 2013), Chile after the 2010 earthquake (Platt & So, 2017), and Sri Lanka after the 2014 tsunami (Hettige, Haigh, & Amaratunga, 2018). Even so, many successful cases have been strongly criticized by researchers as a biased result (Kirsch et al., 2012; Weiss, Kirsch, Doocy, & Perrin, 2014). The reports given seem to be successful, but this success is artificial because it is measured in the wrong way (Kirsch, Siddiqui, & Perrin, 2013) or provide evaluation reports that are too simple. For example, evaluations are often done through interviews. The interview is considered biased because of the ulterior motive of the party being interviewed on both possible answers: successful or unsuccessful. If the informant says success, it could be merely to please the evaluator as a thank you, even though the aid provided may not succeed in achieving its goals. If the informants say that they are not successful, this could only be so that they continue to get humanitarian aid so that a surplus of aid can be taken for personal gain because the objective of the aid has been reached and does not need to be added. On the other hand, people who felt that aid was not on target were not given a place to channel feedback (Kirsch et al, 2013). More than that, there are also criticisms

which state that long-term humanitarian aid should not need to be given because it creates dependency (Pierre-Louis, 2011) or worse, make the recipient country not want to invest in disaster mitigation efforts because even if a disaster comes, there will be humanitarian aid flowing from other countries (Cohen & Werker, 2016).

Agency theory (Zogning, 2017) can be used to explain human behavior in receiving or providing aid. Agency theory states that someone who is given a task, referred to as an agent, will tend to deviate from the party giving the task, referred to as the principal. This deviation occurs when the agent seeks to prioritize his interests rather than the principal's interests. For this reason, principals must include an inherent supervision mechanism so that agents do not deviate in carrying out their duties. In the current case, the agent is the party mandated by the donor country to deliver aid to Indonesia and the party mandated by Indonesia to receive and cooperate with those who have the mandate of the donor to deliver and manage the aid. The two principals, namely the governments of the two countries, must provide a good oversight mechanism so that their agents do not distort existing funds.

Hard data is one form of principal supervision that should be in the implementation of humanitarian aid. This is because hard data is important to assess whether the funds channeled have flowed smoothly without interruption and whether the aid program has been able to achieve its objectives (Ager et al., 2014). However, hard data is rarely collected in humanitarian aid programs. This is mainly because humanitarian aid is handled by parties who are not used to collecting data or even deliberately do not want to take data. As a result, humanitarian aid is more controlled by the mass media rather than statistical facts, especially if the situation is an emergency and requires quick decision making. Vulnerability to mass media can lead to misperceptions and misunderstandings if it is not controlled during disaster management due to unpreparedness in covering disasters and providing objective reporting aid (Olsson & Nord, 2015).

Even on the part of humanitarian workers themselves, there is a reluctance to collect hard data because if humanitarian aid proves successful, they will lose their jobs and return to their home countries as unemployment or at the very least, waiting for new disasters. This is because some of the workers in the humanitarian aid program are professionals such as post-traumatic therapists (de Vos, 2011).

Therefore, experts recommend that the state formally be the party managing humanitarian aid, not NGOs, donor agencies, or certain components of society, but still involve them in the process (Horney, Nguyen, Salvesen, Tomasco, & Berke, 2016) and the state must be grounded in scientific data (Berke, Cooper, Amonto, Grabich, & Horney, 2014). This data, for example, can be collected with the help of information and communication technology (Gao, Barbier, & Goolsby, 2011).

## **Method**

To find out the long-term impact of humanitarian aid in Indonesia, a literature review was conducted on previous research and reports. The keywords “humanitarian aid” + “long term” + “Indonesia” were used in the Google Scholar search engine in the 2015-2019 period. The documents obtained are then read and tabulated into tables to highlight the long-term effects of humanitarian aid.

## **Result and Discussion**

The search results show that there are only six articles that discuss the long-term results of international humanitarian aid in Indonesia. More than that, four of the six studies focused on only one case, namely the recovery case after the 2004 Aceh tsunami disaster. Still discussing the problem of the 2004 Aceh disaster recovery after a decade shows that evaluating the effectiveness of international humanitarian aid can take a very long time.

**Table 1 Research Results of the Long-Term Impact of Humanitarian Aid in Indonesia**

No	Humanitarian	Target	Short Term	Long Term	Reference
	Aid		Result	Result	
1	UK Aid Disaster Reduction Program	Disaster reduction	Disaster-resilient village program	A paradigm shift in dealing with disasters in society	Armia, 2017
2	Aceh Post-Tsunami Aid	2004 Tsunami Rehabilitation	Infrastructure rehabilitation	Building community capacity, increasing the image of aid providers in the eyes of people who get help, lesson learned	Murphy, Pelling, Adams, Di Vicenz, & Visman, 2018; Ross, 2017; Stephan, Norf, & Fekete, 2017
3	General Humanitarian Aid from Sweden	Community	Various	Various	Ekblad, 2017

The small number of results found is also in line with similar research elsewhere that does not find any long-term resilience construct in various studies of the impact of humanitarian aid on society (Wood & Frazier, 2019). However, from the three cases above, much can be learned from the long-term achievement of the objectives of humanitarian aid in the Indonesian context.



The Armia Study (2017) studies the impact of UK disaster relief funds on Indonesian society. The purpose of this aid is to provide funds so that financial constraints for Indonesia in disaster risk reduction can be reduced. These grants are integrated into the APBN (budget, revenue, and expenditure of state) to be synchronized with Indonesia's short, medium- and long-term disaster development plans. Evaluation results do not provide conclusive and exact results. Armia (2017) focuses more on the role of each party and the various challenges and obstacles faced by donors in increasing resilience. One conclusion of the long-term achievement taken was the success of the UK in changing the paradigm of the Indonesian nation from just disaster response to disaster prevention (p.214). Of course, Britain is not the only one that plays a role in this paradigm shift. It can emerge from collective international aid and can also come from the government's awareness of the devastating tsunami.

The 2004 Aceh tsunami disaster humanitarian aid case provided many inexhaustible findings in the disaster study (Ford & Dibley, 2012; Kutty, 2019; Murphy et al., 2018; Ross, 2017; Stephan et al., 2017). These studies, again, are not conclusive if humanitarian aid has certain tangible long-term effects on economic and social development. Even so, each provided interesting findings related to the long-term impact of humanitarian aid on society.

Meanwhile, Ross (2017) uses the same case evaluating the effect of humanitarian aid on the interests of the United States. It was found that the perception of the Indonesian people towards the United States increased dramatically from the beginning to only 15% who saw the United States positive in 2003 to 79% in 2005 due to the great efforts of the United States in providing humanitarian aid in Aceh. These results are relatively consistent in a sustainable manner until now. Likewise, there has been an increase in international cooperation in other fields between the United States and Indonesia since the humanitarian operation in 2004. Ross's research (2017) is evidence that an evaluation

of the long-term impact of humanitarian aid can be carried out with clear, simple, and quantitative indicators.

The study of Stephan et al. (2017) summarizes the results of an international seminar commemorating 11 years of the 2004 tsunami disaster. There are a lot of things discussed but more around the challenges and lessons that are necessary for future disaster risk management. In Aceh, the early warning management system did not function during the 2012 earthquake because the officer in charge did not know how to turn on the siren and the community did not want to evacuate to the evacuation building because they did not believe that the building was safe. In the context of humanitarian aid organizations, the Aceh case teaches the importance of long-term costs included in the component of aid costs, developing a system of aid that is independent of certain disasters, ensuring transparency of donor intentions, considering the politics and power involved in aid, and also the reality on the ground.

The study of Stephan et al. (2017) stresses the importance of the involvement of stakeholders, especially local communities, in the management of humanitarian aid. This involvement helps achieve long-term goals and helps to improve the relevance of aid. For example, the failure of the involvement of local communities has resulted in misdirected post-disaster social development training. In Thailand, people are trained to make bread even though bread is not a staple food and is important for Thais. In the case of the Mentawai earthquake, instant noodle humanitarian aid was wasted because the community considered noodles to be animal food.

Despite this, Murphy et al. (2018) shows that the problem of local community involvement is not easy. In Aceh after the tsunami, people did not want to be involved in community meetings unless they were paid for their participation. Murphy et al. (2018), however, shows a lot of positive long-term nature of humanitarian aid in Aceh. Included in this positive impact are the community being more helpful in helping people in distress, the disaster education system

being part of the school curriculum and in-depth appreciation of the role of psychologists. Instead, Murphy et al. (2018) revealed that the problem of community participation in disaster mitigation in Aceh is a health problem, not a political problem. In this case, people who are psychologically traumatized have a fear of speaking in public and are afraid of participating in disaster mitigation activities. Therefore, psychologists and the presence of trauma healing centers are very important to encourage local community participation in recovery and the achievement of long-term goals. In addition to local community participation, Murphy et al. (2018) also emphasizes the importance of cooperation with the government to achieve long-term goals. Overall, Murphy et al. (2018) develops six possible factors for achieving long-term economic and social development goals after a disaster: (1) psycho-social support, (2) support for daily life, (3) communication between communities and NGOs, (4) searching and solving root causes, (5) NGO collaboration with local governments, and (6) community participation and cohesion.

Contrary to other researchers, Ekblad's study (2017) on Swedish humanitarian aid in general in Indonesia made an interesting theoretical contribution. They found that NGOs acting in the field of managing humanitarian aid could not distinguish between short-term goals and long-term goals, or between humanitarian goals and development goals. Both are inseparable at the level of practice because they are interrelated. As a result, although conceptually these two goals are different, in practice they cannot be distinguished. Therefore, researchers then sought to develop a protocol that could separate humanitarian and development interventions (Stevens, Wali, Georgeou, & Tadjoeeddin, 2018).

The few studies evaluating the effectiveness of humanitarian aid on economic and social development in Indonesia reflect the unavailability of a system that is truly capable of measuring the impact of humanitarian aid on economic and social development. This has been voiced by other authors (Blackman, Nakanishi, & Benson, 2017).

Blackman et al. (2017) implies that a long-term economic and social recovery plan from a humanitarian aid system will be very difficult. Plans will no longer be rational after a period of two or three years because of the many factors and unexpected events. Therefore, they suggest that humanitarian aid aimed at long-term economic and social recovery efforts must be organic and adaptive by continuously involving new actors, new social capital, and joint production between various stakeholders.

## **Conclusion**

This article found that although humanitarian aid is expected to lead to the long-term economic and social development of society by many parties (Armia, 2017), in practice this is difficult. This article aims to understand the effect of humanitarian aid on the long-term economic and social development of people in Indonesia using a literature review. The researcher found very little effort to review the long-term effects of humanitarian aid on the Indonesian context.

This research shows that one of the factors causing the lack of this study is that there are no practical ways to connect humanitarian aid and social-economic development. This is supported by the fact that at the practical level, humanitarian aid activities and socio-economic development activities cannot be distinguished, except for their objectives. That is, an activity or output can be interpreted as humanitarian activities or outcomes and can also be interpreted as socio-economic outcomes. However, efforts have been made to identify factors that encourage humanitarian aid to have a stronger long-term effect in relation to socio-economic development.

Another factor that may play a role is the poor quality of data available to be able to evaluate the effectiveness of humanitarian aid. It is possible if there is a moral hazard both in the field of implementers and beneficiaries so that the data obtained is biased and 'too good to be true'. As a result, besides the need for conceptual clarification, objective and detailed data collection is also needed.

The results of this study have implications for the importance of the government together with international donor NGOs to develop a framework for achieving long-term humanitarian aid activities that it provides, especially if the aid is small and involves complex and long-term mechanisms. Included in the components of this framework are collaboration with local governments and local communities, socio-psychological strengthening, and possibly cooperation with private companies (Nurmala & Leeuw, 2017).

Future research needs to consider developing a framework that links humanitarian aid and socio-economic development. Future studies also need to use a more systematic approach to reviewing the literature, as well as with a broader scope.

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# EDUCATION TRANSFORMATION IN FACING GLOBAL CHALLENGE

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## **Abstract**

*Globalization era massively impacted various life aspects including education and learning sector. One of the most apparent challenges of our education system is the expected output: shaping well-rounded and competent human resources. These adjusted competencies are required by global competition in 21st century. The skills needed in 21st Century or known as Globalization Era is digital based. It is the first and foremost competency compulsory obtained by students to face future challenges. The objective of this research is to describe various paradigms in education, learning practices, the application of information technology (IT) to elevate the quality of human resources through education. Research methods used is descriptive-qualitative, in which the researcher went through literature study from a variety of resources concerning the transformation of educational paradigms in Globalization Era. The result shows that educational transformation should be immediately commenced to thrive in 21st century challenges. Educational transformation designation includes educational paradigms, learning practices and the application of IT-based*

*programs to support education competencies. Hence, our resources are well-equipped to win global competition.*

**Keyword:** *education transformation, 21st century, learning and globalization.*

## **Introduction**

Education is part of human activity in life. Therefore, educational activities are a form of manifestation that is fundamental for a nation. In the National Education System Law No. 20 of 2003, stated that the goal of national education is to develop students to become capable, creative, knowledgeable, independent, healthy, and devoted people to God Almighty (Ahmad, 2018).

Education is also categorized as one of the important fields of study in enhancing the development of a nation. The main role of education is to improve the intellectual parameter of the nation. It has long been formulated in the 1945 Constitution. "Without an intelligent nation, it is impossible for the nation to participate in global politics" (Ningrum, 2016). Through the quality education sector, it will have a good impact on quality human resources as well in the end. Quality education can be defined as education that is able to increase the potential possessed by students. Therefore, efforts to improve the education sector are something that should not be compromised in improving the intelligence of the nation (Widodo, 2016).

Holistically, education is a progressive process in aligning people socially. In the basic philosophy of education there are three substantial dimensions of humanity, namely:

"(1) Affective which is reflected in the quality of faith and piety, ethics and noble character; (2) cognitive which is stated in the capacity of thought and intellectual power to explore knowledge and develop and master technology; and (3) psychotomorics which are reflected in the ability to develop

technical skills and practical skills “(Ministry of National Education, 2015).

Normatively, there are two educational prospects in improving the intelligence of the nation, namely “individual orientation and community orientation” (Epon, n.d.). Individual orientation in the education sector can be formed through the development of existing individual potential. The growth of educated people can be an agent of change (innovator) and a reference or role model for others (reference behavior). Whereas in the aspect of community orientation, there are three educational substances, they are as agents of change, agents of conservation, and agents of innovation.

Entering the 21st century, as a century characterized by aspects of openness or known as globalization, distinctively identified by changes that are different from previous eras. In the 21st century (the era of globalization), human resources demanded are those who have intellectual capabilities and new innovations. According to Tilaar, problem solving and breakthrough thinking process are needed as qualities expected as educational output in the global world (Wijaya et al., 2016).

In the contemporary era, education has shifted massively as information experienced extraordinary changes and acceleration. The emergence of digital media and technology has spurred the increase and acceleration of knowledge that is supported. The learning system in this era, requires students to be able to access learning anywhere and anytime. However, there is important and fundamental aspect which must be considered from a learning medium, namely learning sources or references (Zaky, 2018). The purpose is to guarantee the initial design of learning resources meets the learning targets and breeds broad implications and is also able to answer global challenges.

To improve human resources of a nation, educational transformation is a necessity because with education, human can be educated and developed. One of the main things expected from the

transformation of education is to be able to produce strong capable young generations. There are four pillars of education that can be adopted to mold a capable generation. According to Jaque Delor, the four pillars are: “learning to know, learning to do, learning to be and learning to live together” (Widodo, 2016).

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **1. Educational Paradigms**

The education paradigm implemented in the contemporary era has been through many changes. This shifting process is marked by changes in the previous paradigm wherein learning process was dominated by teachers, while students became inactive participants. In the contemporary era the educational paradigm has shifted and focused on the formation of knowledge. “The paradigm shift which previously focused more on the roles of teachers, facilitators, and instructors, in the process, shifted increasingly to the empowerment of students or students in taking initiative and participation in learning activities” (Anurrahman, 2012).

In line with the statement, McDonald and Hershman (2011) stipulated that the best learning method for students is when they experience an event and add the experience as new knowledge they have. Meanwhile, according to Kamdi and Anurrahman, it was suggested that the learning process would be able to focus on improving the intellectual abilities of students which would be directly applied socially and culturally (Hilda, 2013). This certainly encourages students to build innovation and new knowledge of course in a social context.

### **2. Learning Media**

Learning media is a very central activity in the learning process. Everything can be categorized as “learning media” if the media can channel the objectives and the expected learning process. According to Arsyad (2011) the notion of media is stated as follows:

“The media is an inseparable part of the teaching and learning process for the fulfilment of educational goals in general and learning objectives of the schools in particular”.

Meanwhile, according to Arsyad, et al (2012), media is a tool used by educators (teachers) in motivating students and delivering learning material using various methods.

Besides being useful as a medium in the learning process, the media also has a function in applying communication both students and teachers so that it can run efficiently and effectively. According to Hamalik (2008), it was stated that the function of the media, namely: (1) motivating and stimulating teaching and learning activities, (2) influencing the psychological aspects of students, and (3) arousing interest in a new learning spirit. Hence, the use of media in the stages of the learning process will boost the effectiveness of teaching and learning process.

### **3. Globalization**

Globalization is a rule and system that applies throughout the world. Globalization knows no boundaries such as, rules (local, state, or international) and geographical boundaries (Sunaryo, 2007). According to Robetson, globalization can be interpreted as a single unified community in the world. All elements of society experience mutual determination in all lines of life, such as education, social, economic, cultural, political, etc (Stzzompka, 2008).

By various advancements in the globalization era that are supported by highly sophisticated information and communication technology, the impact surely is more complex. The development of massive and comprehensive technology allows the entire community to access any information quickly. Interaction between people does not recognize state boundaries. These actions imply changes in attitude (affective), mindset (cognitive), and human behavior.

Besides the benefits and impacts arising from the presence of globalization, another concept to note for is challenges emerged.

There are two types of challenges in globalization: social change and modernization. According to Soemardian, social change is a shift in values in a social agency of a society that affects patterns of behavior, social values, and social systems. Whereas Mariono (2012), defines social change as a shift in dimensions that includes conditions of social change, space and time, and changes between past, present, and future connections. Meanwhile, according to Koetjaraningrat modernization itself can be interpreted as:

“Modernization is an effort to adjust life to the present world constellation. It implies, to reach certain modern level, it must be guided by the world around which has encountered progress. Modernization that has been based on advances in science and technology is not only physical in nature, but more to it, which also affects a deep mental attitude. Individuals who have encountered modernization are distinguished by their advanced mental attitude, rational thinking, entrepreneurial spirit, future-orientation, and so on “. (Effendi & Malihah, 2011).

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that modernization is a process of adaptation of life to the world of the contemporary era. The advancement of technology will certainly be able to bring fundamental changes in terms of values, behavior, social relations, lifestyle, and others.

## **Result and Discussion**

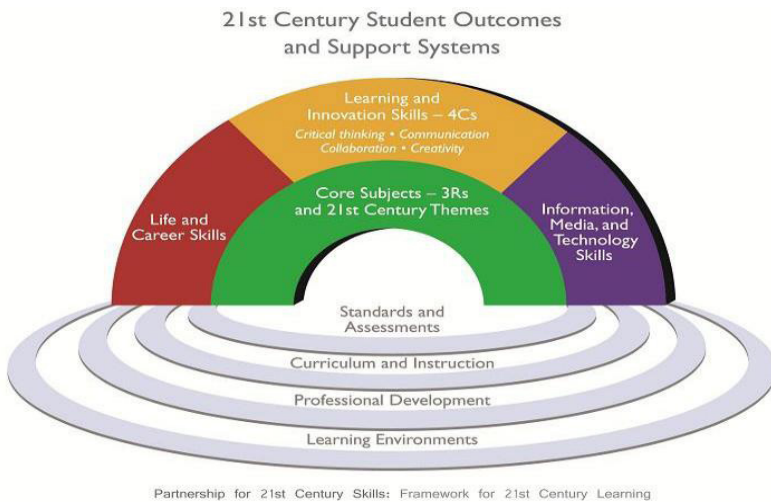
### **Educational Paradigms in 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

Paradigm can be defined as “type of a model, or pattern which terminologically means a total view of problems; a total outlook of something ”(Bakar, 2010). The correlation between education and paradigm can be interpreted as concepts, curriculum, institutions, and education management. In this paper, the author wants to convey the transformation of education in the era of globalization 21st century.

Currently, the development of our education system continues to be pursued by the government. Simple approaches have been done including making improvements to its human resources, education curriculum, and education management. From the aspect of quality, the education system in Indonesia must undergo balanced transformation in line with education system in other countries and at the same time be able to answer all global challenges in the 4.0 era (Harto, 2018).

Partnership for 21st century learning (P21) proposes a learning framework in the 21st century era. The concept of learning that was initiated includes knowledge, skills, and abilities in the fields of technology, media, and information and learning skills (P21, 2015). The framework initiated by P21 also explains the knowledge and skills students must possess to have good and successful result for their future lives.

**Picture 1. Learning of Framework in 21<sup>st</sup> Century**



*Sumber: (Wijaya, Sudjimat, & Nyoto, 2016).*

According to Hermawan there are 6 potentials that must be prepared in the face of “partnership 21st century learning” (P21), namely: 1) Cyber (e-learning) wherein the learning process is implemented by optimizing the effectiveness of use. 2) Open and distance learning,

which the learning process with modern methods (distance learning), has left old habits such as face-to-face learning and at the same time utilized the use of existing information and communication technology assistance. 3) Quantum Learning, an application of learning methods adaptable to the practices of field work. 4) Cooperative Learning, which is a learning process carried out in groups with the aim of fostering cooperation among group members. 5) Society of Science Technology, a concept of interdisciplinary learning by uniting problems exist in science and technology. 6) Accelerated Learning, a method of learning by enhancing the ability to comprehend and absorb information accurately and so that it can improve learning parameters more effectively (Sasmoko, 2017).

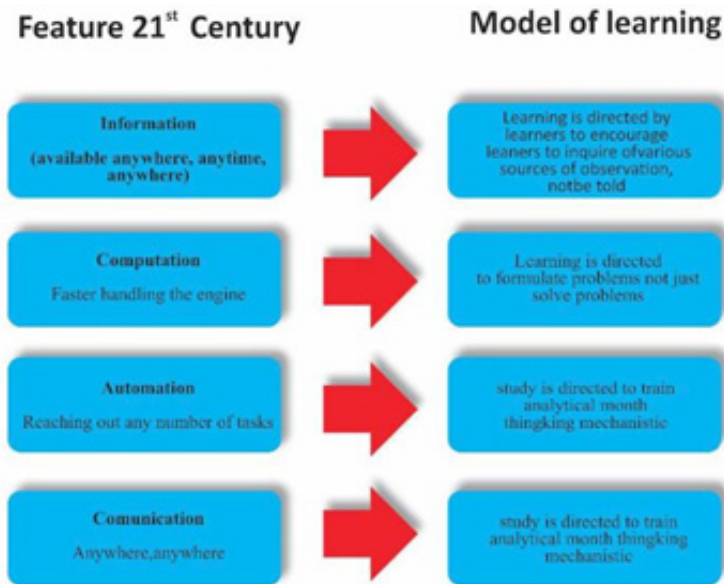
In line with this, the Ministry of Education and Culture (KEMENDIKBUD) at the symposium event “international symposium on open, distance and e-learning (ISODEL)” produced 20 main conclusions about the learning framework in the globalization era, especially the readiness of Indonesian education in facing the 4.0 revolution:

Process and Learning Model changes in the era of Education 4.0: Playing, learning and working occur at the same time; the development of gamification, e-commerce, virtual, and cyber learning; teaching and learning process is now not just a business area; learning becomes more personal and social using digital and visual content. Furthermore, 2) learning strategies and techniques must focus on students, utilize digital technology, and use innovative approaches; 3) Both parties, teachers and students must be digital / information literate, technology literate, including involving the role of the community, and parents in universal education; 4. Educational content which meets the preferences of teachers and students must be diverse and enriched in the educational environment; 5) Basic ICT skills must be taught at the basic level. Conclusion 6) ICTs must have a role in strengthening science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) skills; 7) Social skills cannot be replaced by robots / technology; tolerance,



imagination, integrity, wisdom, creativity, passion; 8) New content is needed by students without changing curriculum or adding new lessons; coding, e-commerce, virtual reality, etc. Aligned with teachers training at large. Then, 9) Education roadmaps from the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Ministry of Research Technology and Higher Education must be focused on digital transformation in line with the Industrial Revolution 4.0; 10) Awareness must be built among all stakeholders about new opportunities in creating new jobs during the Industrial Revolution 4.0; 11) Massive and disruptive digital technology must be overcome by internalizing concepts and a clear and fast curriculum; 12) Improving the education ecosystem through the use of ICTs for multi-sector stakeholders; 13) Ministry of Education and Culture must first anticipate the explosion of big data related to education data. In the current conditions, the Ministry of Education and Culture has collected, stored and analyzed transaction data; 14) Security awareness in the use of the internet must be conveyed to teachers and students; 15) Apart from aspects of technology, management, and skills, students must be equipped with 21st century learning skills. Character based on national and global vision is important to be built, in accordance with Pancasila; 16) Character building must include how youth cope with changing times; 17) Building character must increase the pride of individuals as Indonesian citizens. Next, 18) Paradigms embracing religious values, spirituality and local wisdom must be strengthened for young people; 19) To compete in global era, mastering speaking and writing a foreign language for the younger generation must be prioritized, and also strengthening Indonesian is a must for increasing national pride; 20) Awareness must be built among all stakeholders about new opportunities in creating jobs during the Industrial Revolution 4.0.

Picture 2. Feature of 21st Century



Source: (Wijaya, Sudjimat, & Nyoto, 2016)

To embrace learning in the global era (21st century), everyone is expected to have knowledge, critical thinking skills, and literacy (media, digital, information, and information and communication technology) (Wijaya et al., 2016). Several studies (research) on the use of technology and information in 21st century era learning process have been done by many countries in the world.

In addition to the learning paradigm that has undergone a technocratic shift, there are other aspects which must be considered in the multicultural education paradigm. Multicultural education can be observed from pluralism existing in Indonesia. According to Zamroni “multicultural education aims to do something, which is to build a bridge between the curriculum and character of the teacher, pedagogy, class climate, and school culture in order to build a school vision leading to equality” (Ahmad, 2017)

The spectrum of Indonesian society that is pluralistic certainly has its own challenges for world of education. In the era of globalization,

multicultural education frameworks have two fundamental tasks: integrating their own people and responding to the challenges of outside currents attempting to break in (Zamroni, 2011). Multicultural education wants students not to be uprooted from their cultural roots. This can be seen from two cultural conflicts in the era of globalization which are seriously becoming threats. The solution of these two conflicts is students must be given direction in the importance of diverse knowledge and skills, therefore they have broad (global) and cultural knowledge abilities (Akmad, 2012).

### Learning Practices in Globalization Era

An analysis in the knowledge age has succeeded in uniting knowledge and deriving general characteristics and learning practices of the 21st century. According to Trilling and Hood, a comparison of the learning implementation during the industrial age and the knowledge age can be seen as follows:

**Table 1. Comparative tables of learning paradigms in industrial age and knowledge age**

NO	Industrial Age	Knowledge Age
	Educators possess full authority in learning process, teacher-centered system.	Educators are facilitators.
	Educators as the source of knowledge	Educators as learning partner.
	Curriculum-centered learning (direct learning)	Student-centered learning.
	Time-bound and scheduled learning process	Flexible learning schedule, as necessary.
	Fact-based learning	Project-based and problem-based learning

Theoretical, abstract, and survey	Real, process, and reflection
Drill and practice	Inquiry and design
Following rules and procedures	Discovery
Competitive	Collaborative
Focused on problems presented at the class	Focused on social problems
Learning process based on preexisting norms	More creative learning process
Computers as learning object	Computers as learning media
Static, presentation media	More dynamic learning media
Students' interaction and communication is limited class	Students' interaction and communication is unlimited
Test-based scoring system	Multi-aspect scoring system

Source: (Wijaya et al., 2016)

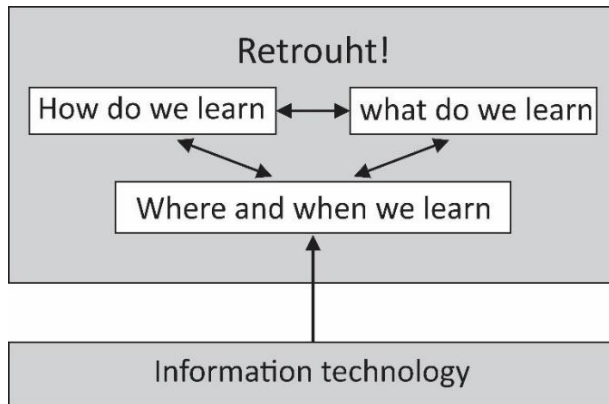
From the table 1 presented above, it can be observed that the shifting (transformation) from the industrial age to the knowledge age is very distinctive. The main element which is most fundamental is the transformation (shift) of the education paradigm. In industrial times educators still acted as a central point and held full authority in learning practices. Whereas, in the knowledge age educators only act as facilitators and learning partners, learning process is centered on students and students are demanded to think creatively and innovatively in solving various problems. In terms of technology and communication, the educational paradigm in the industrial era was still limited, static, with the use of technology as a subject of learning. Whereas in the knowledge period the use of technology and communication is applied as a dynamic learning media and unlimited communication media.

## The Application of Technology in Education

Education is the development of preliminary studies on the use of audiovisual media as learning tools. The purpose of these studies is to provide solutions to the problem solving of the human learning system. Through education studies, the approaches needed to be done are to use many functions as a source of learning (Pd & Widodo, n.d.).

According to Resnick, there are three fundamental component craved to be attained by education in information technology era, these are: “(1) how people learn; (2) what people learn; (3) where and when people learn” (Wahid, 2015). The correlation between Resnick’s concept and education can be described in the following illustration:

Picture 3. IT Intervention into Education



Source: (Wahid, 2005)

How do we study? Related to the learning system, interaction and communication between teachers and students really determine the learning model. There was a paradigm shift in learning which was previously dominated by teachers and students acted as consumptive agents. “The learning process should not be 100% dependent on the teacher anymore (instructor dependent) but more centered on students (student-centered learning or independent instructor)” (Wahid, 2015).

The teacher should act as a consultant or facilitator in the class thus the effectiveness of learning is well maintained.

Technological intervention in this learning model is marked by the emergence of e-learning. Typically, learning process done through e-learning systems is learning delivered through internet and digital media. E-learning system is considered to be very effective and efficient because it is user-friendly, inexpensive, free to access, and there are no restrictions whatsoever.

What can be learned? According to Resnick the presence of information technology in education is a tool for students to develop skills and potentials presented within themselves. In the past, before entering information technology, students were only focused on books and subject materials limited to curriculum regulation. In the contemporary era (globalization), it has demanded students' ability to learn and utilize existing information and communication technology.

The third question, when and where to study? Is face to face learning still relevant? The learning model in the technological era known as e-learning has helped students to be able to access learning wherever and whenever they want. "This interaction facilitated by information and communication technology can occur synchronously (at the same time), asynchronous (at different times)" (Wahid, 2015).

### **Human Resource Development Through Education**

The transformation of traditional society towards industrialized society has had an enormous impact on job qualifications and employment transitions. According to Suryadi, the shift was caused by the type of job and its qualifications and also the type of knowledge and skills (Wijaya et al., 2016).

Align with this, Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education (KEMENRISTEKDIKTI) stipulated three compulsory literacies in order to increase the number of superior human resources, namely:

**Picture 4. Three Compulsory Literacies**



Source: (Ahmad, 2018)

Data literacy is an ability that every individual must have, focusing on analyzing, reading, and using information in the digital world. Second, technological literacy which can be interpreted as the ability of humans to apply technology (leadership, artificial, intelligence, and engineering principles). Third, human literacy is an ability that must be possessed by everyone in terms of skills (leadership and teamwork), physical agility and cultural agility, and entrepreneurship (KEMEN DIKTI RESEARCH, 2018). The three literacies must be understood and needed to be integrated with each other in order to be sustainable.

### **Education challenge in Facing Global Era**

#### **Shifts in Civilization and Globalization**

Fluctuations in the increasingly massive globalization are remarkably influential in all phases of life. As if to show off its scope, everyone can participate in any opportunity confided by this era. The transformation of the paradigm shifts also brought many fundamental changes including for education sector. Some analyzes identify the global power above refer to four things as follows:

“(1) advances in science and technology, especially in the field of information and new innovations in technology that facilitate human life, (2) free trade supported by science and technology, (3) regional and international cooperation between nations without recognizing national borders, and (4) the escalation of awareness towards human rights in coexisting

environment as well as increasing mutual awareness in the realm of democracy “(Istiarsono, 2017).

The four global forces above trigger complex thoughts for each country to move towards more progressive directions. According to Drucket and Stewart in Saryono’s book *Globaliasasi Sentralitas Kompetensi dan Kurikulum Berbasis Kompetensi (Globalization of Competency Centrality and Competency Based Curriculum)* stipulated that in this contemporary age and the coming eras, the existence of education is the main access to precious knowledge. Drucket and Stewart mention that there are thirteen tendencies that can lead to the formation of future knowledge, such as: (a) a rapid development of communication, (b) the emergence of free markets in the world, (c) the occurrence of a big leap in mutually integrated economy sector, (d) the development of teaching and learning processes and free trade through the internet, (e) the development of new service processes in the community, (f) the development of large (global) and a small scale (local) entities, (g) an increasing demand for pleasure and joy-based lifestyle, (h) a major shift in cooperation, (i) the emergence of new discoveries in various fields of studies, (j) an increasing cultural nationalism, (k) the massive emergence of independent practices, (l) the development of cooperative change, and (m) the awakening of individual forces and responsibilities (individualism) (Oviyanti, 2016).

### **Challenges in Education**

In contemporary era, the world of education continues to receive attention and criticism from various circles. Preexisting notion that education is a human resource machine triggers them. One of the problems in contemporary education is its formal education which is only driven by the achievement of curricula. This fact will result in reduction of critical reflection skill on students. Worse, the curriculum is only indoctrinal in nature, all knowledge and study materials are given, hence the disrupted reasoning power and intellectual freedom of the students



From Paulo Freire's view, the concept of education described above can be called the concept of "bank style" education. The definition of the concept of education can be described as follows:

"(1) teachers teach, students are taught, (2) teachers know everything, students do not know anything, (3) teachers think, students are thought of, (4) teachers tell stories, students obey listen, (5) teachers determine the rules, students are regulated, (6) teachers choose and enforce their choice, students approve, (7) teachers act, students imagine themselves acting through teachers' actions, (8) teachers choose the material and content of the lesson, students (without being asked for opinion/approval) adjust with that lesson, (9) teachers confuse the authority of science and the authority of his position, which they do to hinder students' freedom, and (10) teachers are the subject of the learning process, the students are mere objects "(Zae, nd)

In the university, the curriculum used also cannot be said to be a good curriculum and is able to answer factual issues (Fitri, 2013). This is certainly very problematic in regard to global needs. The regulating of the curriculum should also be able to adjust the development of the times, as well as the application of new discoveries in the modern era. The need for a new curriculum is certainly very necessary given the development of the era of globalization and technological progress.

Aside from curriculum, the competence of educators (lecturers or teachers) is also considered very important for their vital role in mastering both learning material and the technical skills of the teaching-learning process. Based on Darling-Hammond and Prasfor's research, there are three important factors for evaluating the concept of teacher education, which are follows: (a) Teachers' education content, regarding the delivery of material provided for students, how the delivery method is, how to integrate some of the material presented so that it can be meaningful, including how necessary it is, therefore students have

cognitive understanding which can help them understanding the correlation between science at class and its application in real life. By then, students will be more motivated to learn, (b) The learning process, regarding the formation of a curriculum aligned with the students 'readiness to grasp the material and practical learning methods, in hope for increasing students' understanding through their creativity in the classroom, (c) The learning context, which deals with the creation of contextual learning methods to enhance student's practical skills (Fitri, 2013). Learning context must be well-applied throughout teaching materials and learning process in professional communities (schools).

By looking at the phenomenon of formal education concept above, it seems we need to re-arrange or evaluate curriculum concepts currently running. This is quite important, considering the contemporary era (globalization), hides many challenges regarding the improvement of human resource qualities and one of the answers is to improve the concept of education.

### **Global Forces Shaping Future World**

A wave of global power has been identified and analyzed by experts which virtually categorized in four fields:

“(1) The progress of science and technology, especially in the field of information and new technological innovations which facilitate human life. (2) Free trade supported by the will of science and technology. (3) Regional and international cooperation which has brought together the lives of nations without minding national borders. (4) Increased awareness of human rights and obligations in living together, at the same time increasing awareness in the realm of democracy “ (Istiarsono, 2017).

The four global forces above certainly give its own influence, especially for the education sector. Anticipations for the incoming developments need to be taken seriously considering the urgency of

education as a machine forming high-quality, globally competitive generations.

### **Education System and National Training (SISDIKLATNAS)**

The current development of globalization certainly has positive and negative effects. Global forces not only shape society in national level, but also affect personal lives. Every individual or society should receive socialization in regards of increasingly massive global development, therefore well-equipped to keep update on the development and demands of the new age. Therefore, through the issuance of SISDIKLATNAS as a medium in education (formal) and training (artificial). Hopefully enabling the development of Indonesians competitiveness, mastery of science and technology, and global competences (Usman, 2014).

### **Conclusion**

By looking at some indicators described above, it can be concluded that the transformation of education can be characterized by several aspects, namely the learning system paradigm which includes a shift in the direction of more progressive learning in accordance with the demands of the times, high knowledge-based learning practices, the application of technology as a mean to support human resource development through data literacy, technology and people. In addition to the transformation of education, the challenges facing the education sector will also be increasingly complex, including a shift in civilization and globalization, the problem of education, global forces shaping the world of the future, and the national education and training system (SISDIKLATNAS).

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# DETERMINANTS FACTORS OF DUAL-USE TECHNOLOGY EXPORT CONTROL LICENSE ITS IMPACT TOWARD INDONESIA

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## Abstract

*The dual-use technology export control practice in several countries is varying, but one of the dominant regulations is the policy imposed by the United States of America, which is the largest exporting country in international trade. To build confidence-building measures, Indonesia should pay attention to the international environment i.e. international trade barriers in export and import activities. Indonesia is an importer country for several dual-use technology components and has the potential to experience obstacles. The purpose of this study is to map the determinants of the export license and the consequences for Indonesia. The approaches used in this study are the risk management approach with benchmarking tools and identification of licensing factors for dual-use technology from several non-economic aspects such as national security, foreign policy, short supply, missile technology, regional stability, crime control and terrorism concern. The results of this study that is granting the dual-use technology export control license require cooperation with stakeholders in providing recommendations*

*for the granting of export permits in Indonesia and it requires an integrated export control institution or organization in Indonesia.*

**Keywords:** *determinant, dual-use technology, export control license, institution.*

## **Introduction**

The dual-use technology export control practice in several countries is varying, but one of the dominant regulations is the policy imposed by the United States of America, which is the largest exporting country in international trade. Besides, the USA known as the most affecting country, politically and economically. The reason for dual-use control because its technology intended for beneficial purposes that can also be misused for harmful propose (Lin, Bernart., 2016). To build confidence-building measures, Indonesia should pay attention to the international environment i.e. international trade barriers in export and import activities. Indonesia is an importer country for several dual-use technology components and has the potential to experience obstacles. Delivery is the main content of export control, while the activity not only related good but also software and technology. Delivery in form export, import, and transshipment, is very crucial to dual-use technology, and all depend on Information Technology (IT). Criminals use IT to steal intellectual property and make a destructive act, push US governance interest because IT has an impact on a major sector economy (Lin, Herbert., 2016). The range of actors who could cause harm with this dual-use technology includes not just state-level actors like the national government, but also non-state actors such as terrorist or criminals (Harris, Elisa D., 2016). The level of risk management in controlling export controls consisting of many parties is the basis for the need for Indonesia to also carry out risk management where the determinants of control do not only consist of one economic aspect in trading activities but several determine. The United States Department of Commission conducts country risk measurements with

several criteria, namely: technology (chemical, nuclear, missile), policy (national security), foreign policy related to political and criminal conditions (regional stabilities, anti-terrorism).

The aim of this study is to map the determinants of the export license and the consequences for Indonesia. This is because the implementation of mastery of technology in Indonesia is carried out with national or international cooperation with the aim of transferring technology. Thus, the mastery of this technology has risks that need to be considered.

## **Research Method**

The approaches used in this study are the risk management approach with benchmarking tool and identification of licensing factors for dual-use technology from several non-economic aspects such as national security, foreign policy, short supply, missile technology, regional stability, crime control and terrorism concern from US perspective. The risk management matrix not only lists the risk but guideline to work from in managing mitigating risk (Australian Government, 2019). The data used are primary and secondary. Primary data are interviews and FGD with experts. Secondary data are study data, reports, and related publications.

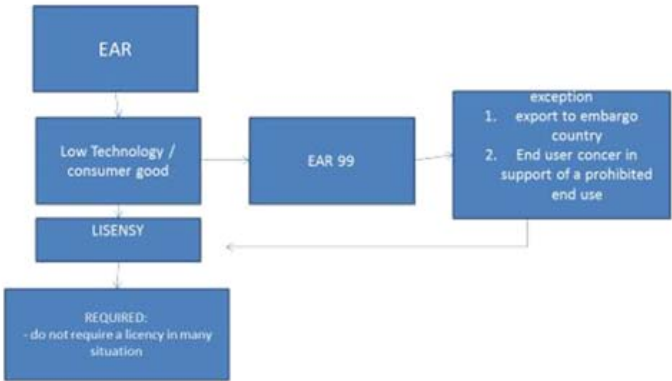
## **Result and Discussion**

### **US Export Control**

The purpose of US export controls is to protect national security interests and promote policy objectives. The actions of this policy participate in various multilateral export control regimes, to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and prevent destabilizing accumulations of conventional weapons and related material. BIS's Export Enforcement (EE) is responsible for the enforcement of the EAR. BIS works closely with U.S. embassies, foreign governments, industry, and trade associations to ensure that exports from the United States are secure. Under the EAR, BIS officials conduct site

visits, also known as End-Use Checks (EUCs), globally with end-users, consignees, and/or other parties to transactions involving items subject to the EAR, to verify compliance. BIS is responsible for implementing and enforcing the EAR, which regulates the export, re-export, and transfer (in-country) of items with commercial uses that can also be used in conventional arms, weapons of mass destruction, terrorist activities, or human rights abuses, and less sensitive military items (US Department of Commerce, 2019). Many different US governance agencies have regulations that control these export transaction: (a) BIS (Commerce Department), (b) Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), (c) Directorate of Defense Trade Control, (d) Custom and Border Protection, (e) Nuclear Regulation Commission, (f) Environment Protection Agency, (f) Department of Agriculture, (g) Department of Justice, (h) Department of State, (i) Department of Energy.

**Figure 1. Authorization EAR 99**



Source: Data Processin

The US has been list overview and the country with several parameter reasons to control ie: chemical and biological weapons, nuclear nonproliferation, national security, missile technology, regional stability, firearms convention, crime control, and anti-terrorism



(Berauan of Industry and Security, 2019). These mean there several issues that determine not only economic but non-economic in dual-use technology trading.

### **1. Economic**

Economic factors in trade activities related to the ease and obstacles in the process of export and import are related to the completeness of administrative documents. However, in preparing the document, the types of risks that need to be considered are factors related to the process of guaranteeing financial transactions and collateral transactions in shipping good. Type of risk international trade i.e.: (a) Exchange rate risk. The fluctuations in the currency, if unfortunately, lost monet and lost profit, (b) Non-payment risk, the importer or exporter must take out credit insurance to avoid non-payment risks, (c) Quarantine compliance risk.

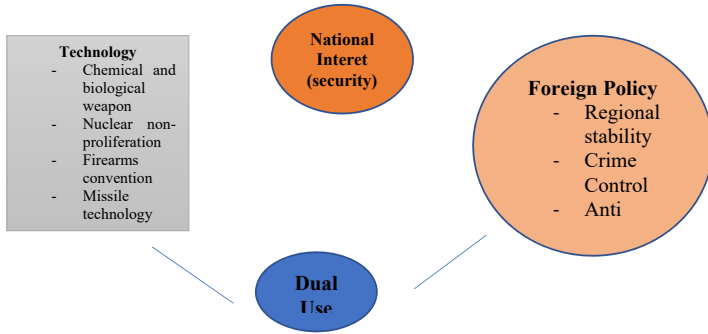
Last, short supply. In a discussion with the US Embassy in 2019, the Homestay Security Department is handling around 4000 cases related to alleged violations of end-user document forgery. This trade administration document which became a concern with US pass EUC. Example: checking the end-use in a document after checking the location is empty land. Economic interests also have played an important role in blocking the adoption of governance proposals. This can be seen in the hostility of nuclear reactor exporting countries to tightening the conditions under which reactors or certain reactor components can be transferred to other countries. It also was apparent in the U.S. biotechnology and pharmaceutical industries' opposition to on-site inspections during the failed effort to conclude a compliance protocol to strengthen the BWC. Economic sanctions to a country that did violence is a form of short supply of the efforts of the American government and other large countries that mastering key technologies.

### **2. Non-Economic**

Export control licenses are not only economic factors but also politics and policies in the country. The non-economic related to

key technology in dual-use technologies are chemical and biological, nuclear, and missile technologies, national interest, and foreign policy.

**Figure 2. Determinacies Mapping of Dual-Use License**



Source: Data Processing

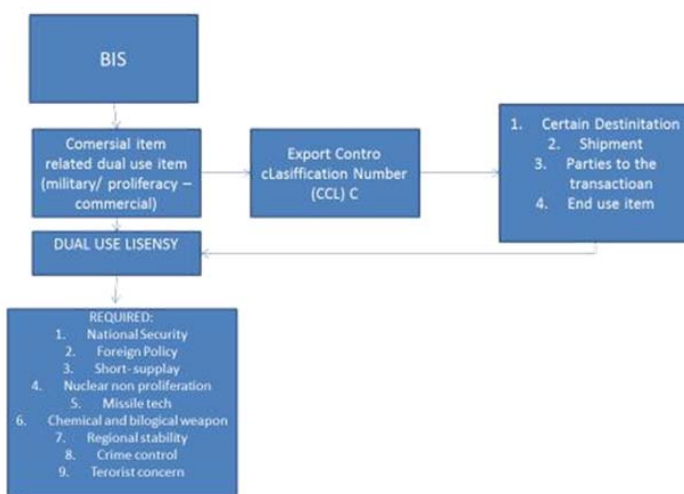
**a. Chemical and Biological Weapons**

The reason chemical and biological weapons are a dual-use concern because cyber weapons arise from the payload is used for damaging action or non-destructive action, and use a biological weapons user as a bad guy (Lin, Bertrart., 2016). In this concern Lin (2016) said that the US has three distinct aspects be considered:

- Governance might address the acquisition of cyber weapons (research, development, testing, production, sale, transfer, or some combination thereof)
- Governance seeks limits on the development or use or all cyber weapons the circumstances of such use
- Governance might make use of transparency and confidence-building measure, which call for nations to take a certain action.
- From the commercial control list (BIS, 2019), almost countries in these lists, but the concern is that the American government groups risk management into CB 1, CB 2 and CB3. Almost the conflict countries in the Middle East and the breakup of the Soviet Union are included in CB 3 (Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Iraq,

Israel, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Lebanon, Syria, Georgia, Mongolia, Qatar, Russia, Pakistan, Oman, Taiwan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Yemen, Afghanistan, Bahrain, Vietnam). From that considered, the US indirectly applies the export dual-use control to other countries, where law enforcement does not only apply in that country but other countries, including Indonesia. The existence of these restrictions is a short supply that is generally enforced in the oil commodity, namely by cutting supply through government policy. As for law regarding the export of cyber weapons, The United States is a party to the Wassenaar Arrangement and controlled dual-use technologies are enumerated on the Commercial Control List (CCL).

**Figure 3. Authorization Dual**



### **b. Foreign Policy**

The Secretary of Commerce determinates and considers the following criteria: probability of achieving the intended foreign policy purposes, compatibility with foreign policy objectives, reaction of other countries, economic impact on US industry, and effective enforcement of controls (Carin, A.A. & Sund, 2018).

**c. Crime control/human rights control**

As required by the Export Administration Act, the USA should control all the technology export related to crime. The US Government should ensure that the technology would not be used against human rights and the end-user would not use the technology to commit crime in whatever circumstances. The export applications are evaluated on a case-by-case basis unless there is evidence that the importing government have violated human rights (Carin, A.A. & Sund, 2018).

**d. Regional Stability**

The regional stability clause ensures that the export of the controlled items/materials support the US foreign policy objectives and do not contribute to the destabilization of the destined region (Carin, A.A. & Sund, 2018).

**e. Anti-Terrorism**

Controls imposed for Anti-Terrorism reasons are identified in the EAR as Anti-Terrorism controls. The U.S. Government maintains either partial or comprehensive economic and trade sanctions on several countries, as well as sanctions on certain designated persons. Since December 1993, the U.S. Government has reviewed license applications involving the export or reexport of the following five categories of dual-use items to military, police, intelligence, and other sensitive end users within countries designated as terrorist-supporting countries in accordance with the criteria set forth in Section 6(j)(1)(B) of the EAA: all items on the Commerce Control List (CCL) subject to national security controls; all items on the CCL subject to chemical and biological weapons proliferation controls; all items on the CCL subject to missile proliferation controls; all items on the CCL subject to nuclear weapons proliferation controls; and all military-related items on the CCL (items controlled by CCL entries ending with the number 18 and 600 series items) (Carin, A.A. & Sund, 2018).

#### **f. Certain Designated Person**

The purpose of controls on designated terrorist persons (natural persons, entities, and groups) and proliferators of weapons of mass destruction and their supporters is to restrict exports and reexports of items that would be useful in enhancing the capability of these persons to undertake activities that support terrorism or contribute to the development of WMD. The Department of Commerce requires a license for the export or reexport of all items subject to the EAR to Specially Designated Global Terrorists (SDGTs), Specially Designated Terrorists (SDTs), and Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs), and a general policy of denial applies to all applications for such exports or reexports. SDGTs, SDTs, and FTOs are identified with the bracketed suffixes [SDGT], [SDT], and [FTO], respectively, on the list of specially designated nationals and blocked persons (SDN List) maintained by the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), U.S. Department of the Treasury, in Appendix A to 31 CFR Chapter V. Exports and reexports made by U.S. persons to SDGTs and SDTs that are authorized by OFAC generally do not require separate Bureau of Industry and Security (BIS) authorization.

#### **g. Certain military and uses and military end-users**

The Secretary has determined that these controls will help restrict the availability of certain sensitive items for military end uses and military end users in the PRC, Russia, and Venezuela, as well as all items subject to the EAR that are destined for such end uses and end users in Iraq, thereby advancing U.S. national security and foreign policy interests (Carin, A.A. & Sund, 2018)

#### **h. Missile technology controls**

h) On April 16, 1987, the United States, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom created the MTCR to limit the proliferation of missiles capable of delivering nuclear weapons. Since that time, the number of MTCR partners has increased to 35 countries. Member countries agreed to further expand the MTCR controls in

1993 to include missile delivery systems for all types of WMD. The MTCR Equipment, Software, and Technology Annex lists missile-related items controlled pursuant to the MTCR Guidelines. It is divided into two categories. Category I items include complete systems, complete subsystems, production facilities, production equipment, and associated software and technology for missile and unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) systems capable of delivering at least a 500 kilogram (kg) payload to at least a 300 kilometer (km) range. Category II items include materials, components, and production and test equipment associated with Category I items, as well as missile systems, major subsystems, production facilities, production equipment, and associated software and technology for missile and UAV systems with a range equal to or greater than 300 km, regardless of payload (Carin, A.A. & Sund, 2018).

### **3. USA Export Control Review Process**

The USA has several mechanisms to ensure the security of the dual-use technology transfer process (Projects, 2018), such as (a) Identification of technology/items/materials process, (b) identification of jurisdictional authority, (c) specific classification of technology/items/materials, (d) screening of foreign individuals/facilities, (e) license/no license/exemption/exception, (f) exporting, deemed exporting and re-exporting, (g) documentation and record management. All the processes must be followed. Generally, contracts and related records or documents must be retained for 6 years and 3 months after final payment.

### **Indonesia Export Control License**

Indonesia today has the Indonesia Single Windows Authority (INSA) and complies with all ministry likes Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Economic, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, BAPETEN, Coordinating Ministry for Law and Human Rights, Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs. The export control regulations for dual-use technology in Indonesia have not yet been regulated and are still limited. The institutional mapping of export control arrangements

based on current duties and functions in Indonesia is as follows (see Tabel 1).

**Table 1. Stakeholder of Risk Management Export Control in Indonesia**

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Task</i>
<i>Ministry of Finance</i>	<i>Custom Border</i>
<i>LAPAN</i>	<i>Liaison Office of Related Space Technology that means dual use</i>
<i>BAPETEN</i>	<i>Liaison Office of Related Nuclear Technology</i>
<i>Department of Defence</i>	<i>Liaison Office of Related Defence Technology</i>
<i>INSA</i>	<i>Data Centre for Commercial Good License</i>
<i>Department of Trade</i>	<i>Liaison Office of Document Registration Importer and Exporter</i>
<i>Police</i>	<i>Liaison Office of weapons, Investigation national security</i>

Source: Data Processing

### **Strategy and Consequences to Indonesia**

Red flags or warning signs, this signal intended to discover possible violations of the EAR, and it does not regulate transactions involving all UA goods, services, and technology. Indonesia is a red country in US risk management export control. Indonesia has several for control by the US, there are: (a) Chemical and biological weapons (CB1 and CB 2), (b) nuclear non-proliferation (NP 1), (c) missile technology, (d) national security (NS 1 and NS 2), (e) regional stability (RS 1 and RS 2), and crime control (CC1 and CC3).

To improve the US's assessment of Indonesia to improve the security building measure, the handling of points a, b, and c must be

stated. This is in line with the views of Park, Hee-Jin and Roh, Hyun Tae., (2013), where physical failure threats and risk ranked first in the identification of risks that need to be put forward. Toward a risk-based export control regime, a fuller collaboration between the industry and governance is critical to strengthening and security more generally (World Nuclear Association, 2018). BIS works closely with U.S. embassies, foreign governments (Harris, Elisa D., 2016).

According to a small discussion (2019), the US Expert recommended that Indonesia adopting all list from Uni Europe Control List, because the US list its very complex, and it can make custom border have a complete list to easy control. Indonesia's geography is the risk with transshipment, has implications for big regulation to made, and LAPAN needs to communicate with other ministries, especially with INSA members. Confidence Building measure is a measure that two or more nations agree to take reduce the likelihood that a conflict might break out between or among them because of miscalculation or misperception or that a conflict might inadvertently escalate, in example US and Rusia, US and Netherland (Lin, Bertart., 2016). The European Union Export Control List has adopted all international export control regimes - Australia Group - AG, the Nuclear Suppliers' Group - NSG, Wassenaar Arrangement - WA, Missile Technology Control Regime - MTCR, and Chemical Weapons Convention, and that will make it easier for Indonesia because the EU will update the US export control provision.

Indonesia, in this case, INSA, has indirectly built a CBM towards the international community not only aimed at US regulations. However, for dual-use technology itself, LAPAN as a liaison officer in the future for dual-use technology must work together with other agency, due to the negative impact of violations of trading activities. In the Technology Mastery Regulation, which is in the endorsement phase, LAPAN has formulated a list of sensitive technologies related to dual use in controlling exports. If referring to the EU category



according to the results of the FGD discussion, identification of risks to be faced in the future is:

Category 0	<i>Nuclear materials, facilities, and equipment</i>	BAPETEN
Category 1	<i>Special materials and related equipment</i>	
Category 2	<i>Materials processing</i>	
Category 3	<i>Electronics</i>	
Category 4	<i>Computers</i>	
Category 5	<i>Telecommunications and “information security”</i>	
Category 6	<i>Sensors and lasers</i>	
Category 7	<i>Navigation and avionics</i>	LAPAN, Department of Defence, Department of Transportation,
Category 8	<i>Marine</i>	
Category 9	<i>Aerospace and propulsion</i>	LAPAN, Department of Defence

The most important stakeholder in both biological and information technology areas are private entities: academic institutions, companies, and individuals (Ruttan, Vernon., 2001). And to create CBM at dual-use technology LAPAN has strategy collective responsibility with other agencies. Collective responsibility is an effort to manage the relevant risks that are likely to be limited at best (Lin, Herbert, 2016). Perwitasari, I. et.all (2019), mapped that in dual-use export control would be related to BAPETEN as a nuclear technology authority, Ministry of Defense as a military technology authority in the defense industry, the Director-General of Customs or the Ministry of finance as a custom border, the Ministry of Trade and LAPAN. Park, Hee-Jin and Roh, Hyun Tae., (2013) grouped risks in export control management including regulatory risk into 4 groups, namely: (i) export licenses; (ii)

strategic item ruling; (iii) trade regulation; (iv) SCS related regulations and (v) foreign regulation (EAR of US).

## **Conclusion**

The results of this study that is granting the dual-use technology export control license require cooperation with stakeholders in providing recommendations for the granting of export permits in Indonesia and it requires an integrated export control institution or organization in Indonesia.

This is based on the policy of a country in this case Indonesia to support the activities of overseeing exports and imports of goods, equipment, software, research results of non-campus and sensitive technology. Underlying considerations include national interests, foreign policy objectives, world peace, regional stability, human rights considerations, and the threat of terrorism (international terrorism).

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# EUROPEAN UNION POLICY OF AIR POLLUTION IN 2014-2019

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## **Abstract**

*Non-traditional security is currently a topic that is frequently discussed among political activists around the world, not only in developing countries but also in developed countries, particularly the issue of air pollution, which has long been a global phenomenon that has never been resolved. This article discusses European Union actions and policies to tackle air pollution, For EU countries which violate the rules established by the European Union High Court to limit the level of air pollution. Countries such as Germany, Norway, France, the United Kingdom and Spain, which passed the pollution level limit of 82 micrograms NO<sub>2</sub> per cubic meter of air, caused about 400,000 premature deaths in Europe in 2016, so these countries had been called to Brussels. by the EU Environment Commissioner, Karmenu Vella.*

*The paper will clarify why major countries such as Germany, Norway, France, the UK, and Spain commit breaches that the Environmental Commission of the European Union has set out. Regarding the European Union itself, there is a broad and influential governance among the global community, although air pollution not only happens in large countries such as what*

*occurred in the European Union, environmental pollution is a global problem, particularly air pollution. But why as a part of the Big Governance country can violate the rules long made by the European Union's own Supreme Court.*

**Keywords:** *European Union, Air Pollution, European Justice Court, Environmental Issues.*

## **Foreword**

Since the late 1970s, air pollution has been one of Europe's major political concerns. The European Union's air quality strategy aims at designing and implementing effective air quality management instruments. The key instruments are a collection of guidelines setting standards for ambient air quality to protect against harmful concentrations of pollution, the first major instrument was Directive 96/62/EC on air quality and its daughter, which established standards for a range of pollutants, including ozone, particulate matter (PM10) and nitrogen dioxide (NO<sub>2</sub>), for the period up to 2004. (European Commission, 2019).

European air quality regulation is founded upon certain concepts. Firstly, Member States divide their territories into several areas and agglomerations. Member States will conduct assessments of air pollution rates in these areas and agglomerations using measurements, modeling and other observational techniques and report to the European Commission Agreement on air quality data. Where rates surpass limits or target values (see air quality standards), Member States should devise an air quality plan or program to resolve the liable sources and thus ensure compliance with the limit value before the date of formal entry into force of the limit value. Additionally, air quality information should be distributable to the public.

The ECJ also ruled that air quality compliance should not be based on the area average but the results from individual sampling stations, meaning that if one particular station shows excessively high levels

of a toxic substance, it will be deemed a violation of EU air quality standards irrespective of the better air quality in the surrounding area. (Shams, 2019). The European Commission adopted a plan for Europe on Clean Air Policy in 2013. The package of steps aims to achieve full compliance with existing legislation on air quality by 2020 and further boost air quality in Europe by 2030 and beyond. It includes:

1. A revised National Pollution Limits (NEC) Directive, with pollution limits for the years from 2010, and additional plants to minimize national emissions from 2020 and 2030.
2. Recent Large Combustion Plants Directive to reduce emissions from large-sized combustion plants of nitrogen oxides, sulfur oxides, and particulate matter. The directive recommends emission cap standards for new installations and existing ones.
3. New initiatives focused on air quality in cities, national and local measures funded by EU funds, as well as a strengthened strategy for research and innovation. (European Environment Agency, 2019).

The problem of air pollution emissions is also discussed globally under the UNECE Convention on Long Range Transboundary Air Pollution (the LRTAP Convention) and its protocols. Under the LRTAP Convention, the 'multi-pollutant' protocol in Göteborg specifies national emission thresholds which are either equal to or less stringent for EU Member States than those set out in the EU NEC Directive. The Protocol was amended in 2012 to include national emission reduction obligations, including fine particulate matter, to be met in 2020 and beyond.

The previous Framework Directive, its Daughter Directives, and the current legislation (2008/50/EC) all require an evaluation of the ambient air quality that occurs in Member States based on common methods and standards. The minimum evaluation requirements are outlined into the Directives. These are associated within each air quality zone or agglomeration with the different concentration levels

as well as with the population. Although continuous monitoring is important in specific cases, modeling is always encouraged to provide better information on spatial concentration distribution.

The Commission has prepared numerous guidelines to promote the enforcement of these requirements with the extensive support of the national experts in the Enforcement Working Group in the past:

In order to obtain data on total mass concentration and chemical speciation, the EU Air Quality Directive 2008/50/EC mandates that as a minimum one rural context station be built every 100 000 km<sup>2</sup> for measuring PM<sub>2.5</sub>. The minimum is greater than several Member States' total surface area. The Directive further states that Member States shall set up at least one measuring station or may by agreement with adjoining Member States set up together one or several common measuring stations. This document provides guidance to Member States regarding the selection and implementation of these stations.

Directive 2008/50/EC offers the option for Member States to deduct the contribution of natural sources under certain circumstances before adding the concentrations of ambient air contaminants to the maximum values. The aim of this document is to provide guidance on which sources in this context can be considered natural, and on methods for quantifying and subtracting the contribution of these sources:

“Member States shall send to the Commission, for a given year, lists of zones and agglomerations where excess limits are due to natural sources for a given pollutant. Member States shall provide information on concentrations and sources and facts indicating that excesses are attributable to natural sources.

- a. A questionnaire, which was sent to experts from the Member States to develop a consensus view on the definition of natural sources of PM and to collect information on methods to determine its contribution to PM<sub>10</sub> concentrations.



- b. A workshop organized by the Joint Research Centre (JRC) of the European Commission (Ispra) in October 2006 on 'Contributions of natural sources to PM levels in Europe.' The workshop aimed at defining and identifying the origin of the natural sources that may contribute to PM levels and the available methods to quantify this contribution.
- c. A report 'Contribution of natural sources to air pollution levels in the EU - a technical basis for the development of guidance for the Member States' (JRC, MARELLI, 2007) which is based on these discussions with experts and represents the experience of Member States in the identification and evaluation of natural contributions to PM.
- d. Member States experience and comments on the draft versions of this guidance document.
- e. A review by the Working Group on Implementation (WGI) (European Commission, 2011, p. 8).

Under Directive 2008/50/EC, Member States may indicate that, for designated areas or agglomerations in which limit values for PM<sub>10</sub> are exceeded in ambient air, such excess is due to the re-suspension of particulate matter after winter sanding or road salting. This paper proposes methods for evaluating these processes ' contributions to PM's atmospheric concentrations:

Concentrations of other pollutants such as nitrogen dioxide (NO<sub>2</sub>), benzene and lead are not affected by natural contributions, or their effects, at the current level of knowledge, cannot be measured, assessed, and quantified. For this reason, pollutants are not covered by this guideline. For some pollutants such as ozone (O<sub>3</sub>) only the target value is present. Therefore, these pollutants are not discussed in this guide. Natural contributions can vary greatly from one place to another. Assessment in a zone, as required by the Directive, focuses very much on the area of highest concentration and on the field of representation for the exposure of people for significant periods of

time. The identification and quantification of natural contributions are not considered to be the directing elements of the valuation strategy.

Explanation of exceeding the boundary value at a particular station with a natural contribution does not mean compliance must be achieved in all zones. These issues are not explicitly covered by these guidelines because they will be discussed in the assessment guidelines based on the 2008/50/EC Directive, but they can be submitted by the Commission every time Article 20 of the 2008/50/EC Directive is applied.

### European Policy

Exposure to air contaminants in ambient air will adversely affect humans. In addition, the European Union has established a comprehensive piece of legislation that sets health-based requirements and targets for a range of airborne pollutants. These standards and objectives are summarized in the table below. These apply over differing periods of time because the observed health impacts associated with the various pollutants occur over different exposure times.

<i>Pollutant</i>	<i>Concentration</i>	<i>Averaging period</i>	<i>Legal nature</i>	<i>Permitted exceedences each year</i>
Fineparticles <sub>25</sub> (PM <sub>2.5</sub> )	µg/m <sup>3</sup> ***	1 year	Target value to be met as of 1.1.2010 Limit value to be met as of 1.1.2015	n/a
Sulphur dioxide (SO <sub>2</sub> )	350 µg/m <sup>3</sup>	1 hour	Limit value to be met as of 1.1.2005	24
	125 µg/m <sup>3</sup>	24 hours	Limit value to be met as of 1.1.2005	3
Nitrogen dioxide (NO <sub>2</sub> )	200 µg/m <sup>3</sup>	1 hour	Limit value to be met as of 1.1.2010	18
	40 µg/m <sup>3</sup>	1 year	Limit value to be met as of 1.1.2010 *	n/a
PM <sub>10</sub>	50 µg/m <sup>3</sup>	24 hours	Limit value to be met as of 1.1.2005 **	35
	40 µg/m <sup>3</sup>	1 year	Limit value to be met as of 1.1.2005 ** Limit value to be met as of 1.1.2005 (or 1.1.2010 in the	n/a
Lead (Pb)	0.5 µg/m <sup>3</sup>	1 year	immediate vicinity of specific, notified industrial sources; and a 1.0 µg/m <sup>3</sup> limit value applied from 1.1.2005 to 31.12.2009)	n/a

Carbon monoxide (CO)	10 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	Maximum daily 8 hour mean	Limit value 1.1.2005	to be met as of	n/a
Benzene	5 µg/m <sup>3</sup>	1 year	Limit value 1.1.2010**	to be met as of	n/a
Ozone	120 µg/m <sup>3</sup>	Maximum daily 8 hour mean	Target value 1.1.2010	to be met as of	25 days averaged over 3 years
Arsenic (As)	6 ng/m <sup>3</sup>	1 year	Target value 31.12.2012	to be met as of	n/a
Cadmium (Cd)	5 ng/m <sup>3</sup>	1 year	Target value 31.12.2012	to be met as of	n/a
Nickel (Ni)	20 ng/m <sup>3</sup>	1 year	Target value 31.12.2012	to be met as of	n/a
Polycyclic Aromatic Hydrocarbons	1 (expressed as concentration of)	ng/m <sup>3</sup> as of 1 year	Target value 31.12.2012	to be met as of	n/a
	Benzo(a)pyrene)				

\*A Member State may apply under Directive 2008/50/EU for an extension of up to five years (i.e. up to 2015 maximum) in a specific zone. The request is subject to Commission review. In such cases the limit value refers to the sum of the limit value + maximum tolerance margin (48 µg / m<sup>3</sup> for annual NO<sub>2</sub> limit value) within the time extension span.

\*\* Under Directive 2008/50/EU, the Member State may apply for an extension in a specific zone until three years after the date of entry into force of the new Directive (i.e., May 2011). The request was subject to Commission scrutiny. In such cases within the time extension period the limit value applies at the level of the limit value + maximum margin of tolerance (35 days at 75µg / m<sup>3</sup> for daily PM<sub>10</sub> limit value, 48 µg / m<sup>3</sup> for annual Pm<sub>10</sub> limit value).

Under EU law, from the date it comes into effect, a cap value is legally binding subject to any exceedances allowed by the legislation. For a target value, the duty is to take all necessary measures that do not require excessive costs to ensure that it is reached and is therefore less strict than a cap value. Directive 2008/50/EC introduced additional PM<sub>2.5</sub> targets which limit population exposure to fine particulate matter. Such goals are set at national level and are based on the average predictor of exposure (AEI). This is measured as an average annual

mean PM2.5 concentration of 3 years running over selected monitoring stations in agglomerations and larger urban areas, set to better measure the sensitivity of the general population to PM2.5 in urban background locations.

<i>Title</i>	<i>Metric</i>	<i>Averaging period</i>	<i>Legal nature</i>	<i>Permitted exceedences each year</i>
PM2.5 Exposure concentration obligation	20 µg/m3 (AEI)	Based on 3 year average	Legally binding in 2015 (years 2013,2014,2015)	n/a
PM2.5 Exposure reduction target	Percentage reduction* + all measures to reach 18 µg/m3 (AEI)	Based on 3 year average	Reduction to be attained where possible in 2020, determined on the basis of the value of exposure indicator in 2010	n/a

\* A percentage reduction criterion (0,10,15 or 20 per cent) is set out in the Directive, depending on the value of AEI in 2010. When AEI is calculated to surpass 22 µg / m3 in 2010 then all necessary measures must be taken to achieve 18 µg / m3 by 2020 (commission, 2019).

1. European Air Quality and Cleaner Air Directive 2008/50/EC, including the following elements: (a) combining most existing legislation into a single regulation (except for the Fourth Daughter Regulation) without changing existing air quality targets.
2. New air quality objectives for PM2.5 (fine particles) including the limit value and exposure related objectives.
3. The possibility to discount natural sources of pollution when assessing compliance against limit values.
4. The possibility for time extensions of three years (PM10) or up to five years (NO2, benzene) for complying with limit values:
  - a. Arsenic, cadmium, mercury, nickel, and polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons in ambient air Directive 2004/107/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council (Fourth Daughter Directive).

- b. Directive 2015/1480/EC of 28 August 2015 amending several annexes to Directives 2004/107/EC and 2008/50/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council laying down rules relating to reference methods, data validation and location of sampling points for environmental air quality assessment
- c. Commission Enforcing Decision 2011/850/EU: Commission Implementing Decision of 12 December 2011 laying down rules for Directives 2004/107/EC and 2008/50/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council as regards the reciprocal exchange of information and reporting on ambient air quality (notified under document C 2011).

Bad air quality in 2016 caused about 400,000 premature deaths in Europe and virtually every European living in cities was subjected to pollution levels that exceeded healthy levels. The author of the report, EEA air quality specialist Alberto González Ortiz, said that in European cities, the number of dangerous particles is decreasing but not falling fast enough. Current EU legislation allows countries to measure pollutant rates including ozone and particulate matter.

The European Commission, the EU's executive body, called on the EU Court of Justice to act against Spain and Bulgaria on account of their poor air quality, urging countries not to protect citizens against pollution. EU limits are set per pollutant and 16 of the 28 EU Member States reported at least one case of nitrogen dioxide levels, toxic gas in car exhausts, higher than the official annual EU average concentration in 2017. The list is composed of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, Germany, and the UK.

## **Infringement of the Stage**

### **A. Germany**

In 41 European countries, the European Environment Agency (EEA) announced that 534,471 premature deaths in 2014 may be related to air pollution. Within the 28 European Union countries this number

is 502,351. Germany saw the highest death toll due to all sources of air pollution, at 80,767. The United Kingdom (64,351) and France (63,798) followed on. These are also the countries with the most populations in Europe. The largest emitters in Europe are transport, forestry, power plants, manufacturing, and households. (Diehn, Air pollution kills half a million people in Europe, EU agency reports, 2017).

An estimated 90 per cent of EU citizens are exposed to some of the most toxic air pollutants at levels that the World Health Organization (WHO) finds unhealthy. The 2008 Air Quality Directive seeks to streamline and improve European Emissions and Air Standards legislation. It is currently under investigation. The Directive obliges member states to bring in a 20 percent reduction in the exposure of their people to particles of fine and medium size by 2020, relative to the rates of 2010. The total health costs associated with air pollution was calculated by the European Commission to be between EUR 330 and EUR 940 billion per year. (Sagener, 2015).

Air pollution levels, mainly due to traffic-related emissions of nitrogen dioxide (NO<sub>2</sub>), reached European limit values in 57 German cities in 2018, the Federal Environment Agency (UBA) reported. Nevertheless, the number of cities with levels of pollution above the threshold of 40 micrograms per cubic meter fell from 65 in the previous year, the UBA says. UBA President Maria Krautzberger said there had to be not only more software updates for manipulated diesel cars, a major source of NO<sub>2</sub>, but also mechanical retrofits for older diesel cars with catalyts. In doing so, she has called on carmakers to “financially support customers.” Although NO<sub>2</sub> emissions fell below the EU cap in 13 cities on an annual average, they climbed back up again in other cities, including larger cities such as Leipzig or Ulm. The UBA cautioned that more attention must also be given to other sources of pollution, such as wood burning from cars in private homes, forestry, and tyre wearing particles. (Wehrmann, 2019).

Several German cities were forced to enact diesel bans on certain roads after a court ruled that this was needed to reduce pollution. By

implementing several measures aimed at reducing emission levels the German government has tried to avoid bans. Scientists remain skeptical about the efficacy of driving bans to minimize levels of pollution, with many proposing a city toll instead of reducing overall traffic volumes. The UBA already announced in January that the country's emissions of nitrogen dioxide had been declining in 2018, citing local measures such as speed limits, traffic controls, replacement of vehicle fleets and weather as reasons.

The German automotive industry came under heavy pressure from the international community following the 2015 Volkswagen emissions scandal. A major program was put in place to update the operating software that included falsified vehicle pollution data as well as new catalyzers for its current commercial and municipal fleets. With several other famous automakers under the spotlight and a European Court of Justice case against the German federal government for violating emission regulations, Germany has worked hard to achieve its clean air goals.

The new catalyzers can use a post-combustion patent to alter the mechanism in which NOx is produced before being expelled. Chemically, the converters modify the air and fuel used for combustion resulting in lower engine temperature, thus reducing the amount of NOx produced. The new catalyzers and software upgrades are expected to minimize particulate matter by the following rates by 2020, according to the Federal Ministry of Environment, Nature Conservation & Nuclear Safety:

Heavy municipal vehicles	750 tonnes per annum
Heavy commercial vehicles	400 tonnes per annum
Light mpl. & cml. Vehicles	300 tonnes per annum

The retrofitting of older diesel vehicles is not Germany's only way of tackling emissions. Ubitricity is a technology company based on the

Berlin campus of the European Energy Forum (EUREF), which invests heavily in electromobility. More than 1,000 lamplights around the city were turned into electrical charging points (copying the London model used in the last decade), promoting the use of electric vehicles. One of the largest electric vehicles charging stations in the world, the EUREF campus itself is powered entirely by solar panels on the roof. Within the German' Clean Energy ' initiative, Ubitricity plans to install charging points on lamp posts and other areas in 90 German cities with the highest air pollution rates. Audi also uses old car batteries to create a massive, 1.9mw capacity energy storage plant. Ubitricity is just one out of 150 green businesses based at the EUREF campus in Berlin, but the ideas produced here are meant to be taken off-campus and out into the world. (Allen, 2019).

The European Commission warned Germany at the end of last year over excessive air pollution due to fine dust—especially in Stuttgart and Leipzig—and threatened to take legal action against the country if the German government failed to act. EU law allows Member States to have their emissions collected. But what specific steps the member state wants to take are the responsibility of national governments. Also, if Germany fails to meet threshold standards in the near future, the Commission may be able to launch an infringement action before the European Court of Justice. (Shams, 2019). Residents of Fichtelberg bei Oberwiesenthal are at maximum exposure to ozone pollution. In 2013 the threshold was exceeded there on 46 days. In many cases the environmental and health burden is catastrophic.

## **B. United Kingdom**

Air pollution affects the population of the UK devastatingly, shortening lives, causing early death and ill health. It is a bigger global murderer than just smoking. This costs the British economy more than £ 20bn per annum. Air pollution needs direct action from the UK government to address widespread pollution sources (such as transportation, buildings, energy, and industry), supported by other levels of government tackling local hotspots and implementing local



solutions. It includes strict, legally binding goals, a mechanism for determining effective measures, a commitment to take the necessary steps for all levels and parts of government, and sufficient and reasonable monitoring. It will also require an independent route for enforcement and oversight.

The government is working to bring in a new Environment Act. The Government has promised that after the UK leaves the European Union, “environmental standards are not only maintained but enhanced.” EPUK believes that the implementation of new legislation, especially if the United Kingdom is no longer subject to the environmental protection framework of the European Union, would require more rigorous steps and regulations than outlined in the draft Bill. The Air Quality Committee has created a list of 12 environmental bill air quality demands. We are collaborating with others to ensure that the new Environment Bill provides for effective environmental and health protection. (Environmental Protection UK, 2019).

The UK has a wide array of environmental legislation, with many governing clean airs coming from the European Union (EU). The Government has also released a variety of climate change policies. The government considers that air pollution is a national health emergency, as it leads to the deaths of nearly 40,000 people in the United Kingdom each year, making it the “second largest cause of death[ in the United Kingdom] after smoking.” Air pollution costs in the United Kingdom amount to £ 20 billion (about US\$ 29 billion) annually. Currently, the government is spending £ 3.5 billion (about US\$ 4.8 billion) “to improve the air quality and reduce harmful emissions.” Given this effort, and comprehensive regulation, a government report states that “the new air quality regulatory system is not doing enough to safeguard public and environmental health,” and the government is currently exploring ways to improve the existing laws on air quality. Considering the broad and detailed environmental regulations, this study will provide a high-level summary of these rules, as they are implemented in England to meet an air pollution reduction goal. Although responsibility for the

implementation and compliance of environmental policy lies with several departments and bodies of government, The Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs is the lead department which has the authority to ensure that most clean air legislation is implemented in England. (Feikert, 2019).

Domestic laws in England serve to ban industries from emitting some of the most serious air pollutants. Notably, the 1995 Clean Air Act states that it is a felony for factories or trades to release dark smoke from their premises, punishable upon conviction with an unlimited fine. The Climate Change Act was passed in 2008, setting a target for England to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 2020 to levels 34 percent below 1990 levels, and by 2050, 80 percent below 1990 levels. The 1995 Environmental Act requires a National Strategy for Air Quality to be produced by the UK Government and devolved administrations (Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales). The government formed Local Air Quality Management Areas as part of this policy, which placed responsibilities on local authorities to track, evaluate and, where appropriate, take action to ensure that air quality in their region meets government targets. At the heart of this programme, three pollutants are: nitrogen dioxide (NO<sub>2</sub>), particulate matter (PM), and sulfur dioxide (SO<sub>2</sub>). (BBC, 2014).

The government has set up a £ 255 million (approximately US\$ 345 million) investment fund to help local authorities establish clean air policies, and a £ 220 million (approximately US\$ 300 million) new Clean Air Fund was launched in 2017 to better facilitate the investment of these policies. The European Commission opened an infringement lawsuit against the United Kingdom for failing to fulfill the obligations found in this Directive in 16 air quality zones and released a Reasoned Opinion in February 2017, a final written notice for the United Kingdom to fulfill the obligations imposed by the Directive. If the United Kingdom fails to meet these obligations, the European Commission announced that it will refer the case to the European Union Court of Justice, which may require the United Kingdom to pay a financial

penalty. The government has indicated that it is not sure of the amount that this penalty may be, or whether it will enforce the penalties before or after the UK leaves the EU. (Environmental Protection UK, 2019).

England's plans to enable it to comply with the Directive were also subject to domestic legal action brought by ClientEarth, which contended that the government's plan to reduce NO<sub>2</sub> emissions was insufficient to fulfill its obligations under the Directive. The High Court agreed with ClientEarth and ruled that the government "must aim to achieve enforcement by the earliest possible date, that [the Secretary of State] must select a path to that target that decreases publicity as soon as possible, and that [the Secretary of State] must take steps that mean that it is not only feasible but probable to reach the interest limits."

The penalties for non-compliance with the EU ETS are left to the discretion of each Member State, but must be "effective, proportionate and dissuasive." The Greenhouse Gas Emissions Trading System Regulations 2012 provides for civil penalties for non-compliance.

Such regulations provide for a penalty notice to be provided by the regulator to operators specifying the law by which the liability arises; the amount of civil penalty owed, how the penalty is calculated; if the operator is liable for an additional regular penalty and the date the penalty is payable. The new civil penalty for failing to surrender adequate allowances is € 100 (around US\$ 160) per metric ton of non-allocated fuel. The regulator has the power to either reduce or raise the penalty to an extent that exceeds any economic gain gained by the operator by failing to include the required allowances. A discretionary € 20 (approximately US\$ 32) per metric ton of carbon emission penalty was introduced in the 2012 Regulations for installations that do not surrender allowances in cases where emissions are under-reported, and the error is self-corrected. (Katriana, 2019).

### **C. France**

In 41 European countries, the European Environment Agency (EEA) recorded that 534,471 premature deaths in 2014 could be related

to air pollution. Within the 28 European Union countries this number is 502,351. Germany had the largest death toll due to all sources of air pollution, at 80,767. The United Kingdom (64,351) and France (63,798) followed on. These are among the countries with the most populations in Europe. Particulate matter is produced primarily by vehicle traffic, but it also comes from agriculture, energy production, heating, and industry. NO<sub>2</sub> is a pollutant mainly traceable back to the burning of diesel fuel. European cities such as Stuttgart have consistently dealt with emissions of nitrogen dioxide exceeding the permissible limits. Ground-level smog or ozone (O<sub>3</sub>) is created when the sunlight interacts in the atmosphere with nitrogen oxides and a volatile organic compound. Nitrogen oxides (NO<sub>x</sub>) come from vehicle exhaust, coal-fired power plants and pollution from factories. (Diehn, Air pollution kills half a million people in Europe, EU agency reports, 2017).

Human activities that release various pollutants into the air: gas emissions, industrial and agricultural activities, emissions related to wood heating. Many pollutants (nitrogen oxides, sulfur dioxide, volatile organic compounds, pesticides, and particulates) are suspended in the air. This pollutant can have a detrimental effect on health. Air pollution is the cause of 19,000 premature deaths each year. Under European regulations governing pollutant emissions into the air, during the period 1990-2012, pollutant emissions had decreased substantially. Combustion devices are now more efficient, such as fuels with lower lead content. However, France is still often overwhelmed in matters of human health insurance: France is confronted routinely with peaks of ozone pollutants, nitrogen dioxide or fine particles. This is caused by the large amount of nitrogen dioxide caused by vehicles in France and extreme cold weather at night but sweltering heat during the day and lack of wind, causing poison particles to settle in the air and causing poison for people who breathe air.

The 21st Session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change / COP 21 UNFCCC (Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework

Convention on Climate Change 21st) was held in Paris in 2015 attended by 195 (one hundred and ninety-five) countries that were parties to the UNFCCC and successfully adopted the Paris Agreement to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (Paris for the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) on 12 December 2015. This Paris Agreement contains provisions regarding the Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) which is expected to be implemented in 2020. This Paris Agreement is basically a joint commitment to restrain the increase in global average temperature below 2 ° C above the pre industrialisation temperature and continuing an attempt to limit the rise in temperature to 1.5 ° C above the reindustrialisation temperature. This effort is expected to significantly reduce the risks and adverse impacts of climate change. The adverse impact of climate change is a major threat to human life and the environment, for it has become an obligation for the state to protect all its citizens. (BPHN, 2019).

This has influenced the French government to reduce the use of thousands of motor vehicles and cars in 22 arenas, and only allow vehicles with even plates to drive in French areas and assign 700 police officers to 60 police stations. The action was considered successful because it was implemented in 1997 and was supported by Environment Minister Phillipe Martin. But the policy also caused criticism and protests by the Automobile Club Association's motor vehicle lovers who considered the matter ineffective and rushed. (Bima, 2014).

## **Conclusion**

The policies set by the European Union regarding exposure to pollution, fine dust, pollutants, and time and region regulations. European laws on air quality are built on certain principles. The first is that member states divide their territory into zones and agglomeration. In this zone and agglomeration, Member States must conduct an assessment of air pollution levels using measurements, modeling, and other empirical techniques and report air quality data to the European

Commission. According to Law, 2008/50 / EC introduces additional PM2.5 objectives that target population exposure to fine particles. These objectives are set at the national level and are based on the average exposure indicator (AEI). This is determined as an annual 3-year running average of PM2.5, the average above the monitoring station chosen in the agglomeration and larger urban areas, set in the city background location to assess the best PM2.5 exposure of the general population. Under EU law, the boundary value is legally binding from the date of entry into force subject to exceedances permitted by law. For the target value, the obligation is to take all necessary actions without incurring disproportionate costs to ensure that this is achieved, and therefore less stringent than the limit value.

The ECJ also decided that policy on air quality should not be based only on the average in some areas but also on the results of individual sampling stations, which means that if one particular station exhibits very high levels of toxic substances, it will be considered a violation of EU air quality standards. apart from better air quality in the surrounding area. The Directive 2008/50 / EC gives Member States the possibility to reduce the contribution of natural resources under certain conditions before comparing the concentration of ambient air pollutants with limit values. This document aims to provide guidance on which sources can be considered natural. Based on the explanation above, with the policies and regulations that have been set by the European Justice Course which is quite clear discussing and regulating the level of each type of pollutant, and the regulation of fuel and renewal of fuel for industry and car fuel, also, it's another policy on emissions that needs to be updated.

If we look at and compare between Britain and Germany both are large countries in the European Union, because they are a large industrial country and quite influential for the European Union itself, Germany is developing and making cars that are quite well known and luxurious like BMW and Mercedes-Benz, Jürgen Resch, head of Environmental Action Germany (Deutsche Umwelthilfe), pointed the finger at the

auto industry and politicians - including German Chancellor Angela Merkel. England is also one of the industrial countries that produce VW cars which is a German company that stands in the UK, and they were troubled and most likely competition between industries in the European Union is large enough, forcing some industries both small and large industries to violate some the rules that have been set by the European Parliament. Minister of the Environment France, Philippe Martin, that released a decision on car restrictions by comparing it with the same 1997 decision that was deemed positive in minimizing emissions. Yet car lovers, the Automobile Club Association in particular, criticized the decision and called it “rushed and unsuccessful” and “stimulated chaos”

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# FACTORS INFLUENCING CITIZEN SATISFACTION IN GETTING PUBLIC SERVICE (CASE STUDY: THE SERVICE USER OF THE INVESTMENT AND ONE STOP SERVICE AGENCY OF TANAH BUMBU REGENCY IN 2018)

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## **Abstract**

*The present study explained factors influencing citizen satisfaction service in the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency of Tanah Bumbu Regency. This research analyses the level of citizen satisfaction and the extent to which Awareness, Rules, Organizational, Income, Skill-Ability, and Service Facility Factor Influence Citizen Satisfaction. This study uses a mixed methodology with a sequential explanatory strategy. Using the incidental sampling with Slovin's Formula to calculate the number of samples is 93 respondents. The quantitative data were analyzed by the SmartPLS 3.0 program. The findings showed that the level of citizen satisfaction is included in the category "Satisfied". Furthermore, the variable of Citizen Satisfaction is*

*influenced by variables of Awareness, Rules, Organizational, Income, Skill-Ability dan Service Facility Factor for 70,5%. Whereas Awareness, Rules, Organizational, and Skill-Ability Factor has a significant influence on Citizen Satisfaction. Besides, Income and Service Facility Factor do not have a significant influence on Citizen Satisfaction.*

**Keywords:** *Citizen Satisfaction, Public Service, One-Stop Service, One-Stop Service Agency*

## **Introduction**

Nowadays, demands arise for the government to provide public services oriented to society and responsive to the needs of the society. This is in accordance with the paradigm of public administration in the perspective of 'New Public Service' where the role of government is 'serving' the public with the aim of improving service quality (Yusriadi, 2018: 8). However, the demand for these services usually far exceeds the government's ability to fulfill them that will lead to citizen dissatisfaction with the services received. This is proved with an article entitled 'Rapot Merah Pelayanan Publik di Indonesia' quoted from <https://tirto.id> in 2016, the Head of the Ombudsman of Republic Indonesia, Amzulian, concluded that "the low level of public services still appears with the high practice of the illegal levies and bribes". Furthermore in 2017, quoted from <https://www.aa.com.tr> (2017), it is known that the low level of public service is still the biggest problem for Indonesia and there is a need to increase the use of information technology so that public services are accountable and free of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism (CCN) actions. Likewise quoted from <http://kompas.com>, throughout 2017, the Ombudsman received 7,999 public reports that are divided into ten types of maladministration on public service.

A survey conducted by World Bank also showed bad report on public services in Indonesia. Based on the World Bank report related to the Ease of Doing Business (EoDB). Throughout the four years of Joko Widodo and Yusuf Kalla's administration, Indonesia's EoDB ranking

has been increased quite significantly but has not been able to raise Indonesia's position neither at the global nor the Southeast Asian level. In EoDB 2019, Indonesia fell one rank to the 73<sup>rd</sup> position (with a score of 67.96) from 190 countries. Meanwhile, at the Southeast Asia level, the competitiveness of EoDB in Indonesia is still lagging, stagnating still as in previous years, in 6th position among other Southeast Asian member countries. Indonesia is under Singapore (ranked 2 with a score of 85.24), Malaysia (ranked 15 with a score of 80.6), Thailand (ranked 27 with a score of 78.45), Brunei Darussalam (ranked 55 with a score of 72.03), and Vietnam (ranked 69 with a score of 68.36) (<https://databoks.katadata.co.id>, 2018). This position is still far from what had been targeted by President Jokowi, which is a 40th ranked on a global level.

The quality of public services in Indonesia is expected to improve while the issuance of Law No. 25 of 2009 dated 18 July 2009 regarding Public Services. This law has become a momentum and concrete steps from the government to bring the best services to the society. Nowadays, society or business world expects to be able to meet service needs, especially administrative services from the government in one place. One of the strategies implemented by the government was the establishment of One-Stop Service at both the central and regional levels. This is in accordance with the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 97 of 2014 concerning the Implementation of One-Stop Integrated Services and Number 91 of 2017 concerning Acceleration of Business Implementation. The implementation of good public services at the regencies/cities level is also the responsibility of the government for society (Iqbal, 2019).

In the context of regional autonomy, the existence of One-Stop Service in regencies/cities is expected to encourage economic growth through increased investment by giving greater attention to the micro, small and medium enterprises actors. The aim to be achieved is to improve the quality of public services that lead to citizen satisfaction. Besides, it gives wider access to society to obtain public services. Service

implementation at the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency of Tanah Bumbu Regency must provide the best service to businessmen or service users. The success of service delivery is determined by the level of satisfaction of service users. The satisfaction of service users can be achieved if they obtain services in accordance with what are they needed and expected. Thus, based on the explanation above, to ensure the realization of public expectations for good public services. The researcher feels the importance of assessments related to the level of citizen satisfaction and analysis related to factors that can be influence citizen satisfaction in getting public services by conducting studies at the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency in Tanah Bumbu Regency. This citizen satisfaction assessment is one of the benchmarks for service units to conduct evaluations to improve the quality of public services.

### **Literature Review**

To see the extent of the government's success in serving society, a study is conducted. There is some research applying the regulation in his/her research, as what has been written by Heri Wahyudianto B.P. (2015). As a result of his study, he presented a comprehensive measurement method about citizen satisfaction with shows the elements of citizen satisfaction applicatively into 28 items of research instruments that can be used as one of the guidelines for satisfaction surveys on public service units. It represented the elaboration of 14 elements of citizen satisfaction index which are presented in the Decree of Indonesian Minister of Administrative Reform No. KEP/25/M.PAN/2/2004. The author also emphasized that it is very important to conduct satisfaction surveys on the implementation of public services. In line with this statement, Handyan Prasetyo Dwi (2018) also conducted a satisfaction survey on one of the public service units. He analyzed the quality of licensing services in the Investment and One - Stop Service Agency (DPMPTSP) of Semarang Regency according to the elements of citizen

satisfaction survey based on the Indonesian Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform Number 14 of 2017.

Furthermore, citizen satisfaction with services, service performance, and service quality are interrelated with each other. Therefore, there is some researcher who use service quality indicators as a benchmark to determine citizen satisfaction with public services held by a government agency. Their study used SERVQUAL models from Zeithaml, et al. on measuring citizen satisfaction. The first researchers are Aldri Frinaldi and Muhammad Ali Embi (2015), they conducted a study about the influence of service quality toward citizen satisfaction in Padang private hospital, West Sumatra Province with the use eight dimensions of SERVQUAL model. The eight dimensions are tangibles, access, reliability, responsiveness, assurance, empathy, delivery, and timeliness. The second researcher is Siti Husna AINU Syukri (2014), where she used five dimensions of the SERVQUAL model in her study about the application of Customer Satisfaction Index (CSI) on the service quality of Trans Jogja. The five dimensions are tangibles, reliability, responsiveness, assurance, and empathy. The third researcher is Yayat Rukayat (2017) who conducted a study about service quality in the Population Administration Unit with the five dimensions of the SERVQUAL model as an independent variable. Then, the next is a study conducted by Roxana Aleñan, Ramón Gutiérrez-Sánchez and Francisco Lébana-Cabanillas (2017), in their study, the measures were related variables and concepts that can determine citizen satisfaction on public services in Spain. The analysis result showed that the Key Drives of CIS in Spain were related with the SERVQUAL model.

Furthermore, there are some studies that used several factors that influence citizen satisfaction in public service units with the differences of variables. First is a study was written by Untung Sartini, Maria Magdalena Minarsih, and Heru Sri Wulan (2016), the results obtained from this study were that there is a positive and significant influence of facility, public service and professional employee on citizen satisfaction. Secondly, it is a previous study conducted by Zaini Rohmad

(2017). In his study, he tried to identify the factors that influence citizen satisfaction by using four factors, namely planning, coordination, supervision, and transactional leadership. With the results of the analysis obtained, it was known that there is a high correlation between variables that are tested, namely variables of planning, coordination, supervision, and leadership. Bivariate analysis showed that the four independent variables were positively correlated with the level of citizen satisfaction. Thirdly, a study was done by Tubagus Arif (2013), he identified three factors influencing citizen satisfaction, namely system and procedure, capacity, and capability of staff in providing services, and reasonableness of service charge. The conclude of his study is all three variables showed a significant influence on citizen satisfaction. Another study was done by Haryanto (2013), he used service quality, service facility, and price as indicators determining the satisfaction of service users in the office, where the service quality aspect used are the five dimensions of SERVQUAL model. The results obtained are the service quality, facilities and price have a positive influence on citizen satisfaction.

In conclusion, most of the previous research, the indicators that were used to determine citizen satisfaction are dominated by two forms, namely according to existing regulation and theory of the SERVQUAL Model. The difference between previous research with this research is this research uses the six supporting factors of public service implementation (according to Moenir, 2015), these factors will be the indicators or the independent variables. Another difference is the location of study which is conducted at the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency of Tanah Bumbu Regency and the different year of study.

## **Theoretical Framework**

According to the Law Number 25 of 2009 regarding Public Services, it is explained that public service is an activity or series of activities in order to fulfill service needs in accordance with the state of law and



regulation for every citizen and resident for goods and services and/or administrative services provided by the public service providers. Cigu and Constantin (in Irawan, 2017) stated that public services are indicators of government performance so that they are related to citizen satisfaction. The implementation of public service by the government to the public is closely related to efforts to create citizen satisfaction as service users. According to Hoffman and Bateson (in Ismayanti, 2015), satisfaction or dissatisfaction is a comparison of expected service on perceived service of actual service interactions.

### **Level of Citizen Satisfaction in Getting Public Service**

There are several principles in the effectiveness of licensing services (Susila, 2015) which are carried out in accordance with the guidelines for public service delivery established by the Decree of the Indonesian Minister of Administrative Reform Number 81 of 1993 with the following explanation. First, simplicity. This implies that services need to be established and implemented easily, smoothly, quickly, precisely, not convoluted, easy to understand and easily implemented by the society of service users. The principle of simplicity emphasizes the aspects of procedures for the implementation of public services, including service mechanisms and requirements. Second, Openness. Openness is in the sense of being open (transparent) in the process and implementation of public services, so that it is easily known and understood by the service user (applicants). Third, efficiency. This principle emphasizes the policy regarding service delivery. In matters of services ideally: Formulate effective work mechanisms and provide requirements that are easy and quickly fulfilled by society. It does not provide a burden that causes the length of time and increased service fees.

Fourth, Economical. The economics referred to is the imposition of fees or service tariffs fairly determined by taking into the value of goods and services, the ability of the society to pay, and the applicable legal provisions. Fifth, fairness. Fairness intended is equalization and

non-discriminatory attitudes, both in the context of costs, actions in the delivery of services, and equal time to service applicants (applicant). Last, timeliness. In the implementation of services, it is necessary to maintain consistency in the schedule in service and to make effective the implementation.

#### Factors Influencing Citizen Satisfaction in Getting Public Service

Some important supporting factors in public services, including awareness factor of officers involved in public services, rules factors that is the basis of service work, organizational factors that are tools and systems that enable the operation of service mechanisms, income factors that can meet minimum life, officer skill factors and facilities in carrying out services (Moenir, 2015).

Based on the theory of the six supporting factors for public services by Moenir (2015), the authors proposed a research model as shown in Figure 1. In this study, using the theory of the six supporting factors for public services by Moenir (2015) is considered appropriate to examine the factors influencing citizen satisfaction with public service in the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency of Tanah Bumbu Regency.

#### 1. Awareness Factors

Awareness Factor is the awareness of employees at all of the tasks or jobs that are their responsibility, serves as a basis that will underlie the actions and becomes a source of sincerity in carrying out tasks or a willing. The indicators used to measure are, aware as public servants, sincerity in carrying out the tasks, treating service users well, and paying attention and prioritizing the interests of the society. H1: Awareness Factor (X1) has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction (Y)

#### 2. Rules Factor

Rules Factor that is the basis of service work, the applicable rules, which are absolutely in existence so that organizations and works can run regularly and directed, understood by all interested. The indicators used to measure are, officer understanding the

applicable rules and implementing the good rules. H2: Rules Factor (X2) has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction (Y)

### 3. Organizational Factor

Organizational Factor is a mechanism or structure that enables living things to work effectively together (Louis A. Allen in Moenir, 2015: 98), which are encouraged by the clear organizational authority that will facilitate the mechanism. The indicators used to measure are, coordinator with other Regional Work Units, collaboration between employees, responsibility on tasks, and understanding of their respective task. H3: Organizational Factor (X3) has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction (Y)

### 4. Income Factor

Income Factor is all receipts in any form obtained by employees, to get their welfare, which is related to their position and role in the work organization which will have an impact on changes in employment patterns. The indicators used to measure are: Public trust on no illegal levies and pander actions: public trust on no illegal levies and pander actions. H4: Income Factor (X4) has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction (Y)

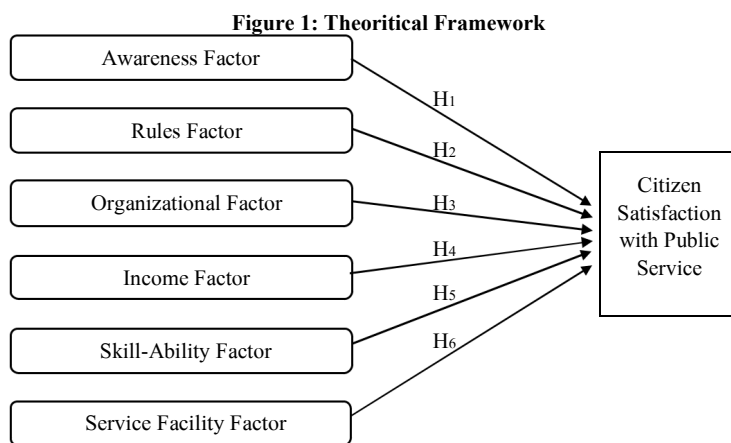
### 5. Skill-Ability Factor

Skill-Ability Factor refers to the quality of the performance of employees in carrying out tasks to produce a service that is in accordance with what is expected by the society, which will give the impression of good or bad service. The indicators used to measure are, communication skills in serving, understanding and Skill of IT, knowledge/understanding of services, and work experiences. H5: Skill-Ability Factor (X5) has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction (Y).

### 6. Service Facility Factors

Service Facility Factor is all types of equipment, work equipment, and other facilities that function as the main or auxiliary tool in carrying out work, and also function socially in

the interests of the people who are in contact with the organization. The indicators used to measure are, public infrastructure facility, completeness of work facility, complaint service facility, and information service facility. H6: Service Facility Factor (X6) has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction (Y).



## Research Methods

### Type of Study

This study uses a quantitative and qualitative research approach (mixed methodology) with a sequential mix method, namely a sequential explanatory strategy. A 'sequential explanatory strategy' means that quantitative and qualitative approach are used in a different stage (Creswell, 2014). In this strategy, the first stage is to collect and analyze quantitative data by distributing questionnaires to the respondent to examine the citizen satisfaction level on public service and factors influencing citizen satisfaction in getting service at the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency in Tanah Bumbu Regency. Then, the second stage is supported by qualitative data obtained from the related informant where the data is collected as complementary information that will be used to strengthen the analysis of previous quantitative data finding in the preparation of research findings. In

mixed method research, two forms of data are combined in the analysis of design through data fusion, data merging or data sticking (Creswell, 2014).

Qualitative data was getting through an in-depth interview with some informants involved in the implementation and user of public service in the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency in Tanah Bumbu Regency which can be seen in table 1: target informant. Furthermore, quantitative data was obtained through questionnaire techniques. Research variables are operationalized into indicators, which are converted into questionnaires that are distributed to the respondents who were sampled in this study with the type of questionnaire used was a closed and structured questionnaire that meets the types of Likert Scale assessment, comprised of the answers with five category of “strongly agree - strongly disagree” and which was evaluated between score 1 and 5 (Sugiyono, 2015) which can be seen in table 2: likert scale assessment.

**Table 2: Likert Scale Assessment**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Index Value</b>
Strongly Agree (Extremely Satisfied)	4,21 – 5,00
Agree (Satisfied)	3,41 – 4,20
Neutral (Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied)	2,61 – 3,40
Disagree (Slightly Satisfied)	1,81 – 2,60
Strongly Disagree (Not at All Satisfied)	1,00 – 1,80

### **Sampling Technique**

The population of the study is service users who are getting public service of the Investment and One-Stop Integrated Service Agency in Tanah Bumbu Regency in the year 2018. The sampling technique used is a non-probability sampling technique with incidental sampling. Incidental sampling is a technique for determining samples based on coincidence, that is, anyone who incidentally meets with a researcher

can be used as a sample if viewed by the person who happened to be found it is suitable as a source of data (Sugiyono, 2016). Then, the researcher used Slovin's Formula to calculate the number of samples is 93 service users.

### **Data Analysis Technique**

The quantitative data analyzed by the SmartPLS 3.0 program. According to Abdillah and Hartono (2015), PLS is one of the alternative statistical methods of Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) that is designed to solve multiple regression when specific problems occur in the data, such as the small sample size, the presence missing values and multicollinearity. The specification model of PLS in this study consist of three stages, namely the measurement model (outer model) analysis, the structural model (inner model) analysis and hypothesis testing. Outer model analysis is done to ensure that the measurements used are feasible to be used as measurements (valid and reliable). Analysis of the outer model can be seen from several indicators of convergent validity, discriminant validity and composite reliability. Whereas the analysis of the inner model is carried out to ensure that the structural models are robust and accurate. Evaluation of the inner model can be seen from the coefficient of determination ( $R^2$ ). The structural model that has  $R^2$  of 0.67 indicates that the model is "good",  $R^2$  of 0.33 indicates that the model is "moderate", and  $R^2$  of 0.19 indicates that the model is "weak" (Ghozali & Latan, 2014). Furthermore, the hypothesis testing is carried out by looking at the output path coefficient from the result of bootstrap resampling. The test is significant if the t-statistic is  $>1,96$  and the p-value is  $<0.05$ . (Ghozali & Latan, 2014).

## **Result and Discussion**

### **The Level of Citizen Satisfaction in Getting Public Service**

The level of citizen satisfaction in getting public service in The Investment and One-Stop Service Agency of Tanah Bumbu Regency

which can be seen in table 3: the level of citizen satisfaction by index value.

**Table 3: The Level of Citizen Satisfaction by Index Value**

No.	Indicators	Index Value
1	The Simplicity	3,88
2	The Openness	3,92
3	The Efficiency	3,80
4	The Economic	3,89
5	The Fairness	3,98
6	The Timeliness	3,81
Citizen Satisfaction		3,88

Source: The data is compiled from the primary data, 2019

It shows the level of citizen satisfaction as the service user of the public service based on the principles or indicators of Simplicity, Openness, Efficiency, Economic, Fairness, and Timeliness. The index value is obtained from the mean of the respondent's answer based on the Likert Scale assessment. The result shows the index value obtained from each indicator is included in the interval value from 3.41 to 4.20 with the category "Satisfied". The indicator or principle of the fairness got the highest score, meanwhile the efficiency got the lowest score. It means that the principle of fairness in public service is the principle that has the most optimal of its application compared to other principles, that make citizen satisfied in getting public services at the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency of Tanah Bumbu Regency.

Among the six principles, there are some aspects that are often complaints or barriers for service users in the licensing process, which are cost, time, and requirements of licensing. According to the results of this research, four principles related to these three aspects have a low index value compared to the two other principles. The four principles, namely Economical, Simplicity, Timeliness and the Efficiency which

cover the three aspects have got the lowest score. These results are in line with those written by Juniario. The data supported is according to Juniario (in Yusriadi, 2018: 98) that the obstacles that are usually complained of by service users who want to apply for licensing are the cost, time, and requirements of licensing.

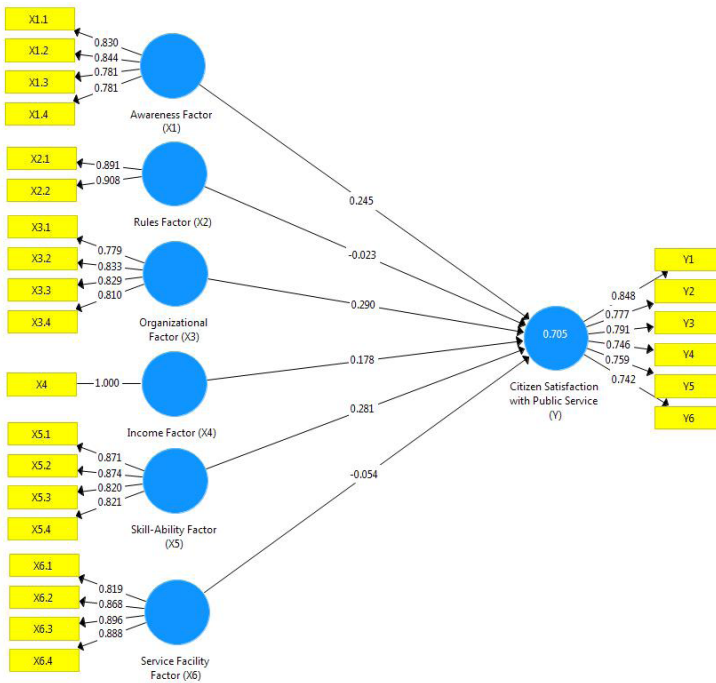
1. Licensing costs: The cost of obtaining permits is very burdensome for small business actors and the amount of licensing cost is often not transparent. The reason for a large cost is because the applicant does not know the official cost for obtaining permits, and because of illegal levies and pander actions that happened.
2. Time: the time required to administer permits is relatively long because the process is complicated, there is no clarity when the permit is completed and the licensing process depends on the pattern of each regional work unit bureaucracy. For example, in the management of the length of time needed to issue the results of technical recommendations of technical agencies.
3. The same requirements and are asked repeatedly for various types of permits, the requirements set are often difficult to obtain and there are several requirements that cannot be fulfilled especially by small entrepreneurs.

### **Factors Influencing Citizen Satisfaction in Getting Public Service**

The explanation was following the three stages of PLS analysis which is the outer model testing, inner model testing, and hypothesis testing. The outer model testing is done by evaluating the outer model with its reflection indicators. There are three criteria of indicators of reflection, namely convergent validity, discriminant validity and composite reliability. The output of the loading factor that will be used as a basis for measuring and knowing the results and interpretation of the outer loading which can be seen in figure 2: loading factors. Each value on the indicator does not have a value of less than 0.50, so the next that can be done is by evaluating the model.



Figure 2. Loading Factors



The first and second criteria, namely convergent validity and discriminant validity can be seen from the results of the score from the outer model, namely the value of AVE and loading factor. Validity of data that can be seen from AVE and loading factor has a value limit for a data that can be said to be valid. The AVE and loading factor value are said to be valid if the score is more than 0.50 and if the score is less than 0.50 then the data cannot be said to be valid. Validity test results in study show that all the questions in each research variable consisting of Awareness Factor, Rules Factor, Organizational Factor, Income Factor, Skill-Ability Factor and Service Facility Factor have a value of loading factor bigger than 0.50 and most variables research have AVE value bigger than 0.50 which can be seen in table 4: convergent validity and discriminant validity. Thus, it can be concluded that all questions in all research variables are declared valid or have fulfilled the convergent and discriminant validity.

Table 4. Convergent Validity and Discriminant Validity

<i>Variabel</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Discriminant Validity</i>	<i>Convergent Validity</i>	<i>Critical Value</i>	<i>Model Evaluation</i>			
		<i>Loading Factor</i>	<i>AVE</i>					
<b>Citizen Satisfaction</b>	CS.1	0,848	0,605	> 0,50	Valid			
	CS.2	0,777						
	CS.3	0,791						
	CS.4	0,746						
	CS.5	0,759						
	CS.6	0,742						
<b>Awareness Factor</b>	AF.1	0,830	0,655		> 0,50	Valid		
	AF.2	0,844						
	AF.3	0,781						
	AF.4	0,781						
<b>Rules Factor</b>	RF.1	0,891	0,809			> 0,50	Valid	
	RF.2	0,908						
<b>Organizational Factor</b>	OF.1	0,779	0,661	> 0,50			Valid	
	OF.2	0,833						
	OF.3	0,829						
	OF.4	0,810						
<b>Income Factor</b>	IF.1	1,000	1,000				> 0,50	Valid
<b>Skill-Ability Factor</b>	SAF.1	0,871	0,717					> 0,50
	SAF.2	0,874						
	SAF.3	0,820						
	SAF.4	0,821						
<b>Service Facility Factor</b>	SFF.1	0,819	0,754		> 0,50			
	SFF.2	0,868						
	SFF.3	0,896						
	SFF.4	0,888						

Source: The data is compiled from the primary data, 2019.

In addition to the validity test, reliability tests were also measured using two criteria, namely Composite Reliability and Cronbach's Alpha from the indicator block that measured the construct. Constructions are declared reliable if the Composite Reliability and Cronbach's Alpha value are above 0.70 (Ghozali & Latan, 2014). The Composite Reliability and Cronbach's alpha Output can be seen in table 5: Composite Reliability and Cronbachs Alpha.

**Table 5. Composite Reliability and Cronbachs Alpha**

Variabel	Composite Reliability	Cronbach's Alpha	Critical Value	Model Evaluation
Citizen Satisfaction	0,902	0,869		Reliable
Awareness Factor	0,884	0,825		Reliable
Rules Factor	0,895	0,765		Reliable
Organizational Factor	0,887	0,829	>0,70	Reliable
Income Factor	1,000	1,000		Reliable
Skill-Ability Factor	0,910	0,868		Reliable
Service Facility Factor	0,924	0,891		Reliable

*Source: The data is compiled from the primary data, 2019*

Based on Composite Reliability and Cronbach's Alpha values or outputs shows that the value of each construct is above 0.70. Thus, it can be concluded that each construct in the estimated model has good reliability. The reliability test result shows that all research variables have a Composite Reliability value and Cronbach's Alpha more than 0.70. Therefore, it can be concluded that all the questions contained in each research variable in the questionnaire are declared reliable and the questionnaire can be used to retrieve research data.

Furthermore, the second analysis stage, the inner model testing is done to see the relationship between constructs, significance values and R-square of the research model. The structural model is evaluated using R-square for the dependent construct of the t-test and the significance of the structural path parameter coefficients. In assessing the model with PLS it is started by looking at the R-square for each Latent Dependent variable.

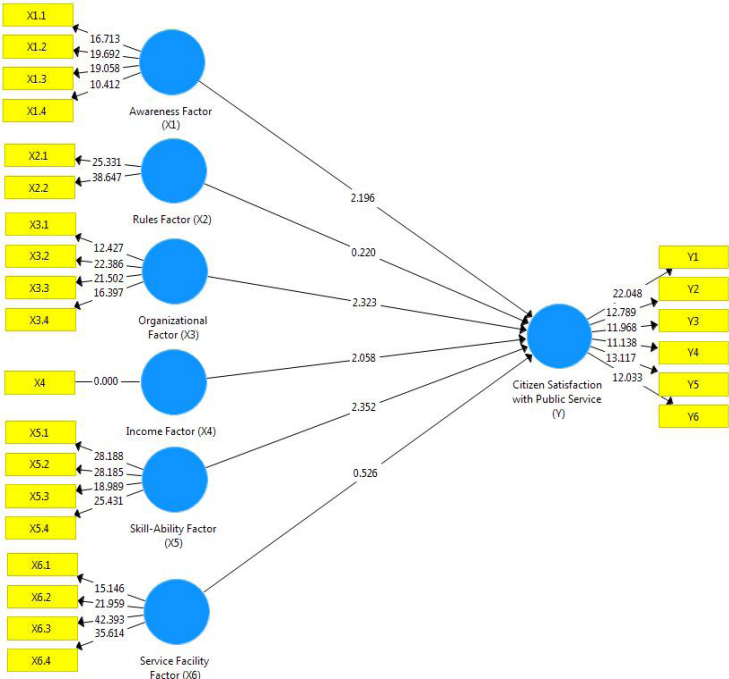
**Table 6. Output R Square**

	R Square	R Square Adjusted
<b>Citizen Satisfaction with Public Service (Y)</b>	0,705	0,685

*Source: The data is compiled from the primary data, 2019.*

Based on table 6: Output R-square shows the R-square value of the Citizen Satisfaction with Public Service variable was obtained at 0.705, which can be explained that variable of Citizen Satisfaction with Public Service is influenced by variables of Awareness Factor, Rules Factor, Organizational Factor, Income Factor, Skill-Ability Factor and Service Facility Factor for 70,5%. If it is associated with the Rule of Thumb for R Square testing according to (Ghozali & Latan, 2014), the structural model that has an R-square result (R<sup>2</sup>) of 0.67 indicates that the model is “good”, R-square (R<sup>2</sup>) of 0.33 indicates that the model “Moderate”, and R-square (R<sup>2</sup>) of 0.19 indicates that the model is “weak”. Then it can be concluded that the variables that affect the Citizen Satisfaction with Public Service variable have a “good” level of influence because they have an R-square result (R<sup>2</sup>) of 0.705 and it can be categorized as a “good” model.

**Figure 3. Output Bootstrapping**



Source: The data is compiled from the primary data, 2019

**Table 7. Hypotheses Testing**

Variable	Original Sample (O)	Sample Mean (M)	Standard Deviation (STDEV)	T Statistics ( O/STDEV)	P Values	Hypothesis Result
Aw <sub>r</sub> → CS	0,245	0,253	0,111	2,196	0,029	Accepted
Rs → CS	-0,023	-0,031	0,105	0,22	0,826	Rejected
Org → CS	0,29	0,279	0,125	2,323	0,021	Accepted
Inc → CS	0,178	0,171	0,086	2,058	0,04	Accepted
Skab → CS	0,281	0,301	0,12	2,352	0,019	Accepted
Serf → CS	-0,054	-0,063	0,102	0,526	0,599	Rejected

Furthermore, the third analysis stage, hypothesis testing between variables namely exogenous variables towards endogenous variables ( $\gamma$ ) and endogenous variables towards endogenous variables ( $\beta$ ) is done by bootstrap resampling method. The test statistics used is t statistics or t tests. The comparison t value in this study was obtained from table t. The test is significant if the value of T-statistic is  $>1.96$  and P values is  $<0.050$ . (Ghozali & Latan, 2014). Hypothesis testing is done by looking at the output path coefficient from the results of bootstrap resampling which can be seen in figure 3: output bootstrapping and tables 7: hypotheses testing.

The findings indicated that the Awareness Factor, Rules Factor, Organizational Factor, and Skill-Ability Factor has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction with Public Service. Meanwhile, the Rules Factor and Service Facility Factor do not have a significant influence on Citizen Satisfaction with Public Service. Explanation of the results of each hypothesis can be specified as follows.

1. The awareness factor has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction in getting public service with p-value is less than 0.05 and t-statistic is bigger than 1.96. Therefore, H1 in this study is accepted. The data is supported by the findings that the researcher found on the field that awareness can bring service provider to sincerity carrying out a task that is their responsibility. The service provider awareness of its position and duties serves as a baseline that will underlie the actions of service providers. If the service provider is aware of his position or duty as a public

servant, then they will always be service-oriented and care about citizen satisfaction when he is serving. Awareness can lead service provider to paying attention and prioritizing the interests of the service user in the service process that will affect citizen satisfaction. That is because when the services desired by the service user can be completed in accordance with what they expect or even exceed what they expect, the service user will feel satisfied with the services they obtain. This finding is in accordance with the statement by Sedarmayanti (2009) stated that Satisfying customers (service users) is the responsibility of all parties, customers must be given the best service and as optimal as possible. It means that the awareness factor has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction. It means that the awareness factor has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction.

2. The rules factor does not have a significant influence on citizen satisfaction in getting public service with p-value is bigger than 0.05 and t-statistics is less than 1.96. Therefore, H2 in this study is rejected. The data is supported by the findings that the researcher found on the field that service users tend not to pay attention to the good or bad of rules that exist, as well as to understand or not the officers to the rules that exist in the service agency. All regulations are good or bad, it does not have an influence on citizen satisfaction, because they tend not to know the benchmarks of good or bad a rules and tend to focus only on what things are needed for completion of the permit. Likewise, the officers' understanding with the rules in service agency does not have influence on citizen satisfaction, because there tends to be no obligation for service officers to understand all existing rules, but only required to understand the basic rules which are their main duties or responsibilities. It means that the rules factor does not have a significant influence on citizen satisfaction. This finding rejected by findings from Mulyono (2017).

3. The organizational factor has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction in getting public service with p-value is less than 0.05 and t-statistic is bigger than 1.96. Therefore, H3 in this study is accepted. The data is supported by the findings that the researcher found on the field that there is a need for good cooperation and coordination to get the citizen satisfaction. The organization's working arrangements and mechanisms can produce adequate services, the organization becomes an effective tool to achieve goals, in this case, good and satisfying services. According to Fadillah (in Hasbullah 2013: 32) that the presence of public organizations is a tool to meet needs and create public satisfaction. Public service performance can be said to be successful if it is able to realize what is the main task and function of the organization concerned. For this reason, organizations and employees who carry out activity must always be oriented and concentrate on what is their duty. Public organizations must be able to build a shared commitment to creating a vision in improving the service process so that there is a need for good cooperation and coordination. This finding is supported by the previous research which was conducted by Rohmad (2017) that there is a positive and significant influence of coordination on citizen satisfaction. It means that organizational factor has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction.
4. The Income factor has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction in getting public service with p-value is less than 0.05 and t-statistic is bigger than 1.96. Therefore, H4 in this study is supported. The data is supported by the findings that the researcher found on the field that the action of illegal levies and panders in the permit process will makes service user disappointed by the services provided by service providers which at the end of the process causes the service applicant to feel unsure and not even trust that the service will give a clear service. It provides a reason for the service user not to be satisfied with the services provided by the Service Agency. The inadequate income or salary received

by employees for the minimum needs of employees can lead to the irregularities of employees' action in the implementation of services to obtain an advantage. It needs honesty in every service effort given to the service user, this is in accordance with Zeithaml et al. (in Hardiyansyah, 2018) stated that the expected service and perceived service is determined by credibility: trustworthiness, believability, the honesty of the service provider, where the expected service that is in accordance with the perceived service will make service user feel satisfied with the service. It means that income factor has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction.

5. The data is supported by the findings that the researcher found on the field that the skill-ability of the officer that is good, have quality and in accordance with the competencies required by the agency and add with the work experience will provide optimal performance in the implementation of public services. This will make the use of services trust in the ability of officers to provide quality and satisfying services. It means that the skill-ability factor has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction. This finding supported by the finding of previous research conducted by Arif (2013) that the variable of the capability of staff has a positive and significant influence on the level of user satisfaction of a one-stop service. This is in accordance with Zeithaml et al. (in Hardiyansyah, 2018) stated that the expected service and perceived service is determined by competence: possession of required skill.
6. The service facility does not have a significant influence on citizen satisfaction in getting public service with p-value is bigger than 0.05 and t-statistics is less than 1.96. Therefore, H6 in this research is rejected. The data is supported by the findings that the researcher found on the field that the service users tend to be more concerned with the quality of the system and service processes than the existing service facility. Users of service at agency tend not to give priority to the complete public service facility, they tend not to give attention to the complete or not the work facility of agency and



they have been not utilize optimally either the complaint service facility nor the information service facility that have facilitated, especially for the complaint and information online facility, they were surer to ask the front officer directly. That means the service facility factor does not have a significant influence on citizen satisfaction. Thus, this finding rejected by findings from Sartini, Minarsih & Wulan (2016), and Haryanto (2013) that there is a positive and significant influence of service facilities on citizen satisfaction.

## **Conclusion**

The findings in the study show that the level of citizen satisfaction in getting public service in the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency of Tanah Bumbu Regency is included in the category “Satisfied” with the accumulated index value of 3.88. Furthermore, citizen satisfaction with public service has an R-square value of 0.705 and it can be categorized as a “good” model (based on Rule Thumb for testing R Square by Ghozali & Latan) which can be explained that the variable of Citizen Satisfaction with Public Service is influenced by variables of Awareness Factor, Rules Factor, Organizational Factor, Income Factor, Skill-Ability Factor dan Service Facility Factor for 70,5%. Whereas factors influencing citizen satisfaction in getting public service are Awareness Factor, Rules Factor, Organizational Factor, and Skill-Ability Factor. Besides, Income Factors and Service Facility Factor has not a significant influence on Citizen Satisfaction in getting public service. Awareness Factor, Rules Factor, Organizational Factor, and Skill-Ability Factor has a significant influence on citizen satisfaction in getting public service with p-values is less than 0.05 and t-statistics is bigger than 1.96. Meanwhile Income Factor and Service Facility Factor do not have a significant influence on citizen satisfaction in getting public service with p-values is bigger than 0.05 and t-statistics is less than 1.96. The following are some aspect that should be improving based on results of this study.

- a. Efficient service: the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency are advised to pay more attention to service efficiency, related to the integration between the burden of requirements with the length of time and the costs incurred by users of the service, whether in obtaining permits with or without technical agency recommendations.
- b. Cooperation and coordination between the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency with related technical agencies: coordination and strict rules need to be more enhanced related to the implementation of the survey and timeliness in issuing technical recommendations, especially actions for applying permits through technical agencies as intermediaries or third parties.
- c. Enhancing the capacity of the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency employees, especially the operation of online service systems: the Investment and One-Stop Service Agency need to conduct training on the operation of the online service system to all employees, such as the One Single Submission (OSS) system.
- d. Control of illegal levies and pander implementation: the Investment and the One-Stop Service Agency must control illegal levies and panders, be assertive to officers or agencies who openly carry out illegal levies and panders, provide strict regulations and sanctions related to prohibitions on illegal levies and panders and provide encouragement and awareness to all employees not to carry out the action of illegal levies and panders, including for technical agencies that related.

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# GENDER ASPECT ON CANADA-INDONESIA TRADE AND PRIVATE SECTOR ASSISTANCE: A CONSTRUCTIVISM APPROACH

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## **Abstract**

*The primary aim of this research is to explain the factors that influence Canada put gender aspects on its assistance to Indonesia through Canada- Indonesia Trade and Private Sector Assistance (TPSA). In this study, the researchers conducted research from various legitimate to support this research. The researcher methods did library studies and website searching, with using the theory Constructivism by Alexander Wendt and the concept of Gender Development. These research findings prove that the factors that influence Canada input gender aspect on TPSA are emerged by internal and external aspects. Based on the evidence collected that, internal factors that influence Canada's decision on input gender aspect in its assistance because gender equality is part of the shared value that underlies foreign policy and development cooperation in Canada. Meanwhile, for the external factors is because the condition of women in Indonesia still marginalized group and poor.*

**Keywords:** *Canada, Indonesia, TPSA, Gender Equality, Constructivism*

## Introduction

Canada-Indonesia diplomatic relations formally began when the two countries sign an agreement to open diplomatic mission in their respective capitals on October 9, 1952 (Canada-Indonesia Relations, 2019). However, relations between the two countries already started in 1948, during Indonesia's struggle to gain international recognition for its independence from its former colonial power in 1945. Canada also began to support economic development in Indonesia through the Colombo Plan during the 1950s (Webster, 2019). For thirty years between 1967 and 2007, Canada provided aid to Indonesia within the international coordination arrangements established under the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia and the Consultative Group in Indonesia.

As a development partner, Canada works closely with Indonesia to support sustainable economic growth and reduce poverty. Through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) which is Canada's lead agency for development assistance, Canada managed bilateral program for development assistance to Indonesia until it was folded into Global Affairs Canada. CIDA made Indonesia a major "country of concentration" for Canadian development cooperation, with Indonesia ranked as high as a second place among Canadian aid recipients in the 1980s. Moreover, Indonesia also the second-largest destination for Canadian direct investment in Southeast Asia, at a total stock of \$3.2B in 2018 (Canada-Indonesia Relations, 2019).

Data from the Indonesian Investment Coordinating Board shows Canadian investment in Indonesia for the period 2005 to 2011 consisting of 37 projects worth US\$ 157 million. The largest number of Canadian investment projects is on the island of Java, but the value of the largest dollar investment lies in Sulawesi. At first, the investment projects undertaken by Canada in Indonesia were solely to improve the economies of the two countries, but over time Canada began to enter their values have in any assistance or collaboration they make. One of them is to include gender aspects (Canada-Indonesia Relations, 2019).



Trade and investment cooperation between Canada and Indonesia initially did not focus too much on the gender aspect even though they had included these ideas. The idea to include gender aspects was initially seen in a project carried out by Canada, the Canadian Market Access, and Trade Capacity Building. The project ran from 2009 to 2013 which was carried out with five other countries such as Indonesia, Ecuador, Guyana, Burkina-Faso and also Haiti. In this project, one of the policymakers that involved is about gender equality. Despite the notion of gender equality, the project is still not focused on women but still in general. From the existence of the project, one of the results shows that the results of the development of trade capacity and link services provided to five partner countries, show that 39% of small or medium-sized enterprises led by women have increased sales or increased capacity to engage in trade (UNIDO, 2017)

Entering the era of globalization, the role of women is not only as a companion for men or just taking care of the household. Women in this globalization era must also socialize with the community and develop their careers. Problems that are often faced and cannot be separated from women such as the existence of ideology, structure, and culture. These three things are related in terms of establishing a condition that is not favorable for women (Djelantik, 2008). Women's role always become part of the person who is always marginalized and harmed, for the example according to United Nations reported that in 2015, just 50 percent world's working-age women are in the labor force, compared to 77 percent of working-age men (United Nations, 2015). From that issue, women often have a smaller portion to accessing job's rather than men. Unjust treatment for women happened that will influence women's rights and survival of women in the world. Hence, gender issue in this globalization era considered as a global concern.

As gender becomes a global concern, it also creates a developed country like Canada to overcome gender issue in international arena, especially in Indonesia. According to Canada, gender issues such as inequality can hinder the process of human development, economic

growth, and poverty reduction. Therefore, in responding to gender disparities in Indonesia, Canada will strongly committed to being at the forefront of efforts to empower women and promote gender equality. Indonesia is an area that plays an important role for Canada's interests. Moreover, Indonesia is also one of the countries that have a close relationship with Canada.

The Canada-Indonesia Trade and Private Sector Assistance (TPSA) is a five-year project, with CAD\$ 12 million initiatives funded by the Government of Canada through Global Affairs Canada (TPSA Project, 2014). The goal of TPSA is to support sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction in Indonesia through increased trade and trade-enabling investment between Indonesia and Canada. This assistance facilitate trade and investment for small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in Indonesia, with a focus on what is owned and operated by women. Hence, this article tries to analyze the factors that influence Canada's decision to input gender aspect on its Trade and Private Sector Assistance towards Indonesia during 2014-2019.

## **Research Methods**

This type of research used in this research is descriptive analysis nature. Descriptive research is a study that aims to obtain a picture of a certain time. The approach used in this research is a qualitative method by applying the methodology of international relations. The theoretical foundation is used as a guide so that the focus of research is on accordance with the facts in the field. Thus, in this context, the theoretical foundation is useful to provide a general description of the research background and as a material discussion of research results. Library research method is used by the authors in this research. Besides, the authors also collect sources from secondary data such as journals, books, articles, website, report, and newspaper. The authors decided to use this method because there are many supporting secondary sources regarding the topics.

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **Constructivism**

Constructivism starts from the basic assumption that everything is socially constructed (Wendt, 1999). The term of socially means that constructivists pay attention to social factors, which is contrary to the material, in world politics. While terminology 'constructed' means that constructivists understand the world as something that is constructed through an interactive process between agents (individuals, countries, non-state actors) with a wider environmental structure. Constructivism sees that aspects of ideas are more important than material aspects. It understands that identities and interests are determined by ideas that are built, rather than what they are (Wendt, 1999).

Wendt also argue that, shared idea or norm can be interpreted as mutual trust and can affect the behavior of a country. Besides, state identity and interest are an essential part in constructed by these social structures, rather than given exogenously to the system by human nature or domestic politics. For the constructivist, identity is the crucial plays a part in the interpersonal and international interactions which Wendt define identity as the "property of intentional actors that generates motivational and behavioral dispositions" and which is rooted in their "self-understanding." However, Wendt also emphasizes the self- understanding of the construction. It also depends on understanding and representation from other parties which will produce an intersubjective quality of identity. In other words, the ideas will become identities can enter if those held by the Self and those held by the other and the Identities are constituted by social construction in both internal and external structures (Wendt, 1999). To facilitate the discussion of the theory, we can see the simplified the constructivist approach below

**Figure 1. The Scheme of Constructivist Approach**



Source: Maxym (2003)

*Constructivist theoretical formulation claimed that shared idea or norm determines forms of the identity of the actor. Then, the identity will determine the interests of the actor, and the interests will determine a form of the behavior, actions, or policies from the actor. From the explanation above about constructivism theory, it is related to analyze the process of Canada input gender aspect on Trade and Private Sector Assistance (TPSA):*



Gender equality norms expect equal opportunity, rights, and responsibilities for women, girls, and boys. Gender equality norms constructed by the women movement in Canada and the international organization that has aimed to gender equality, achieve sustainable economic growth and stability. However, due to these gender equality norms, the form of Canada 's identity has been changed into a country that has a role as the global leader of gender equality and women empowerment. Global leader of gender equality and women empowerment means that emerging class of professionals that having the concern to support gender equality and empowering women in international. Then, Canada 's identity as the global leader of gender equality and women empowerment determines the interests of Canada 's government, which in turn guide state behavior, actions, or policies. In 2014, Canada's government declared to invest gender equality through Canada's development program. It means that Canadian aid program will deliver practical action to support gender equality and

women empowerment such as work with partner governments, civil society, and organization to advance gender equality priorities

## **Gender and Development**

Gender and development are a concept that has a relationship with each other. It can be seen with the definition development according Seers, development concept itself is an art in improving society in developing countries from poverty, low literacy rate, high unemployment rate and social injustice (Seers, 1969). Development is a social change process which aims to make social changes in various fields such as to generate per capita income and to improve society in social injustice. Related to condition, if we see in the development process in Indonesia is still uneven where the development process in Indonesia is only thinking in terms of infrastructure and economy. The development process in Indonesia also does not pay attention to the balanced sector in terms of gender balance between gender men and women. It can create inequality in the development process, where the most disadvantaged people in the development process are women, which is due to the common assumption of women which is women have not benefited from development processes, programs and women are very often not included in the part of planning or implementation of development.

Meanwhile, the concept of gender refers to the social construction on the role, behavior, activity, and appropriate attributes for men and women. Gender also contains expectations of values, what is considered good and bad for women and men and hopes for roles that can be played by women and men (Azizah, 2017). If we relate with the concept of gender that develops in Indonesia depicts that women only have minimal roles. It is mainly related to the reproductive role or domestic sector such as become a housewife. Often, women are excluded from the development program. Then, if we compared with the role of men where men have a broader role which for the men's role will be livelihood seeker and free to choose their own life (Ahdiah,

2013). Related to the issue, the concept of gender equality identifies that human being either women or men should have right to develop their personal abilities and choose without burden limitation which usually set by stereotypes, gender roles or prejudices. If it relates to women's condition in Indonesia seems still far to meet the definition of gender equality. As development's concept refers to social injustice and poverty reduction, it can decrease the unfortunate condition of some women in Indonesia. Therefore, between gender and development project both should be included in development projects that primarily for the condition of Indonesian society which still faces by high poverty problems and social injustice such as gender inequality.

## **Result and Discussion**

Canada is one of the countries that is currently aggressively promoting gender equality. This can be seen from the history of important events where Canada showed its commitment regarding these values. Canada's commitment to promoting gender equality is demonstrated by the empowerment of women and girls, and the promotion and protection of their human rights. This commitment is motivated by the idea that gender equality has a large role in the development of a country.

Gender equality contributes to long-term sustainable economic growth, social progress, sustainable development, and national, political, social, cultural, and economic development. Canada is committed to promoting Canada's core values through international development assistance, diplomatic advocacy and trade policies and services. Promoting gender equality is at the heart of Canadian international aid. All Canadian development policies and programs aim to empower women and Canada to implement specific projects to achieve this goal. Protecting and promoting the human rights of women and girls remains a priority of foreign policy.

Canada is a developed country that has provided development assistance to Indonesia since the 20th century. In the beginning,

Canadian assistance did not focus on gender aspects. However, in the Canadian Market Access and Trade Capacity Building project, Canada began to input gender aspects although it was not focused on women. Until finally a Canadian aid project was formed for Indonesia that focused on aspects of gender especially for women, namely Canada-Indonesia Trade and Private Sector Assistance (TPSA).

### **Internal and External Factor**

Constructivism can be used for analyzing the process of Canada input gender aspect on Trade and Private Sector Assistance (TPSA). It is related that, the constructivist theoretical formulation claimed that gender equality norm determines forms of the identity of Canada as a leader in public sector on gender equality (McCooey, 2017). Then, the identity itself determines the interests of Canada that want to create gender equality, sustainable economic growth, and stability which in turn will determine the forms of the behavior, actions, or policies of the actor. Finally, Canada invests gender through Canada-Indonesia Trade and Private Sector Assistance. Moreover, in the constructivist theoretical formulation, the crucial part of this theory is the state identity of Canada as a leader in public sector on gender equality that will generates motivational and behavioral dispositions to Indonesia. Therefore, the author makes a hypothesis that the internal factor of Canada decided to input gender aspect on assistance program to Indonesia during 2014-2019, because of gender equality is a part of the shared value that underlies foreign policy and development cooperation of Canada.

Canada is the developed country that has a role as the donor country to the developing countries such as Indonesia. TPSA provide by Canada focus on sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction in Indonesia. The factor that influences Canada's decision on this new foreign policy is because gender equality is part of the shared value that underlies foreign policy and international assistance of Canada. The shared value that underlies foreign policy and development cooperation

in Canada can be proven by several relevant Canadian foreign policies that always promote and support the concept of gender equality and women's empowerment in the foreign policy and international-assistance; here are some of these foreign policies: in 1970s Position of Minister responsible for the Status of Women was created, and then in 1980s CEDAW (Convention On The Elimination of All Forms Discrimination Against Women) ratified and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guaranteeing equal rights adopted.

In 1990s Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action adopted and commitment made to conducting GBA on all legislation, policies and programmes. Then, the Government of Canada adopted the Federal Plan for Gender Equality in 1995 as a response to the Beijing Platform for Action created at the Fourth World Conference on Women. The key commitment of the Federal Plan was to implement gender-based analysis throughout federal departments and agencies. 2000s Standing Committee on the Status of Women (FEWO) established at Parliament. 2015 Federal Government appointed first-ever gender parity Cabinet. 2016 Federal Government commits to gender-based analysis of budgetary measures in all future budgets. Conducting a gender-based analysis will provide key insights to achieve sustainable development results for gender equality (Advancing Gender Equality and Empowering Women and Girls, 2019).

Based on several foreign policies that have been attached by the authors above, it can be proof that gender equality is part of the shared value that underlies Canada's foreign policy, which can be seen from Canada's foreign policy that is very supportive in supporting gender equality and women empowerment in international arena. Foreign policy issued by Canada always promotes gender equality in various fields such as making gender equality ambassadors, input gender aspect as part of priorities on their aid policy, making gender equality funds, gender equality and women empowerment strategy, and also making gender equality a part of professional framework in international engagement. It can be proven that gender equality and the empowerment



of women and girls are at the heart of Canada's international-assistance and foreign-policy efforts (TPSA & AKATIGA, 2018).

Meanwhile, the external factor that influences Canada's decision to inputs gender aspect on development assistance through TPSA toward Indonesia from 2014 until 2019 is because women in Indonesia are the poorest and marginalized group. Based on that nominal poverty line, the percentage of poor people in Indonesia is 9.41% of the total population (World Bank, 2019). This means that around 25.9 million people live below the poverty line (Sunarta, 2019). If we see in the definition of development is a concept that will explain an effort of some country to overcome and creating social change in the many aspects such as social injustice, poverty, and unemployment. However, the relation between women and development is related to each other which poverty becomes the main issue in the development and women in Indonesia are the poorest and marginalized group. Hence, women issue should become the concern in development because women closely as the important element in achieving the success of the development. The basic way to measure how successful a country in implementing development program especially that focuses on women is through the Human Development Index (HDI). The table below will show data about Human Development Index between men and women in Indonesia since the 2014-2019:

**Table 1. Human Development Index in Indonesia (2014-2019)**

Men						Women					
2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
73.36	73.58	74.26	74.85	75.43	75.96	66.27	66.98	67.44	68.08	68.63	69.18

*Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (2019).*

The table above shows that from 2014-2019, the percentage of the Human Development Index (HDI) in Indonesia between men and women has increased from year to year. However, the index of women is still lower than the index of men even though from 2014 to 2019

the index is always increased. Index of men that higher than women can be considered the achievement of human development of men already meets the target. Unfortunately, the index of women always shows the lower index in the last five years. HDI can be used to measure the achievement of human development namely developed countries, developing countries, and underdeveloped countries. However, the HDI cannot identify the achievement of human development according to gender difference. UNDP introduced tools to measure the gender development of a country, namely Gender Development Index (Bangun, 2016). Gender Development Index (GDI) is the achievement of human development based on gender-related to health, education, and welfare. GDI known as the index of human development to pay attention to the aspect of the gender of a country. GDI is used to measure the gender achievement of dimensions and indicators similar with HDI, but it is used to measure the HDI of women and men (Bangun, 2016). GDI aims to determine the gap between women's development and men's development in efforts to build the quality of human life. Gender equality is achieved when the GDI value is equal to the HDI. The table below will show data about Gender Development Index in Indonesia since the 2014-2019:

**Table 2. Gender Development Index in Indonesia**

Gender Development Index	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
	90.34	91.03	90.82	90.96	90.99	91.07

*Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (2019)*

The table above shows that from 2014-2019, the percentage of the Human Development Index (HDI) in Indonesia between men and women has increased from year to year. However, the index of women is still lower than the index of men even though from 2014 to 2019 the index is always increased. Index of men that higher than women can be considered the achievement of human development of men already meets the target. Unfortunately, the index of women always

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Gender Development Index	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
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*Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (2019)*

Based on the table above, table 2 shows that the GDI in Indonesia since 2014-2019 considered high. As we can see, the GDI from 2014 to 2019 increased which can be said the gap between men and women still exist, even though the GDI between 2015 and 2016 was decreased. The latest data above shows the GDI in 2019 holds the highest percentage that gets 91.07. From both tables, either HDI or GDI can be concluded that until 2019 the problem of development inequalities between men and women is still ongoing in Indonesia. Based on HDI and GDI data that have been attached by the author, the index of women always low. Therefore, to support and prove data that women in Indonesia are suitable targets to get gender-based development assistance through

TPSA from Canada, the author will provide some data that will discuss that women in Indonesia are still marginalized and poor in Indonesia, especially in the employment sector.

The Gender Development Index in the employment sector will always be comparable to men and women in the labor force. Based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, the labor force participation rate in Indonesia is still dominated by men with 83.18% participation (Jayani, 2019). Meanwhile, the female labor force participation rate is only 55.5%. On an annual basis, male labor force participation increased by 0.17%, while women only edged up by 0.06%. In addition, it is estimated that only 23% of Micro Small Enterprises (SMEs) in Indonesia are owned by women. The lack of representation of women as entrepreneurs in Indonesia is caused by various factors, one of which is because there are still gaps between men and women. Several data above already prove that the condition of women in Indonesia still marginalized and poor. It can be seen in HDI that women's have lower percentage and the percentage of HDI and GDI still create inequality. Beside of that, it also can be seen social injustice against women still arise from the employment sector. Therefore, through Trade and Private Sector Assistance provided by Canada it is very relevant to be implemented in Indonesia, where the purpose of TPSA itself is to support sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction in Indonesia through increased investment for small and medium enterprises (SMEs).

## **Conclusion**

Canada's decision to inputs gender aspect on its assistance to Indonesia from 2014 until 2019 through Trade and Private Sector Assistance (TPSA) is influenced by two factors such as internal and external factors. Internal factor that influence Canada's decision to input gender aspect on TPSA toward Indonesia because gender equality is a part of shared value that underlies foreign policy and development cooperation. As a country that is promoting gender

equality, Canada always prioritizing gender equality and women's empowerment in its foreign policy. Meanwhile, the external factor that influence Canada's decision caused by the conditions of women in Indonesia is still marginalized and poor. It is related that, the data on Human Development Index (HDI), the percentage of women still low. Besides that, it can also be proven by a development program that women often marginalized especially in employment sector. Therefore, through Trade and Private Sector Assistance provided by Canada it is very relevant to be implemented in Indonesia, where the purpose of TPSA itself is to support sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction in Indonesia.

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# ISLAM IN GLOBAL CHALLENGE: DEALING WITH THE EFFECT OF DISTORTION OF THE IMAGE OF ISLAM BY GLOBAL MEDIA

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## **Abstract**

*The 21st global era is beginning with distortion image of Islamic and Moslem communities across the world. This occur and causes by the event of September 11 in 2001, thus it became a milestone in which global media constructive abundant bad images about Islam. In international relations studies, we knew about the power of global media can stir global public opinion with negative images, depends on the interest or agenda setting from Western global media corporation such as BBC, CNN and even Al-Jazeera itself. This paper aims to provide an overview, comparison, and evaluation of the negative effect of global media framing during post-Arab Spring movement in 2010-2015. This paper uses qualitative based research method through the analysis of several literatures and theoretical approach related to topic about global media security and Islamophobia. Authors found that Islamic communities feel wrongly and influenced by distortion images caused by several tactics used by the detractors of Islam and its symbols through global media corporation in*

*which proposes an appropriate response for dealing with the challenge posed by the global media.*

*Keywords: Global Media, Islamic Communities, Media Agenda Setting*

## **Introduction**

This paper aims to identify the nature of current global media campaign aiming at the distortion image of Islamic communities. Also, in this paper will identifies several tactics used by the detractors of Islam and its symbols and proposes some appropriate response for dealing with the challenge posed by the global media. After September 11th and post Arab Spring era, many of Western media corporation framed such a bad images about Islamic communities, not only the Islamic communities in pan Arabic countries, but additionally, its effect developed some bad images of Islamic communities across the world. These images produced by Western media and its campaign to distort the image of Islam endeavors to equate Islam with extremist people like terrorist and showing a bad picture of Islam as religion based on violence, harm and jeopardize other communities.

In this paper, authors use qualitative based research methods by analyzing and identifying literatures from books, journals, newspapers, articles related to the topic global media and Islamic communities. However, during this research, authors also use theoretical approach in international relations theories such as: 1) Neorealism, the perspectives of Hans J. Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz are useful to know the definitions of “international actors” which can shape the actor’s ideological thinking in terms of global media; 2) Public Sphere from Jurgen Habermas, are useful to know the concept of media framing and the danger of Western approach towards negative images of Islamic communities; 3) Non-Western approach from Amitav Acharya concept of global making order in international relations (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1948).

Authors argue, it is a contention that the media campaign against Islamic communities is based on politically motivated, also led by powerful quarters in the Western society, who sees in Islam a potential global power and civilizational alternative capable of challenging Western hegemony. In conclusion, this paper aims to understand the hatred agenda setting created by the global media corporation and influencing by some international actors.

### **The Impact of Global ‘Media’ Order towards Islamic Communities**

This part of the paper describing as well identifying the imminent factors and underlining the tactics used by the global ‘media’ order to justify and make a bad image of Islamic Communities. This part also contains theoretical based approach in order to understanding the important actors in international relations, and how global media as liberal institutions produce norms and power to reproduce that values as stated before.

In international relations studies, if we discussed about the global order, our perspectives always directed from Western approach. It is caused by many materials, sources as well as perspectives derived from Western’s intellectuals, theorists as well political actors such as we knew both Realism and Neorealism approach after we read, Hans J. Morgenthau and Kenneth W. Thompson’s, *Politics Among Nation* book in 1948 and Kenneth Waltz or John Mearsheimer that has written their famous books, *Theory of International Politics* in 1979 and *Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities* in 2018 respectively (Waltz, 1959, 1979). All theorist leads into different approach from the creation of global order. The first concept authors argue about the global order and its relationship with power come from Professor Morgenthau’s argument about power of the state could derived from individual capabilities whom trying to be international actors through his political agenda setting. These kinds of actor’s can implement his/her political action by becoming leader of his/her nation.

In other way, the global order in international relations can be understanding by simple definition is both structural systems and institutions in which created from hegemonic state in order to control its member and spread specific norms. Nevertheless, authors argue that the concept of international systems derived from Kenneth Waltz is similar with the creation of global order in broad terms and specific terms in which this paper focusing about in global media order. Therefore, in understanding the global order we also can take a look in individual or actor we should say in international relations, whom power can control everybody in his/her political action in order to make a specific agenda setting.

This political action often discussed in world politics area. Also toward this actor often claimed that the development of the hegemonic state dictates the very structure of international politics and determines the pattern of relations that we understand today. This reason is because, first, the actors in world politics are sovereign then international relations must be anarchical. Second, the essential anarchy of a system of sovereign states led to the sincere belief that the study of international relations was, at its very core, distinct from the study of domestic politics. In where the domestic politics was taken to be the study of the institutions of international governance, and especially in global media terms, is also related to the study of power politics (Sutch & Elias, 2007).

These perspectives are useful when we discussed about the nature of global media nowadays that could construct the global opinion through its power and agenda setting. It is simply because the actors in global media is also considered as international actors and they gain their power from state-centric point of view after become a leader of their nations or becoming a powerful businessman who runs the global media. This view is also stated by Martin Wight (1995) in which he wrote:

It has the merit of pointing to a central truth about international relations, even if it gets certain other things out of focus. For, whatever

else it may suggest, “power politics” suggest the relationship between independent powers, and we take such a state of affairs for granted. It implies two conditions. First, their independent political units acknowledging no political superior, and claiming to be ‘sovereign’; and secondly, there are continuous and organized relations between them. This is the modern states-system. We have independent units, which we call states, nations, countries or powers, and we have a highly organized system of continuous relations between them, political and economic, diplomacy and commerce, now peace, now war (Wight 1995: 23, original emphasis).

Therefore, Professor Martin Wight suggesting that international relations are defined by several core features that characterize the modern-states system. According to Wight, the sovereign state can be defined in very loose terms as a territorially defined political society that recognized (and recognition is a formal or legal act), as being solely responsible for the governance of that territory and, on the international stage, as independent from any political or religious superior (Wight, 1991). Based on this concept the Western society does not honor the Pan Arabic’s sovereignty by invading by forces and militaristic ways (hard power) or diplomatic and propagandistic ways (soft power) against Pan Arabic country – nota bene the majority of the people are Moslem.

In addition, the concept of sovereignty is also a political doctrine that captures the ideas of freedom, independence and self-determination that are primary claims of existing states and the major aspiration of many subnational, cultural, ethnic and religious groups who are subsumed in the territory of existing states. It is simply because the key actors in international politics are taken to be the sovereign the pattern of relations between them is necessarily anarchical or without hierarchical political structures.

Our subject here – in terms of international politics and its agenda setting – related to the businessmen who runs the major companies of global media such as: 1) CNN (Cable News Networks) is an infamous

worldwide news companies under the WarnerMedia News & Sport, CNN founded by Robert Edward “Ted” Turner III in 1978, and now runs by Jeffrey Adam Zucker as Chairman of WarnerMedia News & Sport (Haupt, 2006); 2) BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) is also big industries in media sector, BBC founded by John Charles Walsham Reith in October, 18, 1922, and runs by Tony Hall since 2013–now (Hajikowski, 2010). As a matter of fact, there are many Western media companies in the world, however authors specifically only mention CNN and BBC as two big major global ‘media’ order in which has strong influence in directing people opinion in global scale.

Therefore, our attempt and endeavor to understand the root causes of Islamophobia and the efforts to distort its image must begin by identifying the relationship between Islam and emerging realities on the ground. Thus, the campaign against Islam is a conscious and deliberate effort by the establishment of global order in order to discredit a universal belief system which has been presenting itself as a civilizational alternative compare with Western secularism, and to undermine a historical movement in which, as its critics admit, has the potential to challenge Western Global Order power – or worst, become a new global power, replacing the Western hemisphere.

The recent Western interest in Islam dates to the mid-seventies when an increasing segment of Moslem communities and societies began to pursue with an enhanced activism of the ideal of establishing a truly Islamic society and state. The powerful resurgence of Islamic ideas and practices was felt at all levels of society, including the educated and well-to-do, norms, habits, symbols, customs, and took various forms on it, in addition also including intellectual and political.

One of the factors this even can occur it is because the modernization patterns. This development came as a surprise to many Western scholars and policy makers, who had declared about the triumph of Western liberalism and the demise of Islam in the Moslem world. This became the propagandistic ways created by global media

across the world. And in this paper, authors will be identifying what is the factor of labelling 'Islamophobia' by global media and addressed to Islamic Communities. However, prior to that, Daniel Lerner has made the following assessment of the place of Islam in the Middle Eastern society in his well-known work, *The Passing of Traditional Society*, in which authors will cite as follows:

... whether from East or West, modernization poses the same basic challenge – the infusion of “a rationalist and positivist spirit” against which scholars seem agreed, “Islam is absolutely defenseless”. The phasing and modality of the process have changed, however, in the past decade. Where Europeanization once penetrated only the upper level of Middle East society, affecting mainly leisure-class fashions, modernization today diffuses among a wider population and touches public institutions as well as private aspirations with its disquieting “positivist spirit” (Lerner, 1958).

By late eighties, the Western perception of Islam took a drastically different form changing from traditionally approach into contemporary one. With the spread of Islamic reassertiveness eastward and westward, within and beyond the Moslem society – a phenomenon occurs often referred to as Islamic resurgence – many eminent scholars in the West began to view Islam not as only a “dying creed” of purely historical significance, but also as a formidable force. In which has a potential threat to the global hegemony of the West.

The supporter of this view comes from Professor Francis Fukuyama. Dr. Fukuyama has stated in his well-known book, *The End of History, and the Last Man*, according to him, Islamic communities is already challenging the Western hemisphere as follows:

It is true that Islam constitutes a systematic and coherent ideology, just like liberalism and communism, with its own code of morality and doctrine of political and social justice. The appeal of Islam is potentially

universal, reaching out to all men as men, and not just to members of a particular ethnic or national group. And Islam has indeed defeated liberal democracy in many parts of the Islamic world, posing a grave threat to liberal practices even in countries where it has not achieved political power directly. The end of the Cold War in Europe was followed immediately by a challenge to the West from Iraq, in which Islam was arguably a factor (Fukuyama, 2006).

Whilst Dr. Fukuyama stated about the very-well-known concept about “liberalism institutionalism” our perception led into global ‘media’ order, to be specific, global media corporation. Global media corporation is one of the basic institutions that produce power and norms through capitalism idea. We knew very well, the tactics underlining the above strategy of Western media through propagandistic towards Islamic communities. Therefore, it is important to point out the reciprocal relationship between media – reporting and foreign policy making.

The significance of the actions undertaken by media reporters and foreign policy actors resided at in the fact that they reinforce one another. It can be leading to constant and continuous escalation in the confrontation between Islam and the West. In other word, the media elite and reporter have a significance agenda setting by using methods of discourse and framing the truth from public who consume the news on media. For instance, Islamic communities in Pan Arabic countries tends to support dictators’ leaders and his/her regime. This will shape the Western policymakers create the conducive to “political radicalism”, as the suppressive measures of the state push and make a labeling to certain Islamist groups as a group of violence. On the other hand, by concentrating on radical groups, and presenting them as the representative’s par excellence of contemporary Islamic resurgence. Media reporters will use this pattern and reinforce the fears of policy makers in Western hemisphere as well as encourage them to put a label of threat towards Islamic communities in Pan Arabic countries.



## **Global Media Coverage and Distortion of Image**

This part of paper discovers and analyze the distortion images caused by global media interpretation towards Moslem communities. Even though it is general, but authors need to rise some examples of Moslem communities, hence we can narrow down Moslem communities such as in America and several countries in Pan-Arabic regions. In addition, this part also shows the negative images using by movies industries depicted the Middle East people with bad images in several media such as in global media and films (cinematography).

Whilst during the post September 11 (9/11), became a turning point and gave massive impact on negative perspectives toward Moslem communities across the world. As we know, in 2001's September attacks initiated by groups of radical movements and proclaims they were Islamic radical from Al Qaeda. Prior to September 11 attack, global societies knew very well about the Al Qaeda group were defined among terrorist group situated in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, authors did not want to explain further about Al Qaeda, but most importantly this paper focusing on how Al Qaeda created the massive wave of hatred toward Moslem communities (Ottaway, 2013). And also, before we discuss further about the specific media agenda setting and post Arab Spring movement, I would like to propose one concept which is the public sphere concept.

Public Sphere concept was originally articulated by the German sociologist Jurgen Habermas in his infamous book, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Calhoum, 1992). On a basic level, Habermas explored how and when collective arguments and exchanges could become the basis for political action. One of the examples of public sphere according to Habermas, dated back to nineteenth century Germany, when the country's government changed from monarchy to democracy. During that transition, a new norm of public debate emerged among middle class individuals, which formed a mediating zone between the private individual and the state (Crossley et al., 2004).

According to Habermas, this new model promotes new factors and reproduce new social standing and money ceased to be the determining factors in those interest won out (as had been the case under the monarchy). For the most part, I rely on Habermas for his original conceptions of the divisions between governmental, private, and public, as well as his overall conclusion concerning the public sphere and civic culture. However, exclusion in the Habermasian public should also kept in mind when discussing the entry of Muslim voices into non-Muslim dominated Western public sphere.

Therefore, in terms of public sphere, the Western and non-Western (Moslems communities) clashed at one and another. They tend to create and provide a space for dialogue, for the purpose of spreading certain agenda setting, and for citizens to respond to the actions of the state, and for the transparency of government action. As stated earlier, these uses of the public sphere have become especially important for the Muslim community after the September 11th attacks, as they deal with issues like illegal detentions, passport delays and racial profiling. At the same time, Muslims are also affected by their fellow citizens' resistance to their participation in civil society.

Sadly, Western society tend to try or effort to do something bad toward Muslim's image. Authors found in many academic journals to internet blogs or social media, it decries the idea of Muslims in civil society either at home or abroad and say that Islam and democracy are incompatible. These dangerous perspectives rely on one of the numerous stereotypes of Muslims, thus labelling then condemning them with violence, extremist, radicalistic, fanatical, and faithless. Often, these stereotypes rely on double standards on them (Gottschalk & Greenberg, 2008).

One of the supporter of this view, and it relations with global media, authors agree with Shirley R. Steinberg perspective in her journal, Islamophobia: The Viewed and the Viewers.<sup>16</sup> In her article, she wrote and rises a strong question, "how very easy it was to hate Arabs, to hate Muslims". What does makes more interesting as well as

relating about Steinberg's article is that, she points out a tragedy that happen in Oklahoma City upon which in April 1995 there was a bomb explosion, that bomb had destroyed a federal building in that city. All the reports from the radio, TV, and newspapers indicated that Arabic terrorist groups had planned the mass attack. Hours later, a white man was in custody. No apology was offered to the previously identified, supposed perpetrators of Islam (Steinberg, 2010).

The attacks clearly perpetrated by Timothy McVeigh. McVeigh was a United States of America citizen, specifically, Oklahoma resident and identified as "white man" and was a devout Roman Catholics (Dave, 2001). After the attack, some Arab Americans complained about the erroneous accusation, however the news quickly moved on to the unfolding Timothy McVeigh story. Upon reflection, Steinberg stated that she did not recall any attempt by American citizens to spit upon Irish Catholics (McVeigh's background), attack McVeigh's hometown, or pull over white men of 30 who resembled the lanky terrorist (Steinberg, 2010). As Steinberg stated after McVeigh tragedy and related to September 11th:

"By the time, the first plane hit in lower Manhattan that Tuesday in September, many Americans' cultural curricula had been imprinted and validated. I believe that was why it was so easy to hate Arabs and Muslims. Naturally, we would be able to hate terrorists, but McVeigh was a terrorist, and our hatred and outrage were limited only to him, not his entire culture, religion, state or his community (Steinberg, 2010).

As we did mention above, Timothy McVeigh's story was one of the cases that reproduce the Islamic norms in Western societies. Another case comes from the area of cinematography or movies industries of films. Authors mainly argue that many of films depicted wrong about Islam – Muslim communities, Arabs, and Middle East people.

East is East is BBC-produced and deals with a lower-middle class Pakistani man who marries a British woman. He insists on being a

traditional Muslim, and his wife respects that – if her husband does not catch the children carrying the statue of Jesus during the Easter Parade. As the children are proudly marching in the parade, someone warn them that their father is approaching. They toss the religious statues to other people, peel off their costumes, and dash home to be there before their father opens the door (Steinberg, 2010).

The father is depicted as stupid for not catching on, and the family continues the ruse, being Muslim to their father, but really being Christians. And, in this film also depicted they are furious when he insists, they go to a school to learn the Qur'an. After various defeats, a broken man, he begins to beat his wife and children. Once again, cinematography plays an important role as the camera angles began to change; as the father gets meaner, his character is filmed from below the nostrils of his huge, sweating, bulbous nose – he also had yellowed, crooked teeth. Within an hour of the film, he transforms from a princely, kindly father and husband (in both appearance and context) to an evil fool (Steinberg, 2010).

When the authors trying to research about the actors, surprisingly, the actors – most of whom were South Asian – agreed that the film was an important document of immigration and acculturation into British society. None of them even alluded to the racist, Islamophobic depictions of Pakistanis and Muslims.

The other cinematography and infamous Hollywood movies about “tomb raider” we can look in two of the Indiana Jones films, Indiana Jones and the Raiders of the Lost Ark and Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade (Spielberg, 1981, 1989). Global audiences is well-known the character of Indiana Jones portrayed by Harrison Ford depicted as “white man”, son of rich Baron in England, and have a profession both as lecturer and tomb raider. But once again the Western societies seems acceptable and have no problem about the profession tomb raider in which Indiana robbed an artefact of “somebody” culture and heritage.

More importantly, both of films are set in the Middle East, Indiana is accompanied by his Egyptian pal who fears that Indy's ideas are

dangerous and will create anger from Allah. He attempts to convince Indiana that he is not stupid: “even in this part of the world we are not entirely uncivilized.” We can see from this setting that Middle East people are depicted as a poor people in terms of ideologies and more belief in superstitious than a rational thinking.

Through the depiction of global media, as we understand, global media could stir a global public opinion that led into Islamophobia ideology and the creation of bad images towards Islamic communities. That also this is one the agenda setting of the Western media. On the next part of this paper, authors will give some brief strategies to counterattack the stereotype produced by Western media.

### **Refurbish the Image of “Bad” into “Good”**

In this final part of the paper contains some appropriate strategy to counter the Western media that depicted bad images of Moslem communities through social media platform. While overwhelming coverage of Islam and Muslims is of the distorted type, as we pointed above, one can still find every now and then some objective reporting. Hence, importantly, we can somehow analyze the inadequacy of most of Moslem response towards global Media. The question, however, is how are Muslims across the world responding to global challenges?

However, authors found, we must admit it that the Moslem response to media distortion of Islam is, for the most part, still meagre and ineffective. This causes by most of media corporations nowadays controlled by powerful international actors that manifest the “white supremacy” ideology. For beyond, the few publications which normally circulate among small groups of people who are already committed to the cause of Islam, one can hardly speak of Moslem mass media.

The challenge posed by the global media is already “hurting” the images of Islam and tremendous also quite serious. Nothing can be more devastating to the image of a religion distinguished by its tolerant and liberating spirit than being reduced to the categories of “terrorism” and “fanatism”.

While developing an appropriate strategy it requires extensive discussion and debate among the Moslem countries' leader, in Jazeera Arab, or they should have a meeting in bigger international forum such OIC (Organization of Islamic Cooperation). Through this implementation, Moslem countries leader can discuss more on this matter and considered this is not a "threat" but as a "challenge" – Moslem countries also can be using this as "double standards" concept. Towards Al Jazeera news station or social media platforms, Moslem communities could promote good values of Islam and therefore that it can maneuvers the bad images already depicted by Western media.

One method and it can be using as propagandistic in soft way is the method of da'wah. The term used by committed Moslems about the various activities which aim at exposing people to Islam and promoting Islamic beliefs and values is through da'wah. The method of da'wah that is widely discussed and is accepted for passing on true Islamic virtues and values as well as beliefs respectively is the personal interactions between the transmitter of the Islamic message and its recipients. This model has been practiced since Prophet Muhammad SAW (peace be on him) among harsh condition of his people . Thus authors writes:

Da'wa is not an occupation to be undertaken by any professional group, neither is it a contingent or part time activity nor one undertaken in reaction to Christian missions or communist onslaughts. Da'wa is the responsibility of every Moslem, whether a ruler or ruled, a leader or follower, a scholar or student, a sufi or soldier, a trader or farmer, wealthy or poor, a man or a woman, living in the East or the West, North or South. No one has a greater or lesser responsibility among Daiya, those who undertake da'wa, and no one can (shrink), postpone or evade this responsibility under any circumstances.

The above argument, which represents is compulsory in every Moslem to practice Da'wa with tendency to find peace through discourse method. Da'wa can be widely accepted view, as well as promoting the goodness of Moslem people of their character and attitude, and the nobility of their actions. On the one hand, also promoting Islam

through planned action undertaken by professionally trained Moslems such as politicians and media actors.

This method can be used as a “wall” toward Moslem communities. It also can prevent the agenda setting set by Western media that have very negative attitudes towards Islam, moreover Muslims in general and Muslims among Western societies (Wike & Grim, 2010).

Dislike of Muslims is largely correlated with feelings of fear and threat, among other factors such as gender, equality, and environmental damage and even in war. These are feelings that can be effectively used to achieve political agendas and goals such as restricting the civil rights and liberties of Muslim minorities and undermining Muslim candidates and other public figures.

In this paper authors may develop an appropriate strategy. However, it requires more extensive discussion and debate among concerned Muslims, and the contribution of various Muslims scholars and leader in global scale, especially in Indonesia. We would like to present the following three strategic points for responding to the global media challenge.

1. Promotes good values and views of Islam through da’wa activities and involve interfaith leaders in Catholic, Protestant, Buddhist, Hindu, Orthodox, etc. in global forum scale. Hopefully it can promote such as the peace value or salām () among other religions and faiths as well as other goodness concept of Islam such as keeping of trust (amana), alms and altruism (zakat), patience (al-sabr), companion and global friendship (sahabah), and many other of Islamic philosophy (falsafah) into Western perception.

In this regard, it should also be borne in mind that global media needs some entertainment that is able to direct the public opinion of audience, especially it can be amuse those people who hate Islam. So, for most people entertainment is something required and sought, and hence entertainment programmes should be used to convey the noble message of Islam across the globe.

2. For the above reason, professional mass-media organizations should be established to promote the noble values of Islam, and to present more equitable views of Muslim aspirations and practices.

In order to meet the global challenge by such media, our inability to conceptualize Islam media and dealing with public is derived from information technologies in which our uncritical commitment to our theories about Islam world. This requires that Muslim media agencies employ all sorts of arts and technology available to reach out to the widest audience possible, and to carry the concerns of humanity at large, rather than the concerns of a small group of ideologically people.

3. Media organizations needs to operate Standard Operate Procedure (SOP) in the manner proposed above, and they would require highly trained personnel who have acquired technical skills and artistic talents. For this matter, the contribution of technical schools and institutions of higher learning is very crucial.

For instance, in Indonesia, university like Muhammadiyah University Yogyakarta (UMY) is the importance institution that can carry the burden of developing academics programmes and curricula that would ensure integration of Islamic knowledge and technical skill, so as to ultimately produce Islam's academics, journalists, playwrights, script, writers, actors, singers, documentary, producers, and communicators who combine skills and artistic talents with Islamic commitments and aspirations.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion in this paper, it may be very hard to refurbish the bad image into good image of Islam. However, distortion of the image of Islam, as authors tried to show, stems the fact that Islam is seen by powerful interest groups as a challenger to the established of global order. To check the expansion of Islamic appeal and to mobilize public opinion against its symbols, Islam must be presented as a negative force, leading to oppression and violence. Therefore, it is the duty of



all Muslims to see to it that the true nature of Islam as the religion of reason, tolerance, and justice reaches out the heart of the people all over the world.

Combating distortion and restoring true image of Islam is by no means an easy task. It requires full cooperation among Muslim organizations and institutions of higher learning to enable the pooling of resources. It also requires the development of technological and artistic skills. Most important of all, it requires a profound change in the prevailing attitudes and practices concerning the use of arts and technology for the promotion of Islam, and the development appropriate strategies for confronting its detractors.

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# INDONESIA GREEN ECONOMY IMPLEMENTATION READINESS: CASE STUDY GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS REDUCTION

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## **Abstract**

*After Earth Summit in 2012, UNEP proposes a new concept to combating Global warming and Climate Change through economy activities. This concept called “Green Economy”. UNEP as a major actor in environmental global governance give support and encourages countries to implement it. As a result, the green economy becomes a prominent theme for politicians, scientists, activists, and businessmen. Green Economy firmly established as international policy agenda and linkages with sustainable development. Indonesia as a developing country seems to grasp this opportunity by implementing a green economy on their national policy. The aims of this paper are to know how Indonesia arrangements to implement Green Economy and it is a challenge. By using content analysis, we will analyze the preparations from the Indonesian Government from academic lens.*

**Keywords:** *green economy, UNEP, environment, greenhouse emission, SDG, global governance*

## Introduction

Humanity facing with profound environmental crises. Global warming widely knowing as a threat to humanity. Other environmental crises potentially threatening the continuity of human life. This include with the depletion of water reserves, ocean, acidification, loss of biodiversity and reduction of soil fertility. At the same time, there are social and economic challenges that arise. People want to have decent lives, and poverty is still widespread in many countries. This becomes a dual challenge. First, to pursue economic development and a decent life for the people and second to keep resource consumption and pollution in the level that does not give harm to Earth.

The first concept between development and environmental coined by United Nation Environment Program (UNEP) in Nairobi 1982 (Indarti Komala Dewi, Rachman Kurniawan, et al., 2013). Development should become a medium to preserve environmental protection. During 1989, term of Green Economy used for report to the Government of United Kingdom. This report entitled Blueprint for a Green Economy (Pearce, D., Markandya, A., Barbier, 1989). This report purpose to advise the UK Government if there was a consensus definition to the term “sustainable development” and the implications of sustainable development for the measurement of economic progress and the appraisal of projects and policies. On this report, they said that economics can and should give aid of environmental policy, this message extended to global problem such as climate change, ozone depletion, tropical deforestation, and resource loss in the developing world(Allen & Clouth, 2012).

In October 2008, UNEP launched Green Economy initiative to provide analysis and policy support for investment in green sectors. In April 2009, UNEP commissioned report entitled a Global Green New Deal (GGND). This report proposed a mix of policy actions that will stimulate economic recovery and at the same time will improve the sustainability of the world economy. GGND called on



government to allocate a significant share of stimulus funding to green sectors and to focused on three objectives: (i) economic recovery, (ii) poverty eradication and (iii) reduced carbon emissions and ecosystem degradation (UNEMG, 2011).

In February 2010, Ministers and Heads of Delegation of UNEP attended Global Ministerial Environment Forum in Nusa Dua, Bali. This forum acknowledged the Green Economy concept can significantly address current challenges and deliver development opportunities and multiple benefit for all nations. During this forum as well, UNEP was asked to become leading role in further defining and promoting the concept and brings Green Economy concept into UN Conference on Sustainable Development in 2012 (Rio+20) (Allen & Clouth, 2012).

UNEP defines Green Economy as one that results in improved human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risk and ecological scarcities. In other words, Green Economy is a low carbon, resource-efficient, and socially inclusive. In a green economy, growth in income and employment are driven by public and private investments that reduce carbon emissions and pollution, enhance energy, and resource efficiency, and prevent the loss of biodiversity and ecosystem services (UNEP, 2011).

#### Indonesia Towards Green Economy

Transition Indonesia to Green Economy coined in 2007. In December 2007, Indonesia hosted the 13<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Bali. During these events, President of Indonesia launched the National Action Plan for Climate Change. This action will be focused on intra-governmental coordination, and other areas of technical assistance, outreach, and capacity building. The National Council of Government of Indonesia (GOI) has engaged with external partners and key stakeholders, including Ministry of Finance Indonesia to maintain climate change adaptation and mitigation issues, including low carbon development (The World Bank, 2008).

The key aim for a transition to a Green Economy is to enable economic growth and investment while increasing environmental quality and social inclusiveness. The main indicators of economic performance, using such as growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) that need to be adjusted to account for pollution, resource depletion, declining ecosystem services and the distributional consequences of natural capital loss to the poor (UNEP, 2011).

The implementation of a national Green Economy strategy in each country can be varied according to its needs. Indonesia's interest in applying Green Economy can be reflected by a policy that supports towards four development goals (pro-growth, pro-jobs, pro-poor, pro-environment). Trough Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (Bappenas) / National Development Planning Agency Republic of Indonesia, Green Economy applied into a program that support SDG. (Bappenas, 2012) mentioned 11 sectors that correlated with Green Economy, they are:

1. Agriculture

Agriculture is an important sector that plays in Green Economy. This sector produces sources needed for food. This sector also provides the most jobs needed for combating unemployment and poverty.

2. Building

Buildings are an important part of providing public space, private, office and households. The numbers of buildings increase along with population growth in a country. Buildings also consuming energy, that's why design for green building are needed to support Green Economy.

3. Urban

In line with the growth of buildings, the development of the urban sector is needed. Urban development trends, not only demand land for providing spaces for building construction, but they also need water. Where is not planed properly, it will cause

disrupt the existence and survival its habitants. Urban development also demands an increment of transportation, energy consumption and other infrastructure. In addition, with the growth of middle class. Urban development continues to be demanded.

#### 4. Energy

With the growth of world population which is more than 7 billion. The energy demand for both consumption commodities and living facilities continues to increase. This action will encourage to search and use of energy from various sources, such as renewable and non-renewable energy sources.

#### 5. Fishery

As one source of food and with the increase of the population then demand for food supply will increase as well. These sources should be maintained properly by process fishery that suitable for the environment such as maximum sustainable yield and using sustainable fishing methods by restocking efforts and maintenance of marine ecosystems.

#### 6. Forestry

In terms of a Green Economy, the forest becomes an irreplaceable place. To maintain the balance of ecosystem and biodiversity within it. Forest seen as guardians of water resources as well have functioned as conservation for flora and fauna. The forest becomes an essential part determining the value of the Green Economy, including how to formulate carbon commodities that can be transacted in the future.

#### 7. Manufacturing Industry

In line with Increase population and living needs, it will drive the needs of the manufacturing industry. In addition, the need for raw materials for the manufacturing industry will be escalated. For sure, it will cause pollution that affects the environment. There is should be a way to develop a manufacturing industry that uses natural resources more efficiently.

## 8. Tourism

So far, tourism aspect should be managed well. Tourism has many opportunities that can be managed and grown as component of Green Economy. Nature and its ecosystem become source of wealth that will become an attraction for tourism.

## 9. Transportation

Transportation becomes an essential part of the infrastructure in the Green Economy. The growth of population and increase of population mobility require huge of number transportation services. For example, tourism and other production sectors require an efficient and clean transportation system. Transportation systems must be managed well and in accordance with environmental ecosystem sustainability.

## 10. Waste

Mostly sector development on the above will have implications for creating waste production. Management and regulation of waste expenditure need to be determined from the beginning. It will help to calculate management costs and usage of natural resources efficiently and economically, especially non-renewable natural resources. The use of natural resources inefficient will produce large waste that will make pollution for the environment.

## 11. Water

Nature as both producer and disposal of water that needs to be maintained and protected. Population development and water consumption need to be supported by maintaining good natural resources or springs. Nature can recycle or maintain water so the amount of good quality of water can be maintained from time to time. Water is a very important aspect for forming a sustainable Green Economy.

Eleven aspects above illustrate how each sector is important for the development of Green Economy. The more important is the integration of all sectors that will form a balance between green ecosystems and

sustainability development. Furthermore, to manage and develop all sectors, we need new professions or green jobs in all the sectors. This will open new opportunities that emergence new sources of income for the People of Indonesia.

## **Methodology**

This paper using content Qualitative Content Analysis to analyze data that collected through Library research. Researchers regard content analysis describes a flexible method for analyzing text data (Cavanagh, 1997). The specific type of content analysis approach chosen by the researcher varies with the theoretical and substantive interests of the researcher and the problem being studied (Weber,1990). A more thorough analysis of the ways in which qualitative content analysis can be used would potentially illuminate key issues for researchers to consider in the design of studies purporting to use content analysis and the analytic procedures employed in such studies, thus avoiding a muddling of methods (Morse, 1991).

We using collected data describing the Green Economy Concept on Indonesia. This source comes from the Bappenas repository that has legitimation to implement Green Economy in Indonesia. This data will be compared with UNEP Green Economy Indicators. By using Content Analysis, we will understand how Indonesia's arrangement and readiness to implement Green Economy.

## **Result and Discussion**

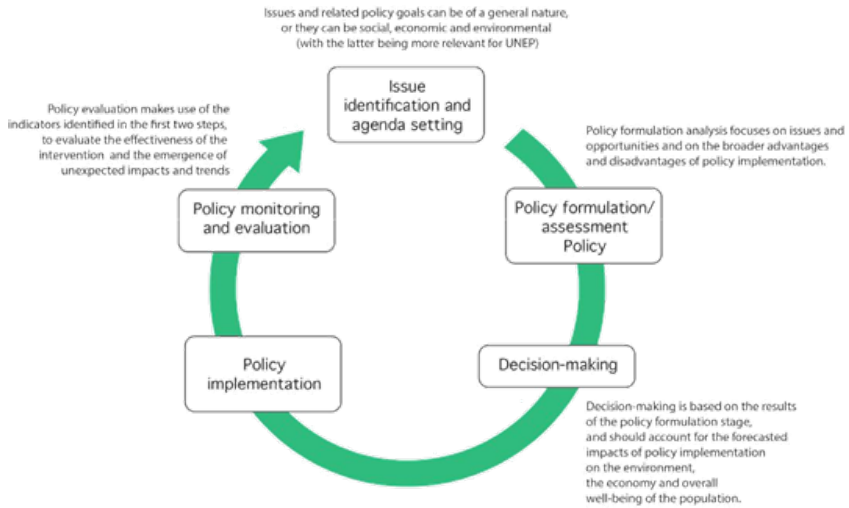
Before we proceed into GOI policy for implementing Green Economy, we will elaborate UNEP Green Economy Indicators. During the 2012 UN Conferences on Sustainable Development/Rio+20. The Heads of State and Government and high-level representatives recognize indicators as being necessary to assess progress towards the achievement of the millennium development goals (in the future it will be sustainable development goals) while taking into account different national circumstances, capacities and levels of development.

Green Economy has been proposed as national policy development and international cooperation and support for sustainable development. This means UNEP or the UN system will give support to countries that interested in pursuing Green Economy policies by providing methodologies for their evaluation (UNEP, 2014).

An indicator is an instrument that provides an indication that is generally used to describe a condition and/or give an order of magnitude. Indicators provide information on a given system's historical and current state and are particularly useful in highlighting trends that can shed light on causal relationships between the elements that make up the system.

The use of indicators is to acknowledge the unique geographical and socio-cultural context in which issues arise and the providing step by step to guide to identify the problem and use the relevant indicator to implementing Green Economy responses. In other words, the concept of manual that UNEP proposes doesn't identify and prioritize global issues to be addressed, but rather provides examples to illustrate what could potentially be considered a challenge in a given context and how to address it. The use of existing indicators across various data sources is encouraged, as well as the involvement of a broad set of stakeholders, to support the design and implementation of a coherent and inclusive green economy strategy. The structure of the manual follows a stylized policymaking process with the following images:

**Figure 1. Cycle for Integrated policy making process**



*Source: UNEP, 2014.*

The emphasis of the cycle manual above is on stages 1 and 2, and some extent on stage 5. Given the importance of policy formulation and assessments, and while acknowledging the feedback loops that exist on these points. On stage 3, decision-making becomes a point in time when a particular policy recommendation is adopted. The decision will be based on a comparison of different policy options that were developed under stage 2. On stage 4, the role of indicators in policy implementation mainly exercised through monitoring and evaluation from stage 5.

The manual recognizes that it is never a linear process to make policy. Therefore, it is structured to be easily adaptable to different policy circumstances, including through feedback loops between the related stages when appropriate. Beginning with an issue or opportunity, identified using agenda-setting indicators, policies are described and established using indicators for policy formulation. Indicators of policy evaluation are then used to predict policy impacts.

**Table 1. Indicators of Policy Evaluation**

<i>Agenda Setting</i>	<i>Indicators for issue identification Policy</i>	<i>Policy formulation (Chapter 2)</i>	<i>Indicators for policy formulation (Chapter 3)</i>	<i>Indicators for policy assessment (Chapter 4) Decision-</i>	<i>Decision-making - Implementation</i>	<i>Indicators for monitoring and evaluation (Chapter 5)</i>
	<i>Identify potentially worrying trends Assess the issue and its relation to the natural environment Analyse more fully the underlying causes of the issue of concern Analyse more fully how the issue impacts society, the economy and the environment</i>		<i>Identify desired outcomes: define policy objectives Identify intervention options and output indicators</i>	<i>Measure policy impacts across sectors Analyse impacts on the overall well-being of the population Analyse advantages and disadvantages and inform decision-making</i>		<i>Measure policy impacts in relation to the environmental issue Measure the investment leveraged Measure impacts across sectors and on the overall well-being of the population</i>

Source: UNEP, 2014.

Table overview structure formulation above can be used for identifying problem on environmental issues. This indicator helping policy maker to understand scope of problem during policy maker decision. UNEP, which is appointed as the leader of global governance in environmental issues promoting Green Economy policies for environmental purposes (UNEP, 2011). However, the Green Economy approach not only focusing on environmental only but using the socio-economic approach as well. It means redirect economic investments



while considering the social implications for both environmental issues identified by governments and the possible policy response on that issue and gaining double or triple wins whenever achievable (UNEP, 2014). The manual should recognise all three dimensions of sustainable development (economic, environmental, and social).

By combining cycle for integrated policy-making process and scheme of sustainable development, we can trace entry points for identifying issues and developing green policies. In line with UNEP's primary mandate, it uses predominantly environmental issues as entry points for a green economy policymaking process using UNEP's examples from four major thematic areas: climate change, ecosystem management, resource efficiency, and chemical and waste. The initial stage of the integrated policymaking cycle consists in identifying the key issues that pose a challenge to sustainable development and that need to be addressed by green economy policies.

The four cross-cutting thematic priorities of UNEP's medium-term strategy were introduced in order to highlight the main environmental challenges presently identified by UNEP at the global level. However, decision makers face social, economic, and environmental issues simultaneously, all of which have an impact, to varying degrees, on sustainable development.

**Table 2. The Four cross-cutting thematic priorities of UNEP**

<i>UNEP cross</i>	<i>-cutting</i>	<i>Possible issues of concern</i>	<i>Indicators</i>
<i>thematic priorities</i>		<i>Indicators</i>	
<i>Climate change</i>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Country contribution to anthropogenic climate change</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Greenhouse gas emissions (Kt of CO2 equivalent/year)</i></li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Increased frequency/ intensity of torm surges</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Rainfall (mm/year) and evaporation</i></li> <li>• <i>Storm-related damages (US\$/year)</i></li> </ul>
<i>Ecosystem management</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Deforestation</i></li> <li>• <i>Loss of critical ecosystem services</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Forest cover (ha)</i></li> <li>• <i>Extent of land and marine conservation areas (ha)</i></li> </ul>
<i>Resource efficiency</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Falling groundwater tables</i></li> <li>• <i>Low efficiency of non-renewable energy sources</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Water intensity or Productivity (m3/US\$)</i></li> <li>• <i>Coal consumption Intensity (tonnes/GDP)</i></li> </ul>
<i>Chemicals and waste management Possible</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Air pollution</i></li> <li>• <i>Soil contamination</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sulphur oxide (Sox) emissions (Kg/yWr)</i></li> <li>• <i>Waste recycling and reuse (%)</i></li> <li>• <i>Toxic heavy metal concentration, e.g., Hg, Cd, Pb, Cr. (mg/kg)</i></li> </ul>

Source: UNEP, 2014

According to UNEP: 2014, in order to build effective policies to address issues above, they should be identified correctly across all related sectors, trough analysis of their cause and effect. In order to develop effective policies to address the above-mentioned problems, they must be correctly identified and explained by careful analysis of their causes and effects across all related sectors:

1. Only with the correct identification of the causes of the issue can policies be designed to have a lasting positive impact.
2. Only with the correct identification of the effects of the issue can policies be designed that maximize synergies and avoid the emergence of negative side effects, in particular in other sectors. The methodology proposed here provides four main steps in issue identification:

- a. Identify potentially worrying trends
- b. Assess the issue and how it relates to the natural environment
- c. Analyse more fully the underlying causes of the issue
- d. Analyzes more fully how the issue impacts society, the economy, and the environment

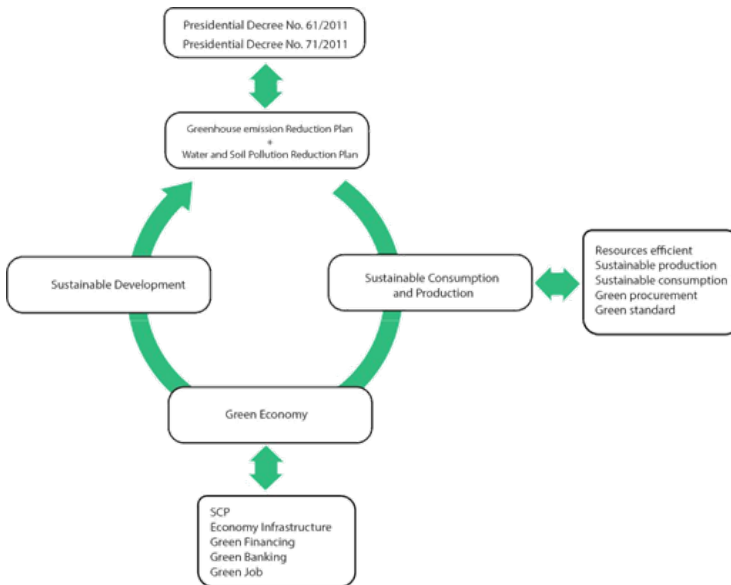
This approach is consistent with the use of the DPSIR framework (UNEP, 2008) through the identification of Drivers (D), Pressures (P), State (S), Impacts (I) and Responses<sup>®</sup>. The four proposed steps are described in this chapter. As regards to policy responses, this will be taken up in Chapter 3 addressing indicators for policy formulation. If the problem to be analysed is essentially environmental (rather than social or economic), steps 1 and 2 could be merged to move directly to the full analysis of causes and impacts (steps 3 and 4).

### **Indonesia Policy on Green Economy**

The major implementation Green Economy in Indonesia is the commitment of GOI to reduce greenhouse emissions by 26% by 2020. This commitment strengthened by Presidential Decree No. 61/2011 focusing Action Plan for Reducing Greenhouse Gas Emissions (RAN GRK). This action led to another Presidential Decree No. 71/2011 concerning in Inventory for Reducing Greenhouse Gas Emissions.

Using cycle model integration policy from UNEP and sources from E.Murniningtyas: 2014, we can develop policy model for reducing greenhouse emission.

**Figure 2. Modification Diagram**



Source: UNEP, 2014

According to E. Murniningtyas: 2014, water and soil pollution should be monitoring as well. This will help to reduce greenhouse emissions. Today, monitoring environmental pollution performed by the Ministry of Environment Forestry. The other side, any pollution control and quality improvement handled by Environment Agency that works in each region/province in Indonesia. That Environment Agency is available both in the province and regional, they work to protect and preserve the environment in their respective areas autonomously.

GOI policy using government agencies to perform their agenda shown confidence if they have the manpower to accomplish their goals. The ambition for reducing greenhouse emission embroidered on Indonesia National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN 2005-2025). The commitment for pledging to decrease Indonesia's greenhouse gas emissions by 2020 by Former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's furthered by President Joko Widodo by pledging commitment to a 29 to 41 percents reduction in 2030 (World Resources Institute, 2017).

Indonesia also submitted its first National Determined Contribution to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 2016. This is a grand leap to Indonesia's goodwill to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Indonesia allocating a total of USD 55.01 billion for the period 2015-2019. This funding will increase the implementation of mitigation and adaptation actions for the period of 2020-2030 (Republic of Indonesia, 2016).

Indonesia will need more effort to reduce emissions that will meet Indonesia's conditional target of 41 percent reduction below business-as-usual levels. This effort including extending the country's forest moratorium, restoring degraded peatland, implementing energy conservation programs, and pursuing mitigation measures for other sectors and gases (Wijaya, A., H. Chrysolite, M. Ge, et al. 2017).

The finding from the World Resources Institute (WRI) in 2017 potentially become worrying trends. In September 2019, Indonesia experienced forest fires that exceeded the amount during all of 2018. As said by Raffles Panjaitan as a forest fire management acting director at the Ministry of Forestry and Environment, a total of forest fires by the end of September 2019 reached 857,756 hectares (2.12 million acres). This total is more than the 529,927 hectares that burned in 2018, according to data from GOI's. The fires have consumed the most land since 2015 (Reuters, 2018).

Using several sectors that mentioned by Bappenas earlier that have a correlation with Green Economy and SDG, we will classify those sectors according to Indonesia's goal to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The table below shown Bappenas plan for reducing greenhouse gas emissions (Bappenas, 2010):

**Table 3. Bappenas Plan**

Sector	Greenhouse emission reduction plan (gigatons CO <sub>2</sub> )		Action Plan	Ministry or Implementation Agency
	26%	41%		
<i>Forestry and peatland</i>	0,672	1,039	<i>control of forest and land fires, management of network and water systems, forest and land rehabilitation, eradication of illegal logging, prevention of deforestation, and community empowerment.</i>	<i>Ministry of forestry and environment, ministry of agriculture, ministry for public works and human settlements</i>
<i>Agriculture</i>	0,008	0,011	<i>represent paddy with low- methane emissions, efficiency water irrigation, utilization of organic fertilizer.</i>	<i>ministry of agriculture, ministry for public works and human settlements</i>
<i>Energy and Transportation</i>	0,038	0,056	<i>Utilization of biofuel energy, utilization mas transportation, improving transport demand management, energy efficiency, developing renewable energy</i>	<i>ministry for public works and human settlements, ministry of transportation, ministry of energy and mineral resources</i>

<i>Energy and Transportation</i>	0,038	0,056	<i>Utilization of biofuel energy, utilization mas transportation, improving transport demand management, energy efficiency, developing renewable energy</i>	<i>ministry for public works and human settlements, ministry of transportation, ministry of energy and mineral resources</i>
<i>Manufacturing Industry</i>	0,001	0,005	<i>Energy efficiency, developing renewable energy</i>	<i>ministry of industry</i>
<i>Waste</i>	0,048	0,078	<i>Construction of landfills, waste management with 3R, utilization integrated waste water management</i>	<i>ministry for public works and human settlements</i>
	0,767	1,189		

Source: Bappenas, 2010

There are 5 sectors above that related to Green Economy and the SDG. These 5 sectors (actually 6 sectors, but Energy and Transportation combined into one sector, so it counts as 5 sectors) have a significant impact on the reduction or increase in greenhouse gas emissions. Forestry and peatland will only be examined because this sector contributes the most amount, even when all four sectors are combined.

### **Forestry and Peatland**

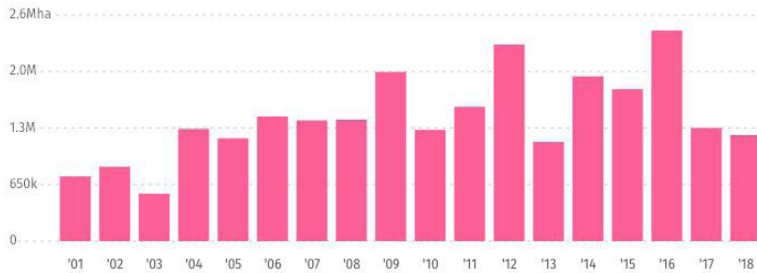
This is important sector to analyse, forest become irreplaceable place for reducing greenhouse gas emission in Indonesia. Indonesia have problem for handling forest fires. According to data from global forest watch, Indonesia loss more 25.6 Mha of tree cover from 2001 to 2018.

### Figure 3. Tree Cover Loss in Indonesia

TREE COVER LOSS IN INDONESIA

SHOW ON MAP

From 2001 to 2018, Indonesia lost 25.6Mha of tree cover, equivalent to a 16% decrease in tree cover since 2000, and 10.5Gt of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.



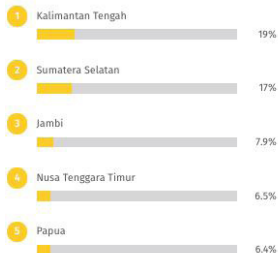
Source: Global Forest Watch, 2020

Mostly the problem of this loss comes from deforestation, draining peatland, and forest fires. GOI already implement forest moratorium from 2016 to 2017 but because of land clearing for palm oils, deforestation in Indonesia increase. This data was taken on 10 January 2020.

REGIONS WITH THE MOST FIRE ALERTS IN INDONESIA

SHOW ON MAP

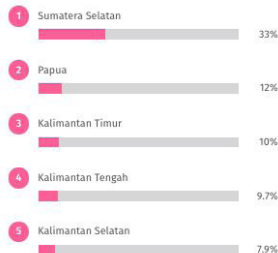
In the last 3 months in Indonesia, the region with the most fires burning was Kalimantan Tengah, with 38,520 fire alerts, representing 19% of total alerts detected.



LOCATION OF DEFORESTATION ALERTS IN INDONESIA

SHOW ON MAP

In the last 4 weeks in Indonesia, 2,220,374 GLAD alerts were detected, which affected an area of approximately 170kha. The top 3 regions accounted for 55% of all GLAD alerts.



Source: Global Forest Watch, 2020.



Mostly areas that have been lost in Borneo and Sumatra due to deforestation and forest fire. This trend showed irregularity because in order to become sources for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, these two regions should be protected. If this situation persists, the progress made by Indonesia in reducing greenhouse gas emissions would fail. Mainly data gathered by researchers come from non-governmental organizations, so GOI should begin to open access to accountability data so that civil society can provide feedback and help monitor the process.

## **Conclusion**

Considering the ambition of GOI to implement the UNEP Green Economy through the implementation of greenhouse gas emission reduction targets, a review is still needed. By using an Identification Policy Indicator, we can still track potentially worrying trends. Indonesia still has a problem with implementing the top-down policy. The problem can be seen from a lack of monitoring in the regional sector. An integrated system should be needed to respond quickly

to unexpected issues such as a forest fire that will deteriorate the process of integrating Indonesia into the Green Economy.

In order to achieve good results on the greenhouse gas emission reduction program, GOI should implement all policies in a systematic and integrated manner between the central government and local government. GOI should involve other actors, such as NGOs or civil society, in support of their objectives. Open access information under real conditions should be prioritized, contributing to the trustworthy participation of stakeholders, the citizens of Indonesia and the global world.

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# THE ROLE OF SOS CHILDREN'S VILLAGES INDONESIA IN STRUGGLING FOR THE BASIC RIGHTS OF CHILDREN WHICH LOSE PARENTS OR ABANDONED

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## **Abstract**

*This research is trying to explain the social problems of abandoned children whose numbers are increasing from year to year especially in the State of Indonesia. A child is called neglected, not only because he does not have parents, but can also be interpreted when the rights of children to grow and develop improperly, to obtain proper education, and to obtain adequate health services. Various attempts were made to alleviate children from neglect. Both carried out by the government and various elements of society such as SOS Children's Villages Indonesia which is the largest International Non-Governmental Organization in the world that is dedicated to fighting for the basic rights of children. SOS Children's Villages Indonesia has been around since 1972 and has contributed a lot to assist the Indonesian government through their three main programs. Three main SOS Children's Villages Indonesia programs: first, (Family Based Care Program). Second, (Family Strengthening Program). Third, the disaster response program (Emergencies*

*Program). Through these three main programs, SOS Children's Villages Indonesia continues to struggle to continue their humanitarian mission.*

**Keywords:** *SOS Children's Villages, Family Based Care Program, Family Strengthening Program, Emergencies Program.*

## **Introduction**

This paper will explain the roles of International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO) in struggling for basic human rights, especially for disadvantaged children. It begins from the inconvenience; the author sees a very apprehensive social phenomenon. Sos Children's Villages is an NGO that has a focus on fighting for the basic rights of disadvantaged children. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is an important milestone document in the history of human rights. Archived by representatives of different legal and cultural backgrounds from all regions of the world, this Declaration was proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in Paris on December 10, 1948 (General Assembly resolution 217 A) as a general standard of achievement for all people and all countries. It is determined, for the first time, fundamental human rights must be universally protected and have been translated into more than 500 languages. UDHR was made with the aim that every human being gets their rights in the form of freedom, justice and peace in the world. and this indicates that human rights must be protected by the rule of law (Lauren, 2014).

In the Charter of the United Nations (UN) re-affirmed their belief in fundamental human rights, uphold the dignity and value of the human person in equality of rights between men and women and have been determined to promote social progress and better living standards. And each UN Member State has agreed to carry out cooperation with the United Nations, through promoting universal respect and adherence to basic human rights and freedoms, these rights and freedoms are most important to be realized by every committed UN member State. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) as a general

standard of achievement for all people and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, will strive to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and with progressive, national measures and internationally, to obtain universal and effective recognition and obedience, both among the community in the Member State itself and among the international community (Lauren, 2014).

Human rights violations certainly did not end immediately when the Universal Declaration was adopted. But since its realization, many people have gained greater freedom. Violations can be prevented, resulting in a decrease in the number of violations of human rights. As many people are free from slavery or torture, unfair prison sentences, inhumane executions, discrimination, so that many people get fair access to education, economic opportunities, and adequate resources and health care. They have been given justice for every mistake made, and national and international protection for their rights, through the strong rule of law of the international human rights legal system (Kaci, 1392).

After each UN member state begins to realize the importance of protecting human rights for each of its citizens and the many positive impacts they feel so that the level of awareness continues at the level of welfare provision for every child in the world. A healthy child's development is best realized in a caring family environment. Then we can understand that every child has the right to grow with the family with love, respect, and security. And concern for the sense of security and well-being of children has begun to be declared in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child or the Convention on the Right of the Child (UNCRC) on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1989, which recognizes families as the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth and welfare of children. "and that the child, for the full and harmonious development of his or her personality, should grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding" (Opening, UNCRC). The purpose of holding

a UN convention on fighting for the basic rights of children is certainly inseparable from very serious problems (Kaci, 1392).

Poverty disproportionately affects children. Worldwide, one in five children lives in extreme poverty, living on less than US \$ 1.90 a day. Their families struggle to get the care, basic health and nutrition needed to give them a sense of security and well-being. In 2019, 149 million children under the age of five experience stunted growth (Stunting). Then Despite great progress in school enrollment in many parts of the world, more than 175 million children are not enrolled in pre-primary education, missing out on investment opportunities is important for a country because young people are not getting enough or quality education. 6 out of 10 children in the world leave primary school without reaching a minimum level of reading and math skills, according to the 2019 UNESCO (Sri Putri Rezeki, 2013).

More than twenty years ago, the world united to condemn and mobilize against the use of children in armed conflict. Since then, thousands of children have been released as a result of the Action Plan mandated by the UN Security Council and other actions aimed at ending and preventing the recruitment and use of children by the armed forces and several groups. However, serious challenges to protect children affected by armed conflict remain. Nearly 250 million children live in countries and territories affected by armed conflict. In the Syrian Arab Republic, a nine-year conflict caused the deaths of 400,000 people, according to estimates of the former Syrian Special Envoy, Staffan de Mistura. More than 7,000 children have been killed or disabled since the conflict erupted, based on United Nations verification. In Afghanistan in 2019, child victims represent almost one third of the total civilian casualties, with 327 deaths and 880 injured. (Odutayo, 2016).

In Somalia, children continue to be the victims most affected by the economic crisis or poverty. More than 5,200 children were victims in 2018, and that is only the number of cases reported. Many children are also recruited, used, killed, and disabled. More than 3 million children



are not in school. Hundreds of thousands of people are malnourished. Millions of children, many of whom are not accompanied or separated from their families, are displaced because of armed conflict. These children are at high risk of becoming victims in their refugee areas and other protection areas. Immediate action is needed to alleviate the suffering of children displaced by armed conflict and the Secretary-General encourages Member States to respect the rights of displaced children and refugees and to provide them with the necessary support services (Álvarez & Alexis, 2014).

Violence against children knows no cultural, class or educational boundaries. This happens to children in institutions, at school, and at home. Peer violence is also a concern, as is the growth of cyber-bullying. Children who are victims of violence will live in isolation, loneliness, and fear, not knowing where to look for help, especially when the culprit is someone close. The sex, disability, poverty, nationality, or origin of children can all increase the risk of violence with the youngest being very vulnerable because they are less able to talk and seek support. In 2006, the UN Study provided a series of recommendations on how to end violence against children and the Secretary General appointed a Special Representative to ensure effective follow-up and to monitor its implementation. There have been some concrete advances: many countries now have laws to prohibit physical, mental and sexual violence and support victims, campaigns to raise awareness of the negative effects of violence, and intimidation, sexual violence and harmful practices against children are being addressed (Sri Putri Rezeki, 2013).

However, the role of the State alone is apparently not enough to overcome the problem of violence that occurs in children. Therefore we need synergy between the State, International Organizations and also independent institutions such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGO) as institutions that are able to work with the State in dealing with violence that occurs in children. In this case the authors will focus

on the role played by one of the INGOs who fight for the basic rights of children in the world. The INGO is SOS Children's Villages International. However, it will be more specific about the role of INGO in Indonesia. SOS Children's Villages is the largest non-governmental organization in the world and has spread across 135 countries with the goal of dedicating themselves to the care of children left behind or missing parents. Paying attention to the development of each child in a loving, caring, and caring family environment has become a driving force for the development of SOS Children's Village ideas. Based on these principles, for many years SOS Children's Villages has focused on providing professional support to children who need help (SOS Children's Villages, 2009).

In the 1970s INGO began to enter Indonesia until now. That is because Indonesia has not been fully able to overcome this problem and according to the National Commission for Child Protection (Komnas PA) since 2001 there have been 11,381 cases of violence with more than 50 percent of them being sexual violence. An average of 2,788 cases of violence against children per year with a peak frequency occurred in 2013 were 3,339 cases. In addition to sexual crimes, cases involving children include the sale of children, neglect, and struggle for children. This condition indicates that Indonesia has not fully protected children from adult crimes. SOS Children's Villages seeks to work together with Indonesia to overcome this problem. So that until now this INGO still exists and gives many real contributions, especially for children in Indonesia (Sri Putri Rezeki, 2013). SOS Children's Village is a child development program, focusing on enabling children to develop their full potential in a caring family environment (either their home family or SOS family), so that they can become independent community members and contribute. The SOS Children's Villages Program was developed and implemented together with other stakeholders in the community. From the statement above the authors formulated the research question is "How is the roles of SOS Children's

Villages Indonesia in struggling for the basic rights of children which lose parents or abandoned?

## **Theoretical Framework**

To explain how the roles of SOS Children's Villages Indonesia in fighting for the basic rights of children who have lost parental care or neglected the author will use the concept of Non-profit Organizations and Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) theories.

## **The Concept of Non-Profit Organizations**

Non-profit organizations are organizations that have the main focus in providing support for a particular issue whose purpose is to get public attention, and override attention to matters that are for-profit (monetary) (Komang, 2008). The main characteristics and focus of non-profit organizations and profit organizations will be clearly visible differences. Nonprofit organizations are formed to bring about change at the individual or community level, whereas profit organizations are more likely to be profit oriented. Human resources (HR) are an important asset for non-profit organizations, that is because all forms of non-profit organization activities are basically from, by and for humans. (repository umy, 2008).

The emergence and development of non-profit organizations cannot be separated from the great interests of profit organizations. The birth of professional human resources, high competitiveness, leadership attitudes, and workmanship in dealing with change is inseparable from the role of non-profit organizations. The scope of the role of non-profit organizations exists almost all over the world, creating a better life order for a community is a movement for change carried out by non-profit organizations. The movement of non-profit organizations has touched corners of the world which cannot even be served by government organizations. Based on the facts that occur in the field, we can see that this non-profit organization is very effective, especially when there is a disaster such as the tsunami in Aceh,

hundreds of non-profit organizations from around the world seem to compete to make achievements on the humanitarian struggle for the people of Aceh (repository umy, 2008).

A non-profit organization, according to Sri Sapto, is legally an organization that cannot distribute its assets or income for the benefit and welfare of its workers or leaders. However, behind such restrictions, there are some concessions. First, non-profit organizations are allowed to provide compensation for their workers in return for the performance provided. Second, non-profit organizations are also allowed to seek profits, however, it is necessary to underline profits not to be distributed but to fund other activities. Another advantage is that nonprofits are not taxed. Based on other arguments, the non-profit organization is an organization that requires its management to be able to provide programs and services to the public in accordance with what is required by the funders. Therefore, it can be understood that non-profit organizations are very dependent on funders and provide reporting to reporters to these funders (repository umy, 2008).

### **Theories of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs)**

Non-Government Organization (NGO) in Indonesian means Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM). NGOs are non-profit community organizations or associations whose activities are outside the institutionalized political structure. Achievement of the interests or goals of its members is pursued through lobbying, persuasion, or direct action. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) usually obtain funding from private sources. The better the performance and productivity carried out by an NGO so that the benefits felt by the community are greater, so automatically the income that will go to the NGO will certainly be even greater. It is therefore very important to maintain the trust of donors, and every NGO worker is required to work professionally and provide benefits to people in need. NGOs are divided into 2 groups, based on Word Bank, namely: first, NGO Operations. The focus or goal is more on the design and implementation

of development projects. So, these NGOs need resources in the form of financial, material or volunteer staff, so that their activities and struggles can be carried out properly. The process of implementing each of its activities also requires a complex organizational structure. There are three 3 operational NGO groups that we can understand: first, community-based organizations that serve a special population in a narrow geographical area. Second, the National Organization operating in a developing country, and third, the International Organization which is basically headquartered in developed countries and runs operations in more than one developing country (repository umy, 2008).

The second NGO is based on the division of the World Bank, namely NGO Advocacy. The focus or objective of the Advocacy NGO is trying to maintain or maintain a specific issue and work to influence government policies and actions for or on the issue. Contrary to what is done by Operational NGOs, Advocacy NGOs basically do efforts to raise awareness and knowledge by lobbying, press activities and activist activities. This NGO basically works through advocacy or campaigns on an issue and does not implement the program. This group functions almost the same as the operational group, but with different levels and composition. Fund raising is still necessary but with a smaller size (repository umy, 2008).

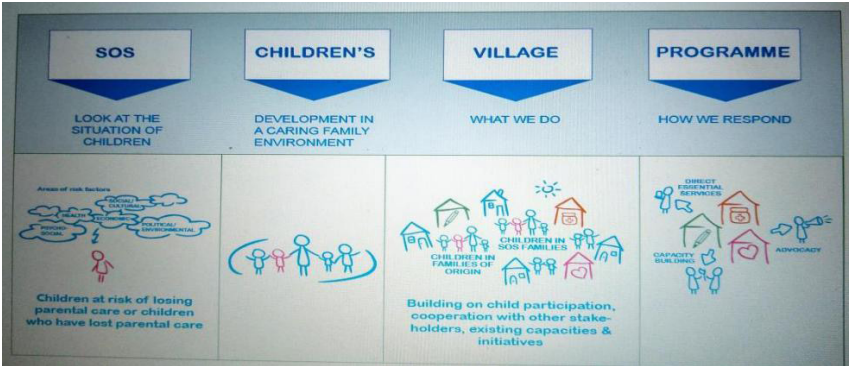
## **Result and Discussion**

### **SOS Children's Villages Indonesia as a Nonprofit Organization have a Role as an Operational NGO**

SOS Children's Villages Indonesia has the design and implementation of development projects. So, these NGOs need resources in the form of financial, material or volunteer staff, so that their activities and struggles can be carried out properly. One implementation of the project or program is Family Based Care (FBC) for children who have lost parental care. Family Based Care (FBC) has the concept of parenting like family in general. The concept of

care will be established in an SOS Children’s Village and in one village consisting of 12-15 houses that focus on the development of children into independent and contributing community members. The best development of a child starts in a caring family environment. SOS Children’s Villages Indonesia also works with all relevant stakeholders to find the most appropriate response to the situation of children who are at risk of losing parental care and those who have lost parental care (India, 2016).

Picture 1. Scheme of Family Based Care (FBC) Program



The Family Based Care (FBC) Program is one of the main programs realized by SOS Children’s Villages in Indonesia. Becomes very important because child development refers to the growth, learning, and development of children from birth to adulthood. A child’s development takes place in various fields, such as physical, emotional, intellectual, social, cultural, and spiritual. The main responsibility for the care and development of children lies with the caregiver. SOS Children Villages build a new family for children who do not have a family, especially the care of their parents, they are cared for in a caring family environment, children can form reliable, supportive and lasting relationships with their parents (or other caregivers) and siblings. Here, the emotional and physical well-being of a child is noted for a child to be able to live as a child like children in general. The SOS family is led by SOS mothers / parents and is organized and supported by the SOS Children’s Village. Care outside the home (other than SOS families)

that gives children a substitute for the family environment, such as foster care. These treatment options can be arranged by SOS Children's Villages or other stakeholders (Office, 2020, p. 13).

The purpose of the FBC program is to ensure the development of children in a caring family environment. Specifically, we strive to promote and protect the "caring" element of the family environment, so that each child has caring parents (or alternative parent caregivers) who can guide and support their development. The FBC program also seeks to have every child like siblings in general and always be together. To create a sense of security and belonging to each other. In the children's village each child has caring parents, like family ties that grow naturally, and each family has their own home.

### **SOS Children's Villages Indonesia as a Nonprofit Organization have a Role as an Advocacy NGO**

Advocacy NGOs seek to maintain or maintain a specific issue and work to influence government policies and actions for or on the issue. Natural disasters are one of the causes of children losing family care. SOS Children's Villages are involved in emergency response when natural disasters occur. In 1992, when the tsunami in Flores caused hundreds of children to lose their families and were displaced, SOS Children's Villages established a fifth children's village located in Maumere, Flores, East Nusa Tenggara. The Yogyakarta earthquake in 2006 was the start of the SOS Children's Villages humanitarian action in Yogyakarta through the Family Strengthening program. In a series of disasters, such as the 2004 Aceh tsunami, the 2009 Padang earthquake, the 2009 Canning earthquake, the volcano erupted in Yogyakarta in 2010, the typhoon disaster in the Philippines in 2013, the 2015 flash floods, and the 2018 Palu earthquake, SOS Children's Villages consistently provides protection for children and families affected by disasters through various ongoing programs . (Office, 2020, p. 22).

Family Strengthening Program or FSP. The program aims to enable families to move out of the vicious cycle of poverty towards greater

dignity and independence by ensuring the education of children and developing the income capacity of each family they assist until they are truly independent. What makes the SOS family so interesting is that the program is long-term. In addition, together with partners from the community, the organization provides health care and education to children and families who need it. Finally, through an advocacy process, SOS Children's Villages aims to improve the conditions of children who have become orphans or who are at risk of losing parental care. SOS Children's Villages works under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and promotes these rights through the Family Strengthening (FSP) and emergency response (ERP) programs. Successful advocacy, based on experience as a practitioner, brings about changes in policies and practices that weaken children's rights leading to ongoing change to improve the situation for children and families everywhere. 50 Years, 22 states, 32 SOS Children's Villages and more than 25,000 beneficiaries. That is where we stand today. Proud of our pursuit and commitment to providing quality care and a sense of identity to children who have been abandoned or parents, we are responsible for each and every life developing in the SOS family (Office, 2020, p. 22-23).

To create conditions (awareness) for the Emergencies Response (ERP) program and the Family Strengthening Program (FSP), Advocacy NGOs basically carry out lobbying, 9 press and activist activities. This NGO basically works through advocacy or campaigns on an issue and does not implement the program. This group functions almost the same as the operational group, but with different levels and composition. Fund raising is still necessary but with a smaller size. Some activist campaigns or activities carried out in the form of a campaign entitled 'Bus for Flores' were carried out in December 2018 to February 2019, as a concern for SOS Children's Flores children who need a replacement vehicle as a means of transportation to school. The long journey must be taken by children in Flores to get to school every day, a minibus purchased in 1999 became the only vehicle that eventually broke down.



Every effort is made to find a replacement, but various obstacles so that children are late to school, the distance is quite far and not a few who walk up to dozens of kilometers. Of the kindness of 600 donors who helped this good action, Rp 103,892,472 will be collected which will be transformed into a new vehicle for children in Flores. Then DHL's "Dream Camp Banda Aceh" activity, as one of the corporations that supports the strengthening of SOS Children's Villages, held a "Dream Camp" held in the Banda Aceh village. Aiming at creating young people who are tough, independent, and able to compete with good skills capacity, DHL involves volunteers consisting of staff to provide training. Held on 18-19 December 2019 in Banda Aceh, around 40 teenagers of junior and senior high school participated in activities that built creativity and courage together (Office, 2020, p. 22-23).

Still in support of young people through the 'Youth Career Initiative' (YCI) program, 14 SOS teenagers from Flores, Medan and Lembang attended training in four hotel locations in Bandung. Supported by four hotels namely Countryard by Marriot, Four Points by Sheraton, Hilton Bandung, and Sheraton Bandung, all 14 teenagers receive training in the fields of kitchen (Pastry), Engineering, purchasing and housekeeping. After six months of training, teenagers were released at the graduation period II which was held on January 31, 2019 at the Four Points Hotel. In line with the commitment to support quality education and provide employment for young people, the YCI program is currently still running with 15 teenagers from Banda Aceh, Medan, and Semarang (Office, 2020, p. 22-23).

Still in the Run to Care 2019 series, an event with the runners was held at Car Free Day Jakarta. Located in Dukuh Atas Sudirman Park which is an area of the Jakarta MRT Station, the activity titled 'Together For Children' begins with a 5K run with Binloop Ultra 120K and is continued by sharing sessions with ultra-marathon runners and family activities involving the Jakarta community. The spirit of running and sharing continues to be echoed for the people of Jakarta to support 350 runners who will run in Bali in July 2019. SOS Children's Villages

through the ERP program facilitates children and families affected by disasters to get a better life. Tuesday, March 12, 2019, located in Petobo which is one of the locations of Child Care Space (CCS), the groundbreaking of the construction of the Banoa Pomore Nnunggana or hall by Mr. Rajneesh Jain SOS Children's Villages International Representative. It is planned that this hall will be used as a center for children's and family activities. Until May 2019, five halls have been built, namely in Tipo, Mamboro, Petobo, Lolu and Donggala. The construction process is still ongoing at the Pombewe shelter site, which is a collaboration of SOS Children's Villages with Indosiar. Support from the community, community and corporate partners is a bridge for citizens to be able to continue their lives. In addition to building a hall, also distributed assistance in the form of household equipment (Home in the Box) for 1500 families, and cash assistance of 2 million rupiah for 700 families. Runners Gathering is a series of Run to Care that invites runners to meet directly with the SOS family, interacting more intensely to build a strong bond between the runners and the children they stand for while running. Held at SOS Children's Village Bali, located in Tabanan, around 50 runners from Bali and surrounding areas attended and conducted activities throughout the day with children and mothers. Lunch is provided for runners in the family home to create intimate communication full of family atmosphere. A similar activity was also held in Jakarta in June 2019 which was attended by more than 70 runners (Office, 2020, p. 22-23).

## **Conclusion**

SOS Children's Villages Indonesia has become the largest charity or non-profit organization, has been present in Indonesia since 1972 and is very active in fighting for the welfare of children in Indonesia. Based on the definitions of Operational NGOs and Advocacy NGOs that have been discussed previously, the authors understand that SOS Children's Villages Indonesia can be categorized as Operational and Advocacy NGOs. So, the author uses the concept of Nonprofit or non-

profit organizations in seeing the phenomenon of performance carried out by SOS Children's Villages Indonesia. The Family Based Care (FBC) program is an operational effort undertaken by SOS Children's Villages in providing welfare to children in need, especially children who have lost parental care. While the Emergencies Response (ERP) program and the Family Strengthening (FSP) program, and other campaign efforts are advocacy efforts conducted by SOS Children's Villages which aim to provide insight and knowledge so as to raise awareness and can move many people's hearts to care about what is being fought by SOS Children's Villages.

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# STRATEGY OF TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY NETWORKS IN ENCOURAGING REVISION IN LAW OF MARRIAGE IN INDONESIA TO STRESS CASE OF CHILDREN MARRIAGE

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## **Abstract**

*This research explains the Transnational Advocacy Networks strategy in encouraging revisions to the marriage law in Indonesia to suppress cases of child marriage. Child marriage has become part of the social order community. The focus of this research is on a law that has been made for child marriage. One of the issues of Human Rights is the marriage of the child who is appointed as the writer. Child marriage is one part of the issue of Human Rights in the spotlight, both in national and international communities. Marriage before the age of 18 is a basic human right. Child marriages have a negative impact on girls, as does education without limits, limited employment prospects, living in poverty and difficulties in the household. This then led to the movement of the Transnational Advocacy Network in Indonesia aimed at promoting equality and justice for children. Therefore, this paper will identify and analyze the Transnational Advocacy Networks strategy in encouraging revision of the Marriage Law in Indonesia to suppress cases*

*of child marriage. This case analyzed by using the boomerang pattern approach on Transnational Advocacy Network in Indonesia found a variety of advocacy network efforts that encourage children to achieve equality and urge the Indonesian government to raise the age limit in marriage law.*

**Keywords:** *Transnasional Advokasi Networks, Child Marriage, Human Right, Indonesia*

## **Introduction**

In the current era of globalization, many issues around politics and security have begun to shift to issues relating to the environment, economic problems, human rights, and labor. Issues regarding human rights began to develop, such as the problem of underage marriage. Here the author will discuss the marriage of minors in Indonesia. Indonesia is one of the developing countries in Southeast Asia which has a very alarming rate of child marriage. Child marriage is defined as a marriage that takes place before the child reaches the age of 18, before the child is physically, physiologically, and psychologically mature to be responsible for the marriage and the child that results from the marriage (Eddy Fadlyana, 2009). 1/3 girls in the world get married before the age of 18. And 1 in 9 girls marries before the age of 15 (ICRW).

In this case, child marriage is a form of coercion and violence against children's rights that should still be able to enjoy the lives of children through education and play. This results in children growing up unnaturally, because children are forced to assume responsibility where the child is not ready mentally, physically, and emotionally. Children also feel uncomfortable because they must take care of the family so that it is isolated from social life and separated from parents and friends. The marriage of children results in children not being able to continue their education anymore. Children, especially girls, do not continue their education due to several reasons, namely:

poverty, the status of women who are considered low in education, and the values held by parents that women do not have to have high education. Conditions like this will be factors that cause the emergence of underage marriage. Early marriage as a form of behavior that can be said to be entrenched in society (Juspín Landung, 2009).

Girls who are forced to marry experience mental stress because they are not ready for pregnancy because they still do not understand things about reproduction. Pregnancy at an early age is very dangerous for both mother and baby. In developing countries, complications in pregnancy occur mostly in girls aged 15-19 years (UNFPA, 2020). Early marriage affects the reproductive health of girls. Girls aged 10-14 years are more likely to die from pregnancy than women aged between 20-25 years. While children aged 15-19 years are twice as likely (Rifiani, 2011). Child marriage is known to be associated with a high risk of HIV transmission, unwanted pregnancy (and) death from childbirth (Liputan6, 2011).

Child marriage is common throughout Indonesia. This is due to the strong influence of Indonesian customs and religion which greatly affects the lives of its people. It is noteworthy that the regulation of marital age in the Indonesian Marriage Law prior to 2019 confirms that the legal age for men is 19 years and 16 years for women. Statistics in 2012 show that Indonesia is the 37th highest in the world in child marriage, while at the Southeast Asian level, the country ranks second after Cambodia. The ranking has risen dramatically since 2016, according to UNICEF, Indonesia ranks 7th in child marriages worldwide.

In Indonesia, the regions that experienced the most cases of child marriage were West Sulawesi (36.2%), Central Kalimantan (35.5%), Central Sulawesi (34.6%), South Kalimantan (33.3%), Southeast Sulawesi (31.7%), Papua (31.6%) married women in the age before 18 (Galeshita, 2018).

There are several factors that cause the problems of underage marriage to still occur in Indonesia. According to Arskal Salim,

Director of the Islamic Religious College of the Ministry of Religion, is influenced by several factors, ranging from educational, economic, sociocultural, and religious backgrounds. The following is a widespread belief in India that causes child marriage to still occur in Indonesia (CNN INDONESIA, 2018):

1. Educational Factors

According to Arskal Salim, parents of children who have a low educational background have greater opportunities to marry off children before the age of 18 years. Lack of education on the health of reproductive organs or lack of sexual education also causes child marriage. Furthermore, a lack of education makes adolescents vulnerable to pregnancy before marriage.

2. Economic factors

Low income or economy makes child marriage rates increase. Parents with low incomes tend to marry off their children because they are considered to ease the economic burden. "Many parents feel that by marrying their children they are helped economically. That is because there are already those who provide for their children, so it's no longer their responsibility as parents," said Ir. Dina Nurdiawati M.Sc, a researcher from IPB who presented a survey of the Children's Marriage Reception Index.

3. Sociocultural factors

Indonesia which has diverse cultures also forms the background of child marriages. The view of spinsters is still often fear for many people, so marrying a child to an age that was previously thought to be the solution. The culture of matchmaking is also still often done by parents. The arranged marriage makes the child unable to refuse so a child marriage occurs. Some cultures in Indonesia also conduct child marriages because of the dowry value. High dowry value makes many people feel tempted and finally married off their children. The social environment that is affected by culture from



the outside also makes children experience free sex and ultimately leads to pregnancy.

#### 4. Religious factors

Child marriage is also rife due to religious factors. Certain religious groups consider marriage at a young age to be natural. The marriage was also carried out to avoid adultery. Children who have often moved teenagers in a relationship with the opposite sex. In order not to be considered adultery, you should immediately get married. In addition, this is also done to reduce fears of pregnancy outside marriage.

Meanwhile, beyond that, Indonesia has legal regulations governing marriage. According to the Marriage Law of 1974, the age of a person to marry is at least 21 years. But there is also a dispensation, if married to the permission of parents, girls may marry when they are over 16 years and boys over 19 years. Marriage in Indonesia can also be done without a drinking age limit if by requesting dispensation or exemption.

In international law, child marriage is established as a form of violence against women and constitutes a violation of human rights, especially as stated in article 16 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which expressly states that “marriage can only be carried out based on choice free and full agreement by the bride and groom “.

The issue of child marriage in Indonesia has attracted the attention and consideration of non-governmental actors focusing on human rights issues especially women such as the Indonesian Women’s Coalition, Women’s Health Foundation, Women’s Ship, Independent Youth Alliance, Kalyana Mintra, Rumah Kitab. The aim of these institutions is to encourage an increase in the minimum age limit for marriages that is quite uniform, which is a minimum of 21 years for women and men. Some of them, such as the Ministry of Religion, KPAI, the Indonesian Women’s Coalition, suggested that the minimum age for marriage is 19 years for women. Related to this minimum number, it will be encouraged so that the minimum age limit for marriage is

19 years, both women and men are based on the MK's input so that there are no conflicts. The non-governmental actors then formed a transnational advocacy network that sought to achieve that goal. This advocacy network uses various efforts based on the boomerang pattern to achieve success (MINISTRY OF EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN AND CHILD PROTECTION, 2019).

Based on this explanation, the writer wants to see how the efforts of Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) in the issue of child marriage in Indonesia can encourage the revision of marriage law in Indonesia. Efforts made by TANs in pushing for a revision of the marriage law in Indonesia to reduce child marriage rates in Indonesia.

### **Theoretical Framework**

TANs are an advocacy network that has a role as a pressure group on an issue or policy that is inappropriate for its purpose (Azizah, 2014). Transnational Advocacy Network according to Margareth Keck and Kathryn Sikkink are actors working on an international scale on an issue, these actors are united by shared values, shared discourse, and a dense exchange of information and assistance ("Madres De La Plaza Movement De Mayo and Its Impact on Human Rights Enforcement in Argentina). These actors work together in an organized manner to raise new issues or norms or phenomena.

According to Keck & Sikkink the concept of Transnational Advocacy Networks has its own uniqueness because they are organized to promote a case, ideas, norms, and often involve individuals to participate in advocating for policy changes (Keck, 1999).

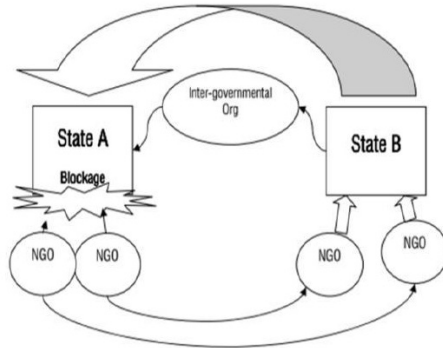
The actors in the Transnational Advocacy Network concept do not rely on physical forces such as the military or the economy, but the Network of advocacy actors has increasing influence over time, making them one of the actors to be reckoned with.

The network is becoming increasingly important because it is unique in its advocacy ways. In campaigning, they bring a special background, such as bringing issues about environmental preservation

or so on. When the decision-making process can only be accessed by traditional actors such as the state, advocacy groups open and participate in the arena by bringing the voice and interests of the people who do not have access to the arena. In other words, the Transnational Advocacy Network raises issues from the community so that they can be heard and addressed (Keck, 1999).

According to the concept of the Transnational Advocacy Network, there are seven main actors who are able to contribute, namely NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) of national and international scale, local social movements, foundations, media, religious organizations, trade activity actors and researchers, part of regional organizations and intergovernmental, as well as the executive or parliamentary body of a government. It is not necessary for all these actors to form a Transnational Advocacy Network, only by consisting of a few actors, the network can already be formed and can be run. The government, the perpetrators of activities as well as local social movements are the actors who have the biggest role according to the concept of the Transnational Advocacy Network, while TAN actors often have interference to enter the country's domestic political arena. For this reason, they use connections from international networks to help with the problem at hand, and from that will form a pattern of relationships called by Keck and Sikkink as a Boomerang pattern.

### **Figure 1. Implementation**



*Sumber: Keck & Sikkink, Activists Beyond Border: Advocacy Networks in International Politics (1998), hal. 13*

The pattern or model of actor interaction in TAN is the Boomerang Pattern. Boomerang Pattern emerged as a pattern or model of interaction between actors in TAN because of obstruction of the path of aspirations from domestic actors in a country to the government itself. This actor took alternative steps by building a network with international actors to seek support and fight for the issues he was carrying and influence the government in his country from outside. To do this, Keck and Sikkink divided the strategies that TAN could use into four types, namely, Information Politics, Symbolic Politics, Leverage Politics, and Accountability Politics. Information Politics, namely the ability to quickly and precisely develop information that is politically useful and directs where the information will produce a large influence.

In the Symbolic Politics strategy, the ability to use symbols, actions or stories and stories that are able to describe and represent the issues brought to the wider community.

Members of the network can also use the Leverage Politics strategy where members of the network gather actors who have the power to influence the wider community, so as to be able to strengthen the movements made by the members of the network. The last strategy is network members can also use the Accountability Politics strategy where the community or members of the network can maintain and

supervise the government to maintain policies that are in accordance with their goals.

In its application to this theory, the transnational advocacy network for the issue of women and child rights in Indonesia has moved through four methods according to the boomerang pattern concept. This was done to put pressure on the Indonesian government for not paying enough attention and tending to ignore this marriage issue. The Indonesian government closes access for women and non-governmental actors to voice their demands, therefore this network seeks to pressure the Indonesian government both through the support of local and international actors. Information politics is an important way for advocacy networks in mobilizing the issue of child marriage to the community to mobilize local and international communities. The efforts of TANs in Indonesia to mobilize the issue of child marriage can be seen in this way, where TANs in Indonesia use the mass media and the internet to assist their efforts.

Referring to the writings of Marisa King entitled *Cooptation or Cooperation: The Role of Transnational Advocacy Organizations in The Zapatista Movement* (King, 2004), it is seen how mass media and internet facilities are used by advocacy networks to move the community. The Zapatista advocacy network is an internet-based network that utilizes technological advances, which are at the center of the movement to provide security and protection to residents of Chiapas, Mexico.

Then, the method of symbolic politics is used to see various actions of transnational advocacy networks in Indonesia, both parades and demonstrations as symbols of their struggle and help convey information to the public. This is because the advocacy network itself must be able to convey information dramatically and technically. In addition, advocacy networks form partnerships with actors outside their countries who have more power to strengthen their movements.

This can be seen through the way of leverage politics. In this way, advocacy networks have a pattern of communication and exchange,

voluntary, and reciprocity (Dondoli, 2019). In each transnational advocacy network, there is a hierarchy, namely actors who become gatekeepers and peripheral NGOs. Actors who are gatekeepers are usually actors who have a great influence in setting norms and norms. In addition, gatekeepers are powerful actors with large budgets and professional staff. Therefore, the gatekeepers are international organizations or governments. In Indonesia, the United Nations with its subordinate bodies such as the United Nations Development (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) are gatekeepers by providing facilities and budgets to support each movement of advocacy networks in the issue of child marriage.

Accountability politics itself is used to see how advocacy networks and international organizations supervise the policy of child marriage law by the Indonesian government.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Law 16 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage**

The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia has issued Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 22 / PUU-XV / 2017 which is one of the considerations of the Constitutional Court in the ruling namely "However, when the difference in treatment between men and women affects or impedes the fulfillment of basic rights or rights constitutional citizens, both belonging to the group of civil and political rights as well as economic, educational, social and cultural rights, which should not be distinguished solely based on gender reasons, then such a distinction is clearly discrimination (JOGLOABANG , 2019). "

In the same consideration, it is also mentioned that the minimum age limit for marriages that differs between men and women not only gives rise to discrimination in the context of exercising the right to form a family as guaranteed in Article 28B paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution but also has caused discrimination against the protection

and fulfillment of rights children as guaranteed in Article 28B paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution. In this case, when the minimum age of marriage for women is lower than for men, then legally women can be faster to form a family. Therefore, in its ruling, the Constitutional Court ordered the legislators to make a maximum of 3 (three) years to make changes to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage (JOGLOABANG, 2019).

Changes to norms in Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage reach the age limit for marriage, the improvement of the norm reaches by raising the minimum age of marriage for women. The minimum age for marriage for women is the same as the minimum age for marriage for men, which is 19 (nineteen) years. The age limit is considered to have matured body and soul to be able to carry out marriage in order to realize the purpose of marriage properly without ending in divorce and get healthy and quality offspring. It is also hoped that an increase in the age limit higher than 16 (sixteen) years for women to marry will result in lower birth rates and reduce the risk of maternal and child mortality. It also can fulfill the rights of children so as to optimize children's growth and development including parental assistance and provide children access to the highest possible education (JOGLOABANG, 2019).

Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 16 of 2019 concerning Amendment to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage was endorsed by President Joko Widodo on October 14, 2019, in Jakarta. Law Number 16 the Year 2019 concerning Amendment to Law Number 1 the Year 1974 concerning Marriage shall come into force after the enactment of Acting. Minister of Law and Human Rights Tjahjo Kumolo on 15 October 2019 in Jakarta.

Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 16 of 2019 concerning Amendment to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage enacted and placed on the State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia in 2019 Number 186. Explanation of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 16 of 2019 concerning Amendment to the Law Law Number

1 of 1974 concerning Marriage is promulgated and placed in the Supplement to the State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6401.

### **Transnational Advocacy Network for Children Wedding Issues in Indonesia**

The concept of Transnational Advocacy Network according to Margareth Keck and Kathryn Sikkink are actors who work on an international scale on an issue. These actors are united by shared values, shared discourse, and a dense exchange of information and assistance. Then the concept of TAN, there are seven main actors who can contribute, one of which is an NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) of national and international scale. So far, the International Organizations have made many contributions which have greatly helped the country in the realization of a country's interest. One of them is UNICEF, UNICEF is collaborating with NGOs and the Indonesian government, where the UNICEF program is designed based on an agreement with the Indonesian government. UNICEF supports technical assistance, capacity building, advocacy, policy formulation and promotion of children's issues in Indonesia to help millions of children in Indonesia.

UNICEF Encourages the Indonesian government to ensure that children are free from violence, get protection, and feel safe when expressing their opinions in public without intimidation from any party. The target of UNICEF is the legal and policy framework in Indonesia which needs to be strengthened to prevent and deal with violence, mistreatment, exploitation, and neglect of children. The current legal and policy framework is conducive to promoting children's rights, but there are still some gaps. The legal framework must designate government agencies with clear duties, authorities, and responsibilities for handling and providing child protection services. Law reforms and new policies are available to protect children, for example, the Presidential Decree on the Prevention of Sexual Abuse



in Children, and the Juvenile Justice Law. Not only does UNICEF help advocate for child protection, but UNICEF also distributes fully voluntary funds supported by contributions from donor countries, intergovernmental organizations, private sector groups, and individual foundations. UNICEF in Indonesia is often a donor of NGO programs for several programs whose contexts are considered relevant to their attention (Dewi, 2017).

### **Politics Information**

Information Politics is an important way of an advocacy network campaign. Information is fundamental to the success of a transnational advocacy network. Keck and Sikkink argue that the ability to produce information effectively and efficiently is the most valuable trading currency in transnational advocacy networks (Silva, 2007). This way of information politics must be reliable and draw public attention to the issues brought by the network.

In this case, the advocacy network on the issue of child marriage consisting of several NGOs carried out a way of politicizing information by going directly to the community and through the media. The media itself is an important tool for the success of wider information distribution to the public. Several NGOs such as Rumah Kitab, the Indonesian Coalition for the Cessation of Child Marriage (including End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography & Trafficking of Children For Sexual Purposes (ECPAT Indonesia), Independent Youth Alliance / ARI, Institute for Criminal Justice System / ICJR, Indonesian Women's Coalition for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT Indonesia) Justice and Democracy / KPI conducts information politics by providing knowledge about child marriages to the public through campaigns, representatives' collection of NGOs to the community, through brochures distributed, mass media, or the internet.

In an effort to socialize child protection, UNICEF produced a book entitled "Child Protection", a guidebook for members of

parliament. The book was not published to the public, but the book was published to disseminate child protection to members of the House of Representatives. UNICEF hopes that parliament and its members will be at the forefront in the fight for child protection. UNICEF hopes that they can make legislation, oversee government activities, allocate financial resources and as leaders in the state/nation and society, they can raise awareness about these issues and provide advocacy.

### **Symbolic Politics**

The second method or strategy used by transnational advocacy networks is symbolic politics or symbolic politics. This strategy according to Keck and Sikkink arises when important events occur and are symbolically framed to develop community awareness and broaden the foundation of the network (Keck, 1999). The advocacy network carries out its struggle by using a variety of symbols or signs, actions, and certain stories in order to gather the confidence and support of the Public. This strategy is used to target and attract the attention of those whose positions are far away (Silva, 2007).

UNICEF's socialization efforts are also carried out by utilizing special momentum such as on world children's day, they join and conduct campaigns in the global movement to stop violence against children. In 2014 UNICEF produced an animated video to educate children about how to identify, avoid and report sexual violence and abuse.

The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA) together with 11 ministries and more than 30 organizations launched the "Joint Movement Stop Child Marriage. Minister for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, Yohana Yembise, invites all central and regional governments, parents, institutions, communities, the world efforts, and media to support the joint movement which will be carried out in five regions in Indonesia.

The purpose of this campaign is to invite the media and existing participants to help move opinion not to marry off their children who are still children.

During this time, Islamic educational institutions such as Islamic boarding schools also become a reference container for childcare both women and men as shelters to spend their “waiting period” to get a match. So, it is not uncommon to find children who have not yet attained education must be willing to be brought back by their parents to get married. This has become the concern of various pesantren in Garut so that they make various efforts to prevent the practice of child marriage. Starting from giving an appeal to students to get married over the age of 25 years, or Ajengan / Kyai / Nyai did not attend the wedding invitations of students who were forced to go home from boarding schools because it will be married by their parents.

This awareness has also spread among boarding school adolescents. Therefore, the activity “Public Campaign: Santri Voice Prevents Child Marriage” was held by Rahima in Garut Regency on Thursday, May 10, 2018, at Balewangi Sports Hall, Cisurupan, Garut.

This activity received full support from the Canadian Embassy and presented various relevant agencies in the Garut Regency government environment, policymakers, religious organizations, youth organizations, and women’s organizations, as well as various Taklim Assembly communities in Garut.

### **Leverage Politics**

Both ways or strategies such as information politics and symbolic politics in their travels are less effective in attracting the attention of the Indonesian government. The increasing number of child marriages in Indonesia is caused by Indonesian government policies that allow child marriages. These NGOs then built a network that was transnational in nature to assist their struggle. The transnational advocacy network in Indonesia put forward the issue of human rights for children. They voiced resistance to all forms of early marriage that harm children.

This is intended to create equality and justice for all Indonesian people. In the case of Indonesia, this transnational advocacy network carries out a movement that starts from the local level by directly plunging into society through persuasive means, to the international level by attracting the support of international organizations outside the country of Indonesia.

Leverage politics is a way or strategy by encouraging the involvement of actors who have stronger power to influence a country's policy and strengthen the movement of the transnational advocacy network. According to Robert C. Blitt, the effective use of leverage politics depends on the ability of the network to suppress and persuade targeted actors to change their behavior. There are types of political leverage, namely material (material leverage) and moral (moral leverage). The material can be money, goods, or various other benefits. Whereas moral refers to 'mobilization of shame', which places the behavior of the target actors as the center of international attention (Blitt, 2004). In transnational advocacy networks in Indonesia, both material and moral are used by these networks to attract the attention of international organizations that be the target. Material influence on the Indonesian government is needed to overcome the problem of child marriage. In addition, the moral influence used by this advocacy network is in the context of human rights.

In April 2017, 3 (three) petitioners representing survivors of child marriages: Endang Wasrinah, Maryanti, and Rasminah, represented by the Legal Counsel Team of the 18+ Coalition submitted the JR Marriage Law application to the Constitutional Court (MK). This petition is then recorded as case number 22 / PUU-XV / 2017 regarding the review of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The article tested in the petition is Article 27 paragraph (1) of the Constitution 1945 "All citizens are at the same position in law and government and are obliged to uphold the law and government with no exception".

After going through several trials and having experienced a delay without a clear reason, in December 2018 the Constitutional Court through its ruling stated to grant part of the petition. An excerpt from the Constitutional Court's decision states that if the phrase "age 16 (sixteen) years" in Article 7 paragraph (1) is contrary to the 1974 Constitution and does not have binding legal force. The decision of the Constitutional Court ruling also included "Ordering the legislators to within a maximum period of 3 (three) years make changes to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage (State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia of 1974 Number 1, Supplement to the State Gazette of the Republic Indonesia Number 3019), especially with regard to the minimum age of marriage for women ".

Based on the results of the Constitutional Court's decision in December 2018 civil society groups continued advocacy efforts to policymakers to carry out the mandate of the Constitutional Court's decision related to the age of marriage. Advocacy efforts were directed at the government through the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA) in order to produce a draft amendment to the 1974 Marriage Law which would be included as the Government Initiative Bill. Some discussions carried out with KPPA did not reach a meeting point, in fact, the discussion even widened to other articles that risked being rejected entirely by the Council. So, the civil society coalition then used another strategy. This time by lobbying women legislators in the Legislative Body (Baleg) to submit proposed changes to Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage into the List of the Open Cumulative Bill.

With the support of 24 (twenty-four) members, the bill was proposed to be discussed at the Baleg, in mid-August 2019. During the hearing with the Legislative Body, women's organizations stated the importance of following up on the Constitutional Court's decision and supported the DPR to change related policies the minimum age at marriage for women. The Legislative Body (Baleg) meeting then agreed to establish a Working Committee (P ANJA) whose duty is to carry out

the further discussion. The establishment of PANJA is a strategy chosen jointly so that the discussion process can be carried out faster when compared to returning the initiative to Commission VIII, bearing in mind that at the same time Commission VIII is discussing two other bills which are also no less important namely the Social Worker Bill and the Sexual Violence Prevention Bill.

In PANJA meetings, debates arose over the minimum age of marriage for women. Various proposals were submitted, starting from 17 (seventeen), 18 (eighteen) and 19 (nineteen) with their respective arguments. However, it was decided later at a Working Meeting with the Government on September 12, 2019, that the minimum marriage age for women and men was 19 (nineteen) years. Of the 10 (ten) factions in the DPR, 8 (eight) factions agreed to the amendment, while the other 2 (two) factions, F-PKS and F-PPP, survived at the age of 18 years. In addition to article 7 paragraph (1), it was also agreed that changes to paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of the same articles and the addition of new articles inserted between articles 65 and 66.

In the meeting, PANJA also argued that the Bill on Amendments to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage could be continued in the Second Level Discussion namely decision making so that the Bill on Amendments to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage was stipulated as Law concerning Amendment to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage.

The DPR's approval to make changes to the Marriage Law which is 45 (forty-five) years old is a breath of fresh air for efforts to eliminate child marriages in Indonesia. The existence of article 7 paragraph (1) of the Marriage Law (before the amendment) which states that marriage is permitted if women have reached 16 years of age is a form of legalization of child marriages, especially of girls; because the Child Protection Act clearly states that a child is someone who is not yet 18 (eighteen) years old. It does not stop there, the Marriage Law still leaves room for marriage for children under the provisions of the Act

(16 years for women, and 19 years for men) through the provision of dispensation.

Child marriage is a form of violence that is complete, physically, sexually, mentally, and socially. Child rights fighters even refer to child marriage as a form of legalization of rape of children in the name of marriage, because in fact, all forms of sexual relations with children are rape. Therefore, the change in the minimum age of marriage to 19 years for women and men is expected to stop child marriages.

### **Accountability Politics**

Accountability Politics or accountability politics is a strategy of an advocacy network to monitor state commitments to agreements that have been made so as not to deviate (Keck, 1999). In this way, the advocacy network with its position has a role to observe and control the level of agreement and practice, when the targeted actor has changed its position on a particular issue. In the case of revision of the marriage law in Indonesia, the transnational advocacy network together with other international organizations continues to monitor and control the implementation of the Indonesian government through increasing the marriage age limit in marriage law to prevent child marriage.

### **Conclusion**

Child marriage practices in Indonesia cannot be separated from the socio-economic, cultural, and religious conditions that grow and develop in society. In fact, religion has a strong impact on the implementation of child marriage in Indonesia.

In this country, it is common for laws to accommodate religious practices by freeing them from general rules that must be obeyed. Marriage involving children is arranged by the family and community-owned to find a girl or boy the right person to marry. Child marriage is a manifestation of tradition or tradition because of a combination of social, cultural, and economic factors. Therefore, transnational advocacy networks in Indonesia encourage the revision of marriage

laws in Indonesia to reduce the case of child marriage in Indonesia. Through the four ways in the concept of boomerang pattern proposed by Keck & Sikkink namely, information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics, this advocacy network was able to achieve success with the revision of marriage law 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage into Law 16 of 2019 by the Indonesian government with its marriage age limit being raised to 19 years for both men and women.

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# ISLAMIC GOVERNANCE IN INDONESIA

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## **Abstract**

*Governance study Islam be interesting to know more about the influence and governance excellence of Islam. penerepan Islamic governance more launched using the order of the company especially in the field of banking. The issue of governance of Islam that is run more offensive economic problems. The banking sector in Indonesia began to use the term Sharia to introduce that financial institutions are carried out in accordance with aspects of Islam that has been set in the Qur'aan and Hadith. Islamic-based governance that is based on Islamic Shari'a dangan by other countries already do. Islamic system of government is very varied and have unique characteristics not found in other state government system that is not characterized by Islam. Some use some form of theocracy and more use of consultation (Shura). While the legal guidelines that are used to use the laws of God as embodied in the al-Quran and al-Sunnah findings obtained in this study is a local Indonesian Islam (Darul Islam), then Indonesia is one of the Darul Islam (Islam Region) not Daulah Islamiyah (Islamic State), therefore, the presidential government*

*system should be implemented despite berkependudukan Muslim majority.*

**Keywords:** *Islamic Governance, Islamic Sharia, System of Government.*

## **Introduction**

The form of government with the Islamic system of discourse which is crucial for countries with majority Islamic population. with the majority population to Islam because it allows for the application of this Islamic concepts. With understanding and with the base, especially in Asian Muslim countries that apply a system of government based on Islamic Shari'a Shari'a.

Islamic governance structures that are still using a simple system, the head of government and organizations only be led by someone who has been appointed and has the capacity to carry out the duties and responsibilities carried. Unlike the existing organization is now more complex with more detailed job description that includes up to the smallest detail. Not only that, but the Islamic government that is run during the reign of the Prophet Muhammad in the leadership election has its own criteria.

For the financing and provision of services to the community, the Islamic system is not known as a tax but is better known by the name of charity. At the same taxes and zakat is quantified by the government or the Commander of the Faithful. However, the applicable tax within the Indonesian system is not only limited to the taxation of property owned but also on income earned by someone who has an income. While Zakat is only done with memoerhitungkan julah property owned by the society. Not only those who have great wealth, but the people who are not able to give everything he has. And distributed to those who do not have sufficient means to be administered so that it can carry out its activities as like the other communities. Tax and zakat same as paid-up once a year and its nature is an obligation.

Indonesia as a democracy with majority Islamic populations run both aspects. But for the management carried out by two different Institutions. With the Islamic system that has been implemented as it should be making some sections of the media that they use to support the use of Islam as a basis for implementing a system that regulates the patterns used to run a good government will only be used.

National development, namely Indonesia fully human development and the development community. In this age of globalization, irrespective of political and governmental system that was followed, Iran is a major country in the international arena today. Countries who dared to oppose the policies of countries of the world I (first) such as the United States and its allies, including advanced countries in Southwest Asia region in decades through development

“In view of the Twelver Shiites, there is a close connection between the concept of Imamate sangan and the concept of Wilayat al-Faqih. Both are the successor to the prophetic mission to preserve the religion and manage the affairs of the world. The state becomes a tool and bastions and guarantees upholding the law as a way of life of the people in achieving a happy life of the world and the hereafter. Thus, the Islamic Republic of Iran with the state of wilayat al-faqih system has been institutionalized / institutionalization of religious values in the political structure of the country “(Afala, Tamar, and Murfi, 2009),

“Some financial resources in the state system of Islam is zakat, ghanimah, fai ‘, jizya. and kharaj / taxes. The proceeds of the sources of the proceeds will be allocated to the public interest such as poverty eradication, national defense and security, legal development, infrastructure and social facilities, and Education “(Syahwalan, 2019),

“The existence of the bureaucracy to support the running of the government has been around since the days of Muawiya bin Abu Sufyan. Even the bureaucratic system and the system of government security institutions Muawiya bin Abu Sufyan, then become a reference

for future Islamic government system even today. The system of government during the leadership period Muawiyah I regularly managed and structured. The presence of the bureaucratic system and the security system is systematically very helpful in the process of government (Amaliatulwalidain, 2018).

“The system of Islamic government is very varied and have unique characteristics not found in other state government system that is not characterized by Islam. Some use some form of theocracy and more use of consultation (Shura). While the legal guidelines that are used to use the laws of God as embodied in the al-Quran and al-Sunnah (Suhaimi, 2019).

Islam and democracy is a system that is not contradictory but interrelated because in a democracy where there is a consensus that deliberation is an aspect of the political system adopted in islam. Islam justify the existence of the state with any system, aligned along or together with the aim of sharia, which is able to maintain religion, possessions, soul, mind, and offspring. With this statement, then Indonesia is one of the Darul Islam (Islam Region) not Daulah Islamiyah (Islamic State), therefore, the presidential government system should be implemented though berkependudukan majority of Muslims “(Zakir, 2019).

## **Research Methods**

This type of research is a normative juridical research. Normative research is a scientific activity that is based on a method, systematic and specific rationale that aims to learn something or some of the symptoms of a particular law, by way of analyzing them. Normative research is also known as library research or study document for this research was conducted or directed only at the written regulations or materials other law. The nature of this research is descriptive legal research (legal descriptive study). Legal research is descriptive meaning, that researchers in analyzing intends to provide an overview or disclosure of subject and object of research as well as results of research done

and here researchers did not do justification to the research results. This study is also intended for exploration and clarification regarding the phenomenon of social reality, the way to describe several variables related to the problem and the unit that investigated the phenomena tested.

## **Result and Discussion**

In four of the reigns of the government caliphate delineate and form of representation of the Islamic government. if we learn that the policies in each period this Ilhilafah have some differences that influenced the development of domestic conditions. For example, is the policy of the caliphate Umar who did not leave the land the spoils (ghanimah) to the Tantara, but the whole land was handed over and managed by the government. Instead the soldiers receive regular income from the government. This policy is taken either because earlier since the time of the Prophet's lands outcome of the war, divided percent for the soldiers who fought - and the remainder left to the government. This policy was one reason the Islamic territory that is increasingly widespread due to the conquest of foreign lands, so it is unlikely the entire land was handed over to the soldiers. As well as the government needs to be the defense of outsiders, so that professional soldiers formed a given allowances by the government.

Islamic government is much different with the understanding developed in the West. Then use the theory as well as Western languages, such as democracy, socialist, liberal and such will not be able to describe the concept of Islamic rule perfectly. But strangely, it is not rare that we get in the writings of someone who claimed to be a scholar of modern Islam, states that "Islamic government is a democratic government, or even from saying that the Islamic government and enforcing a society "socialist". Things like this can result in distortion of understanding of the concept of true Islamic government.

Secularism is the principle that is contrary to Islam. However, there are some people in this country that seeks to fight for this principle

of secularism. It was always for them the principles of secularism (worldliness) are automatically identified as progress (progress). So, any suggestion to look at the practical political and socio-economic planning in a religious point of view, accused of being a reactionary attitude, or at least as “impractical idealism”. Apparently, this time not a few Muslim scholars have similar opinions. And in this case the evident influence of Western thought.

Indeed, this secular understanding has developed in the West, caused by things in their own environment, Western nations have been let down by religion (their religion). So natural that if they attempt such a way as to separate religion from government affairs. Attempts to replicate the Western system, with regards everything from the West is “up to date” is a form of weakness and ignorance. An error when attempting to apply these principles to our country, as a nation we have never experienced what was previously experienced by Western nations.

Later in the secular government, all decisions and provisions are not based or at least memperhentikan the moral law or morals. But based and just look based on its own interests (expediency) as the only obligation under which government should ditundukan. And the certainty that your opinion of what the interest alone it must be different in each groups, parties, nations, and peoples. Then surely happened confusing interest in political matters (national or international). For it is clear, what is judged as its own interests by a group or nation, is not always congruent with the interests of the group or other nations.

This is not a secular government bowed himself to the objective moral demands. But all seek to promote the interests of each of which is certain to collide with one another. So that more genjar disagreement occurred between them challenge the idea of what is right and what is wrong in human relationships, because they think glasses are achieving that interest. In short, in a modern secular government now: there are no solid norms that can be used to distinguish between good and



evil, and between right and wrong. This is an expression described by Muhammad Assad.

So, the only criterion which is probably the “interests of the nation”. But because there is no single objective measure in the values of decency, then the various groups of people - even within a nation - may and usually have divergent views on what constitutes the main interest of the nation. A very sincere capitalists believe that human civilization will be destroyed if the economic liberalism replaced by socialism. Meanwhile, a socialist with a very sincere also argues that the civilization can be maintained only with capitalism has been replaced by socialism. They each have a view kesusilaannya itself, the concept of what should or should not do to others. And this decency view depends only on purely economic outlook.

In other words, the secular government is a government that is fragile from the inside, in the absence of unity that can bind them. Unlike the Islamic government that unites each one of the people with a treatise that is unaffected by differences of a physical nature and be able to unify the vision and mission in a clear understanding.

There are accusations that if the Islamic system set up, it will create a government with a theocracy. If there is a man who set questions that opinion then the answer could be “yes” and could be “no”, depending on what is meant theocracy.

The answer could be “yes” if by that we mean theocracy is a system of society in which all the laws in the world, on the last level, comes from what is seen by the public as the Law (Shari’a). But we replied with a firm “no” when people identify it with the business theocracy - is already well known in the history of Europe in the middle ages - to submit the highest political authority in the hands of the priests. The reason is because in Islam are not known or clergy clerical rule, and there is no similar institution such as found in the Christian Church (a set of doctrinal and sacramental functions organized).

Because every adult Muslim has the right to perform religious functions, then no person or group that is considered legitimate to

have a special sanctity thanks to religious functions were handed over to them. Thus, the term “theocracy” as it is usually understood in the West, did not we meet in the Islamic environment. So clearly the Islamic system of government is not a theocracy that is understood by the West.

As already mentioned above, that there is an opinion stating Islam has a tendency of “socialist”, citing the Islamic government aims to establish a structure of society, which will secure for all people the same opportunity, economic security, and a division of national wealth fairly.

But on the other side with equally explicit one can also assert that Islam is against socialism, if it means that (as done by socialism, Marxism) an arrangement that is hard on the whole life of the community, putting the economy more powerful than decency, and degrading to become non more than a mere economic factors. Because the term socialist is perceived as part of the communist ideology of Marxism. Then clearly Islamic system of government was not socialism, because the Islamic view about people is not limited to factor in the benefit of the nation, but it is a major part of the goals of justice and prosperity.

As a conclusion, it is very misleading if we are applying the terms of the non-Muslim on the concept of Islamic government. Since the concept of Islam has a special public orientation for himself and vary a lot with modern western social orientation. Islam itself can only be interpreted properly done in his own environment and to use his own terms.

However, it does not mean Islam rejects all terms of the kindness that was of modern Western concept. We can take lessons from some of the things that exist in the Western concept. Only misleading when saying that modern Western concept that is now representing the concept of Islam as a whole.

Islam is a perfect system. Inside are the rules that govern all forms of interactions among humans, such as social systems, economics, politics, etc. Such rules are necessary to establish a state that will implement and apply these rules to humans. Islam has set a typical

system for the government. Islam also has set a typical system for managing government. In addition, Islam requires that all laws of Personality (Islam) to the people.

Islamic countries are countries that are political. The Islamic State is not sacred. Its head of state is not considered to have the properties of a saint. States referred to here is the Caliphate headed by the Caliph, who is sometimes referred to as the commander of the believers, sultan, or priest.

Khilafah is the general leadership for all Muslims in the world to enforce Islamic sharia law and to carry the Islamic da'wah to all corners of the world. Enforcing Khilafah is obligatory for all Muslims. Carry out obligations to carry out other obligations that have been imposed Allah to the Muslims, it is imperative that demands the implementation without bargaining again nor compromise. Melalaikannya is one of the largest immoral acts and God will punish the perpetrators with a painful doom.

Argument regarding the obligation to uphold the Caliphate in the Qur'an, that Allah has commanded the Prophet to enforce the law among the Muslims with the laws that have been revealed. Allah says:

*"Then decide cases among men with what Allah sent down, and do not follow their desires to leave the truth that has come to you."*  
(TQS. Al Maidah: 48)

*"Hi, folks who believe, obey Allah and obey His Messenger and Ulil Amri among you all."* (TQS. An-Nisa: 59)

## **Objectives Governance in Islam**

Allah has explained some of the purposes and objectives of the Islamic government, namely:

### **1. Maintain Religion**

Countries, especially the caliph is responsible for maintaining the Islamic faith. In this case done by optimizing the authority that has been given by syara him. It is the state is the only institution

entitled to punish the apostates and to give a warning to those who deviate from religion. Words of the Prophet: Whoever changes his religion (apostasy) then slay” (HR. Bukhari).

For non-Muslim people are not forced berakidah Islam. Left with a faith that believes in and to practice their religion in accordance with instructions and not allowed mensyiarkannya. However, if a non-Muslim to convert to Islam then was not allowed to return to the previous religion (apostasy). If that happens then the sanction imposed for apostasy.

2. Arrange public affairs by applying Islamic rules to them without discriminating between one individual to another. Word of Allah: Be ye establish laws between them by what Allah has revealed (TQS. Al Maidah: 49) and the words of The Prophet: An imam (head of state) is the regulatory and he will be held accountable for the management is.
3. Protecting the countries and people from those who undermine the state. How to protect the country’s borders, preparing a strong military force and sophisticated weapons to fight the enemy, as has been done by the Prophet and the caliphs after him. Word of Allah: Prepare to (face) them whatever you are able of, in the form of the horses were tethered so you terrify the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others besides them who you do not know (TQS. Al-Anfal: 60).
4. Share the propagation of Islam to all mankind outside of Daula, by running the jihad as did the Prophet in several wars, such as the conquest of Mecca and the battle of Tabuk. So also, been done by the Caliph after him. They do a lot of conquest as to the region Syria, Iraq, Egypt, North Africa, and spread Islam there. Messenger of Allah said: “Jihad and equipment (continued) going on since I was appointed to be an apostle to the last generation of my people fight the Antichrist. Jihad cannot be canceled by zalimnya bad leaders are fair or unfair leader.

5. Reducing the conflicts and disputes among members of the community (Muslims and non-Muslims) with full justice. This is done by means of sanctions against those who do evil, showing justice toward those who have been wronged in accordance with the prescribed law of God. Word of Allah: “If you establish laws between people let you menghukumi fairly.” (TQS. An-Nisa: 58).

Abu Bakr once said: “People who are (considered) was strong during you is weak in front of me, until I can take (the rights) thereof. People who are (considered) weak amid strong you are in front of me, until I can take (right) for him. “

Consistency in running the laws that have been disyariahkan become an important aspect in the implementation of Islamic governance, especially in the system of the government in power.

### **Erect Islamic System of Government based on the Principles below**

1. Sovereignty in Syara’

An individual shall not maintain businesspeople or other individuals with as he pleases. Deeds of individuals and peoples are bound by the orders and prohibitions of Allah. In other words, in the view of Islam, not one human being has the right legislation in place (makes laws). Thus, there is no legislature in the structure of Islamic government because sovereignty is in the hands of Islamic rules, namely the Qur’an and Sunnah. Not in the hands of the people. Word of Allah:

“Establishing the law belongs only to God.” (TQS. Al An’am: 57)

“Whoever does not judge by what Allah hath revealed, they are the people who disbelieve.” (TQS. Al Maidah: 44)

2. Power is in the hands of People

The Muslims have a duty to implement sharia laws. However, the Muslims is not possible to apply Islamic law on their own without their rulers (judges). Therefore, the law gives the right to appoint a ruler (Caliph) to the people. In other words, umatlah choosing

Khalifah and give allegiance to him. Khalifahlah who represent the people in carrying out activities of power (government). Imam Muslim narrated that Ubadah bin Saamit said:

“We have memba’at Prophet to faithfully listen and obey orders., Both are difficult or easy, either in a state that we enjoy or not to our liking.”

3. Khalifah is an obligation for all Muslims

Shari’a has required of every Muslim to memba’at a Chalif. Messenger of Allah said:

“Those who died and on his shoulders no allegiance then death is the death of ignorance.” (HR. Muslim).

In addition, Muslims around the world cannot have more than one leader and more than one country. Islamic system of government is a unitary system. One country, one system, and the Caliph that one. The following hadith relating to this case:

“If there are two people Khalifah, slay the last of them.” (HR. Muslim)

4. Khalifah the only party entitled to do tabanni (adoption) to the laws of Personality and uphold the constitution and legislation.

Caliph as the head of state has the obligation to manage the affairs of the Muslims. Islamic Sharia gives him a mandate to protect and maintain the affairs of the people. This is the background why people give power to the head of state to govern by the laws of Allah. Therefore, the Caliph will strive to uphold Islam in society and called for the message of Islam to all corners of the world.

Khalifah also has the authority to assign one opinion (become law) among the opinions that exist in society. In this case there are rules of Personality, which reads:

“The order of Imam (Khalifah) will eliminate disputes”. The Muslims shall be bound by the laws that will be chosen by the Caliph of obedience to the leader is part of obedience to Allah and the Prophet. Word of Allah:

“O ye who believe, obey Allah and obey the Messenger, and ulil with authority among you.” (TQS. An Nisa: 59).

#### 5. Structure erect an Islamic Government on Seven Pillars

The seven pillars are (1) the head of country or Khalifah, (2) maid head of state (Muawin), (3) governor (wali), (4) warlord (commander of the Jihad) and the Armed Forces, (5) the judiciary (Qadli), (6) administrative apparatus (jihazul idari), (7) eople assembly (Composed of Muslims and non-Muslims, both men and women. Its function is to make corrections to the ruler, not to make law / laws for making laws just right of Allah).

The whole pillar is the implementing agency for the Daulah Islamiyah. This pattern has also been upheld by the Prophet in Medina. The Khalifah after he was run the same pattern based on the instructions of the Prophet.

Islamic system of government is the only system of government that can provide a solution to the various problems of human life because human beings are only allowed subject to the laws of Allah is Aware of His creation.

With the system of Islamic government, people have the power to ensure that the leader is only applying the law of Allah kaffah and do not promote their own lusts.

Islamic system of government guarantees administrative services and provision of facilities for all citizens, both Muslims and non-Muslims, in order to live easily in an Islamic framework.

In the Islamic system of government, the state would be an effective means to disseminate the propagation of Islam to all mankind in the world. Islamic countries will have strong armed forces to facilitate this task, as well as to maintain state security and defense of Islam against the enemies of Islam.

With the Islamic system of government, the rules of Islam will be tied together into a unified system that is perfect, balanced and coordinated. The function of each system depends on each other, and

no one else that could be implemented in full without the participation of other systems. Therefore, we can see how the system of Islamic rule binding on all the systems into one to produce a live view of the most superior and unique in the history of mankind.

## **Conclusion**

Government with the Islamic concept applied some Islamic-majority countries Islam to uphold Islamic values. As a government by using the concept of Islam has some teachings of Islam as the priority benefit of the people of the day to day implementation would be a very good choice to be applied by the world community, especially in countries with a Muslim majority. Islamic system will not interfere with minorities in Indonesia because Islamic system could embrace the whole of society.

System administration based on Islam does not mean to use the system of government as it has been run at the time of the prophet, but with organizations and also to establish good governance. Islamic governance can be measured with the values set out in fulfillment of Islamic Sharia Islamic aspect aspect means the application of Islamic governance are met. No need to replace the system of government into a caliphate and change the whole system of government in accordance with the model of the prophetic era governance model.

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# THE ROLE OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY IN KEEPING OUTER SPACE SAFE AND SUSTAINABLE (CASE STUDY: GUIDELINES FOR THE LONG-TERM SUSTAINABILITY OF OUTER SPACE ACTIVITIES)

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## **Abstract**

*It was emphasized that space activities were increasingly becoming an international and collective endeavour. United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (UNCOPUOS), the sole United Nations forum that discusses space issues, is a multilateral diplomacy arena. Diplomacy can assist in addressing the challenges of encouraging responsible behavior in space through the development of norms and voluntary transparency and confidence-building measures. One of the latest issues discussed is how to keep space as the common heritage of mankind stays safe and sustainable for the next generation. UNCOPUOS had been developing guidelines for the long-term sustainability of outer space activities which was adopted at the UNCOPUOS Committee Session in 2019. It was a remarkable achievement. This study aims to explain the*

*role of multilateral diplomatic efforts to enhance the safety and sustainability of the outer space through international measures to promote safe and responsible space activities. This study used the descriptive approach. It will describe the multilateral diplomacy processes, obstacles and challenges that occur in the discussion of the guidelines. The result shows that multilateral diplomacy is still an effective mean of negotiating the interests of countries. Keywords: multilateral, sustainable, outer space, diplomacy.*

## **Introduction**

In the post-World War II era, international politics was dominated by multilateralism (Gálvez, 2011; Hamilton & Langhorne, 2010). Countries compete to form multilateral organizations, both within the UN system or outside the UN forum. But the development of international politics in the last few decades shows the tendency that multilateralism is no longer a favorite of countries. The stagnation in discussing several major issues at the UN and the failure of forums such as the Non-Aligned Movement shows that multilateralism is being abandoned. The emergence of the idea of multi-track diplomacy involving more actors than the state and covering a broader range of issues also influenced the development of multilateral organizations that were increasingly abandoned. Multilateralism especially through the UN forum is seen as not solving the problem. One issue that also did not obtain a solution at the UN was the issue of outer space.

The issue of outer space at the UN was discussed at the United Nations Committee for the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (UNCOPUOS) session forum which takes place 3 times each year, including scientific and technical subcommittees, legal subcommittees, and Committee sessions. Each session discussed several outer space issues. One of the characteristics of UNCOPUOS as a multilateral forum is that all decisions must be taken by consensus, UNCOPUOS does not recognize the voting system in decision making. These characteristics ultimately

make it difficult to make decisions on crucial issues. As an illustration, the issue of the need for delimitation between air space and outer space has so far not met a common ground, although it has been discussed in all UNCOPUOS session forums, especially the legal subcommittee session, since 1967.

Referring to the development of world politics, currently the issue of the international community is the issue of sustainable development. The main content is how all the development processes carried out by countries do not damage the earth's environment so that the earth can be used sustainably by subsequent generations. This issue was later spread and brought to the UNCOPUOS forum. Concerns of countries are how all outer space activities carried out and planned to be carried out by countries run in a sustainable manner. As is known, outer space is not an unlimited resource, outer space is limited. There is a saturation point for example within the limitations of available orbital slots. In addition, the increasingly widespread launch of outer space vehicles and the increasing number of actors involved in outer space activities also increase the potential for damage to the outer space environment, partly due to the increase in outer space junk that is formed from launched objects that have exhausted their orbits or are damaged by collisions or even deliberately shot with anti-satellite weapons. The distinguishing characteristic of the earth is that outer space is not the sovereign territory of any country, so the process of monitoring and controlling outer space activities so as not to damage the outer space environment is more difficult than on earth.

Referring to the conditions above, the countries which are members of UNCOPUOS are trying to compile a guideline for the countries' outer space activities. The guidelines prepared are expected to be a guideline for countries to carry out their outer space activities responsibly and pay attention to the sustainability of outer space activities for future generations. However, with the decreasing interest and confidence of countries in multilateral politics and diplomacy, is the preparation of the guidelines possible to be implemented quickly,

precisely, and in accordance with the objectives? The characteristics of outer space activities which are currently still dominated by a small number of countries and the characteristics of UNCOPUOS as a UN forum also influence the process.

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **Multilateral Diplomacy**

Multilateral diplomacy is defined as the practice of involving more than two nations or parties in achieving diplomatic solutions to supranational problems (Mahbubani, 2013). It has several advantages, is subject-focused and concentrates minds on one issue or series of related issues, ideally brings together all the parties whose agreement is necessary, encourages informality in its corridors, may even develop a certain esprit de corps among its members, has a president with a vested interest in its success, always provides especially in the case of international organizations opportunities for bilaterals, not only on matters on the formal agenda but on those which are quite outside it; this is of special value to states that do not enjoy diplomatic relations with each other or cannot afford an extensive network of embassies, if it is an ad hoc conference, embody a deadline that will also help to concentrate minds, because it cannot go on forever promises to make agreements stick by its reflexive disposition to provide monitoring or follow-up machinery, and even if no agreement is achieved, a multilateral conference at least shows that the participants have tried to do something about the problem on its agenda, e.g. the annual UN climate change conferences, and is thus a perfect vehicle for so-called public diplomacy ((Berridge, n.d.). Yet, multilateral diplomacy also has disadvantages. It usually takes a long time to reach the consensus. Its nature is fragmented and polarized.

## **Result and Discussion**

The United Nations has been associated with space exercises since the time the absolute starting point of the space age. Since the time, the

main human-made satellite circled the Earth in 1957, the UN has been resolved to space being utilized for serene purposes. This dispatch, as a component of International Geophysical Year, denoted the beginning of the space age, the principal utilization of satellite innovation for the progression of science, and the start of human endeavors to guarantee the serene employments of space. This was followed during the 1960s by a fast extension in the investigation of room, beginning in April 1961 when Yuri Gagarin turned into the main individual to circle the Earth, and finishing in Neil Armstrong's 'goliath jump for humanity', in July 1969.

Amidst the Cold War, there was a developing worry in the universal network that space may turn out to be one more field for extreme contentions between the superpowers or would be left for misuse by a set number of nations with the important assets.

In 1958, soon after the starting of the primary fake satellite, the General Assembly in goals 1348 (XIII) built up an impromptu Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS), made out of 18 individuals, to think about the exercises and assets of the United Nations, the specific offices and other worldwide bodies identifying with the quiet employments of space, authoritative courses of action to encourage universal participation right now the system of the United Nations and legitimate issues which may emerge in projects to investigate space. In 1959, the General Assembly settled COPUOS as a lasting body, which had 24 individuals at that point, and reaffirmed its order in goals 1472 (XIV). From that point forward, COPUOS has been filling in as a point of convergence for global collaboration in the quiet investigation and utilization of space, keeping up close contacts with administrative and non-legislative associations worried about space exercises, accommodating trade of data identifying with space exercises and aiding the investigation of measures for the advancement of universal participation in those exercises.

Crafted by COPUOS has been helped by the two subcommittees, the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee and the Legal Subcommittee.

The mind-boggling issues which have emerged nearby the improvement of room innovation are the primary worry of the two COPUOS Subcommittees, which met without precedent for Geneva in 1962 and afterward normally every year. Individuals from COPUOS are States and since 1959 the enrollment of COPUOS has developed consistently, making COPUOS probably the biggest board of trustees in the United Nations. Notwithstanding States various worldwide associations, including both intergovernmental and non-legislative associations, have onlooker status with COPUOS and its Subcommittees.

The mandate of the UNCOPUOS targets reinforcing the universal lawful system overseeing space, bringing about improved conditions for growing global participation in the quiet employments of space. The order likewise indicates that the Committee should underpins endeavors at the national, provincial and worldwide levels, including those of elements of the United Nations framework and global space-related substances, to amplify the advantages of the utilization of room science and innovation and their applications. By and large, the Committee means to build intelligibility and collaboration in global participation in space exercises at all levels.

The long-term sustainability of outer space activities, known as the LTS Guideline, has been discussed in the UNCOPUOS session since 2004 when Chairman of the Committee Karl Doetsch conveyed a discourse on the issue (UNOOSA, 2020). The Working Group on the Long-term Sustainability of Outer Space Activities is an activity under the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee (STSC) of the UN COPUOS. The Working's Group would likely inspect and propose measures to guarantee the protected and manageable utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes. In 2007, at that point Chair Gérard Brachet contributed a white paper on the issue. The next year, the French delegates reported its arrangement to present an official proposition to UN COPUOS to add a maintainability thing to the plan. This prompted its consideration in the STSC plan in 2010, and to the foundation of an official Working Group under the chairmanship of



South Africa's Peter Martinez. The Committee concluded the Working Group's Terms of Reference in 2011 and built up four expert group under the Working Group to discuss about subjects pertinent to long-term space sustainability (Foundation, 2018).

The guideline left a long-showing exertion to the council to build up rules that, while themselves conveying no legitimate power, can be joined into national laws and guidelines. The rules talked about by the working gathering perceive the delicacy of the space condition and the present and future dangers that should be tended to on the off chance that we are to guarantee that space can be successfully utilized later on. The nine rules affirmed by the working gathering spread a scope of issues, including improved enrollment of room articles and sharing of data about them, performing combination appraisals for all items that can control their directions, tending to dangers related with the uncontrolled re-entry of space object, and monitors safety measures when utilizing lasers in space.

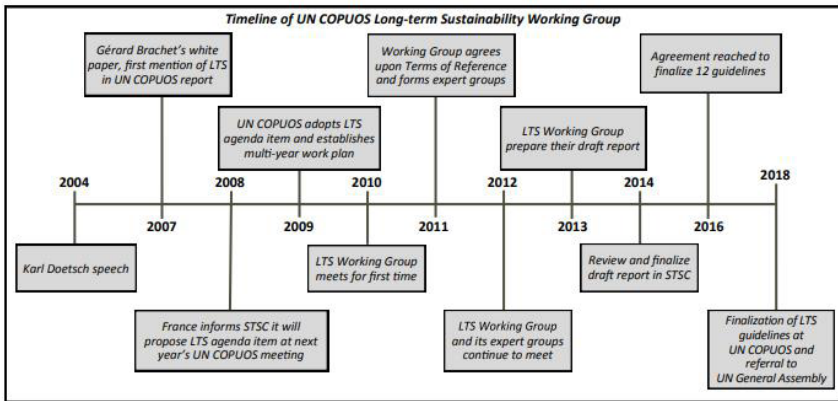
The guideline does not convey any lawful power all by themselves, yet part countries are urged to consolidate them into their laws and guidelines. The primary concern that while these rules are deliberate and non-official, the 87 states that have consented to them are currently obliged to incorporate them as they create future national space-related enactment.

The rules are the last result of a long-running working group on the LTS set up by COPUOS in 2010 and led by Peter Martinez of South Africa. That exertion had its good and bad times. Gatherings that showed solid coordinated effort were trailed by times of complete gridlock. Delight on quick advancement was inflexibly trailed by distress and dissatisfaction when an impasse happened.

The working group had a unique four-year order, however while it accomplished no accord on rules toward the finish of the four years, it had gained enough ground for COPUOS to broaden the gathering for a long time. With 12 rules endorsed toward the finish of that two-year expansion, the board of trustees affirmed a second two-year

augmentation to 2018. Notwithstanding the 21 rules the working gathering finished, it was dealing with seven additional rules that it presently could not seem to arrive at agreement upon. Those draft rules remembered some for subjects, for example, vicinity tasks and dynamic evacuation of space debris just as utilizing space exclusively for peaceful purposes.

**Figure 1.**  
Timeline of UN COPUOS Long-term Sustainability Working Group



Sources:[http://swfound.org/media/205929/swf\\_un\\_copuos\\_lts\\_guidelines\\_fact\\_sheet\\_july\\_2017.pdf](http://swfound.org/media/205929/swf_un_copuos_lts_guidelines_fact_sheet_july_2017.pdf)

The discussion of the LTS guidelines at UNCOPUOS is not an easy process. UNCOPUOS as a multilateral organization consists of various state interests. The world space sector is still dominated by a small number of countries known as space faring nations. But it must be remembered that the concept of space is a common heritage of mankind. In addition, the 1967 Outer Space Treaty has emphasized that space should only be used for peaceful purposes (although the definition of peace is still debatable). As a result, the issue of the use of space in a sustainable manner is the issue of all countries in UNCOPUOS, both space faring nations and emerging countries or even countries that have not developed specific space technology and applications. The existence of differences in interests and differences

in the level of mastery of space technology resulted in the discussion of the LTS issue at UNCOPUOS being highly polarized.

The LTS issue was specifically discussed at the STSC session. In addition, UNOOSA as the UNCOPUOS Secretariat has also held several intersessional meetings that specifically discuss the issue of LTS, this meeting was held to precede the STSC session.

The issue of LTS is a concern of all countries given the nature of space as a common heritage of mankind. More and more actors are involved in space activities, including the number of non-state actors, and the increasing space technology that has been developed by several countries has led to more space objects being launched. The consequence of the increasing number of space objects being launched will result in more space junk in space. This was one of the main discussions at the working group meeting on LTS. Recent developments with the rise of the manufacture of small satellites that even only a few pounds in weight also add to the burden of the space environment. Until now, there is no technology that can clean up the space junk. In fact, the existence of space junk has the potential to cause damage to active space objects.

Recently, a new phenomenon has arisen in the exploration and exploitation of space with the idea of space mining. The scarcity of natural resources on earth has indeed reached an alarming stage. As a result, several countries have made efforts to find new natural resources that can be utilized in space. Several studies conducted have shown that there are enormous space resources that can be utilized by humans on earth. At this point, the idea of mining in space emerged. On the one hand, this is quite encouraging given the potential to patch up the lack of resources on earth. On the other side, the growing exploration and exploitation of space also raises new concerns about the sustainability of space.

The existence of differences in interests and differences in the level of space ability causes the process of discussing LTS issues at UNCOPUOS to take place very tough. Pharynx space countries want

that the LTS guidelines to be compiled will not limit their efforts to explore and exploit space. On the other hand, emerging space countries want the guidelines to explicitly limit space exploitation efforts so that space can be utilized sustainably. In addition, another issue which is the subject of debate is the issue of technical assistance that developing countries want to do by space-faring countries. In the international space community, technical assistance has substantial financial consequences and has the potential to be a vehicle for technology transfer. Space-faring countries strongly object to this proposal because in addition to incurring new costs for them, the dual-use nature of space technology makes this technology highly confidential.

The issue of LTS at the UNCOPUOS meeting is also inseparable from international politics. As is known, there is competition between the United States, the European Union, Russia and China in the exploration and exploitation of space. The competition has political consequences with the efforts of each country to include their points of interest in the guidelines being compiled. The effort was also to show their dominance in the forum. In several sessions, there was a quite intense and protracted debate between the US delegation and the Russian delegation, for example, because the real choice of words did not have significant differences in meaning. In the 2017 STSC session, for example, the debate between the delegations of the two countries was escalated enough to almost cause a scene, a matter which had almost never occurred at the UNCOPUOS forum.

On the other hand, developing countries also face a dilemma in the preparation of the LTS guidelines. The massive effort to launch a space vehicle and space mining efforts raises concerns about the sustainability of the space environment which will certainly have an impact on the earth's environment. Therefore, there is support from developing countries for the LTS guidelines to explicitly regulate space environment protection efforts. One example is the guideline asking countries to make space debris removal efforts to reduce the potential for damage to the space environment and to protect active space vehicles.

However, the existence of these guidelines raises the consequence that developing countries must make similar efforts, while developing countries do not yet can do so. In addition, if strict restrictions on space activities are carried out through the LTS guidelines, developing countries will find it increasingly difficult to obtain space technology.

Meanwhile, the consensus decision-making concept at UNCOPUOS also resulted in a prolonged discussion of the LTS issue. All UNCOPUOS decisions must be agreed by all member countries. As a result, the choice of vocabulary used in an article of the guideline can take up sessions for hours and even days.

The LTS Guidelines were adopted at the June 2018 of COPUOS session. It contained in the 62nd meeting of the COPUOS meeting (UN COPUOS, 2019). In the report, the LTS guideline are contained in add II p.50. These LTSOSA rules, although they have been embraced, are as yet open to update following improvements and execution rehearses under COPUOS methods. The guideline in the addition to the COPUOS A/74/20 report contain methodologies to guarantee feasible space exercises. This rule is non-lawfully authoritative, yet nations, which endorsed the rules, are urged to actualize it reliably with the standards and standards of worldwide law (Permatasari, 2019). Following the COPUOS report record, the guideline contains 21 guidelines.

## **Conclusion**

From the above explanation, it can be concluded that at the UN forum, multilateral diplomacy is a necessity given the nature of the United Nations itself as a multilateral organization. However, the case of the LTS guideline discussion shows that multilateral diplomacy requires energy, time, costs, and even the potential for huge conflicts of interest. The existence of various groups of countries in UNCOPUOS raises a variety of interests. The large number of member states also has the consequence of increasing differences in interests. In addition, the nature of space technology, which is a dual-use technology and only

owned by a small number of countries, also makes it difficult to bring together various state interests at a meeting point.

From this study, it can be seen that very large multilateral diplomacy as in the UN forums is no longer attractive. This diplomacy requires too much effort and energy with results that are not necessarily commensurate. Therefore, in the future, it seems that countries will prefer to resolve international problems, including space issues, through smaller forums, groups of several countries, or even through bilateral diplomacy.

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# UN JOINT SPECIAL ENVOYS TO THE SYRIAN WAR: FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE TO THE WORLD PEACEKEEPING CONTRIBUTION (2012-2014)

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## **Abstract**

*After the death of his father in 2000, Bashar al-Assad took office as the President of Syria. His father, Hafez al-Assad who held the chair for 29 years was continued by Bashar as the political dynasty in Syria reigned. The people of Syria demanded the political transition and constitutional reform through several peace demonstrations and ended up with violence which later caused armed conflict. This armed conflict was escalating between the government and the opposition groups. Hence, it was escalated into a civil war. The conflict that received international attention, was also concerning the United Nations (UN). The UN as the international organization presupposed to maintain global peace arranged certain procedures to mediate the Syrian war. By sending UN joint special envoys to Syria, it was expected, the UN would defuse the war. Therefore, this paper will focus on the good governance system encouraged by the UN as a step to defuse the war of Syria and maintain the international peacekeeping by showing the efforts of three special joint envoys of the UN.*

Keywords: UN, UN Special Envoy, Syrian War, Bashar al-Assad Regime

## **Introduction**

After a few decades, Assad's regime rules the Syrian government, Bashar al-Assad who is the son of Hafez al-Assad, replacing his father as the head of state. Hafez was the former president that held the power in 29 years. Bashar started to be in power since 2000 and 2007 with the vote result exceeding 99.7 percent (Nohlen & Hartmann, 2001). The number of voters which was almost absolute took place due to the death of his father and the absence of other candidates (Black, 2007). The people had only been faced with two options, either to vote and support him or refuse the replacement (Associated Press, 2007).

The phenomenon of a political dynasty in Syria is a situation that makes the people were dissatisfied and not happy (Borneman, 2007). In fact, in 2011 there was a demonstration that took place when people went to the streets to demand political and constitutional reform (Amar & Prashad, 2013). This demonstration has happened to voice out the demands which have been accumulated from public unrest to urge Bashar to leave his power. In contrast, the authority responded with coercion against the protestors.

Started from a peaceful action against the government, this demonstration turned to unavoidable chaos. However, it happened due to the protestors fight back the authorities as they forced them (Amnesty International, 2015). Besides, the number of Syrian militaries has joined the rebel sides and established a coalition named the Free Syrian Army (FSA). FSA is a leading opposition group against the Bashar regime. In the end, the armed conflict between the two aroused to a "civil war". The civil war between these two sides is represented by Assad's regime and the civilian which is supported by the FSA (O'Bagy, 2013).

After several years since the conflict erupted since 2011, the Syrian war condition is worsening (Fisher, 2016). The authorities started to

be overwhelm fighting against the moderate rebel group which was supported by the U.S. Foreign Intelligence Service in fighting the regime better (Harress, 2015). Therefore, this circumstance has resulted in certain challenges for all involved parties. With all the amount of humanitarian cost spent in the Syrian war, it implicates explicitly as the threat for the security and international peace due to the numbers of the involved parties and militarization on the battlefield is constantly increasing (Fleming, 2015).

Nevertheless, this prolonged crisis still has not ended, it seems like a complicated situation. Far from the ending, many new problems have arisen. For instance, the refugees who fled from their home caused by the damage from the civil war between the two parties. Thus, the internally displaced person has also drawn attention.

As its effort in resolving this issue, the United Nations (UN) presents as an international organization accordingly its goal to maintain global peace. Hence, the UN has a joint special envoy program to send its representative to help the people and the Syrian government to achieve a peaceful solution to overcome this crisis.

This study attempts to focus on three UN special envoys in finding peaceful solutions to resolve the crisis. These three special envoys are Kofi Annan, Lakhdar Brahimi, and Staffan de Mistura. These study objectives are to examine to what extent the effectivity of these UN special envoys in finding a peaceful solution for the Syrian war as an effort to implement the concept of good global governance in practice.

## **Theoretical Framework**

Global governance in international relations can be defined as a set of rules, regulations, norms, policies and international institutions that can connect all international relations actors both state and non-state actors such as NGOs, TNCs, regional organizations and international regimes formed to create the stability of international politics and in response to emerging global problems. In addition, it can also be

said that global governance is a system that can respond to shared affairs, common interests and shared goals that are cross-country with national, regional and global interests. For example the G-20 which handles and discusses the problems of the world economy, the WTO as a global regime that handles trade issues and the United Nations which handles issues of international security, human rights and other aspects of human life. Thus, it can be said that global governance offers a concept that can connect and encourage actors in international relations to cooperate in the international world. The concept of global governance is very useful to be used in explaining various changes that occur in the international world because this concept can combine several things such as interactions between actors in international relations. According to Rosenau and Czempiel the concept of global governance or can also be called governance without government is an idea or idea that appears as a response to globalization. This concept appears to overcome global problems that arise as a consequence of globalization and the needs of the world community for systems and mechanisms that can regulate various aspects of life. Rosenau's statement was supported by Lawrence Finkelstein who said that "global governance is governing without sovereign authority." (Finkelstein, 1995).

In its development, the concept of global governance is assumed to be one way to take over the role of international regulation that cannot be carried out or played by a country. So, it can be said that global governance can replace the role of a country in dealing with global problems. Some assumptions that underlie the concept of global governance according to Robert Keohane and Joseph S. Nye are first, the state is no longer a major actor in international politics but only as part of political, military, economic interaction and so on. Second, international cooperation is no longer based on the interests of each country but also the interests of an international institution. As we know, in the era of globalization, international institutions as one of

the non-state actors also have the power to impose their interests on the countries involved in cooperation.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Kofi Annan as the Mediator in the Early Syrian War**

Kofi Annan was the General Secretary of the UN from 1997 to 2006. He was a diplomat from Ghana that dedicated himself to the UN. Because of his ability in diplomacy, he was elected as the special envoy to the Syrian war in 2012.

Kofi Annan prioritized a soft approach in finding the solution to end the Syrian war (Gowan, 2013). In the beginning, this conflict has not been escalated to a civil war - so that Annan believes that by using a peaceful treaty, talks, and diplomacy, this conflict could be resolved.

This approach has resulted in the cooperation between the Arab League and the UN in 2012 to end a prolonged conflict that has been started one year already (Black, 2012). It could be concluded that international society has responded positively to end the war in Syria.

#### **a. Achievement of Kofi Annan in Finding Solution in Syrian Conflict**

The achievements during the mission assigned to Kofi Annan as the UN special envoy to end the conflict in Syria have been presented into six primary points in his proposal (United Nations, 2012b).

1. To commit to cooperate with the envoys during the inclusive political process led by Syria to accommodate the aspirations and concerns from the people of Syria, and, aims to commit in appointing the authorized interlocutors as requested by the envoys;
2. To commit to end the combat and reach the surveillance under the UN immediately to end every form of armed conflict of all parties involved to protect civilians and stabilize the country. During this time, the legitimate government of Syria must stop the movement of troops immediately, and end the use of heavy

arms in population centers, and withdraw the military camps from inside and surrounding the population centers.

When these actions begin, the Syrian government is demanded to cooperate with the envoys immediately to uphold the ceasefire in all forms under the supervision of a valid UN mechanism. A similar commitment will be sought by the envoys from all relevant parties and elements to end the war.

3. To ensure the humanitarian assistance will be delivered in time to all impacted battlefield areas, and further, as a quick move, to accept and implement humanitarian pause for two hours a day and coordinate through the right time and modality from daily pause through an efficient mechanism, including at the local level.
4. To intensify the steps and scale of arbitrarily detained persons, including those vulnerable persons, and people involved in peaceful political activities, and provide appropriate channel without delay for those detainees, directly begin to manage the access to those locations and through appropriate channels respond quickly to all written requests for information, access, or the release of detained persons.
5. To ensure the freedom of movement throughout the country and non-discrimination visa policy for journalists
6. To respect the freedom of association and rights to demonstrate peacefully as guaranteed by the constitution.

However, this crisis requires demand for a ceasefire, withdrawal of tanks and artillery from residential areas and access for humanitarian assistance. also, this plan is not accompanied by a deadline that Assad has to comply with (Gambino, 2012).

#### **b. Crisis Challenges During the Mission**

Six points proposal from the UN special envoys and Arab League have been discussed in the UN Security Council. After several considerations, Russia refused the proposal - when Russia used its veto

power in the UN Security Council so that the resolution draft could not be passed (Gambino, 2012).

Russia as the main supporter of the Syrian government has shown full assistance for Assad's regime. This has been indicated by the assistance in forms of weapons, advisors, and diplomatic umbrella (Yadlin & Valensi, 2015). However, international pressure and the significance of power fail to continue the political process due to strong regime power (Khaddour, 2015). So that Annan has considered this mission is impossible for him alone.

He was expecting significant power countries such as Russia and the United States have to work together in finding a peaceful solution for the Syrian crisis that has been shedding so much blood so that children and women suffer.

The lack of unity in the international community has made Kofi Annan disappointed and pessimistic about finding a way to end the conflict. therefore, he decided to resign from his position as the UN special envoy.

### **Lakhdar Brahimi as the Substitute of Special Envoy in the Syrian Conflict**

After Kofi Annan resigned from his duty as the UN special envoy for civil war in Syria, he was replaced by Lakhdar Brahimi. Lakhdar Brahimi was a foreign minister of Algeria that has served in different kind of roles during his position. He held the position as the Foreign Minister of Algeria from 1991 to 1993 and Algerian diplomat to be selected as the UN and Arab League special envoy to Syria until 14 May 2014. He was also a member of The Elders, a group of world leaders working together for world peace Brahimi that included in the Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, a worldwide activity that brings together a connection between prevention, needs, and law. then, he came from the Global Leadership Foundation, an association that aims to upgrade the administration all over the world. Brahimi was a recognizable senior at the Center for the Study

of Global Governance in London School of Economics and Political Science and representing Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. He gave up his position as the UN special envoys in 2014, who was previously a representative for Afghanistan and Iraq. Before his preparation in 2001 by the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, he has served the UN as an envoy to Haiti and South Africa. Before his service for the UN, Brahimi represented National Liberation Front in Tunisia during Algeria's autonomous development in 1956 to 1961 and was an official of the Arab League in 1984 to 1991 and a Foreign Minister of Algeria in 1991 to 1993. Brahimi was the leader of the UN Peace-keeping Operation Panel, that has resulted in an authoritative Brahimi Report (Hinnebusch et al., 2016).

Numbers of his work entitled "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operation", also known as the "Brahimi Report", or "The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation" has been become the ground reference of mediation conducted by the UN. For instance, in his Brahimi report premise that creates the guidance of "Protection Obligatory" for the UN to step forward progressively in international law as it compels the international society to prevent genocide in every possible condition, and might have been contradicting with the national interest if it is important (United Nations, 2000).

At the point where Kofi Annan has given up as the mediator in the Syrian war in 2012, he left the impossible mission. hence, the Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon needed to find someone that has a good reputation, including a good mediation skill, and has no job, and particularly someone recognizable for every contradicting party. Regardless of the importance of the Syrian war, no theory can continue Annan's struggle. Because this is very troublesome for world-class negotiators, to find someone that has required skills. according to one of his assistants, Lakhdar Brahimi accepted his position when he knew that there is no one else want this position. Therefore, the UN has appointed Brahimi as the special envoy to the Syrian war in 2012 replacing Annan.



## A. Brahimi's Outcome During His Mission as the Special Envoy to Syrian War

Joint special envoys for Syria had received numerous big missions and regular missions from their predecessors. Brahimi's main goal relies on orders that are inseparable by Annan and use a similar intervention team. The vital contrast aside from his official position is the main headquarters for the Syrian mission was moved from Geneva to New York. Kofi Annan also asserted that the lack of support from the UN Security Council was the main challenge for his main goal. Likewise, before his first activity, Brahimi enunciated that he is committed to developing contacts with important bodies of the UN. Besides, Lakhdar Brahimi used the "Six Point Peace Plan" as his motivation as a step to restore the predecessor's diplomatic system. During his mission as the UN special envoy, Brahimi has done many good things to muffle the prolonged Syrian war as known as his mediation method, "Brahimi Report".

In his review, Brahimi's struggle in resolving the crisis that took place in Syria could be divided into five crucial steps (Hinnebusch et al., 2016). First, Lakhdar Brahimi established opportunities for relationships, joining to important actors and develop trusts from conflicting parties. For this reason, he was trying to bring the world demands, under the radar and do anything not to accuse everyone in the first few weeks as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) for Syria. As of his authority, SRSG deployed to Syria and stated that "change is fundamental, crucial, and unavoidable" (United Nations, 2000).

In this meeting, Brahimi state that President Assad and his legislative body and aside from opposition leaders that criticized him because of controlled stance. Then, he met many diplomats from China and Russia to gain support for his struggle and peace preparation (Rachman, 2014).

Second, after Brahimi assigned the motives for mediation, he kept Six Point Peace Plan by Kofi Annan as he believed that the shift of

regime, legal-based peaceful process, and the importance of ceasefire throughout Syria. To achieve the last goal, Brahimi declared his ideas to apply a ceasefire during Eid Adha in mid-October 2012. After the Iranian government agreed to his idea, Assad and the main opposition group also agreed to cease the fire (Saleh & Fayed, 2012). Although there is no weapon withdrawal from the battlefield and Assad demanded a loophole of a defensive attack, Brahimi was considered as a successful mediator in Syria.

Unfortunately, the use of weapon had resumed on October 25, on the first day, there was a battle in Homs and Aleppo and an automatic bomb had killed five people in Damascus (Weaver & Whitaker, 2012). Brahimi then criticized this infringement, without accusing anyone, simply by stating “it is very sad when this purpose has not been delivered at the level we believe in”. Therefore, at the second step of his mediation, the first achievement and disappointment of Lakhdar Brahimi just separated in a few days.

In the third step, mediation was started with two ways of strategy to achieve its main goal. On one hand, Brahimi set a meeting between Hillary Clinton, the Secretary of State, and partner from Russia, Sergej Lavrov to discuss the condition of Syria and approach needed to topple down Bashar al-Assad. By doing that, he tried to add more pressure against the Syrian government, that fought against the militarized opposition groups. On the other hand, Lakhdar Brahimi traveled to Syria to meet Bashar al-Assad for the second time. This meeting must be seen as a last attempt for the mediator to persuade Assad to agree with the replacement of the Syrian government.

However, this strategy was not successful as Bashar rejected it. After a three-day visit to Syria, in December 2012, Sergej Lavrov reported that “there is no possibility” to influence Assad to give up, effectively declared that Russia was not willing to give the Syrian dictatorship. With the full support from Russia, the Syrian government threatened Lakhdar Brahimi and refused every request for Assad to retreat (Allison, 2013).

## B. Obstacles Occurred during the Mission

The Syrian conflict could not be resolved with only one country's involvement. It affects the fourth phase, Lakhdar Brahimi stated the idea that there is only one way to bring peace to Syria which is through collective action and firm order from the UN Security Council. To achieve that, between February and October in 2013, Brahimi met every significant actor to persuade them to support his idea. After a long preparation, the mediator reported the best action is an international conference attended by concerning third-party countries and conflicting parties which will be conducted in January and February 2014 in Geneva.

Discussion of alleged Geneva II, based on Geneva Communiqué of 2012, is intended to achieve a common understanding of the role of Bashar al-Assad and the replacement of the Syrian government (United Nations, 2012a). Unfortunately, this peaceful meeting did not muffle the war in Syria. While Brahimi found a way to bring the Assad regime and opposition together for the first time, this meeting will not compromise or agree on anything, except a short discussion. Therefore, another Brahimi's achievement becomes a disappointment as the mediator in Syria.

The aforementioned points above, the failure of the peaceful meeting, the increasing rate of violence in Syria, and dead-end in the UN Security Council concluded that the main goal of Brahimi has failed (Evans, 2013). Nevertheless, Brahimi did not want to give up and continue his last effort that could be said as his last phase. In March 2014, he traveled to Iran to prevent Assad from his attempt to rerun as the president with the help of the newly elected liberal president, Hassan Rouhani (The National, 2014). Brahimi was worried when Assad succeeds reapply himself. It will worsen the situation in continuing the Geneva procedure. The preparation by Brahimi has faced failure again, seeing Bashar al-Assad still hold the power and reelected. Thus, the number of violence kept increasing during Brahimi's mission to become the UN special envoy. Besides, the UN Security Council did

not agree on the Syrian crisis, so that Brahimi gave up and left his position in end-May 2014 (Black, 2014).

### **Staffan de Mistura in Finding Solution to the Syrian War**

Staffan de Mistura is a Sweden-Italian diplomat, the former member that has served Italian parliament. After 40 years career in various UN bodies, he was appointed as deputy secretary of state for Italian foreign affairs by Mario Monti. He served as the Head of Villa San Michelle on Capri and the UN special envoy for crisis took place in Syria. De Mistura also was a part of SRSG in Iraq in 2007 to 2009 and Afghanistan in 2010 to 2011, and Southern Lebanon in 2001 to 2004, and Director of Information Center of UN in Rome in 2000-2001.

His job has brought him from place to place, including the most unstable place such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, and Yugoslavia. He started his career in the UN as WFP Project Officer in Sudan. In 1973, he was Emergency Relief Officer in Chad, where he controlled the first UN airdrop. He was also working as chief deputy in the Food and Agriculture Organization UN from 1976 to 1985.

Moreover, he was assigned to various missions to Dubrovnik, Sarajevo, Sudan, Ethiopia, Vietnam, and Laos. In 1987, he returned to Sudan as the Operational Director of WFP. From 1988 to 1998, he was the Director of Fundraising and External Committee of the UN for Afghanistan affairs. Afterward, he was the Director of Public Affairs United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and UNICEF representative to Somalia. In 1992, de Mistura was in Nagorno Karabagh with Francesco Vendrell, the UN chief mission, and work as the UN humanitarian coordinator in Iraq temporarily from March to August 1997. In 1999, de Mistura was a Panel member of the Security Council for Humanitarian issues in Iraq. He also has served as the special adviser for High Commissioner for Refugee in Kosovo. Thus, he was given a mission to become a Regional Administrator for Mitrovica in Kosovo.

From the 2000s until present, de Mistura has been named for several important roles as his contribution to resolving many extraordinary cases. In 2000, he worked as the Special Rapporteur during Forum Fribourg on Coordination and Cooperation in Crisis Management of Europe and Newly Independent Countries. During his position as SRSG in Iraq, he would be very idealistic with his chances of Iraq recovery and highlighted of UN's hard work behind the screen to provide a higher living standard for Iraqi people.

After that, he received a chance to become Director of Staff College in Turin, Italia, a position he held until September 2007, when Ban Ki-Moon appointed him to be SRSG to Iraq. De Mistura was an SRSG successor from the previous which is Ashraf Qazi and accepted his duties in the mission area on November 5 and in Baghdad on November 11, 2007. In the first few weeks during the preparation, there was a report that Baghdad politicians fully supported the previous Roman agent, Radu Onofrei. However, there was a report that the Romanian government campaigned the United States to support Onofrei (WikiLeaks, 2007).

In July 2009, de Mistura left Iraq to become Deputy Executive Director for External Affairs of the World Food Program in Rome. Continued in 2010, Richard Holbrooke, U.S extraordinary agent for Afghanistan and Pakistan, revealed that de Mistura has been offered a job as the UN special envoy to Afghanistan, replacing Kai Eide. In late January 2010, Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon announced his intention to appoint de Mistura in March 2010 to become representative of the UN for Afghanistan.

Ban Ki-Moon appointed Staffan de Mistura as SRSG in Afghanistan and Chief of United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA). Until 2001, he was selected as the Deputy Secretary of State in the Italian technocratic bureau led by Mario Monti. In May 2013, the Italian government appointed him to resolve the case of two Italian navy marines, which was held in India since 2012 after they shot and killed two Indian fishermen. In May 2014, de Mistura was elected as

the president of the leading governing group for the European Institute of Peace in Brussels. On 10 July 2014, Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon presented he has appointed de Mistura as the special envoy for Syria to help muffle the war in this country (United Nations, 2014).

## **Conclusion**

The Syrian war has caused many victims from both sides between the Syrian government, Assad's regime, and opposition groups are not fully resolved. In contrast, this conflict became more chaotic due to opposition groups that continuously attempt to topple down the legitimate government.

The involvement of the UN as the third party prioritizing good global governance and its achievement in balancing the world peace could be perceived as a successful operation. Considering many failures occurred during the mediation process from three UN special envoys in finding a peaceful solution for involving parties.

Although the main actors were not limited to rebel groups and government, instead there are many groups involved and made this crisis prolonged. Many actors helping each other by sending assistance in forms of weapons, training, financial, and other assistance.

Regardless of the many challenges faced, the presence of the UN in this conflict very helpful as the role of the mediator is needed to achieve a better world order. By sending its envoys to the Syrian conflict with many ways to reduce bursting conflict made this job difficult to be done. Therefore, the UN was considered to fail to achieve a peaceful resolution, prosperity, and freedom for all parties involved.

Nevertheless, international society that depends on these special envoys could not expect much to achieve world peace. While these envoys also want support from international society to collaborate in finding a solution for the Syrian conflict. Moreover, with the help of the United States, Russia, China, France, the United Kingdom, and others, will at least control the conflict and reduce the humanitarian costs. Hence, the UN could not operationalize alone, it is needed help from

INGO and other institutions, to help the victims that suffer because of the impact of the civil war including civilians, elders, children, and women. Therefore, with solid action and peace that could be accepted to end this conflict so that the diplomacy power is vital for UN Special Envoys to find a peaceful solution that will end the war and reduce the number of victims.

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# URGENCY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REGIONAL COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP (RCEP) COOPERATION FORUM FOR ASEAN

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## **Abstract**

*This research aims to explain the urgency of establishing a Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) cooperation forum for ASEAN. Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is a cooperation forum formed by 10 ASEAN countries together with 6 partner countries. This cooperation was formed with the aim of improving the economies of the ASEAN region countries and 6 partner countries. This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach, in addition to analyzing the phenomenon the authors use the theory of international cooperation and the concept of economic integration. This research then found that the urgency of establishing a RCEP cooperation forum for ASEAN is to improve the economies of the regional countries and facilitate all trade activities.*

**Keywords:** *ASEAN, economic integration, international cooperation, RCEP*

## Introduction

Current economic issues are important things that need attention for example, such as the issue of economic instability caused by several factors such as the issue of US and China trade tariff wars, Japan-Korea trade disputes, and slowing economic growth in China and Brazil (Welle, 2019). Some of these issues are important to pay attention to, especially in the Southeast Asian region. This is important for the Southeast Asian region because ASEAN economic conditions are experiencing instability, not only in the region and even globally. The economic instability of ASEAN is caused by the recent trade wars by the US and China. The impact of the US and China trade wars also made ASEAN countries experience disruptions related to the supply or distribution of their products and business world. In addition, there is also market liberalization that makes the process of trade, investment, and ASEAN cooperation a bit of a problem. (Biro Hubungan Masyarakat, 2019)

ASEAN in conducting cooperation has quite strong challenges. The challenges being faced by ASEAN are not only on the issue of trade war between the US and China, but also related to increasingly liberalized market liberalization. Therefore, to reduce the impact of an even worse, it is necessary for ASEAN to further enhance integration in the region. Bilateral and multilateral cooperation has been carried out in order to increase the integration of the ASEAN region (Damayanti, 2018), but for the moment it is felt that it has not been able to resolve various problems related to the imbalances being experienced by ASEAN. Therefore, ASEAN together with its partners formed the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). RCEP is a form of cooperation carried out by ASEAN with six other countries with the aim of improving the economy and regional integration for ASEAN through trade and investment. (Association of South East Nation, 2019)

The RCEP was initially initiated by ASEAN in 2011, when Indonesia was chairman of ASEAN at the time. RCEP is a follow-up

forum for the ongoing Free Trade Agreement (FTA) that has been carried out by ASEAN so far. In 2012, 16 economic ministers guided the RCEP negotiation process launched by 10 ASEAN countries namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, Brunei Darussalam, Thailand, the Philippines and 6 of its partner countries namely Australia, the People's Republic of China, India, Japan, Korea and New Zealand. Until now RCEP is still in the stage of negotiations as a forum to improve the regional economy. The establishment of the RCEP is also adjusted based on the ASEAN Economic Pillar which aims to improve welfare and form a competitive ASEAN Economic Community. But what is the urgency of establishing this RCEP cooperation forum for ASEAN itself. (Association of South East Nation, 2019)

Based on the background of the problem, the writer wants to see the urgency of establishing a Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) cooperation forum for ASEAN itself. In addition, the factors that are behind RCEP are used as a continuation or solution to the problems that exist in the FTA. This then becomes interesting to study, because ASEAN economic conditions that are currently unstable make it necessary to increase economic integration through the RCEP cooperation forum together with partners who are also part of the FTA. By examining the urgency of the establishment of this RCEP will make it easier for ASEAN to re-see the interests and main objectives of this forum when in the future there will be some challenges that need to be faced by both ASEAN and its partners.

### **Research Problem**

Based on the background of the problems that have been described by the authors in relation to the challenges being faced by countries in the Southeast Asian region, the resulting problem formulation, "What is the Urgency of Establishing a Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) Cooperation Forum for ASEAN?"

## **Theoretical Framework**

A study basically will never be separated from research that has been done before, in this study the authors used several previous studies to show the originality of this research. Based on previous studies related to the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). The first research by Ragimun “Cooperation in the Trade of Goods at the RCEP Forum for Indonesia”, in the research he had done Ragimun explained that RCEP was formed in order to eliminate various obstacles that had occurred in the trade of goods between countries. RCEP was initiated by Indonesia by unifying 16 countries to be able to optimize all forms of economic cooperation, especially in the field of trade. In optimizing the removal of barriers to trade cooperation through RCEP, Indonesia together with other countries that joined the RCEP cooperation forum made several efforts to be able to increase such cooperation. From this Ragimun found that by establishing RCEP the optimization of increasing Indonesian exports both in the medium and long term would be achieved, this was also accompanied by various Indonesian efforts in regulating the structure of export transformation. As for the efforts made by Indonesia in accelerating the completion of RCEP negotiations so that they can be made into rules in regional cooperation, namely the issue of trade in goods, trade in services, and investment. In addition to these efforts, to encourage the transformation of commodity-based export structures into value-added products and services, take advantage of all the existing preference schemes and the Indonesian delegation's request regarding opening market access by targeting specific markets (Abdullah, 2018).

The second study by Febriana Damayanti, et al, in her research entitled “ASEAN in the Middle of US and China Rivalry: ASEAN Cooperation with RCEP in Reducing the Impact of Trade”. In his research the author explained that the existence of a trade war between the US and China had a pretty bad impact on ASEAN countries, because almost all ASEAN countries were mutually influenced by the two countries. The impact of the rivalry between the US and China has



an impact on the economic development of countries in ASEAN. To reduce the impact of the rivalry between the two countries is to join the RCEP cooperation forum. The RCEP Forum was used as a mediator in reducing the impact of the trade war between the US and China, and here ASEAN is not the only single actor whose role is to overcome the problem but rather as a country where all ASEAN members play an active role together with 6 partner countries in solving problems caused by the US and China. Based on the concept of absolute gain from the perspective of neoliberalism that the countries which are members of RCEP have the willingness to cooperate regardless of quantity, how much they will get by joining the RCEP forum (Damayanti, 2018).

Furthermore, Randy Aulia Isan's research "The Interest of the People's Republic of China in the Establishment of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)", in this study he explained that China has an interest in the formation of RCEP. Randy in his writing said that China deliberately joined this economic cooperation and put aside the various problems that it was experiencing together with countries in the East Asian region such as Japan and Korea. From the results of his analysis Randy found that the interests of China to be able to expand its market in the East Asian region were felt to be more important than dealing with problems with rival countries, so that here China sought to be able to increase economic integration in the region so that China itself could meet its national interests. From some previous studies prove that cooperation is still important for every country, especially in the current era (Isan, 2017).

Basically, every country cannot stand alone in fulfilling its national interests. Each country will always depend on other countries, even though these countries have abundant resources. Various efforts undertaken by the state in achieving its national interests can be through cooperation both bilaterally and multilaterally. In this study the authors will look at phenomena using the perspective of liberalism. The perspective of liberalism the writer uses to see and understand the phenomena that occur in ASEAN and its six partners in the economic

field. In the perspective of liberalism, it will see the trade and investment relations that are being carried out by ASEAN and its partners, besides that the author tries to understand the phenomena related to the efforts of the state or government in increasing the competitiveness and economy of the country so that it becomes stronger in the international market (Suryadi, 2015).

In addition, in this study the authors used the theory of international cooperation and the concept of economic integration. The author's theory of international cooperation is used to analyze the cooperation relationships established by ASEAN and its partners and find out the importance of both in establishing international cooperation. The focus of the theory that I use is the theory of international cooperation according to K.J Holsti, he explained that international cooperation is collaboration or a combination of various national, regional, or global problems that arise and require attention not only from one country. International cooperation is one of the efforts to solve the problems that are being faced jointly by these countries through negotiations to achieve goals and outcomes that are mutually beneficial to all parties. The definition of international cooperation according to (Holsti).

1. The view that two or more interests, values, or goals meet each other and can produce something, promoted, or fulfilled by all parties at once.
2. The view or hope of one country that policies decided by other countries will help that country to achieve its interests and values.
3. Certain agreements or problems between two or more countries in order to take advantage of equality of interest or conflict of interest.
4. Official or informal rules regarding future transactions made to carry out the agreement.
5. Transactions between countries to fulfill their agreement.

International cooperation is also not only carried out by state actors, but also individuals or groups or countries under the umbrella of the organization can also be involved in it. As a result of the same

problems experienced by countries make international cooperation as a necessity that needs to be done to solve the problems being faced. International cooperation itself also has various forms, it can be a cooperative relationship between two or more countries. This international collaboration was established to approve an agreement from various proposals that have been submitted by several countries and end the negotiations with an agreement where the agreement has mutual benefits (Holsti, 1998).

Based on the explanation given by K.J Holsti that the collaboration process will ultimately bring benefits and the results provide satisfaction to all parties. But on the other hand, the fact some of the cooperation that was established did not provide benefits to either party led to conflict. This becomes the basic conception of relationship interaction in establishing cooperation. From this, the writers will see the results of the Regional Economic Comprehensive Partnership (RCEP) cooperation agreement and the importance of such cooperation for ASEAN.

In addition to the theory of international cooperation, the author will also use the concept of economic integration to see the integration of ASEAN in this RCEP collaboration. This RCEP cooperation could possibly increase the economic integration of the ASEAN region or even create new problems due to the presence of increasingly disparities due to the results of trade and investment agreement through RCEP. When talking about regional cooperation with several countries outside the region it becomes a bit worrying, because the more countries there are, the goals of each country will be more diverse. So that this often makes an agreement or negotiation cannot be finished with the result that all parties get the same benefits.

Economic integration according to Bela Balassa, is a process of removing barriers and discrimination as well as freedom of transactions as well as forms of policy submission to joint institutions both through cooperation and international agreements (Nelsen, 1994). In its application, Balassa provides several stages in removing barriers to

international trade and the process of integrating the economy, namely: (1) Preferential Trading Area, namely the trade block by reducing trade tariffs from certain countries without eliminating them altogether; (2) Free Trade Area is an area where tariffs and quotas between member countries are abolished, but each country still applies their tariffs to non-member countries; (3) Custom Union, which is an FTA that removes barriers to movement of commodities between countries and applies the same tariff to non-member countries; (4) Common Market, namely the Custom Union (CU) which also removes barriers to the movement of factors of production (goods, services, capital flows). The similarity of prices from factors of production is expected to produce efficient allocation of resources; (5) Economic Union is a Common Market (CM) with a significant level of harmonization of national economic policies (including structural policies); (6) Total Economic Integration, namely the integration of monetary, fiscal, and social policies followed by the formation of supranational institutions with binding decisions for all member countries (Nurfiana, 2017).

Some of the stages presented by Balassa will be used to determine the level of economic integration between ASEAN countries and their partners through the RCEP cooperation forum. From the existence of RCEP, economic integration which is expected by Indonesia when it became chairman in ASEAN in 2011 can be achieved. So that the ASEAN economy becomes more stable and does not experience inequality as it is happening now.

## **Research Methods**

In this study the authors used a descriptive qualitative research method. The descriptive qualitative research method is a multi-focus method that involves interpretation, a naturalistic approach to existing subject matter (Emzir, 2011). Qualitative research methods aim to describe a phenomenon, both natural and engineering or to determine whether there is a connection between a symptom and other symptoms that are relevant to the study. Besides writing analytic descriptive,

namely by analyzing the facts that occur using theories and concepts that are related to the phenomenon. Then the results of data analysis are presented in the form of a description.

The author in this study uses data collection techniques with the study of documentation. Documentation studies are data collection techniques related to theoretical studies and other references, and are related to values, norms, and culture that occur in the social phenomena under study (Sugiyono, 2012). Data collection is based on books, journals, e-books, working papers, articles, and online news relating to research and issues that the author examines.

## **Result and Discussion**

The multilateral cooperation undertaken by ASEAN together with its 6 partners through the RCEP forum has been started since the beginning of the RCEP which was formed in 2011. The journey process of this collaboration has taken a long time to then be able to find an agreement point. However, before reaching the agreement stage, it is necessary to know together that the negotiation process of the negotiations is quite long. In the document presented by the ASEAN National Secretariat that the process of negotiating cooperation through RCEP encountered quite several challenges. Since the start of negotiations in 2012 to 2016, RCEP negotiations have taken place in 16 rounds. At this stage there were only two areas that had been mutually agreed upon, namely small and medium industries and technology cooperation. while other fields such as trade and investment have not reached any agreement, even the determination of the number of products that need to be included in the trade sector is uncertain. In addition, in 2016, ASEAN countries have tried to be able to provide ideas and proposals related to this, but again the proposals from ASEAN countries did not get a good enough response. This poor response was obtained from several countries that were experiencing trade deficits with China (I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana, 2019).

On the other hand, when many countries rejected the ASEAN proposal, India instead hurriedly urged that discussions related to the proportion of goods and services be carried out stimulant to be more connected to macro and micro policies in the RCEP region. For ASEAN this is quite difficult to discuss simultaneously because this service sector has quite complex social and political complexity. While in the investment sector the main problem faced is the problem of the mechanism of foreign investors in the country concerned. Here countries that have large investments are trying to protect their investors through various regimes created. This then makes most ASEAN countries reject investor discussions related to investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS). This ISDS problem was rejected because it raised concerns about countries that were less able to compete in terms of investment. Not only in the investment sector, but also in the health sector also found the same problem. The issue of medicine and health products also had become a controversy in the RCEP negotiations, and again this was rejected because there were several countries, especially ASEAN which refused to involve the inclusion of WTO provisions into the RCEP (I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana, 2019).

Despite the many challenges faced by ASEAN in reaching the RCEP agreement it does not make ASEAN and its partner countries despair and keep trying to reach the RCEP agreement. All countries, especially ASEAN, continue to endeavor to complete these negotiations in November 2019 as targeted. This collaborative effort to improve the regional economy in the field of trade in goods, services and investment initially did seem quite difficult. Differences in interests of each country become one of the obstacles in the completion of these negotiations. This obstacle is imposed by one of the partner countries namely India, here India often does not agree with all forms of proposals from ASEAN and other partner countries. That is caused by the interests of India which are deemed unfulfilled if the proposals from several countries are indeed approved. However, this does not rule out the possibility of continuing to complete the RCEP negotiations in 2019.

The importance of RCEP being formed once again is to improve the economies of the ASEAN region countries and 6 partner countries. The RCEP collaboration forum was formed to address the previous problems that have occurred in all FTAs. RCEP was formed to facilitate exporters or domestic businesses in carrying out their activities, in addition to increasing the attractiveness of ASEAN trade and investment. According to one Indonesian diplomat from the ASEAN Cooperation Directorate, Dit. ASEAN Economic Cooperation namely Ivan Namanto in his presentation at the RCEP negotiations stated that the RCEP was formed on the grounds; (1) so that business actors do not experience difficulties in using the FTA form, because with this RCEP forum all trade rules will be put together so that it makes it easier for RCEP member countries to trade with one another, (2) increase exports, attract countries other countries to export all forms of products from ASEAN and 6 partner countries that joined the RCEP, (3) towards wider regional economic integration, which means to improve the economies of these countries because the country's economy 30% of its output from world trade, (4) enhance good relations between ASEAN countries and partner countries, (5) increase integration in order to reduce the negative impacts caused by the US and China trade wars. From these five things, this collaboration is important to be carried out by ASEAN. (Abdullah, 2018)

On 4 November 2019 RCEP negotiations were held in Bangkok, Thailand. The negotiations this time resulted in a joint statement that 15 countries had considered this negotiation complete and agreed to implement all the mutually agreed rules. India is a country that is still difficult to accept an agreement from RCEP. Nevertheless the 15 countries are still trying to make this RCEP forum can provide satisfaction to all members who joined, so that India's attitude which slightly inhibits this collaboration is still trying to be completed by the fifteen countries. The initial purpose of this forum was basically to increase integration so that it was considered important to meet the interests of all RCEP members, therefore this negotiation would

continue to find a meeting point of the problems India faced in drafting RCEP economic cooperation rules (Association of South East Nations, 2019).

When its viewed from the theory of international cooperation, the establishment of the RCEP cooperation forum is difficult to reach agreement because many countries have joined and the increasingly diverse interests of each country. India's attitude in the negotiations that are still difficult to accept the rules in RCEP is an obstacle to achieving this international cooperation. This is consistent with what was conveyed by K.J Holsti that international cooperation does require unity or common interests, goals, or values so that an international collaboration can be carried out properly and easily. While the attitudes and the similarity of the goals and values of the fifteen countries indicate that international cooperation will be easier to achieve, but the obstacles in each collaboration that are carried out are not new. Every process of negotiating the existence of obstacles becomes a natural thing, therefore it is important to reunite hopes or views in establishing cooperation.

Seeing what has happened before, such as the formation of AIFTA (ASEAN-India Free Trade Area) and AANZFTA (ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area) is one of the many important reasons for forming economic integration. India, which is the seventh largest partner for ASEAN, is a significant actor in terms of cooperation. ASEAN-India cooperation is one of the collaborations that emphasizes the extraordinary potential of the total population, area, and strategic location of both parties. In this agreement, it starts into 24 Articles, 2 attachments which are Schedule of Commitments for Tariffs and Rules of Origin for the ASEAN-India Free Trade Area (14 Rules) and 4 Appendices namely AIFTA Content Calculation Modes, Product Specific Rules, Single List of Textile and Textile Products (Based on HS 2002) and Operational Certification Procedures for Rules of Origin for the ASEAN-India Free Trade Area (24 Articles). But if we see the level of liberalization of ASEAN-India goods trade is not quite as satisfying



as the liberalization of trade in goods achieved between ASEAN and other FTA partners. The potential possessed by RCEP can simplify the terms and rules so that it can provide uniformity to all related parties so that later it will make it easier for each member to benefit from each other (Direktorat Jenderal Perundingan Perdagangan Internasional, 2020).

AANZFTA which has a linear vision with the ASEAN Community Vision 2025, aims at sustainable economic growth in the region by forming market and investment regimes that reflect liberal values and are facilitative, transparent among AANZFTA parties. In this agreement, it is contained in 18 Chapters, and 212 Articles and 4 Applications, which generally cover cooperation in the fields of Trade in Goods, Services, Investment, Rules of Origin, Customs, SPS (Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures), TBT (Technical Barriers to Trade) ), Safeguard, Intellectual Property Rights, Competition Policy, MNP (Movement of Natural Person), Economic Cooperation, DSM (Marginal Power Substitution) and e-Commerce (Direktorat Jenderal Perundingan Perdagangan Internasional, 2020).

The existence of the AANZFTA can be assessed as a success that is able to bring a significant number of positive impacts, specifically for Indonesia's export activities. For example, the elimination of tariffs on imported products that reach up to 90% of product types is a very good progress for Indonesia's export industry, and vice versa with Indonesia's ease in carrying out export activities to Australia which also brings various benefits. Of course, this is very closely related to what has been conveyed in the previous paragraph, where the potential of AANZFTA opens opportunities to stakeholders in ASEAN, Australia, and New Zealand. Imagine if this could be poured into unification or integration in the form of RCEP as what Ivan Namanto had said. This does not rule out the possibility for countries other than ASEAN, such as China, Korea, Japan which also have greater potential to be able to take advantage and benefit from AANZFTA and vice versa so that this is reciprocal also benefits ASEAN's position. With the RCEP, it is

hoped that it will make it easier and more simplified terms and rules of each agreement. Imagine if this RCEP did not rule out the possibilities, benefits, and benefits of each of the collaborations previously presented such as AIFTA and AANZFTA could be combined and opened other opportunities which certainly had great potential.

Based on the objectives of the establishment of RCEP to increase regional economic integration it is quite difficult to predict at this time, because there are obstacles in resolving the accuracy of making the results of the RCEP cooperation forum in seeing increased economic integration of ASEAN with its partner countries cannot be ascertained. However, here the author is based on the expectations that have been presented in the RCEP negotiations, in the future RCEP will further facilitate the RCEP member countries and businesses in improving their economies. because the presence of the RCEP was indeed initiated by Indonesia to avoid various obstacles that had previously occurred in the FTA. Various efforts such as those conveyed by Bela Balassa on how to increase economic integration are listed in this RCEP form.

## **Conclusion**

Current economic issues become important things that need to be addressed and immediately resolved together, especially in Southeast Asia. The existence of economic instability that is being experienced by the Southeast Asian region then made Indonesia initiate the establishment of an economic cooperation forum namely RCEP as an effort to resolve the issue. The RCEP was formed when Indonesia became the leader of ASEAN in 2011. The urgency of establishing this RCEP is to facilitate businesses, because in this RCEP all trade rules will be regulated in one form, increase exports, strengthen good relations between ASEAN countries and partner countries, towards broader economic integration; and increasing regional integration in reducing the negative effects of trade wars. From the perspective of liberalism, cooperation in this era is the best choice in solving various problems that are being faced by all countries in the world. Even though in reality

there will always be obstacles in the process of cooperation, but this has become a natural thing.

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# CIVIL SOCIETY AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE: THE INDIRECT PARTICIPATION OF EXTINCTION REBELLION IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE ON CLIMATE CHANGE.

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## ***Abstract***

*The climate change problem is one of the global challenges faced by global society today. These problems certainly need to be address in serious manners, especially at the global level. However, for some people, especially at the grassroots, consider global governance related to climate change today is not serious enough to deal with these problems. That is because the nature of the global climate regime is somehow voluntary and non-binding. In this case, civil society can provide the opportunities for the people to contribute to global governance related to climate change. Civil society here can be interpreted as a political space, where association of people can work towards the formation of social and legal rules through non-formal political channels. Extinction Rebellion is one of the civil societies that involves themselves in global discourse related to climate change in international politics arena. This article discusses the form of Extinction Rebellion's involvement in the global*

*climate regime and what dimensions could potentially be affected by the movement. This article uses descriptive-qualitative methods with library research data collection techniques. This article found that Extinction Rebellion's involvement in global governance is an indirect involvement with resistance as their mode of participation, which is indicated by the emergence of mass protest in various cities around the world. In addition, Extinction Rebellion initiates discourse on climate change emergencies to illustrate how important climate problems must be handled seriously at the global level.*

**Keywords:** *Civil Society, Climate change, Extinction Rebellion, Global Governance, Social Movement*

## **Introduction**

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), in 2018, warns that humanity has 12 years to take effective action in efforts to prevent environmental disasters. Therefore, there is still enough time to take a firm stand on the issue and implement it with full commitment. To support this, commitment and ambition are needed to transform global governance radically and rapidly, especially in the sectors related to high levels of carbon production. To follow up on the report from the IPCC, humanity needs to reduce today's high carbon production to zero carbon in less than 12 years. (Gunningham, 2019).

The biggest challenge in achieving such transformation is more about politics than technology (Gunningham, 2019). Today, humanity has many low or zero carbon energy sources, for example, wind and solar power plants. Other technologies, such as battery storage, electric cars and a variety of low-carbon energy sources basically have reached an advanced level and can be improved in the next decade, even faster. However, without political commitment, a low carbon revolution will only be a plan without implementation. In many parts of the world, renewable energy is cheaper than coal, but the technology is still struggling to gain market share, largely because of political obstacles

(Tramel, 2018). No exception, the strength embedded in the fossil fuel industry, the influence of well-funded and sophisticated climate change disinformation campaigns and disregard, media indifference or bias, and forms of state policies that tend to be oriented towards short-term political and financial markets all hinder long-term oriented political actions related to today's climate crisis.

The problem of low political will at the policy-making level can also be found at the level of global governance. For scientists who have research areas in the climate field, the commitment reached in the Paris Climate Agreement, if successful, is projected to increase the earth's temperature at a point of 3.4 degrees celsius. That, if we refer to the IPCC report, it will be dangerous for the survival of humanity (Gunningham, 2019).

Through the brief description above, it can be said that at the national or international level, there is no policy-making structure that has extra priorities and commitments in order to tackle climate problems, and specifically decarbonization efforts. In this situation, pressures from outside the policy making structure are needed. History shows that such pressure must come from below. In the process, such pressures need to include activist movements at the grassroots level. Keohane and his colleagues argue that pressures from the grassroots level in an industrialized democratic environment are a variable that is more able to influence the direction of environmental-related policies than the decision-making process at international level (Kimball, Haas, Keohane, & Levy, 1996).

In the last two decades there have been many activist groups that have fought for environmental issues, both at national and international levels. One group that can be said to have a significant impact. One of the social movement groups that emerged recently was The Extinction Rebellion. Extinction Rebellion itself was formed in October 2018. Since then, Extinction Rebellion has been heavily involved in various forms of civil disobedience in several countries, especially in London. Since April 2019, Extinction Rebellion has grown in number and has

been able to get global public attention. According to Roger Hallam, Extinction Rebellion received wider attention because it had a resonance with the needs and concerns felt by the international public regarding the issue of the climate crisis. Until now, Extinction Rebellion has been present in 45 countries consisting of around 650 local groups (Gunningham, 2017).

This movement (Extinction Rebellion) basically has three main demands that are quite explicit. The first demand is “Tell the Truth!”, in which they encourage the national governments of each country to present scientific facts related to today’s global climate crisis. The second demand is “Act Now”, in which this movement demands the national governments of each country to act and commit to addressing the environmental crisis with a target to reach zero carbon levels by 2025. The third demand is “Beyond Politics” in which they demand for the formation of Citizen Assembly in order to realize decision making based on ecological justice. This, in the perspective of The Extinction Rebellion, is a transformation of the movement from thirty years of global environmental activism (Gunningham, 2019).

Extinction Rebellion has a radical form of protest. One of the most dominant is the method of civil disobedience without violence. Some examples that can be seen are The Extinction Rebellion blockade and disrupt public facilities such as train stations and other public transportation. It is certainly intended to convey messages and influence public discourse about the environment and social activism. The movement is almost like the pro-civil liberties movements in the United States in the 1960s. Judging from its historical aspects, movements with protest modes like that tend to be effective in raising public awareness about specific issues.

It was a promising start for the activism and campaign carried out by Extinction Rebellion. With a participatory and inclusive organizational system, this movement is a phenomenon that needs to be studied further, in relation to the participation of civil society



in global politics. The emergence of The Extinction Rebellion in our opinion is a phenomenon 2 that reminds the world today, with all developments in political and social aspects at the global level, that it is important to look beyond the nation state in our efforts to find effective and substantial government and policy making systems.

This article will further discuss how The Extinction Rebellion social movement can be involved in global governance. It is intended to find out patterns of involvement that can be carried out by non-state actors, in this case in the form of social movements. In order to get an idea of the involvement of Extinction Rebellion in global governance, we in this article use some literature that can provide a conceptual framework for the mode of participation of Extinction Rebellion in global governance.

### **Civil Society Involvement in Global Governance**

Referring to the opinion of Antonio Gramsci, the state and civil society cannot be understood as an entirely independent and separate entity (Wise, 2018). Civil society basically includes a set of organizations and institutions, but not limited to it. Civil Society can be interpreted as a “space” of social relations that mediates between individuals and the state (Gready & Robins, 2017).

Such definitions are often associated with the function and existence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), but more than that, civil society can be created in various forms. Civil society, in this case, is a totally inhomogeneous structure, it includes various groups, organizations, non-governmental organizations, and social movements that reflect differences, and in many cases, when referring to Gramsci’s view, have interests that contradict the state interests (Weiss & Wikinson, 2013).

In the context of global governance, NGOs, social movements, business forums, research institutions, and other civil society associations are involved in global governance in many ways, both directly and indirectly. There are various modes of participation of civil

society groups in global governance. The mode of direct participation of civil society groups can take the forms of accreditation, membership of government delegations, policy consultants, positions on official committees and boards, evaluation, and actualization of global regulations themselves. With indirect involvement, civil society groups are trying to form global governance institutions through alternative sectors such as national governments, political parties, and mass media. In other cases, civil society associations involve themselves in global governance by openly opposing them through street demonstrations and various other forms of opposition.

This section will discuss two main points. The first point is related to how the form of participation of civil society groups in global governance and the next point is a discussion related to the extent to which civil society groups can have an impact on global governance.

### **Form of Participation**

Since international organizations have become a real phenomenon in global interaction, civil society can be said to have been directly involved in the global governance process. Some examples that can be found are through the involvement of federations of workers and trade unions involved with the governments of countries in the International Labor Organization since 1920. Increased participation of civil society in the global governance process began to be seen since 1990. In that period, most of the institutions Large global regulators establish divisions to specifically establish relationships with civil society groups. The World Bank is the largest global regulatory body with such a work pattern, with around 120 specialists from civil society (Weiss & Wikinson, 2013). In addition, most multilateral development banks and various UN agencies in the past two decades have articulated official guidelines for their staff and functionaries in relation to patterns of relations with civil society organizations.

In some cases, civil society associations have sought indirect involvement in global governance, through third parties. For example,

business forums, trade unions, and NGOs usually express their concerns about global governance through member countries, hoping that it will be able to influence the position taken by governments in global institutions (international organizations). In this case, civil society groups involve the foreign ministry for matters relating to the UN, the finance ministry on matters relating to the IMF, the ministry of trade on matters relating to the WTO, and so on. In fact, some state governments actively solicit input from civil society groups before attending major global conferences. Often, countries (especially large countries) are faced with global governance issues not only by civil society associations from their own countries, but also by transnational organizations.

In other cases, civil society groups expressed their aspirations regarding global governance to the legislative branches of government, for example: the French National Assembly, the Japanese Diet, and the United States Congress. Civil society groups in this situation seek to form parliamentary debates on global governance and / or to involve parliamentary committees that examine government policies relating to global governance. In other forms such as in Malawi, civil society associations have sponsored workshops and social activities to increase the capacity of national parliamentarians to deal with global regulatory issues. With regard to the European Union, civil society associations can raise issues with regional parliaments on issues of global governance, especially in the field of trade, where the European Union is a member of the WTO in certain capacities (Weiss & Wikinson, 2013).

Various non-official channels for indirect civil society involvement in global governance are also available. Outside government, community associations can raise their concerns with global institutions, political parties, mass media, companies, online social networks, and other deliberation spaces such as the World Economic Forum and the World Social Forum. NGOs also sometimes ask celebrities to publish global issues, such as when Greenpeace took young singer Billie Eilish into the Climate Strike campaign in September 2019.

In addition to the direct participation and indirect pressures discussed earlier, civil society actors can engage in global governance with a mechanism of resistance and resistance. These groups tend to reject offers to interact with global institutions. Often, these resistance groups are not invited to interact by parties or official authorities because they are very disruptive to the process of forming global governance.

Various resistance movements have taken place in the form of taking to the streets to protest what they consider to be dangerous, undemocratic, and unjust global governance arrangements. In other resistance tactics, some NGOs initiated a boycott of several large multinational companies, so that this then encouraged the growth of CSR as an official global governance in the production and investment sectors. Street theater, video and demonstrations are other media that can be used by civil society groups in expressing rejection of global governance.

### **Impact of Civil Society Engagement in Global Governance**

According to Jan Aart Scholte, there are 5 main dimensions that can be used to see the impact resulting from the involvement of civil society in global governance. The 5 dimensions intended are: (1) Dimensions of institutional evolution; (2) Dimension agenda; (3) Decision dimensions; (4) Dimensions of discourse; and (4) Dimensions of social structure (Weiss & Wikinson, 2013).

First, from the five dimensions of impact mentioned above, civil society can shape the institutional evolution of global regulation. Citizens' associations often advocate the formation, reform and / or dissolution of a global governance body. For example, internationalist groups are urging the formation of the League of Nations and then the United Nations. About 2005, NGOs attended the San Francisco Conference which founded the United Nations in 1945, 42 of which were registered as consultants for US government delegations (Weiss & Wikinson, 2013). Civil society groups also clearly encourage

institutional reforms in global governance, such as the formation of the Human Rights Council at the United Nations, the reallocation of quotas at the IMF, and the inclusion of votes for affected communities on the Global Fund to Fight Aids council. So far, the efforts of civil society in the rejection of several international institutions have not been able to become a major factor capable of dissolving a global government institution. However, these movements are at least able to disrupt some formal processions, as happened at the WTO ministry in Seattle. In addition, the emergence of groups from strong radical opposition makes global government bodies more likely to accept institutional reform efforts.

The second dimension, where civil society can impact global governance, is based on the agenda dimension. In other words, citizen activism can influence what issues are considered in the global regulatory process and what needs to be a priority scale (Weiss & Wikinson, 2013). Civil society associations have been able to push the agenda on a number of global issues that previously received less attention. Some examples are handling AIDS, gun control, corruption, debt, democracy, handling the public rights of people with disabilities, ecological degradation, gender, human rights, humanitarian intervention, indigenous peoples, labor standards, land grabbing, poverty, and others. That would be a little unlikely to be of concern to organizations in global governance without civil society pressure.

The third dimension is the dimension of policy decisions taken in the global governance structure. For example, the WTO's move in 2003 to relax the provisions on intellectual property in essential medicines is a decision made based on the campaigns of several NGOs in this regard. Civil society associations have also been noted to contribute to the ratification of global human rights instruments, initiatives to conduct humanitarian interventions, adjustments to many World Bank projects, and many other policy decisions in global governance.

The fourth dimension is the dimension of discourse that illustrates the ability of civil society to go beyond the ability of individuals to shape

discourse in global governance. What is meant by “discourse” here is the concept, language, and framework of overall analysis used in policy-related discussions. Civil society associations to this day have debated innovation in the core vocabulary of global governance by promoting ideas such as “fair trade,” “human security,” “sustainable development,” and “global public good”. In general, civil society and its critics are able to make a shift in discourse in global economic governance, which was previously based on the dominant neissiberalism narratives of laissez faire in the late twentieth century, to market rhetoric that emphasized and oriented towards social and environmental aspects in the early twenty-first century (Weiss & Wikinson, 2013).

The last dimension is the dimension of social structure which illustrates that the impact of civil society is able to reach further by influencing the social structure that underlies global governance itself. The clearest example of this is that civil society associations have promoted changes in overall global governance modes. As we know that in the early eras of the emergence of international organizations, the state was a dominant actor, perhaps even the only actor who had access to global governance arrangements. Civil society pushes the previously statist (state-centered) mode to a more polycentrism mode (where governance occurs through a multi-actor network). (Weiss & Wikinson, 2013) In addition, civil society groups involved in global governance are able to drive changes in the structure of identity in world politics from national centralism to pluralism. These activists were then able to enlarge the political space for actors who tended to have limited access in global governance in the previous era. The increase in actors and the increasing role of previously insignificant actors will certainly change the patterns and dynamics of interaction between actors in the process of norm formation at the level of global governance.

## **Methodology**

In this article, we use literature study as a data collection technique. The data obtained is accessed through books, articles in scientific journals, official documents, and internet sources. The data is collected in order to help the writer explain the problem being discussed. The data analysis technique that we use in this article is descriptive-qualitative analysis technique. The data that we find through various sources are used to describe a phenomenon through interpretation based on a theoretical basis.

## **Extinction Rebellion as Civil Society**

In order to find the correlation between civil society conceptually and whether Extinction Rebellion can be categorized as civil society, in this section we discuss the profile of Extinction Rebellion as a social movement and the extent to which the movement can meet the criteria as a civil society. It aims to reinforce the argument and find social facts related to the discussion in this article.

In general, The Extinction Rebellion is an activist group that has a primary concern with the climate crisis. Started as a project born of a social movement called Rising Up! Extinction Rebellion is projected to be a movement that has a positive influence on the issue of the climate crisis. Rising Up! was established in 2016 to address a number of global problems, one of which is related to climate problems. The main idea in the Rising Up! is a fundamental effort to bring about change in the political and economic fields (Booth, 2019).

Rising Up! aims to achieve this systemic change through civil disobedience, a tactic used by many movements in the past. John Rawls described civil disobedience as 'a public act, nonviolent, and departing from a conscience that is against the law which is usually carried out with a view to bringing about changes in government policy or law'. One of the tactics used in the concept of civil disobedience has been implemented since the Rising Up! into The Extinction Rebellion movement (Booth, 2019).

In the course of that strategy, it leads us to the definition that The Extinction Rebellion is a protest movement based on the principle of nonviolent direct action aimed at forcing governments to overcome the climate and ecological crises faced by all the mankind. The system that runs in The Extinction Rebellion movement is a movement with a decentralized participatory network.

In April 2019, it declared the 'International Uprising' which created a major disturbance in London, which led to more than 1,000 arrests by the police. Following this, the movement gained more than 40,000 new members and the protest spread to 80 cities and 33 different countries (Skrimshire, 2019).

One of the founding members of Extinction Rebellion, Roger Hallam, wrote that the strategy carried out by Extinction Rebellion was based on three main observations. First, a protest movement needs to be disruptive in order to get public attention. Second, that the activists of this movement must be willing to sacrifice to be responded to and begin a serious dialogue with various parties. Third, that the movement must be based on respect in the process of building public opinion regarding the issue that being advocated. This has direct implications for the tactics used by Extinction Rebellion throughout the world, which focuses on large groups of people committing lawlessness, in the context of disturbing public convenience, in a truly nonviolent manner for an ongoing period. This then creates economic disruption, which is designed to shake the political system, and civil disturbances. All of these things are designed in order to convey a message and raise awareness of the importance of starting a serious dialogue on climate crisis at the public level (Hallam, n.d.).

The message to be delivered by Extinction Rebellion is quite clear. That we are facing a climate crisis and an ecological emergency that presents an existential threat to the continued existence of humanity. This movement specifically highlights the 2018 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report which focuses on the need to keep global warming stable below 1.5 degrees Celsius. This confirms



the scientific consensus that the current change in the global climate is a direct implication of human activity which also underlines the magnitude of the consequences of the changes that occur today. Direct ecological impacts can be seen in sea level rise, extreme weather events, drought, flooding, loss of biodiversity, food insecurity, sea acidification, reduced water supply and its negative effects on human health and even lead to war. The report stresses that the human population that will be most affected and most severely affected by climate change are vulnerable groups such as indigenous peoples and those who rely on agricultural or coastal livelihoods. It is generally accepted that we have seen an increase in extreme weather events such as forest fires, heat waves, hurricanes and cyclones, floods, and drought. Based on this, the position taken by The Extinction Rebellion that current climate change can be categorized as a global climate emergency has a strong reason, both in the moral and scientific dimensions (Hallam, n.d.).

Based on the brief explanation above, if we refer to the concept of civil society as a political space that connects people with the state, The Extinction Rebellion can be interpreted as a civil society group, in the form of a social movement. Protest and mass action are a strategy carried out by Extinction Rebellion. Based on the strategy carried out by Extinction Rebellion in voicing its demands, it can be seen that the national government is the target of this movement. Referring to this, we can say that the mode of involvement of The Extinction Rebellion in the issue of global climate problems is indirect involvement. That is because the mode of participation implemented by The Extinction Rebellion here is not in a formal form. In the sense that The Extinction Rebellion is not directly involved in global forums related to climate issues, but rather informal participation in the form of protests and mass actions. The indirect participation of The Extinction Rebellion here is in the form of resistance.

In assessing the dimensions of potential impacts to be pursued by campaigns and movements initiated by The Extinction Rebellion, we need to look at what dimensions are contained in the points of

The Extinction Rebellion's own demands. The next section will discuss the dimensions of the impact that The Extinction Rebellion wants to pursue in its relationship with global governance on environment and climate change.

### **The Dimension of Involvement Pursued by Extinction Rebellion In Global Governance**

The Extinction Rebellion has three demands for the government. The first is that the government 'Tell the Truth' and declares climate emergency. Emergencies are situations where our normal ways of managing society and the economy cannot adequately handle the risks we face. Therefore, this implies a change in what we do, commensurate with the scale and urgency of risk. The emergency situation demanded by The Extinction Rebellion here has practical and political dimensions. Declaring a state of emergency in this case will result in the development of a plan, supported by strong leadership, which communicates, coordinates, and disseminates practical and financial capacity to protect people from threats, including the most vulnerable. In most emergencies, only countries have the authority and capacity to act this way. Society depends on the state to do it.

For the context, today, the levels of carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) and methane have reached historic highs for the human era. This represents the condition of our current response to risk. There has not been a reduction in total emissions, which creates risks, some 30 years after it was discovered that climate change is a threat, despite urgent global acceptance (Gilding, 2019). We should not confuse high awareness, global agreements, and debate with any effective action to alleviate these threats. Scientists warn that even if all Paris emission commitments are met, temperatures will surpass 1.5 ° C warming (the target was agreed in Paris), and then increase 3 to 5 ° C by 2100 (Gilding, 2019).

In this first point of demand, we see that The Extinction Rebellion pursues the dimension of influence to form a more representative discourse in describing the reality and scientific facts related to today's

global climate situation. The “Climate Emergency” diction here is a concept that The Extinction Rebellion tries to distribute, rather than mere “Climate Change”, in order to influence public discourse on climate issues. The concept of “climate emergency” itself is supported by comprehensive scientific data so that it is very possible to get legitimacy from people which in turn will affect people’s perceptions in interpreting climate problems (Gilding, 2019).

The second demand, ‘Act Now’. In this demand, The Extinction Rebellion demands that the National Government enact legally binding policies to reduce carbon emissions to zero net by 2025 and take further action to eliminate excess greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. It must work together internationally so that the global economy runs no more than half the planet’s resources per year. In other words, at the point of this demand, Extinction Rebellion is demanding that national governments around the world economize frugally and limit production with the aim of balancing carbon production with today’s climate situation (The Extinction Rebellion, 2019).

In this second point of demand, we see that The Extinction Rebellion pursues an influence dimension in the form of an agenda. The Extinction Rebellion seeks to encourage national governments and global regulatory bodies to make the problem of the climate crisis a top priority that must be resolved. This can be interpreted as a follow-up from the first demand points related to climate emergency which requires major efforts, especially in matters of political decisions, resource mobilization, and priority scale.

The third demand, ‘Beyond Politics’, is the government creating a citizen assembly to manage the changes that need to be made. This model of democratic governance has been used successfully in Ireland, among other countries, to deal with significant and / or divisive issues such as abortion and gay marriage. The Extinction Rebellion shows that this solution will produce a form of government capable of making the long-term radical policy decisions needed to effectively deal with climate and ecological emergencies (The Extinction Rebellion, 2019).

Citizen Assemblies are a type of deliberative democracy, a mechanism where ordinary people make political decisions. Members of Citizen Assembly are randomly chosen from the population. This procedure is close to how a jury is chosen in the UK and a number of other countries' legal system. Furthermore, the organizers of assemblies use demographic quotas to ensure that they are inclusive in terms of a number of variables, such as gender, age, ethno-cultural origin, level of education, sexual orientation, disability and geography. Once participants have been chosen, there are four main phases to the process: listening, studying, deliberating, and decision making (The Extinction Rebellion, 2019).

Public engagement serves as a counterpoise to a political framework that prioritizes short-term electoral advantages over current and future generations' long-term needs. Deliberative mechanisms, backed up by bias-free protections, leads to more diverse and educated voices in political discourse than in a solely elected body like the House of Commons. Additionally, assembly members are not chosen to represent political parties and are free to make decisions solely based on their own informed viewpoints, values and a sense of what policies would be for the common good (Hallam, n.d.).

In this demand point, we see that The Extinction Rebellion pursues impacts in global governance in the dimension of institutional evolution. The institutional evolution here can be seen from The Extinction Rebellion's efforts to drive radical change, especially in the context of decision making, related to the problem of the climate crisis. The Extinction Rebellion 11 encourages institutional evolution in climate-related global governance from previously limited to the political elite, rather to citizen assembly. What this means is that The Extinction Rebellion is trying to change the traditional policy-making process to the participation of the public and experts in formulating policies related to the climate crisis.

## Conclusion

It can be concluded that The Extinction Rebellion as a civil society has a form of indirect involvement, because here the mode of participation carried out by The Extinction Rebellion is in the form of mass protest and demonstration. In this regard, The Extinction Rebellion has involvement outside the formal structure of global governance. The dimensions pursued by The Extinction Rebellion are: (1) Dimensions of discourse; (2) Agenda Dimensions; and (3) Dimensions of institutional evolution.

The dimension of the discourse pursued by The Extinction Rebellion is in the form of a new concept that illustrates the scientific facts of today's situation related to the climate crisis. The concept of "climate emergency" offered by The Extinction Rebellion is an effort in shaping public discourse, which has the potential to influence public perceptions in interpreting today's climate crisis. The growing discourse on climate emergency can also influence the discourse on the climate crisis at the level of policy makers, so that it can change the perception of the global community regarding today's climate crisis.

The second dimension is the dimension of the agenda, where The Extinction Rebellion tries to push climate problems as a top priority that needs to be resolved at the national level to global governance. This is a follow-up to the definition of climate-related emergencies in the first case.

The third dimension is the institutional evolution where The Extinction Rebellion encourages direct public involvement in decision making related to climate issues at national and global levels. This is an effort to revolutionize traditional policy making patterns that focus only on formal political actors, both at the national and global levels. The involvement of the public and experts here is a form of deliberative mechanism which can then provide alternative policies that are not affected by electoral politics.

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# STRATEGY TO REDUCING STUNTING RATE IN BANDUNG REGENCY

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## **Abstract**

*The stunting rate in Badung Regency shows an increasing trend throughout 2016 until 2018. The Basic Health Research results for the year 2018 noted the stunting rate in Badung Regency reached 25.24%. This research aims to find out the conditions and strategic steps of the regional government in reducing the stunting rate by utilizing a descriptive-analytic approach. The results showed that the main determinant factor related to the high stunting rate in Badung Regency is the low level of nutrition knowledge of mothers of children under five because most (42.82%) of the population of Badung Regency have elementary and junior high school education, 40.64% of them have high school education and only 16.54% who highly educated. The strategic step of the Badung Regency Government is to issue regulations and launch a stunting prevention movement in Badung Regency. What needs to be done by the government is mapping of nutrient-prone areas is needed, the Supplementary Feeding program for all pregnant women suffering from chronic lack of energy, increasing the number of classes of pregnant women and diversifying food based on local food resources.*

*Keywords: health, Stunting, Badung Regency*

## **Introduction**

Stunting is a chronic nutritional problem that is caused by a lack of nutritional intake for a long time, generally because of food intake that does not match nutritional needs. Stunting starts from the womb and is only seen when a child is two years old. According to UNICEF, stunting is defined as the percentage of children aged 0 to 59 months, with a height below minus two (moderate and severe stunting) and minus three (chronic stunting) measured from WHO's growth standards for children (Dewi, 2017).

The World Health Organization (WHO) places Indonesia as the third country with the highest stunting prevalence rate in Asia in 2017. The results of the Basic Health Research (Riskesdas) 2018 indicate that the prevalence of stunting toddlers has fallen from 37.2% in 2013 to 30.8% in 2018. The prevalence of malnutrition children under five / underweight and underweight / very underweight also tends to decrease in 2013-2018. For Bali Province, the stunting rate in 2013 was 32.6% and in 2018 it decreased to 21.8% (Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019). The decrease in stunting shows the successful implementation of the nutrition program, however, this figure is still above the WHO standard which is a maximum of 20 percent or one-fifth of the total number of children under five (Novianto, 2019). Based on data from the Bali Provincial Health Office, the stunting rate in Badung Regency shows an increasing trend throughout 2016 up to 2018. In 2015 the stunting rate was recorded at 13.6% and then decreased to 11.5% in 2016. Entering in 2017 the stunting rate increased again, and the results of Riskesdas in 2018 recorded the stunting rate in Badung Regency reaching 25.24%.

Through Presidential Regulation No. 42 of 2013 concerning the National Movement for the Acceleration of Nutrition Improvement, the President of the Republic of Indonesia has given a mandate to the

Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare (Menko Kesra) to lead the acceleration of nutrition improvement in Indonesia. As one of the national priority programs, on August 9, 2017, the Indonesian Vice President chaired a Limited Meeting that established the 5 Pillars of Prevention of Stunting, then on April 5, 2018, the President of Indonesia directly chaired a Limited Meeting on the prevention of stunting in Indonesia.

Stunting can have various adverse effects on toddlers. In addition to stunted growth, stunting is also associated with suboptimal brain development, which causes poor mental and learning abilities, and poor school performance. Stunting and other conditions related to malnutrition are also considered as a risk factor for diabetes, hypertension, obesity, and death due to infection (Dewi, 2017). At a macro level, stunting is believed to be able to inhibit economic growth, increase poverty, and widen inequality. If this situation is not resolved immediately it can be ensured that Badung Regency is unable to compete in facing global challenges in the future.

## **Research Method**

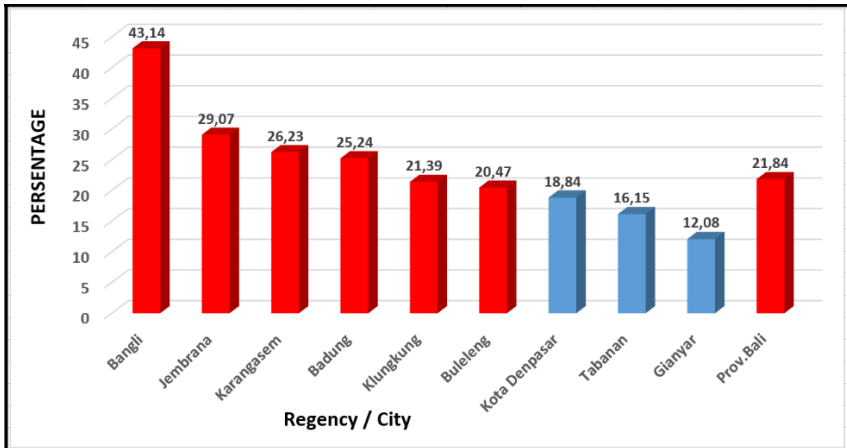
This research is a descriptive-analytic with cross-sectional study design. This research was conducted in Badung Regency for two months, from September to October 2019. Secondary data in this study were sourced from Basic Health Research data conducted by the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia in 2018 and data on the Profile of the Badung District Health Office in 2019. Qualitative data in this study is the result of an interview with the manager of the Badung Regency Health Office Nutrition Program.

## **Result and Discussion**

In the last five years, the government has increased its attention and budget to accelerate the decline in stunting in Indonesia, including in the Province of Bali. The stunting rate in Bali Province, although showing a decline from 32.6% in 2013 to 21.8% in 2018, is still above

the standard set ( $\leq 20\%$ ). Stunting data of several regencies / cities in Bali Province can be seen in the table below:

**Figure 1. Data Stunting in the Province of Bali 2018**

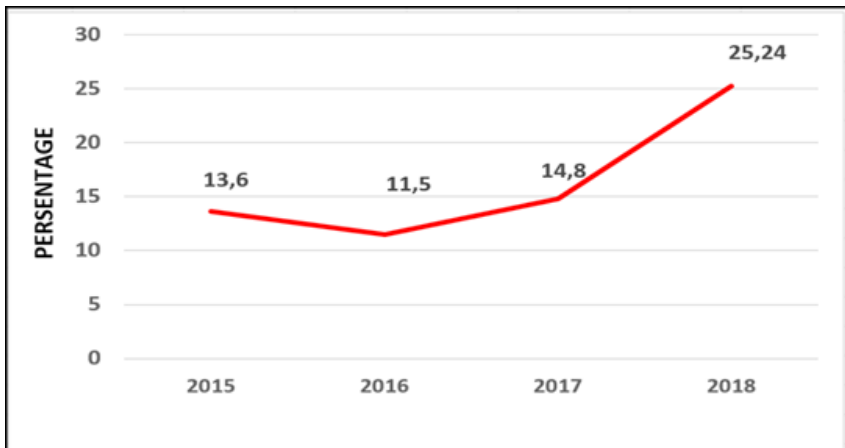


Source: *Bali Province Basic Health Research 2018*

Figure 1 shows that most (66.67%) districts/cities in Bali Province have stunting rates that exceed the set standards ( $> 20\%$ ). Badung Regency which is the richest regency in Bali Province ranks 4th out of all regencies/cities in Bali Province which has stunting problems.

One of the goals of the vision and mission of the Regent of Badung as outlined in the 2016-2021 Badung Regency RPJMD Amendment is to improve the quality of human resources and reduce poverty in the community. To realize this, the Badung District Health Office made various efforts to improve child nutrition, especially in the effort to reduce the stunting rate in Badung Regency. Stunting rates in Badung Regency can be seen in the table below.

Figure 2. Stunting Figures in Bandung Regency 2015-2018



Source: Bali Provincial Health Service Data

Figure 2 shows that an increase in stunting cases in Badung District occurred in 2017 and 2018. This data can be debated because the Badung District Health Service Profile data shows that the stunting rate in Badung Regency in 2018 was only 14.8%. This difference in numbers needs to be addressed wisely even though the difference will certainly disrupt the policy formulation process given the maximum stunting tolerance limit of 20%.

It is necessary to have a data management system that can cross-check the truth of data, so there is no such extreme difference in data from several sources. However, the conditions are, the problem of malnutrition is relatively serious, because stunting is more than just a height problem because stunting can inhibit a child's brain growth which will threaten his intellect (Anuraga, 2016).

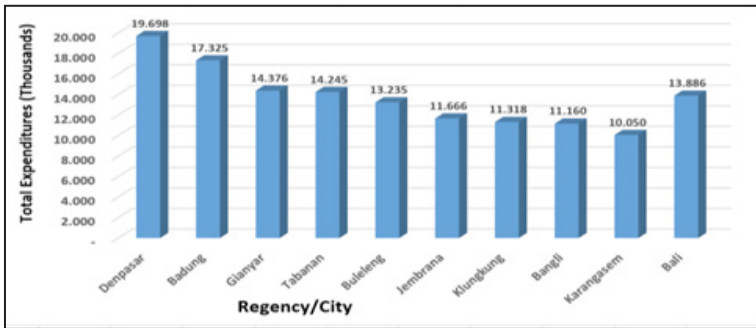
In addition to the problem of stunting (chronic nutrition problems), Badung Regency also experienced acute nutritional problems. The results of Riskesdas 2018 show the number of malnutrition / poor (acute nutrition problems) in Badung Regency as much as 17.75% of the maximum target of 10%, as well as the rate of thin nutrition/wasted (acute nutritional problems) as much as 6.03% of the maximum target

5%. Acute nutritional problems in toddlers if they last a long time and are not handled properly can lead to stunting. According to Dr. Melisa A, MBiomed, SpA, the initial occurrence of stunting is caused by poor nutrition due to lack of appropriate nutritional intake of the body, meaning that this stunting is a result of prolonged malnutrition (Alamsyah, 2019).

Nutrition and Metabolic Diseases Specialist, Dr. Damayanti Rusli Sharif said two factors cause a person to experience stunting, which is not optimal nutritional intake and increased nutritional needs due to disease. A lot of poverty happens to be one of the highest factors a person experiences stunting, besides that parents' ignorance of breast milk/ complementary foods (MPASI), and also unclean environment causes children to experience various diseases. Stunting can be cured early if the patient is under two years old. However, sufferers will become difficult to cure if they are over two years old because their cognitive is difficult to improve. Stunting sufferers are not only dwarfed, but their Intelligence Quotient (IQ) will be reduced by three points (Fauziah, 2019).

Nutrition problems are caused by various factors that are interrelated to one another. Oktavia, et al (2017) in Semarang City concluded that the nutritional problems of children under five are closely related to the family's economic status, history of infectious diseases and the level of nutrition knowledge of children under five. Based on available data, the problem of stunting in the Badung Regency is not related to economic factors. Bali Province BPS survey results in 2018 showed that public expenditure per capita in Badung Regency was classified as good because it was above the average per capita community expenditure in Bali Province. Expenditures per capita in Bali Province can be seen in the table below.

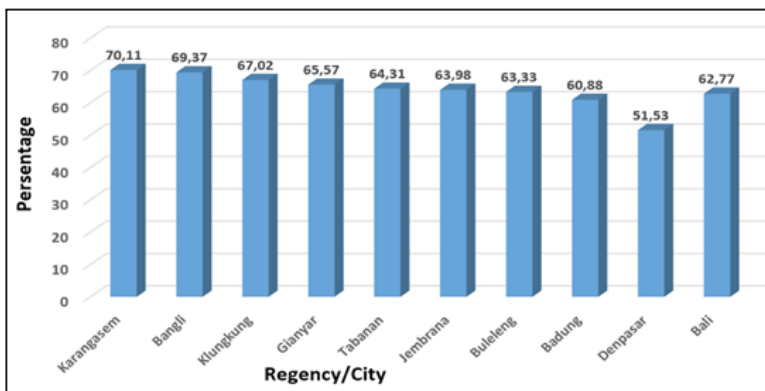
Figure 3. Per capita Expenditure in Bali Province 2018



Source: BPS Prov.Bali. Bali Human Development Index (HDI) 2018

Sarlis, et al (2018) in Pekan Baru concluded that there was a significant relationship between the incidence of pneumonia (lung infection) and nutritional status in infants. Pneumonia can cause toddlers to lose their appetite, resulting in toddlers experiencing malnutrition. Based on the Bali Provincial Health Service Profile Data for 2018, the number of pneumonia cases in the Badung Regency is below the average number of pneumonia cases in Bali Province (see figure 4). These data indicate that cases of infectious diseases do not have a significant relationship with increasing stunting rates in Badung Regency.

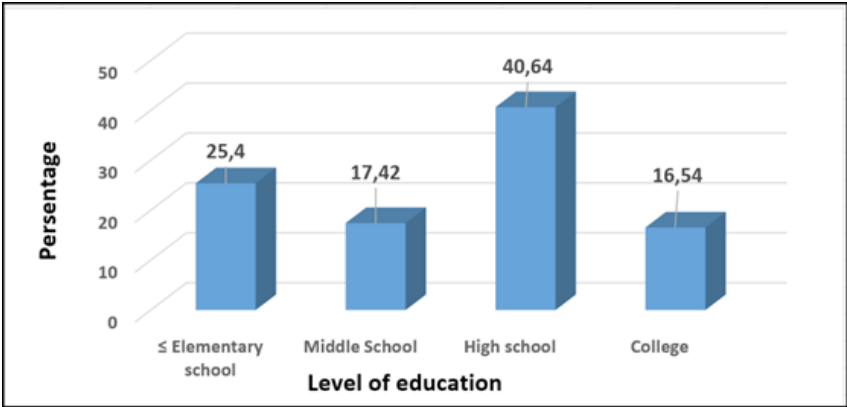
Figure 4. Percentage of Under-fives Suffering from Pneumonia by Regency/City in Bali 2018



Source: Profile of Bali Provincial Health Service in 2018.

The main determinant factor related to the high stunting rate in Badung Regency is the low level of nutrition knowledge of mothers of children under five. The low level of the mother's nutritional knowledge leads to poor parenting towards toddlers. One cause of the low level of maternal nutrition knowledge is because of the low level of maternal education. Badung Regency BPS data in 2019 showed that the majority (42.82%) of Badung Regency residents had elementary and junior high school education, 40.64% of them had high school education and only 16.54% had tertiary education. Data on the level of education of the population in Badung Regency can be seen in the graph below:

**Figure 5. Level of Education of The Population of Bandung Regency 2018**



Source: BPS District Badung Badung in figures 2018

Stunting is done in two ways, namely Specific Nutrition Intervention and Sensitive Nutrition Intervention. Specific nutrition interventions are activities that directly address the occurrence of stunting such as food intake, infections, maternal nutritional status, infectious diseases, and environmental health. These specific interventions are generally provided by the health sector. Whereas sensitive nutrition interventions include: (a) Increasing the supply of clean water and sanitation facilities; (b) Increasing access and quality of nutrition and health services; (c) Increasing awareness, commitment, and practice of mother and child nutrition care; (c), and (d) Increasing access to nutritious food.



Sensitive nutrition interventions are generally carried out outside the Ministry of Health targeting families and the community (Ministry of PPN/B

There are several stunting prevention challenges in Badung Regency because several indicators that are directly related to infant health (the first 1000 days of birth) have not yet reached the target set. In 2018 the achievement of examination of pregnant women in the first trimester (K1) and examination of the 4th pregnant woman (K4) were 94.84% and 85.14% respectively, this achievement did not reach the target of 100%. Likewise, the achievements of pregnant women who received Tablets Added Blood only reached 91.24% of the target of 98%. Furthermore, the achievement of the proportion of Complete Basic Immunization in children aged 12-23 months and high dose Vitamin A Capsules reached 90.98% (target 92.5%) and 89.77% (target 99%) (Kemenkes RI, 2019). The results of Fatimah's research (2018), in West Nusa Tenggara Province, concluded that an adequate increase in intake of vitamin A is needed and consuming a diverse and balanced diet to prevent stunting in infants.

Another challenge is the handling of toddler feces by the community at the household level (safely) only reaching 48.36% and only 74.46% of the community in Badung Regency has easy access to health services to Puskesmas/Pustu/Pusling/Village Midwives (Kemenkes RI, 2019). This condition has the potential to increase the incidence of stunting in infants according to research Sutrisna, et al (2018) who concluded that children from families with poor latrines and inappropriate drinking water increase the risk of stunting. In addition, this study also concluded that community and social factors such as low access to health services and long-term rural housing are associated with the incidence of stunting in children.

The support and commitment of Regional Leaders are needed in reducing stunting. Experience in Peru proves that a high leadership role is able to reduce the prevalence of stunting from 28.5% in 2007 to 14.4% in 2015. Likewise, in Brazil, the commitment and leadership

of the president prioritizing efforts to improve nutrition and access to health services able to reduce the prevalence of stunting from 37% to 7% within 30 years (Satriawan, 2018).

Badung Regency Regulation Number 12 of 2016 concerning Eligible Districts of Children in article 6 paragraph (2) states that the Family is obliged to fulfill the basic health rights and welfare of children which includes: fulfillment of good nutrition from the womb, giving breast milk until the age of two years, fulfillment of complete basic immunizations, etc. Besides, in May 2019 the Badung Regent together with the Chairman of the Badung Regency PKK Mobilizing Team, the Chairman of Gatriwara, the Head of the Badung Health Office and the related regional apparatus launched the first 1000 days of birth (Garba Sari) to prevent stunting of toddlers carried out in Kekeran Village, Mengwi District which is marked by pin inserting and giving additional food parcels to children and pregnant women (Badung Regency Government, 2019). Besides, the Regency Government has excellent programs such as the “Krama Badung Sehat” Health Insurance Program, Youth Counseling program, Family Planning Program, and Community-Based Total Sanitation Program.

The strategy used in the context of stunting prevention in Badung Regency is to improve several programs related to toddler health. First, maternal, child and reproductive health programs, with activities including: improve maternally, child and reproductive health, iron folate tablet supplementation for pregnant women, supplementary feeding of pregnant women with chronic energy deficiencies, promotion and counseling for the initiation of early breastfeeding and exclusive breastfeeding, strengthening access and family planning services, provision of national health insurance and shipping guarantee, implementation of reproductive health education.

Second, disease prevention and control Program, with activities including prevention and Control of Malaria, pulmonary TB disease, HIV/AIDS, Pneumonia. Third, community nutrition improvement program, with activities including infant and child feeding, monitoring

growth at integrated service posts, immunization, provide toddler nutrition for additional food vitamin provision of vitamin A, malnutrition management. Fourth, healthy life community movement program (Germas), with activities including increase physical and physical activity regularly, promote a healthy lifestyle, provision of clean water and sanitation, and reducing cigarette and alcohol consumption.

The success of stunting prevention programs is highly dependent on the commitment of policymakers in allocating resources, increasing the capacity and quality of program implementation. In addition, the implementation of advocacy, campaigning, and dissemination activities related to stunting must be carried out on an ongoing basis involving all components and coordination between institutions.

## **Conclusion**

The stunting rate in Badung Regency shows an increasing trend from 2016 until 2018. In 2015 the stunting rate was recorded at 13.6% then decreased to 11.5% in 2016. Entering in 2017 the stunting rate increased again, and the results of Riskesdas in 2018, the stunting rate in Badung Regency reached 25.24%.

The main determinant factor related to the high stunting rate in Badung Regency is the low level of nutritional knowledge of mothers of toddlers because most (42.82%) residents of Badung Regency have elementary and junior high school education, 40.64% of them have high school education and only 16.54% highly educated.

Badung Regency Government is committed and supports efforts to prevent stunting by issuing Badung District Regulation Number 12 of 2016 concerning Eligible Districts of Children, and the launching of the first 1000 days of birth (Garba Sari) Movement for stunting prevention in Badung Regency.

## **Recommendation**

The results of Riskesda in 2018 showed that pregnant women in Badung Regency who received a new Supplementary Feeding reached

9.7%, while the number of pregnant women suffering from Chronic Energy Deficiency reached 16.56% of the total existing pregnant women. Therefore, it is necessary to increase the Supplementary Feeding Program to all Chronic Energy Deficiency pregnant women.

To foster pregnant mothers and capture pregnant Chronic Energy Deficiency women, it is necessary to increase the number and quality of classes of pregnant women in the Badung Regency.

To make nutrition intervention effective, it is necessary to carry out periodic mapping of Stunting-prone areas in the Badung Regency.

To increase public awareness and knowledge about stunting, it is necessary to carry out campaigns simultaneously, especially in the stunting enclave areas of Badung Regency.

To maintain family food security, it is necessary to carry out social assistance programs and nutritious non-cash food assistance for underprivileged families.

In order to increase community food security, it is necessary to accelerate food diversification based on local food resources and the development of Sustainable Food Friendly Areas in a sustainable manner.

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# THE GLOBAL POLIO ERADICATION INITIATIVE IN NIGERIA: THE CHALLENGES

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## **Abstract**

*In 1988, WHO announced polio as a target for disease to be eradicated. Since then the effort to eradicate polio has become one of the very large public-private collaborations and has also been very successful in eradicating polio, which until now has only left Afghanistan and Pakistan alone as countries that have not yet received polio-free certification. Nigeria at the end of 2019 finally received a polio-free certificate from WHO for its efforts after three years of no polio case report was found. The process of eradicating polio in Nigeria is not without problems. Three problems were encountered by Nigeria in the process of eradicating polio. First there was a boycott in 2003 due to a crisis of trust and also political conflicts that occurred. Second is the problem of boko haram where the territory controlled by this group becomes a very dangerous area even for the military. Then the third problem re-emergence of polio reports in 2016 after two years no polio reports were found. These problems can be a lesson for the polio eradication process in Afghanistan and Pakistan to be able to get polio-free certification.*

**Keywords:** GPEI, Nigeria, Polio

## **Introduction**

Infectious diseases do not recognize national borders. In the current era of easy transportation, what happens in one country can have implications for other countries both near and far. More and more government agencies, international organizations and non-state countries are involved in global health diplomacy to make policies in health negotiations. Medicine alone cannot prevent diseases that can prevent in developing countries. Extensive public and private health service systems and programs also provide political support, resources from domestic sources and donors and collaboration among many partners: domestic governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), business organizations, international organizations, development assistance agencies, and many others. There may not be a better example of the much-needed role of global health diplomacy than the world's efforts to eradicate polio.

In 1984, Rotary International established PolioPlus which is still the largest voluntary and fundraising program (Rotary International, 2013). Inspired by PolioPlus, which was founded by Rotary International, the World Health Assembly established a public-private partnership, the Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI) in 1988 aimed at eradicating polio in 2000 (WHO, 1988). GPEI itself in achieving the goal of eradicating polio in collaboration with the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and also the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation which also has a large contribution (Neilson, 2000).

Infectious diseases are notoriously difficult to eradicate. The campaign to cleanse the world of smallpox is the only thing that works (Barrett, Global Disease Eradication, 2003). Global eradication can only be achieved if the country concerned is willing to work together to eradicate the disease (Barrett, 2006). This article discusses the problems faced by the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Nigeria. Although it seems that these efforts have ultimately succeeded, it does not mean



there is no conflict or controversy, many of the problems faced by Nigeria in the process of obtaining polio-free certificates.

## **Methodology**

Data collection techniques used in this paper is to use literature studies. Data obtained from sources in the form of books, journals, newspapers and also documentation that can be accessed from the internet.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Polio – an overview**

Polio was first discovered by two doctors from Australia, Karl Landsteiner and Erwin Popper in 1909. Since the reported extraordinary event (KLB) occurred in Europe in the 19th century, the incidence of polio continued to increase until it became a pandemic in the early 20th century. Polio itself is a contagious disease that can cause paralysis and even death in children. This virus consists of three serotypes namely serotypes 1, 2, and 3, each of which can also be called the serotype Mahoney, Lansing, and Leon as well as two main types of vaccines, oral and injection. In endemic countries, polio virus is still found which clearly becomes a threat (Satari, 2016).

GPEI is based largely on immunization strategies in endemic countries through oral poliovirus vaccines (OPV). WHO recommends and funds OPV for alternative types of injections (polio vaccine or inactivated IPV) for areas where the disease is endemic, because they have the advantage that unvaccinated children can develop immunity through the faecal-oral route (Dawson & Paul, 2006). This method is also much cheaper (Calloway, 2013). The trivalent version of OPV is the vaccine of choice for years because it combats all three types of viruses. While it is effective in eliminating type 2 viruses, it has little success with types 1 and 3. Recently, monovalent vaccines targeting either type 1 or 3 have been tested and used and in 2009 a bivalent vaccine to treat both types was developed (Aylward & Tangermann, 2011).

But there are complications, that live viruses in OPV can mutate and cause paralysis in vaccine recipients and third parties (again, through faecal-oral transmission). This is called vaccine associated paralytic poliomyelitis (VAPP) and is very likely to occur in individuals with compromised immune systems. Many developed countries have turned to injected poliovirus vaccines (IPV) to avoid the threat of VAPP (Paul & Dawson, 2005; Dawson & Paul, 2006).

The Nigerian government, supported by WHO and UNICEF, began an anti-polio campaign by launching the Expanded Program on Immunization (EPI) in 1979 (Keja, et al., 1988). Through the construction of primary health care (PHC) care facilities throughout the country and the division of labor between the federal and local governments, vaccination coverage increased from 9 percent to 83 percent in 1984 (Sorungbe, 1989). However, the decentralization of the public health system subsequently transferred more vaccination responsibilities to local governments, which could not effectively meet the increasing demands due to inadequate infrastructure, funding and health resources. Overall immunization rates in Nigeria fell to 26 percent in the mid-1990s, a 68 percent reduction in vaccination coverage (Renne, 2012). EPI changed its name to the National Program on Immunization (NPI) in 1996, with the new name coming new efforts to provide greater support for immunization campaigns at the state and local government area (LGA) level. The NPI cooperates with international organizations, through public-private partnerships, reducing the number of African polio endemic countries from 46 to 3, leaving Nigeria, Niger and Egypt (Gautam, 2005).

To strengthen Nigeria's polio eradication program at the operational level, the National Stop Transmission of Polio (N-STOP) program was established in July 2012 as a collaborative effort of the National Primary Health Care Development Agency, the Nigerian Field Epidemiology and Laboratory Training Program, and the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Since its inception, N-STOP has recruited and trained 125 staff, 50 residents in training, and 50 ad hoc

officers. N-STOP officers, who work at the national, state and district levels, and have conducted outreach calculations in 46,437 hard-to-reach nomad settlements in 253 districts in 19 states that support additional immunization activities in 236 districts, and strengthen routine immunizations in 100 districts. Officers have also conducted surveillance assessments, epidemic responses, and applied research as needs develop. The N-STOP program has succeeded in increasing partnerships and outreach to the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Nigeria, providing a technically accessible, flexible, and culturally competent workforce at the forefront of public health (Waziri, et al., 2014). In the process Nigeria faced various problems that prevented the course of the polio vaccination process, such as the boycott of vaccines, the Boko Haram group and the reappearance of polio in 2016.

### **Vaccine Boycott**

Public trust is very important in promoting public health. Such trust plays an important role in public adherence to public health interventions, especially adherence to vaccination programs, which target mainly healthy people. Where public confidence is eroded, rumors can spread, and this can lead to rejection of health interventions. In northern Nigeria in 2003, political and religious leaders in Kano, Zamfara and Kaduna countries stopped the immunization campaign by calling on parents not to let their children be immunized. These leaders argue that the vaccine can be contaminated with anti-fertility agents (the hormone estradiol), HIV, and cancer agents.

Political, ethnic and religious tensions in Nigeria increased after elections in April 2003, when retired General Olusegun Obasanjo was elected for a second term as president defeating retired General Muhammadu Buhari, a Muslim northerner. The condition of regional disparities in the provision and use of health services where the northern region of Nigeria is experiencing worse conditions makes tensions increase (Jegade, 2007). The Weekly Trust, an important newspaper in the north, reports that the official suspension began at

the July 21, 2003 meeting in Jama'atul Nasril Islam (JNI, a group that houses Islamic organizations in the north):

“One of the Emirs presented a memo on the concerns and apprehensions of his people on the allegations that the polio vaccination campaign was being used for the purpose of depopulating developing countries, and especially Muslim countries. ...Although some of the more senior Emirs tried to dismiss the observation as mere rambling by their subjects, the Supreme Council on Sharia implementation in Nigeria led by a respected Kano-based medical doctor, Dr Datti Ahmed brought the apprehensions into full public glare when... he told newsmen that his council had reasons to suspect contamination of the polio vaccines with HIV/AIDS virus, anti-fertility substances and other dangerous elements.” (Kaufmann & Feldbaum, 2009).

According to US Ambassador to Nigeria John Campbell, the boycott “was about fear and disaffection at the popular level that was fastened on immunization as a precipitant. ... Once the safety of the vaccines became a popular issue, which leaders could not control, they gave in with some relation. “ He continued “This was not really about technical issues. The issue was Northern Nigeria’s thorough disaffection with the Obasanjo government. “ (Kaufmann & Feldbaum, 2009).

In Nigeria, the state has administrative control over health affairs at the primary and secondary care level while the federal government has control at the tertiary care level. Although the federal government sets health policies for the country, immunization falls under the main health care system that is controlled by each state government. This is why the state government of Kano can issue directives to stop immunization exercises planned by the federal government (Kaufmann & Feldbaum, 2009).

Nigeria being a multi-party society, opposition parties use their political rights by constantly challenging the ruling party. After the

May 2003 presidential election, All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), led by General Muhammadu Buhari, a military dictator and Head of State, filed a case in the Supreme Court of Nigeria to challenge the victory of President Olusegun Obasanjo of the People's Democratic Party (PDP). Also, Kano as a state under ANPP control challenged the polio vaccination exercise organized by the PDP-controlled federal government (Jegede, 2007).

Nigeria is undergoing a political transition from a north-led military regime to a south-led democracy. Until 1999, the north had ruled the country for more than 30 of 46 years of independence. Since the start of the new democratic system of government in 1999, power has shifted south (specifically southwest). These changes produced political tensions between the south and north. This tension might explain why religious leaders in northern countries boycotting the polio immunization campaign believe that the federal government led by the south is acting in the interests of Western powers. The northern and southern parts of the country have different colonial experiences. While the north was colonized by Islamic Jihadists, the south was colonized by the British. This colonial experience is responsible for political differences between north and south and differences in attitudes towards modern medicine (Jegede, 2007).

### **Boko Haram**

Boko Haram has ruled the area in northern Nigeria since around 2003, when they implemented Sharia, or Islamic law in the region. As part of efforts to dispel Western views, the Boko Haram group has hampered efforts to get every child in the country to get a polio vaccination by spreading misinformation about vaccines, claiming that the vaccine can cause infertility and bone injury. This group also uses violence to deter vaccinators. In 2013, at least nine members of the vaccination team in Kano state were killed and witnesses named Boko Haram as the culprit. This caused nearly 66,000 children in remote

villages in northern Nigeria to be unable to get the polio vaccination (Charles, 2019).

The state of Borno is one of the most unstable regions in Nigeria. This place is the home area of Boko Haram, a fundamentalist terrorist militia who may be famous for kidnapping 276 female students from the city of Chibok. Boko Haram has carried out a continuing campaign of bombings and massacres which is estimated to have killed 20,000 people in seven years and has disrupted all of northeastern Nigeria. Internal conflict in a country has become a matter that must be faced by the GPEI in eradicating polio; in Pakistan, the Taliban are constantly attacking vaccine delivery teams. However, Boko Haram's violence made this part of the Borno region a very vulnerable area even for the military (Mckenna, 2016).

The fight against Polio has become a challenge for Nigeria coupled with problems from extremist groups Boko Haram that disrupt the GPEI making children vulnerable to diseases that could have been prevented. The Boko Haram rebellion began in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno state, but its reach has expanded beyond the Nigerian border to neighboring Niger, Chad and Cameroon. The violence proved to be a major setback for the international campaign against polio. In addition to the threats posed by Boko Haram, there are still many people who are still afraid of the polio vaccine after years of misinformation that can cause other health problems (Umar & Larson, 2018).

The terrorist group Boko Haram has created a regional humanitarian crisis and continues to prevent the vaccination team from reaching critical areas. Many populations have to move between cities and camps which obstruct supervision efforts and reduce the ability to track the child's vaccination status correctly (Premji, et al., 2016). For example, stool samples can only be obtained less than 50 percent in Borno and Yobe in 2014 (Hamisu, et al., 2015). The combination of children who are not immunized and inadequate supervision allows the virus to spread quietly, without being detected. cases found in 2016 were found in areas under Boko Haram's control and DNA sequencing confirmed

that the virus was related to the last seen case. This discovery shows that the virus has been circulating, undetected in Northern Nigeria since 2011 (Mckenna, 2016).

### **The Reappearance Polio in 2016**

In 2015, as a direct result of the NPHCDA polio intervention strategy, WHO removed Nigeria from the global endemic polio list, leaving only Pakistan and Afghanistan. Since the strategy was implemented, the presentation of vaccination coverage has increased to 64 percent and there has been a 57 percent reduction in national polio cases reported in 2013 (Gomaa, et al., 2015). These results and ongoing efforts lead to important achievements of Nigeria in 2015 where Nigeria reported zero new cases of wild polio virus (GPEI, 2015). It is estimated that between 2014 and 2018, the Nigerian polio campaign will prevent around 30,000-35,000 deaths (GPEI, 2013). Unfortunately, due to ongoing conflict in the North, the virus remained undetected until a new case of wild polio virus was discovered in 2016 (McNeil & Donald, 2016).

In August 2016, four children from war-torn Borno state in northern Nigeria were found to be infected with polio (Webster, 2017). An additional case reported in September, this has hampered Nigeria's goal of obtaining polio-free certification (WHO, 2016; Roberts, 2016) has also been a major setback for international efforts to eradicate this disease. This news was announced by the World Health Organization and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, where it should mark the commemoration of Africa's last two years of polio. If no cases are found, it will trigger a countdown of 12 months for Nigeria to be able to get polio-free certification, an important step in the nearly 30-year struggle to remove polio from the world (Mckenna, 2016).

After years of work and hundreds of millions of dollars spent eliminating polio in Nigeria, the virus has remained circulating undetected for more than four years (Roberts, 2016). The reappearance of the wild polio virus surprised the global community because Africa had celebrated two years there were no new cases just weeks before the

announcement. The emergence of children affected by polio is a result of the seven-year Boko Haram rebellion that has triggered instability and made thousands of people unable to get medical assistance. Apart from security risks, the International Medical Corps, together with local and international partners in the CORE Group Polio Project (CGPP), ensures that children get vaccinated against polio, despite the obstacles due to conflict (Council, 2017).

WHO said that genetic analysis of the virus from those affected by polio living in the Borno region revealed that this type of virus already existed and settled in Borno in 2011. This implies that polio is still not completely gone from the region, instead it circulates silently, although Nigeria has not detected any cases of polio anywhere in the country since July 2014 (Mckenna, 2016).

## **Conclusion**

By the end of 2019 Nigeria had received a polio-free certificate from WHO. Nigeria's journey to get a polio-free certificate is inseparable from the problems faced that can be used as lessons for Afghanistan and Pakistan, which until now are still trying to eliminate polio.

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